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The INDIAN REVIEW

FOUNDED BY G. A. NATESAN
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Vol. 58]

DECEMBER 1957

[No. 12

Labour and the Plan

By Shri V.V. Giri, Bar-at-Law

Freedom and After

By Sri Shriman Narayanan

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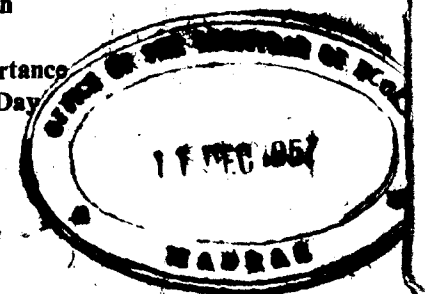
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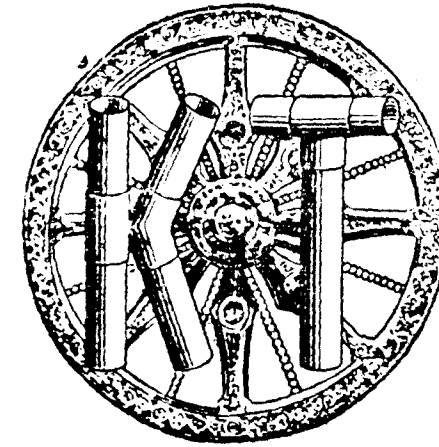
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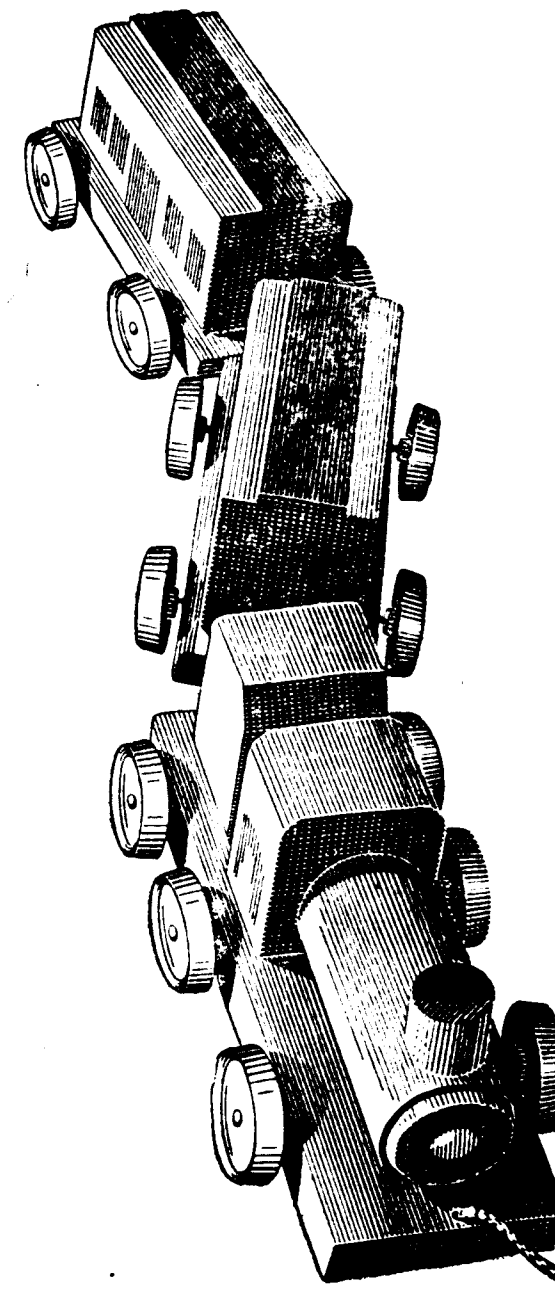
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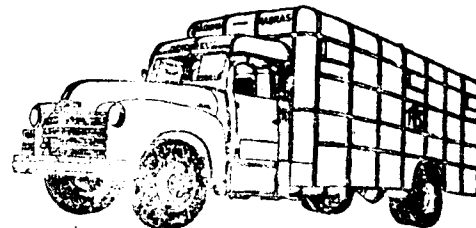
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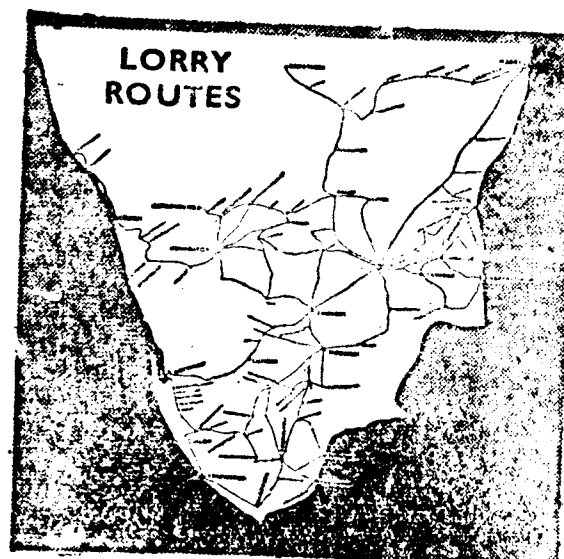
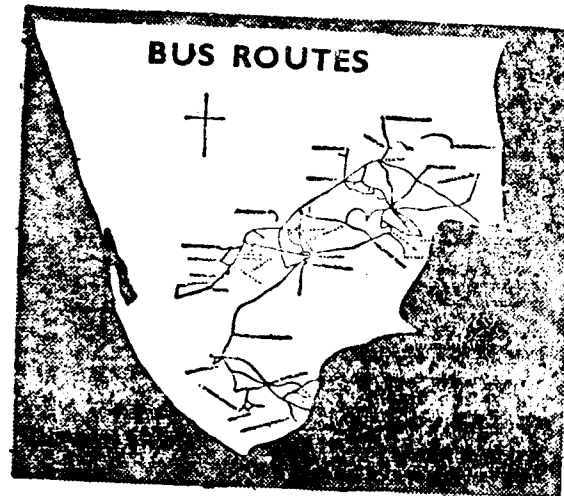
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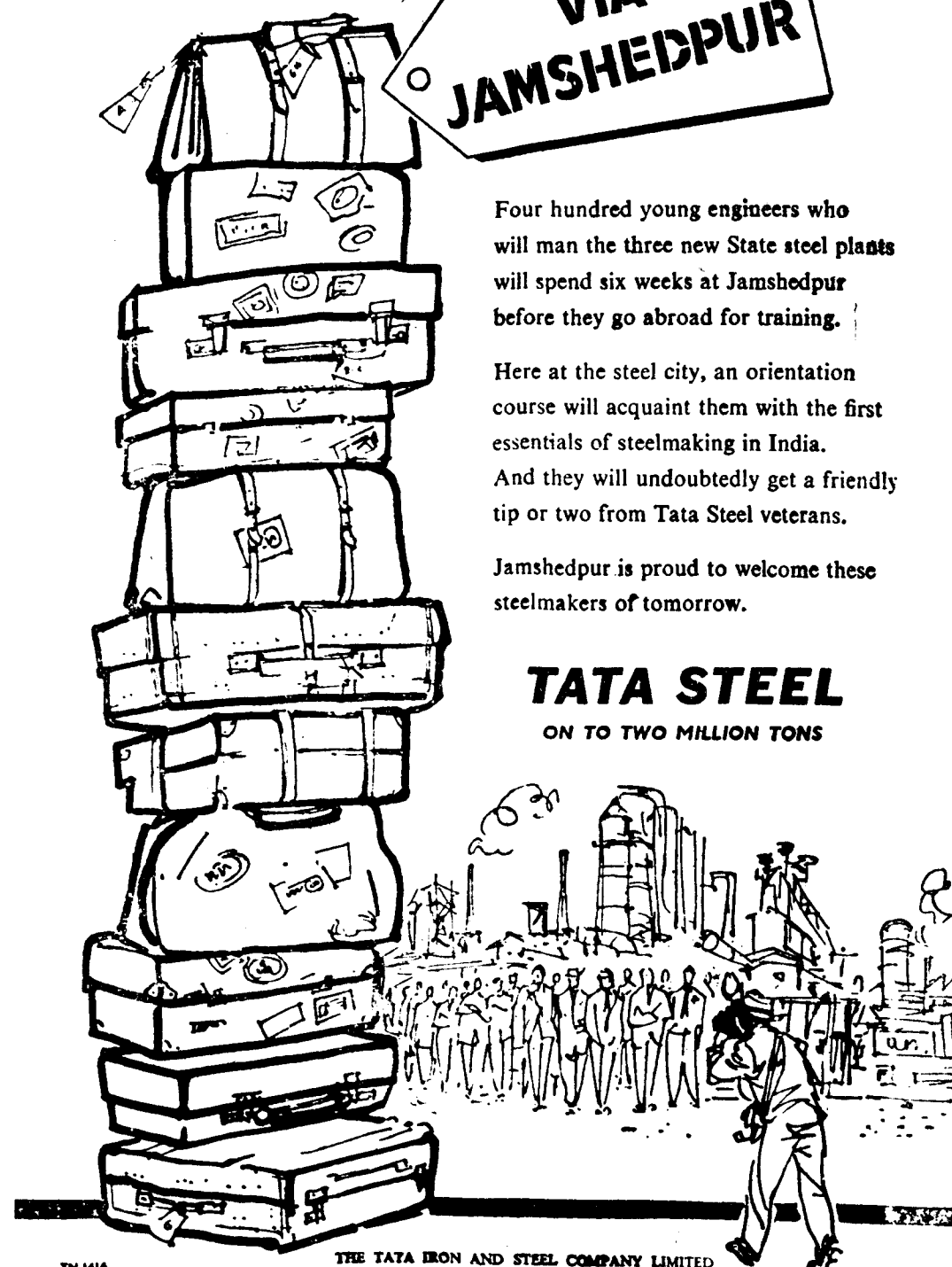
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DECEMBER 1957

[No. 12

Labour and the Plan

By

Shri V. V. GIRI, Bar-at-Law,
Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

LABOUR in the context of the Second Five-year Plan is of a major importance, not only because of its basic role in any industrial programme but because of the particular pattern of development — Socialistic Pattern of Society — that has been envisaged. India's ultimate goal is to have a Socialistic Pattern of Society leading ultimately to a Socialist State.

As early as 1939, an All-India Planning Committee was brought into existence when there was autonomy in the provinces. But it



was soon realised that the drawing up of a comprehensive national plan really could be done only if the Planning Authority had complete control in the execution of the plan they prepared. An essential pre-requisite for successful planning was complete political freedom and independence, so that the country could take any measure and adapt any policy that might be in the interests of the community and the people.

The second Five-year Plan followed the first Five-year Plan which had a two-fold objective: one, to correct the disequilibrium in

the economy caused by War and Partition; and, two, to ensure a rise in national income and steady improvement in living conditions and standard of living by a process of an allround development. The aim was not only to plan within the existing socio-economic framework, but to change the very plan framework by democratic methods. The first Five-year Plan was essentially agricultural in character.

Whereas the first Five-year Plan supplied the basis, the second has sought to provide the superstructure. The major objectives of the second Five-year Plan are:—

- (a) a sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
- (b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;
- (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities;
- and
- (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

The major objectives are inter-related. An increase in the national income and a consequent rise in the standard of living could be obtained only by the rapid industrialisation of the country. This, however, should not conflict with solving the huge untapped reservoir

of man-power which by itself is a major problem. Wedded to a Socialistic Pattern of Society, it is equally imperative to reduce the inequalities of income. This in due course will lead to the absorption of private sector into the public sector. For a peaceful and smooth progress of their desired end, good industrial relations are necessary.

The most important pre-requisite for the success of any democratic planning is that public co-operation and public sanction should constitute the principal force and sanction behind it. As the second Five-year Plan observes, economic objectives cannot be divorced from social objectives and the means and objectives go together. It is only in the context of the Plan which satisfies the legitimate urges of the people that a democratic society can put forward its best effort. In democratic economic planning, human personality is to be respected. It must be realised that the individual is not a mere means towards higher production and development of the country, but an end in himself.

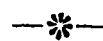
It needs no emphasis that a sound labour policy would greatly assist in achieving the worker his due role in the development of the country. Good industrial relations are absolutely essential for the efficient running of industry. Obviously satisfactory regulation of the industrial relations is an important part of the labour policy. Here more than anywhere else, there is the need for a smooth and healthy relationship between the parties concerned—employers, workers and the government. A pre-requisite to the development of a sufficiently comprehensive and efficient system of industrial relations is the existence of employers' organisations and workers' unions strong and free from undue interference who could be able to conclude collective agreements for the regulation of wages, conditions of work and the matters connected with the industry in general. Another factor is the establishment of a satisfactory system of conciliation methods for the establishment of industrial disputes.

Whether they want it or not, the employer must realise that the Trade Union Movement in India has come to stay, it no longer retains the forms of *ad hoc* bodies when Trade Unions were formed to fight against some particular grievance. It is better for the employers that

they should themselves be ready and willing to recognise a well-run organisation of workers so that they might deal with them not only during times of industrial disputes but even during normal times and discuss things right across the table.

The time has come when we shall have to decide the basic policy with reference to the settlement of Trade Disputes. I cannot conceal my disappointment at the thought that the principles of compulsory arbitration introduced for the first time, as a result of war-time emergency and continued thereafter as a measure inevitable in a period of economic uncertainty and emergency, has given a great set-back to the growth of trade unionism in the country. The spirit of self-confidence and self-reliance engendered by healthy bargaining has given place to the habit of importunity and litigation. I am absolutely certain that so long as compulsory adjudication is there, conciliation machinery will not succeed and they cannot get over it easily. That is bad enough. But what is worse is the deplorable fact which dependence on a third party has brought about in the outlook of the parties towards each other. In a system of straight-forward bargaining, there is no doubt a keen struggle during the period of negotiations; except in a few cases that lead to a strike or lock-out, the parties conclude their bargaining in a spirit of "Give and Take," in an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding.

We must never forget that industrial relations are essentially human relations and the quarrels between the management and labour are more like the familiar ones in the domestic sphere often unfit for settlement by a third party—let alone a judicial authority. Peace and harmonious relations which depend more on proper psychological approach cannot be brought about by a decree or command. The desire of both sides of industry to provide for and to operate an effective system of collective bargaining is a stronger guarantee of peace and of smooth functioning of labour-management relations than any action of legislators, courts or enforcement officers can ever hope to undertake. Therefore, both employers and workers alike must realise that a greater responsibility rests on their shoulders for happy industrial relations than on anybody else.



FREEDOM AND AFTER

By

Sri. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE Congress pledge for independence was fulfilled ten years ago. Since then, the Congress set itself to the other pledge—that of fighting poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity. The ten years that have gone by have been years of great endeavour and consolidation. The country has



taken rapid strides towards economic progress and stability. Throughout its epic struggle for India's freedom, the Congress has always stood for the betterment of the masses and the unprivileged. A precised direction was given to these objectives by the famous Avadi Resolution which laid down as Congress objective "a Socialist Pattern of Society." While we aim at socialism, we are also wedded to a democratic structure of society and we have proclaimed afresh that our means would be peaceful.

A planned approach to the problems of India was made under the First Five-year Plan. Most of the targets laid down in the First Plan were fulfilled and, in some cases, even exceeded. The Zamindari and Jagirdari systems were largely abolished, and efforts are now being made to freeze existing land owners and their right to resumption for personal cultivation, to reduce rents, to fix ceilings on holdings and to introduce the co-operative methods in the various processes of agriculture. Production of food and other essential commodities were considerably increased.

Science, the basis of modern life, was nurtured and great laboratories and research institutes grew up all over the country. Vast River Valley Schemes such as Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley Corporation, Hirakud, Tungabhadra and others made substantial progress leading to the spread of irrigation facilities and the production of electric power. Many industrial plants came into being, of which mention may be made of the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, the Hindustan Machine Tools (Private) Ltd., etc. By 1956, the production of ammonium sulphate in the Sindri Fertilizer Factory reached the record figure of 331,000 tons while the Pencillin Factory at Pimpri produced 14.12 million mega units of penicillin. The report of the British Heavy Engineering Mission who examined the programme of the Hindustan Machine Tools (Private) Ltd., said that the 17" centre lathe which the factory is producing at present is first class and compares favourably with machines of this type manufactured in any part of the world.

The Community Development Programme which was launched on Gandhiji's birthday in 1952 for transforming the entire character of rural life and economy, largely by means of guided self-help and improved organisation have revolutionised the country-side by creating a sense of new confidence and self-reliance among the masses hitherto slothful.

At the conclusion of the First Five-year Plan in March 1956, the Second Five-year Plan came into being. In this Plan, emphasis was laid on a more rapid development of industry while the importance of greater production in the agricultural sector was also underlined. The production of steel was given top priority and three large new iron and steel plants are

now being erected in addition to the expansion of the old plants. Organised attempts are being made to exploit the mineral resources of the country, especially oil and coal. Similarly, the chemical industry is being developed and considerable progress has been made in atomic energy research.

Despite a number of difficulties, such as the Suez Crisis, upward pressure in internal prices, acute shortage of certain materials like steel and cement and the running down, at a disquieting pace of foreign exchange assets, the first year of the Second Plan recorded substantial achievements in some fields and a modest advance on the whole. The difficulties in seeing the Plan through were recognised at the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee held at New Delhi on June 1st and 2nd, 1957. The economic policy resolution of the A.I.C.C. stressed that the principal targets of the Second Five-year Plan were the minimum necessary to create a progressive economy in the country and to provide better living conditions for the people. While stressing that the industrial core of the Plan, namely, the production of steel and coal and the development of transport and power must be implemented, the resolution urged upon the Government to make every effort to prevent waste and to ensure the utmost economy in administration in the Central and State Governments and local bodies and other Government institutions.

Side by side with economic progress, a social revolution has also been ushered in. Far-reaching legislations have been passed to reform the Hindu Law in regard to marriage and divorce and inheritance by women. Thus, outmoded customs which bore down upon our womenfolk have been done away with and in this and other ways, a larger freedom has been ensured to the women of India.

No subject was dearer to Gandhiji than the removal of untouchability and Harijan Upliftment. The Congress made this cause of the Harijans its own and laboured for them throughout the period of our national struggle. By our Constitution and the legislations passed

thereafter, the practice of untouchability has been made an offence.

The tribal people of India are an essential and important part of the country. They vary greatly among themselves. But all of them are noted for their vigorous life, their artistry and their folksongs and dances. The Constitution has made special provisions for them and the Congress policy is to allow them to progress according to their own genius and ways of life.

Socialism does not merely signify changes in the economic relations of human being. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in our ways of thinking and in our ways of living. Caste and class have no place in the socialist order that is envisaged by the Congress. In an under-developed country, the task of taking the people out of the morass of poverty and establishing a progressive economy is difficult. It requires a combined and persistent effort for a considerable period and a measure of austerity and avoidance of all waste so that maximum use can be made of the nation's resources. False standards of living and display have to be given up and those who lead the people in various parts of the country have to set an example.

India has launched a new and courageous experiment in comprehensive overall planning in a democratic set up. I do not think that there is any other democratic country in the world which has entered upon such an experiment. So far only the U.S.S.R. and other communist countries have undertaken planned economic development. Such plans inevitably entail curtailment of individual liberties. In India, however, our leaders are trying to combine the best points in planned economy and a democratic way of life. The results achieved so far augur well for the future. We are confident that under our distinguished leadership it will be possible for India to achieve success in this great experiment of democratic planning. Our success in this sphere will not only go a long way to raise the economic and cultural standards of our people but will also show a new way in planning to the other countries of the world.



LALA LAJPAT RAI

By

Shri Sri PRAKASA

Governor of Bombay State.

IT would be difficult to do justice to the life, work and personality of Lala Lajpat Rai in a short article which is all that can be written at the moment. The one thing that



particularly struck me in Lala Lajpat Rai's attitude of mind and plan of activity, was that he wanted on the one hand to revive in the hearts of the people of the country a true appreciation of the values of ancient thought and make them feel that freedom was worth having—worth living and dying for—in order to bring back to the land the older idealism of our ancestors; and on the other, he wanted to draw the attention of the world towards what was happening in the land, so that we have the sympathy of mankind in our struggle for liberty.

At the time that Lala Lajpat Rai plunged into the struggle, both these factors were wanting and so it can be truly said that he chalked out a new path and showed to his countrymen a new method of doing things. In the atmosphere of that time, the leading persons in the land were throwing off all the older traditions as not only useless but positively harmful for the purpose of taking the country along lines of progress and prosperity; and then all those who counted for anything in the counsels of the nation, were for making all their to England as the master in whose hands lay the shaping of our destinies. They did not think that it was necessary to win or even to ask for

the world's sympathy. If I am not mistaken, they thought that there was positive danger in this line of approach as that might alienate the real persons who counted.

Lala Lajpat Rai was not troubled with these complexes. As a doughty and almost uncompromising spread of the ideals embodied in the Arya Samaj, he brought back his people to ways of thought and activity very different to what was preached in so-called advanced circles around him. This instilled in the hearts of those who heard him, a deep-rooted love for our ancient thought and culture. Then he went to England but seldom; but to America and other lands he went many times in order to win their sympathy and assistance for what his country was struggling for at home, namely the wresting back of political freedom from the strangle hold of a foreign power.

This is to my mind, the great contribution of Lala Lajpat Rai to the struggle for freedom that found its consummation in Mahatma Gandhi, and brought us back to our own. I first saw Lala Lajpat Rai as a boy when he came to the session of the Indian National Congress in December 1905, held in my home town of Banaras. I heard him thunder then not so much on the platform of the Congress as at the other meetings that he addressed in the city. His sympathy then was with Lokamanya Tilak who was against any welcome on behalf of the Congress to the Prince and Princess of Wales (later King George and Queen Mary) and their visit to the country at that time. The Prince and the Princess visited Banaras only about a fortnight after the Congress session. It was the personal appeal of the President Mr. Gokhale that deterred these stalwarts from voicing their protest from the open platform of the Congress against the resolution of welcome.

Two years later came the news of his and his colleague Ajit Singh's transportation to Mandalay for their activities in Lahore. Those were my first contacts with Lala Lajpat Rai; but I really met him for the first time in London in 1914 when he was on his way to America. Since then I had the privilege of coming close to him in many ways. Whenever I met him, I found the old fire burning undimmed as he threw his lot, regardless of personal sacrifice, for the country's freedom, in the foremost ranks. His life was an open book and is more or less intimately known to all. His end was tragic inasmuch as it followed the outrage committed on him when he received lathi blows of the police in a procession that he was leading. It was not the blows that killed him. I have no doubt that sensitive as he was, he found it difficult to believe that a scene like that could happen when a person of his eminence could be struck with impunity.

I have always felt that he could be struck with impunity. I have always felt that he could not reconcile himself to the scene, and the overwrought head and heart found relief only in death which happened not long afterwards.

A child-like simplicity, burning patriotism, devotion to the country's past, desire to revive the glory of the ancients and a fiery love of liberty—were his great characteristics. It is a pity that he did not live to see the dawn of freedom, though at the same time I have my very serious doubts as to how he would have welcomed it when it was over-shadowed with the clouds of communal passion culminating in the partition of the land, and his own great town of Lahore, the scene of his labours, becoming a part of "foreign" territory, and the house in which he lived and which he had dedicated to the country's service, no more available for the purpose for which he had in view. May his soul rest in peace!

Neo-Stalinism and the Fall of Marshal Zhukov

By

Mr. HERMAN F. AKHMINOV

THE fall from power of the former Defense Minister, Marshal Zhukov, did not come as a complete surprise to observers outside the Soviet Union, internecine struggles and conflicts being a permanent and inevitable feature of life within the Soviet Party apparatus. There had been rumours of a conflict within the Kremlin for some time and comment had been varied and, at times, fantastic, some commentators even going so far as to prophesy the fall of Khrushchev himself.

Zhukov's dismissal has been seen by some as the result of a purely personal conflict between Zhukov and Khrushchev, while others have interpreted it as being the outcome of a struggle for power between the Party and the Army. While there is a certain justification for both these views, nevertheless basically they are both misleading.

The personal interpretation is misleading because it rests on the assumption that the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee can be regarded as private individuals. In fact, even allowing for the role played by ambition in political life, it is obvious that the actions of such highly-placed political leaders are dictated by political rather than personal considerations.

It is equally unfounded to assume that the Soviet Army is an independent political organism, capable of pitting itself against the state. To assume a conflict between the Party and the Army would presuppose that the idea of establishing a military dictatorship had been in the air in recent years and there is not the slightest evidence to support such a view.

It is much more plausible to interpret the recent events, not as isolated facts, but in con-

junction with the whole development of the Soviet State since Stalin's death.

When Stalin died the Soviet leaders were faced, as they indeed still are, with a choice between a personal dictatorship and the principle of collective leadership. Fear of a repetition under a new dictator of Stalin's practice of destroying other Party leaders led to the adoption of collective leadership. Another reason for this decision was that none of Stalin's heirs was backed by a majority in the Party Central Committee and, as an analysis of events following Stalin's death shows, there was at that time a deliberate endeavour on the part of most members of the Central Committee to neutralise potential dictators.

However, the principle of collective leadership, with decisions taken by a majority of votes and not by the First Secretary as under Stalin, and with the party organs depending on the electorate, must in time, if carried out, inevitably lead to the collapse of the dictatorship of the Party. Events in the Soviet Union have shown that once the Party leaders are subject to pressure from the Party rank-and-file they are no longer able to withstand "revisionist" tendencies and demands for better living conditions, which in turn, as in the case of Hungary and Poland, might well lead to the destruction of the very foundations of Communist dictatorship, the collapse of the kolkhoz system and the transition to "bourgeois democracy."

Such trend became quite obvious in 1956, but they had already been discernible long before. As early as 1953 certain groups within the Party were seen to be attempting to establish and extend innerparty democracy, thus opening the way to revisionist tendencies, while others favoured a policy of "iron discipline," i.e., a return to dictatorship. Out of these conflicting tendencies, which may be called "neo-Stalinism" there crystallised the figure of Nikita Khrushchev.

From September 1953 on, Khrushchev held

the post long held by Stalin, that of First Secretary of the Party Central Committee. He owed this position to the fact that immediately after Stalin's death he was only a first among equals. Since Stalin's heirs had to appoint someone for this post, they decided to choose someone who was less likely than Stalin's other companions in arms to become a dictator. Thanks to this position it now became possible for Khrushchev gradually to increase his power by systematically renewing the Party apparatus, etc., and, as head of the Party machine, to express the will of the Party. In other words, even if we assume Khrushchev to be wholly devoid of ambition, it is clear that his very position as First Secretary of the Party would have forced him to become more or less a dictator.

There are, however, no grounds whatever for supposing that Khrushchev lacked ambition. On the contrary, the evidence is that he has worked systematically to consolidate his position as a dictator. Indeed, a closer examination reveals that he has followed a consistent line in this direction.

When Khrushchev became First Secretary, his first task was to assert his preeminence over the other members of the Central Committee. This meant that he had to bring two types of men under his control: those whose positions under Stalin entitled them to aspire to higher positions than Khrushchev and those whose present status or past services made them consider themselves independent of Khrushchev.

Khrushchev's first step was to increase his authority in the eyes of the masses and, at the same time, his power within the Central Committee. Just as Stalin before him had built his career on industrialisation of the country, which was indispensable quite apart from political considerations, so Khrushchev now produced his programme of rapid agricultural development, which could be presented as part of the struggle for the building of Communism,

i.e., as the solution of a political task, as well as a campaign for improvement of living conditions for the population.

The next stage in Khrushchev's rise to personal dictatorship was to remove everyone whose authority was rooted in the Stalin era. Thus, in February 1955, supported by his first successes in the opening-up of new agricultural areas, he secured the removal of Malenkov from the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The climax of this stage was reached at the 20th Party Congress, at which Khrushchev delivered his famous "secret speech" unmasking a number of Stalin's crimes. A careful examination of this speech shows that it had a threefold purpose: it was intended to prove that Stalin's attacks on the left-wing opposition had been at variance with the interests of the Party, that the destruction of the right-wing opposition had on the contrary corresponded to the true interests of the Party, and that it was only from about 1937 on and especially after the war that Stalin had become a tyrant.

The first two points touch on problems of long-term policy and as such do not come within the scope of the present analysis. The criticism of the measures adopted by Stalin in the latter period of his life, on the other hand, naturally affected the position of the surviving closest companions in arms of Stalin, who had been parties to Stalin's crimes.

What de-Stalinisation meant in practice became clear in June 1957, when Khrushchev disposed of the Stalin old guard by expelling Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich from the Central Committee, leaving Mikoyan and Voroshilov as the only Stalinist survivors.

This chain of events makes it clear that the fall of Marshal Zhukov is not primarily the upshot of a conflict between the Army and the Party but should be seen rather as the removal of the most popular Soviet public figure, whose services to his country entitled him more than any other leader to defy the will of the First Secretary. This conclusion is fully borne out by the general tone and contents of the decree of the plenum of the Central Committee concerning Zhukov's replacement.

What is really meant by saying that the Zhukov's incident is not primarily due to a conflict between the Army and the Party is that its repercussions will not necessarily include a reduction of the Army budget or increased powers for the political organs in the Army. On the other hand, it will greatly restrict the right of the rank-and-file in the whole Party apparatus to oppose the will of its leaders. The fall of Marshal Zhukov is a warning to all whose past services make them feel entitled to demand inner-political reform that the will of the Secretary is the will of the Party.

Unilateral Disarmament

By

Sri. B. NATESAN

ON the question of unilateral disarmament it is certainly in the fitness of things that the homeland of Gandhi should give a lead to the rest of the world. Gandhi never preached anything which he was not prepared to practise. He never claimed to be a prophet speaking from an eminence. But for all his

idealism he was a shrewd statesman and though his gaze was fixed on the sky, his feet were firmly on the ground. That should not be forgotten. When I think of Gandhi, his teachings, and the methods of love and non-violence he followed, I am reminded of a familiar passage in Boswell. With a slight

change in the accent we cannot ignore the implications of Dr. Johnson's stand:

'After we came out of Church', says Boswell, 'we stood for some time talking of Bishop Berkeley's ingenious sophistry to prove the non-existence of matter, and that everything in the Universe is merely ideal. I observed that *it is impossible to refute it*. I shall never forget the alacrity with which Johnson answered, striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone till he rebounded from it; "I refute it thus".' (The italics are mine.)

Johnson was no Hegel; if he misfired he made use of the butt end. But his common-sense rescued him from every difficulty.

Now that the horrors of the last two great wars have come to every thinking man and the total destruction that would follow the use of the latest nuclear weapons is fully realised, it is time we make up our minds as to some substitute for the vulgarity of violence. The alternative is clear: coexistence or annihilation. Nor need we be obsessed by the belief that violence that has been in vogue for centuries cannot be got rid of by any amount of teaching. Many such beliefs have gone the way of the wind. Slavery and many a cruel custom have disappeared in the wake of civilisation and the progress of human thought and the sense of brotherhood among nations. So can wars become obsolete.

But slavery and cruel customs did not disappear on a sudden; neither legislation nor compulsion of any kind could blot out habits of generations. Time is the great healer and only human effort can rectify human folly.

It is only after the first world war that the idea of a League of Nations, bound together for common purposes of peace and the security of nations, took shape in an institutional form; and it needed a second world war to build the United Nations on its ashes. Already its numerous auxiliaries, like the ILO, UNESCO, WHO and FAO are doing excellent work to foster the sense of solidarity and brother-

hood among nations. And since war begins in the mind of man, efforts are rightly made to improve that mind and foster the sense of oneness among mankind.

The idea of making the United Nations an instrument to force the pace of peace by the use of superior strength will nullify the worthy objects with which it started. For the means are of as much importance as the end. The U. N. cannot afford to use the big stick, which it is its very object to avoid.

What then is the moral equivalent of war? Nations are to be trained in the new way of approach to international conflicts and to abide uncomplainingly by the judgment of the world council. For this, of course, the international body must be comprehensive, must be above suspicion of partiality and above reproach (the power blocs, with the taint of bias in ideologies, must, go). Its decisions then will be acquiesced in. Because we know that that body is incorruptible, we do not question its decision.

Now to the problem of India setting an example in disarmament. Gandhi's guidance in non-violence is explicit. He did not start civil disobedience in a hurry. He prepared the ground for months and years, preaching, persuading and urging his followers to observe the laws of *Satyagraha* meticulously. He insisted on stern and prolonged discipline. And when he found the field unprepared, he desisted. He judged every step in the process by his own standard and when he found the followers erring and violence provoked, he did not hesitate to call off the whole campaign and confess his 'Himalayan' mistake.

Above all, and this must be noted, it was not through weakness that he started civil disobedience; it was in the full consciousness of strength, and his courage and intrepidity never wavered. Have we, by any stretch of imagination, acquired that strength? The wobbling of a weak man can never tell. If it is to be a gesture it must be by a power that is truly conscious of its strength.

Finally it is a mistake to think that *Ahimsa* will win in the end against forces of evil born of sheer barbarism. Except by some occult power, you cannot tame a tiger to the ways of gentleness. There must be a climate of opinion susceptible to high moral endeavour. Suppose, instead of the civilised British we had less sensitive people to contend with in our national struggle, could we have succeeded? Gandhi's non-violence alone could not have achieved the freedom of India though it was the main source of strength and inspiration. World opinion was with us; the British realised the inevitability of withdrawal on the advance of the enemy towards Burma and Bengal; there was a sensible party in power in England and a courageous and farsighted statesman at its helm. These factors counted.

Now with our neighbours armed to the teeth and ready to pounce on this country at its weakest spot, with the knowledge that the frontiers are already crammed with weapons of destruction (their own and others), in an atmosphere charged with hatred and malignity on one side, and on the other, suspicion and a sense of futility that all our efforts at peace are becoming futile, this is certainly not the time for a crazy experiment in disarmament. It would be sheer suicide. Gandhi used to tell us that in certain cases we should rather be brave and right than be cowardly and nonviolent.

So the whole thing comes to this; there can be no unilateral disarmament but by a power which feels strong; it is a gesture that will tell. Until we are in that position and world opinion is fairly in tune with spirit of goodwill and sensitive to higher values, it would be folly to embark on such an adventure. We must have a leader of the calibre of Gandhi to lead us. As it is, those who are not in positions of responsibility may urge a course of action made dear to them by the success of Gandhi. When Gandhi found the people unready, he ventured alone, braving the consequences. We have no right to indulge in such a course in a democracy pledged to the rule of the majority. We have no right to throw the country which has just won her freedom, to the hazards of chance. We cannot afford to make 'Himalayan' (irremediable) mistakes on a nation-wide scale. Individuals may, in their own initiative, demonstrate their strength of feeling in their own way. But they cannot, in a democracy, commit the country to a course of action unapproved by its citizens. When the majority or at least an appreciable section of people adopts the Gandhian view we will have obtained the strength and the nerve and the right to lead the nations in *Satyagraha*. Not till then.

Spiritual Potentials of the Cinema

By

Mr. ALEXANDER MARKEY

THE cinema is often referred to as the 'silver screen'. If it were to take its name from the kind of motion pictures that most often stain its surface, it might more aptly be called the 'crimson screen' or the 'purple screen'. But, whatever the colour, the dominant factor that makes the technical miracle of motion pictures possible is light. It was the discovery of electric light that gave birth to the cinema. Without this light, there would be no motion pictures.

The motion picture is the most fabulous of all the arts. It encompasses all the others—story-telling, poetry, drama, music, dance, painting, and sculpture—with an added magic of its own. No other art can even remotely match it for flexibility and inventiveness; no other can compete with it for universality and effectiveness of mass appeal. In the brief span of half a century, this robust offspring of the machine age achieved mass popularity beyond the wildest dreams of its progenitors.

For the first time in the history of man, a magic art-form has come into being that, for good or evil, can at one time reach the mind and heart of almost every human being on earth.

Four out of five people in India cannot read or write. Nearly half the population of the world is illiterate. Most of the other half does precious little edifying reading. But with the exception of an infinitesimal percentage, all the world understands and loves motion pictures. Truly, the cinema is the universal language.

No other means of controlled mass appeal can compare with the impact of the cinema on the mind of man. But only those who have made a professional study of the phenomenon are aware of the truly fantastic incursions made on mankind by the enchantment of motion pictures. The whole trend of mass thought, mass belief, and mass behaviour has gone through a revolutionary change, as a result of habitual response to the subtle fascination of the silver screen. A hundred thousand cinema houses probably had a greater influence on the mass mind in fifty years than any other means of public contact in a thousand.

The dismal fact, however, is that this unparalleled influence has been largely a detrimental one. Catering to the sensational and scandalous aspects of life has proved so highly profitable a business that every day scores of films are in production, the main ingredients of which are the sensual and the sordid, materialism and selfishness, adultery and bloodshed—the whole sorry brood of man's grossest nature. Only a feeble trickle of perhaps a few dozen pictures a year are free from the main emphasis on the ignoble aspects of human behaviour.

Since the advent of television, this process has become accelerated a thousand fold; for a television receiving set is merely a miniature screen. Where there were but twenty thousand odd film theatres in the United States, for example, ten years ago, today nearly forty

million American homes are little cinema houses, in which there is a succession of screened entertainment, free for the turning of a dial practically around the clock.

Because of the baneful mass influence of the kind of films that predominate, the very invention of motion pictures has become anathema to some of the best minds in the world, who prefer to avoid the cinema altogether. But this is merely dodging the issue. We do not spurn Gutenberg's great invention because of the trash that finds its way into print, or dismiss Edison's phonograph as worthless because so much cacophony that is passed off as music is grooved into records. Nor do we boycott Marconi's radio because of the waves of nonsense broadcast over the air.

The question is often asked: How could an art of such unique promise become so corrupt in so short a time, when all the other arts have enriched the world with so much beauty and rapture? The answer lies in the fact that all the other arts had millenniums in which to develop as pure art in the congenial climate of untainted dedication, and—of supreme importance—for untold centuries, they flourished in the devotional atmosphere of religion, which was the womb of them all.

The motion picture was ill-fated to be born into an age of high-pressure commerce, and before it had a chance to develop as an art, wide-awake merchants kidnapped it in its infancy and turned it into a competitive industry. So astute a stroke of business acumen has this turned out to be that the film industry of the world, in all its ramifications, has earned more money in the fifty odd years of its existence than most other business in a hundred. The silver screen has turned into a fabulous two-dimensional bird that lays mountains of golden eggs. Is it any wonder that the owners have been holding on to their prize ever since? Occasionally, the captive—no longer an infant—breaks away long enough to take a fling at expressing its unhampered self, and at such stray moments we get a

memorable, often superb, motion picture. And there are also instances when prompted by outstanding creative minds in their temporary employ, the heads of the big film-studios themselves sponsor what they term 'prestige' films. These are almost without exception worthy achievements. But both these instances are rare—the percentage in decimals. So routine minded has the general public become in its film tastes, and so geared the industry to feeding it with what it considers 'sure money makers', that the golden captive is soon back in its diamond cage, dreaming of its next break for freedom.

To the accompaniment of laughter or tears, the scramble for the golden eggs never stops in Hollywood and in the other film centres of the world. So all-absorbing is this competition that only once in a blue moon—and blue moons are rare indeed in Hollywood—does anyone in films think of aesthetic and cultural, let alone spiritual, values in connection with the films turned out by the motion picture assembly lines. You might as well expect Ford to suddenly turn out cars made of ectoplasm.

There are precious exceptions to the rule, and all lovers of fine things are grateful to the creators of such rare film masterpieces. Not only because they are a joy to behold, but because they are shining proofs that the art of the cinema in inspired hands is capable of the highest reach—proof indeed that to the motion picture nothing is impossible.

However we may assess the blame, the evil motion pictures have wrought is beyond calculation, but so is their unexplored potential for good.

H. G. Wells has said that the fate of civilization hinges on the race between education and catastrophe. Is there a way of winning this race? UNESCO maintains that wars arise in the minds of men, and that it is there that we must wage the battle for peace. Can this battle be won—in time? To win the race, to gain victory in this battle of the mind, it is

imperative that the whole mental climate in which mankind lives be transformed, so that nobler thoughts and kinder emotions may take root and flourish in the minds of men.

There is only one medium that can accomplish this miracle on a large enough scale and within measurable time; the only medium which has the power to reach the minds and mould the lives of the myriad inhabitants of this earth—the cinema.

All phenomena, even the most inexplicable, are but so much cosmic grist to the celestial mill of the Divine. There is a wondrous purpose behind the fantastic growth of the film world at the prompting of its merchant kings. Under present conditions, the complex and manifold instruments and technique of film production could in no other hands have been developed to such perfection in so brief a span. Under no other compulsion than that of the competitive enterprise, which prevailed at the turn of the century, could the vast machinery and matchless organisation, which make the world-wide mass distribution and exhibition of films simultaneously possible and practicable, have come into being in so short a time. In these phases of the film industry, its founders have accomplished incredible wonders.

Now that the need is so urgent and imperative, it is this marvellously perfected film production machinery and this splendidly organized distribution and exhibition empire that the Divine places at our disposal to reach mankind with the new message of the Spirit.

What is needed is the creation of a constant flow of spiritually charged inspirational motion pictures, whose chief emphasis is on the cardinal virtues and higher aspirations of our being; dramatic treatment of subjects whose central themes are truth, beauty, and integrity; tales whose heroes are not quick on the trigger, but men of the more heroic qualities of self-control, forbearance, and chivalry; films of heroines whose chief concern is not chasing and catching their men, but who endeavour to bring into their relationship with men the

divine *sakti* (endowments) of women that can make more god-like human beings of both: stories in which laughter is of the heart, not of the belly; the kind of motion pictures whose creative treatment of such attributes as fidelity, unselfishness, and consideration for our fellow-creatures are of so impelling a potency that they will gradually counterbalance the debasing influence of the common run of pictures and television programmes; films, moreover, that do not stress the gross physical and superficial aspects of the life of man, but give pride of place to the profound longing in his heart for something greater than malice and debauchery, something nobler than gluttony and ostentation.

Apart from the importance of carefully choosing the right stories for such motion pictures as I have in mind, there are other ingredients that enter into the making of films, which have unlimited spiritual possibilities and which until now have remained almost wholly unexplored. The spoken word is one of these.

The same thing can be said in many different ways. What distinguishes the master of literature from the ordinary writer is the skill, inspiration, and genius with which he expresses what, as a rule, has already been said many times before. There is hardly, a thought, or an idea, regardless of its implication, which has no spiritual potential. In connection with the motion pictures of the new age, a good deal of pioneer thought will have to be devoted to high-lighting the hidden spiritual kernel in the dialogue.

Another unexplored aspect of the cinema that has great spiritual possibilities is innate in the very magic of motion pictures. The manner in which a scene is conceived; the subtle selection of the background against which it is played; the filmic rhythm and timing set for it by the director; the actual manner of portraying a particular scene by the artists, under the creative guidance of directorial inspirari on the choice of emphasis—not unlike the focal points chosen by great painters in conceiving

their masterpieces; and many other minute considerations which make up the complete pattern of a scene, all these are possible avenues of spiritual momentum, totally unused until now by the makers of motion pictures, a virgin field for the producers of tomorrow's films.

Other important elements in motion pictures are music and sound effects. Music has often been referred to as the language of the soul, but virtually no creative use of music has been made to underline or emphasize the spiritual content and potential of motion pictures. The same, to a less degree, may be said about sound effects. This entire field is wholly unexplored, and, for our purposes, a rich mine of spiritual gold.

Colour is still another ingredient that has enormous spiritual possibilities in motion pictures. Up to now, colour has been used in films without any thought of its subtle potentialities, though serious students of colour are aware of the great influence it exerts not only on human behaviour and reaction, on thinking and the emotions, but also on the deeper soul-life of man. This power of colour to influence man should be made full use of in the motion pictures I have in mind.

Transcending all these is the mystic potential of motion pictures. This has nothing directly to do with the spoken word, visual magic, music and sound effects, nor with colour. It is a domain all its own, and does not manifest in anything seen or heard in films. It is innate in that something—unseen and unheard—which often is felt by audiences, but of which more often than not, they are unaware. This esoteric aspect of the cinema is virtually unrecognized by the makers of motion pictures. It nevertheless, constitutes a subtly powerful ingredient in the finished product.

Though, to the mundane eye, that only leaves an image on the film negative which is palpably within the focal and light range of the camera lens, the character emanations, thought vibrations, and emotional fluctuations of everyone connected with the production of a motion

picture find their inscrutable way into the very fabric of the film, leaving on every frame of it an indelible mark that can be felt, though not seen or heard. There have been many pictures that failed to win the favour of audiences for no other reason than this mysterious phenomenon, though neither the people responsible for it nor the makers of the films were aware of it.

Because of the fine-spun nature of the pictures I envisage, this occult element could be made to play a vitally important part in the gentle spreading of higher thought and deeper inspiration. Creative use of this virgin potential will be of immense value in the production of him dedicated to a greater tomorrow.

In conceiving and producing motion pictures of such new dimensions, it is imperative to keep in mind the kind of audiences to which they are designed to cater. For we must aim at the mass mind, not isolated individuals or groups who have already risen above the common level. To reach the mind of the masses, these pictures will have to be rich in entertainment values, showmanship, and human interest—film ingredients on which audiences have been fed so long and so persistently that, until their tastes become more refined, mass audiences cannot be expected to clamour for or even accept films that are lacking in these features.

As far as desirable subjects are concerned, the source-material for this new kind of film is virtually unexplored. While there have been sporadic attempts to portray the higher aspects of life—drops of nectar in an ocean of acid—no large-scale, long-range efforts have ever been attempted. The reservoir of story material for the kind of pictures I have in mind is therefore literally untapped. All human life, the whole range of man's quest for a nobler purpose, is our province. Nothing is alien to us, nothing outside our scope, in search of material for such a programme.

These productions will have to be motion pictures of such fascination and mass appeal

that they will find ready favour with cinema and television audiences the world over. Only thus will the businessmen of the film industry be enabled to make a handsome profit on them, for we must always keep in mind that it is through them these pictures will have to be distributed and exhibited, if they are to reach the mass audiences for which they are intended. And these film magnates are, above all, practical businessmen, to whom the exploitation and marketing of films is a highly specialized and costly operation, in which there is no place for any product on which they cannot show a profit.

Happily, such are the current exigencies of the motion picture industry that independent unit production has become the order of the day. More and more, the film companies are relying, for their major income, on the distribution and exhibition of independent product over which they exercise no production control.

They have become the unwitting instruments of the Divine, ordained to be the effective medium through which the films of the new age to be channelled to the masses. And through this service, these film concerns will inevitably be touched by the spiritual wand of the higher consciousness, which, in turn, is bound to reflect in their future pictures produced under the banner of their own studio personnel.

Countless men and women the world over have long agitated and striven to bring about an improvement in the quality of the general run of motion pictures, but with barely perceptible result. For no amount of theorizing or sermonizing, however well meant, will transform the old-time makers of films into pioneers of the age of the Spirit. They will forever remain true to the limitations of their one-sided approach. To look to them for the drastic change in production concept required for tomorrow's motion pictures is merely chasing after a will-o-the-wisp.

The urgent need now is for action. The swift momentum of our time calls for an

acceleration of mass progression towards new horizon of consciousness. A new dawn for mankind is possible only if the world-mind becomes speedily aware of the higher Truth, so long hidden from it.

After nearly forty years in the educational and editorial fields, on the public platform, in the theatre, in radio, motion pictures, and television, I am firmly convinced that the cinema is the only medium that can accomplish this miracle in our time, on a scale large enough to bring about the desired result.

Sri Aurobindo foresaw this pregnant moment nearly half a century ago :

'The coming of the spiritual age must be preceded by the appearance of an increasing number of individuals who are no longer satisfied with the moral, intellectual, vital, and physical existence of man, but perceive that a greater evolution is the real goal of humanity...a spiritual evolution, the destiny, and therefore the great need of the human being.

'If this spiritual change is to be effected, it must unite two conditions. There must be... the individuals who are able to see, to develop, to recreate themselves in the image of the spirit, and to communicate both their idea and its power to the mass. And there must be, at the same time, a mass...which is capable of receiving and effectively assimilating...the idea and its power.

'That this combination must happen some day is a certainty.

'These ideas are likely first to declare their trend in philosophy, in psychological thinking, in the arts. They might develop an achievement of art and beauty which would make the greatness of the past a comparatively little thing.'

About those who are to play a decisive part in the evolution of this phase, and the manner in which it is to be accomplished, Sri Aurobindo stated :

'Though the scope must be universal, the initiative can come from India, and the central movement may be hers.

'India has always existed for humanity and not for herself, and it is for humanity and not for herself that she must be great.

'She is rising to shed over the world the eternal light entrusted to her...and cherished

by her, for the salvation of humanity, in the seclusion of this peninsula from of old.

'This hierarchy of pioneers would not mean an...egoistic domination of the undeveloped by the more developed, but a guidance of the younger by the elder brothers of the race, and a constant working to lift them up to a greater spiritual level and wider horizons.

'The principle of such changes in nature seems to be a long, obscure preparation, followed by a swift gathering up and precipitation of elements into the new birth, a rapid conversion, a transformation that, in its luminous moment, figures like a miracle.'

The time is ripe for such a miracle, and I am convinced that India is the country where this metamorphosis is first to take shape. It is only through the creative fusion of the technical and organizational perfection of the western cinema and the immortal spiritual genius of India that the films of a greater tomorrow can come into being. Only the master touch of India can transmute the silver of the screen into the gold of the Spirit. Thus, and in no other way, can we shed the transforming light of India's immortal teachings into the dark corners of the world-mind and speed up the coming of the new age.

In the many-jewelled treasury of the Upanishads, there are myriad gems of thought; among them a luminous one, freely translated here, appears relevant to our problem :

The face of Truth is hidden
Beneath a golden veil.
O Sun-god, lift up the glittering mask,
So that we may behold
The radiant light of Truth.

Beneath the silver veneer of gross caricature of people and life, so characteristic of the great majority of motion pictures, there is a fabulous potential of hidden gold, waiting to be brought to the surface. Transposed, the luminous quotation from the Upanishads might well apply to the cinema :

The soul of truth lies hidden
Under the illusive silver screen,
O gods of India, help us remove
The tinsel mask,
So that we may reveal to man
The golden light beneath.

THE LURE OF ORISSA

By
"A TOURIST"

ORISSA, widely known to the outside world as the land of Lord Jagannath, attracts every year from all parts of India and beyond tens of thousands of visitors who come to visit the temples of Puri, Bhubaneswar, Sakshigopal and Konarak among other places of religious and historical interest. As one of the seats of ancient learning and culture, Orissa possesses several places of unusual historical interest. Besides it is studded with some rare beauty spots which are not much known outside the State of Orissa. Gopalpur and Puri on the sea-coast are very pleasant health-resorts and favourite haunts of numerous "changers" who frequent these places in search of better health and spirit.

Puri, is one of the four sacred centres of pilgrimage in India. The massive temple is 215 feet high. The world-famous "Car of Juggernaut" is drawn here literally by thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India every year on the occasion of the Car Festival which falls during the period June-July. Tens of thousands of devotees from all parts of the country visit Puri on the occasion of one or the other of the many festivals of Lord Jagannath whose cult harmoniously blends the apparently diverse religious beliefs into one synthetic whole. In fact, the temple of Lord Jagannath typifies the Indian ideal of "Unity in Diversity".

Through eight centuries, the great temple of Lord Jagannath has stood like a rock defying the ravages of time and weather. It stands as the mute witness of the many ups and downs through which Orissa had to pass through this long period.

The temple was built during the reign of Ananga Bhima Dev (1189-1223 A.D.) and was completed in 1189 A.D. The main temple is surrounded by two enclosures — one inner and the other outer. Within the inner courtyard

are situated a number of smaller temples housing the deities of different cults and sects.

There are over 1,480 Shebayets or attendants who run the institution, of whom 108 are to be present daily in connection with the worship of Lord Jagannath; the rest being engaged in the worship of the subordinate deities.

Other places of religious importance in the Puri town are the Indradumna, Narendra, Markandeswar and Swetaganga tanks and the "Gundicha Mandap" to which the deities of Lord Jagannath, Subhadra and Balabhadra are taken during the Car Festival in the famous Car drawn by devotees.

Puri has a very pleasant climate all the year round and the sea-beach at Puri is unforgettable and a bath here is not to be missed by any visitor.

Accommodation in European style is available at Puri in the South Eastern Railway Hotel. There are many hotels providing board and lodging in the Indian style also. Puri is situated at the terminus of the Calcutta-Puri main line at a distance of 310 miles from Calcutta.

Taxis, cycle-rickshaws and hackney carriages are available for transport.

The next important place to visit is Bhubaneswar which is situated on the main Howrah-Madras Line-272 miles away from Calcutta on the east-coast railway. Bhubaneswar is really a place full of temples—once there must have been hundreds of them. A large number of these temples still adorn this holy centre. Many have been battered and effaced by time. The ruins of many such temples are still to be seen in this area as relics of the glory that is past and are objects of close study and research for students of history, architecture and sculpture.

The temple of Lingaraj towers above all the existing temples of Bhubaneswar. It is the

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quintessence of the Kalinga type of architecture and it is one of the best archaeological monuments of India. It stands in a spacious compound measuring 520 × 465 feet and enclosed by a boundary wall of laterite. It consists of four structures, viz. Vimana, Jagamohana, Natamandira and Bhogamandap of which the last two are later additions of the Ganga period. The Vimana or the main temple rises to a height of 147 feet and 9 inches from the plinth and is a hollow pyramid composed of several superimposed chambers, the access to which is obtained by a staircase built through the thickness of the wall. In its sculptures some of the best specimens of Orissan decorative art are to be found. Fine scroll works, which must have entailed months of labour, are to be seen in some of the images. The temple on the whole, is verily an epic in stone and stands as a magnificent monument to the great skill of the architects who built it. This temple was built in the 11th century A.D.

The Mukteswar Temple. The Mukteswar Temple is a richly carved edifice where architecture and sculpture are finely blended. The images of the crocodile and the monkey, the young damsels standing in different poses with different expressions and the two puzzles of human form are all carved most elegantly in stone making this temple of perennial interest to all lovers of art. Sri M. Ganguli calls it a dream realised in stone. Percy Brown describes it as a miniature gem of architecture.

The Rajarani Temple. In the sculpture of this temple Orissan pictorial art reached its zenith. It is built of red stone. That gives it a better polish and finish. It possesses certain features of architecture which are not found in any other temple of Bhubaneswar. The ground plan is so arranged as to give great variety and play of light and shade. The details are exquisitely carved.

The Parsurameswar Temple. It is a small temple barely 40 feet high. It is one of the oldest temples in existence. It contains a

beautiful engraving in stone of the marriage scene of Siva and Parvati. In the front facade there are two sculptured figures—one depicting Ravan vainly attempting to lift the Kailash and the other depicting the Nataraj.

The Rock Edicts of Asok. Five miles from Bhubaneswar is Dhauli where there is a rock edict of King Asok carved near about 250 B.C. This was inscribed after the horror of the Kalinga War which caused a mental revolution in Emperor Asok. In the war about a lakh of people were killed, double the number were captured and many more died of disease and starvation.

The inscription is engraved on a huge projecting boulder with a figure of an elephant at the top.

The Excavations of Sisupalgarh. About a mile from Bhubaneswar is the site of Sisupalgarh where recent excavations have unearthed ruins of a well planned and well fortified city, square in shape, each side roughly measuring three quarters of a mile and having two elaborately constructed gates. It is supposed to have been built before the conquest of Orissa by Emperor Asoka and to have served as the Capital of King Kharavela who came after him.

The Udayagiri and Khandogiri Caves. Kharavela, the mighty King of Orissa is supposed to have extended his kingdom as far as Cape Camorin in the South and Mathura in the North. An inscription in the Elephant Cave of Udayagiri gives many useful facts about his reign—how he erected gates, ramparts, built reservoirs and buildings of his capital and how he constructed a canal for supply of water. The Udayagiri and Khandogiri hills are only 3 miles from Bhubaneswar. There are 30 important caves in these hills of special sanctity to the Jains. Some of these are natural caves which the sculptors have only decorated and others have been laboriously cut out of rock,

The New Capital. The New Capital of Orissa has been built at Bhubaneswar. A planned town of modern lay-out is fast growing up near old Bhubaneswar. It is connected by all-weather roads with districts, also rich in agricultural and forest resources. It is 18 miles to the South of Cuttack and there is a programme to fill in the gap by cultural, industrial and commercial institutions.

The State Museum. The State Museum contains collection of the relics of architectural and sculptural beauty.

Accommodation. Accommodation is available in the Bhubaneswar Circuit House, P.W.D. Dak Bungalow, the Rest House at Khandagiri, Dharmasalas and Indian-style hotels. For reservation of accommodation in the Circuit House and Dak Bungalow, previous permission of the Superintending Engineer, Central Circle, Bhubaneswar is necessary. For reservation of the Rest House at Khandagiri, prior permission of the Revenue authorities has to be obtained.

Buses and cycle-rickshaws are available from the Station for transport. The Government of Orissa also undertakes to provide taxi and services of guides on payment of charges.

There is an Air Port at Bhubaneswar on the main Calcutta—Madras line.

The Konarak. The temple of the Sun at Konarak (Black Pagoda) is the grandest achievement of the Eastern School of Architecture. It is situated at a distance of 55 miles from Puri. It is more conveniently reached from Bhubaneswar by taxi or bus in the fair weather and by aircraft from the Bhubaneswar Air Port. The temple at Konarak has a profusion of sculptural wealth which has no parallel anywhere in India. The Sun rise at Konarak is a wonderful sight. The temple is shaped like a chariot with 12 pairs of wheels drawn by magnificent horses carved out of stone. Some of these horses are still to be found substantially in tact straining their necks to pull the massive chariot. The temple was built in the 13th century. Almost every

inch of its outer surface is covered with carvings, portraying with daring fidelity the vast panorama of life in different stages of human progress and civilization. All aspects of life from the most carnal desire to the stage of self-immolation are faithfully depicted in the natural order. Words are not adequate to describe the beauty and grandeur of this stupendous poetry in stone. Percy Brown rightly observed "Few buildings can boast of such an unrestrained abundance of plastic decoration as this vast structure, every portion of the exterior being moulded and chiselled either in the form of abstract geometrical ornament, conventional foliage, mythical animals, fabulous beings half human with half serpent coils, figures satanic and figures divine, of every conceivable motif and subject known to the Indian mind."

This unique specimen of Orissan architecture has evoked effulgent tributes from hundreds of eminent historians, artists and visitors from far-off countries. It is, in fact, something which must be seen for a proper appreciation of the great heritage in art, architecture and sculpture that our forefathers have left us. Forty crores of rupees were spent over its construction and 1200 architects worked hard for 16 years to complete it.

The only accommodation available here is the P.W.D. Inspection Bungalow for the reservation of which prior permission of the Executive Engineer, Bhubaneswar is necessary.

Gopalapur. Situated on the sea shore, 9 miles from the Berhampur Railway Station, on the east coast stands the beautiful town of Gopalapur. It has a number of decent hotels, the most important of which is the European style Palm Beach Hotel. It is a nice little sea-side resort comparable only to Juhu on the west coast.

Buddhist Monuments. Buddhist sculptures on the hills of Udayagiri, Nalitigiri and Ratnagiri in Cuttack district are masterpieces of sculptural art with an individual stamp. They belong to the period from the 7th to the 9th

century A.D. The colossal Buddha head, the seated Buddha in Bhumisparsa mudra and the Bodhisattva figures are superb in technique and execution. The Vajrapani and the Padmapani figures give an idea of the technique used by the sculptors. The place is 32 miles from Cuttack but it is not easily accessible except during the fair weather.

Khiching. The ancient monuments at Khiching date from the 10th century A.D. These are among the best specimens of the plastic art of the period. There are 14 monolithic pillars supporting the tiled roof of a hall. The pillars are square at the top and the bottom. The shaft is eight sided. Khiching is 91 miles from Bariapada in the district of Mayurbhanj.

The Chilka Lake. About 50 miles from Bhubaneswar along the coast is the famous Chilka Lake. It is separated from the Bay of Bengal by a group of islands formed by deposits of silt and by a long strip of land stretching a few miles. The Chilka is joined with the Bay through a sand bar thrown up by the sea. In some years this inlet has to be dredged open.

Hemmed in between the mountains, and the sea, the Chilka spreads out into a pear-shaped expanse of water 44 miles long, of which the northern half has a mean breadth of 20 miles, while the southern half tapers into an irregularly-curved point barely averaging five miles in width.

The area of the lake fluctuates with the season and with the ebb and flow of the tide. Its area is over 450 sq. miles during the rains. The mean depth is from five to six feet and except on the south-west, scarcely exceeds 12 feet anywhere.

The lake abounds in charming natural scenery and for three months from December it is thickly stocked with Siberian ducks and other beautiful birds. A large number of visitors come here for shooting of ducks and black bucks in winter.

There is a furnished Dak Bungalow at Barkul.

Visitors to Orissa who are not much interested in religion, archaeology or sculpture will find the dense forests and charming ravines in the state ideal places for sport and big game hunting. Within a few hours' drive from Bhubaneswar, is the big gorge of the Mahanadi at Satkosia which is 14 miles long. The Gorge wall on either side rises steeply upto a maximum of 2,000 ft. above sea level. It is one of the beauty spots in Orissa. The river frets and fumes here in between two ranges of hills. The hills are full of dense jungles where games of all species are plentiful. This gorge is among the longest and the most picturesque in India. Not only here but in many inland districts of the state, are dense forests where sportsman will have their field-day. Shooting permits are arranged on previous intimation.

Orissa can boast of a number of fine waterfalls of which the most important are the Pradhan Pat Waterfall in Bamra, the Barahpani waterfall in the Mayurbhanj district, the Bagra and the Duduma Waterfall in the Loraput district and the Khandahar Waterfall in Bonaigarh in Sundargarh district.

There are two hot-water springs - one at Taptapeni situated at a distance of 32 miles from Berhampur in Ganjam district and the other at Atri at a distance of 26 miles from Bhubaneswar. *The Hirakud Dam Project.* Orissa, with her past glory, fell on evil days during the British regime and was reduced to abject poverty and squalor. After independence she has been strenuously exerting to make up for the past neglect and to improve her economy and raise the standard of her people by undertaking a number of development projects, some of which are substantially complete. The most important of these development schemes is the completed Hirakud Dam Project, which is one of the modern engineering feats. It comprises the construction of a dam across the Mahanadi about 9 miles upstream of the town of Sambalpur,

gravity and lift canals on either side and two hydro-electric installations.

The dam is nearly three miles in length across the main channel with 17 mile long dykes on the two sides. The maximum height of the dam above the deepest river bed is 200 feet. The 288 - sq. mile reservoir formed by the dam is one of the largest artificial lakes in the world.

Machkund Hydro-electric Project. Another important Hydro-electric Project jointly undertaken by the Governments of Orissa and Andhra is on the boundary between the two states on the Machkund river which runs through the wild areas of Koraput. This Project has been designed to harness the rush-

ing torrent and ultimately produce 1,00,000 KWs of electricity. The first phase in the construction of the Project has been completed. Industries are likely to grow up in this areas on account of the availability of cheap power.

Rourkella Steel Plant. A big Steel Plant is fast raising its head at Rourkella in the Sundargarh district. These are all places that a tourist would like to visit in Orissa. At some places there are good hotels, both of European and Indian style and at other important places the State Government maintain Circuit Houses and Inspection Bungalows where accommodation for tourists is secured by the Public Relations Branch of the State Government on a fortnight's notice.



Assam-Its Past and Future

BY

Mr. BHARATCHANDRA PATHAK

VERILY, Assam has been described as an epitome of India. Today Assam is not only an important part of the Republic of India but also the main frontier, nay, the real sentinel of the great Indian Union. From time immemorial, Assam has been a land of culture and civilisation, arts and crafts, beauty and delight and has "retained her cultural, if not territorial integrity, with the rest of the country." In days gone by Assam was widely known as Kamrupa and we find sufficient references to this ancient land of ours in our religious skriptures, namely, the Mahabharata, the Puranas, the Tantras, the Bhagavat Gita etc. It is now an established fact that Kamrupa which was also known throughout India as Pragjyotishpura flourished 1000 B.C. when many parts of modern India were not in existence at all. The Joginitantra says that Kamrupa comprised the territory between the Karotowa

and the Dikrai and included some parts of East Bengal. In the Mahabharata it is said that King Bhagadatta, the emperor of Pragjyotishpura, was a very powerful emperor whose empire extended upto the sea. The famous Poet Kalidasa also mentions Kamrupa and Pragjyotishpura in his Raghuvamsam—a fine piece of Sanskrit literature of the 6th century. The famous ruins in architecture of great value and the sculptures of delight spread all over Assam are also a clear testimony to Assam's rich hoary past.

Kamrupa, Christened as Assam by the foreign rulers, was a prosperous and strong country and maintained her independent status till the British brought her under subjugation after the Yandaboo treaty of 1826. Prior to that she did not form part of any empire, rather, she brought other kingdoms under her control. It should be noted that the best

Moghul army under the able leadership of Mirjumla and Man Singh failed to take over Assam in spite of their repeated attempts. Assam became gradually weaker, both physically and morally, when it fell into the hands of the alien rulers whose policy was to perpetuate their domination at the cost of the ruled. It is significant enough that Assam was the last province of India to come under the British subjugation.

The national struggle for freedom is a long story to recount here. In 1921, the whole country including Assam responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi and played a glorious part in the fight for our freedom. Assam's contribution was in no way less. Bapuji visited Assam and called it "lovely Assam" and also highly praised its people for their heroism and adherence to the ideal of self-reliance. Fortunately for us, we won the long-drawn-out battle at long last. India became free on August 15, 1947. But independence brought a large number of problems in its wake. The country was partitioned and this brought Assam to the fore. Assam became the real frontier of strategic importance.

To-day, Assam occupies a very important position in the map of India, surrounded as it is by different foreign countries and peopled by various races and tribes speaking different languages and dialects and having distinct cultures of their own. Rightly has Assam been termed as a museum of races and tribes. The Assam hills which cover more than half of the area of the State "contain ancient collections of different species of humanity." Tribes that inhabit the beautiful hills and dales are the Garos, the Mizos, the Khasis, the Miris, the Nagas, the Kacharies, the Mikirs, the Abors etc. The hill tribes of Assam have distinct cultures and their social and administrative institutions must attract the attention of the so-called civilized people of today. May be, nature which has decorated Assam in rich robes of gold and green and the beauty of nature which manifests itself in the snow-

capped blue hills, green fields and forests, babbling brooks and golden valleys has developed 'an artistic sense' in the various tribes that adorn our hills. The various races and tribes with their distinct national costumes, age-old social institutions and the ways of life resemble so many lovely flowers of but different colours of the same beautiful garden that is Assam!

It is said that Assam is very little known outside and many people of different parts of India harbour a wrong notion that Assam is a land of jungles and of tea. The main reason is that Assam is practically cut off from the rest of the country and the people outside do not bother to know her geography and history. Assam has a rich cultural heritage she can rightly boast of, she has a very old literature of her own which fully developed even in the distant past. To quote an authority, "From the 14th century onwards, Assamese developed to be a rich and varied popular literature in prose, poetry and drama. In prose and drama, early Assamese seems to have been ahead of other contemporary vernaculars." Dr. P. C. Roy, while going through the "Kathagita" in Assamese prose observed that Assamese prose literature developed to a high standard even in the 16th century.

Assam is not only rich in her cultural heritage but also rich, possibly the richest state, in India in so far as natural resources are concerned. The flora and fauna, forest and mineral wealth, the colourful way of life of our hills people have of late arrested the gaze of all. The forest wealth of Assam is vast and varied. They are full of all species of herbs, plants and trees known to botanical experts.

The wild life of Assam has drawn the attention of the lovers of animals, not only of our country but of all parts of the globe. In the famous sanctuaries like the Kaziranga sanctuary one can find one-horned rhino, wild buffalo, elephant, bear and different kinds of deer. Birds of rare varieties with sweet melody

will welcome you in the dark green forests of our land. The hills and uplands abound in mineral wealth which is still lying untapped, and uncared for. Petroleum, coal, limestone and mica are to be found in abundance. The very topography of Assam suggests that there are vast possibilities of hydro-electric Projects in as much as Assam is practically a land of rivers which flow down from high mountainous slopes to the plains below carrying large volume of water. The State offers ample scopes for establishment of various important industries like cement factories, paper mills, sugar mills, jute mills etc. Although very rich in raw materials, Assam is still lagging behind other sister states of the Union, industrially. If and when her natural resources are tapped properly and in a scientific way,

Assam is destined to forge ahead in time to come.

Apart from her rich cultural heritage and material resources, Assam is the meeting place of so many races and tribes who speak different manners and customs, arts and cultures. In ancient times, Assam had trade connection with neighbouring countries like China and Burma. Even now Assam can play a significant role in international trade. The most serious obstacle to Assam's progress and prosperity has been the transport bottle-neck separated as she is from the main body of the country. If the transport difficulty could be eased and if the people, irrespective of race and religion, were inspired by the lofty ideal of service, Assam will no doubt come to occupy an important position in the New Development Map of India.

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Buddhism and the Arts of Ceylon

By

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DR. Ananda Coomaraswamy's dictum that "all India can offer to the world proceeds from her philosophy" may as well be applied to Ceylon, for all she has to show the world as her cultural, literary and artistic achievements and all she is rightly proud of, have come into existence and grown solely due to the benign influence of Buddhism. Though the Aryans who settled in this fair Island in the 5th century before Christ—whether as followers of the banished Prince Vijaya or as sea-faring merchants—were from those parts of India where a civilisation of a high order had developed, no evidence of any cultural activities of merit prior to the establishment of Buddhism can be found. Perhaps, these early

Aryans were entirely occupied with their material problems, which were inevitable in their difficult task of consolidating their power and position in a new land. It may also be possible that the early settlers were either warriors or tradesmen, with just a few Brahmins, so that the class which took to cultural pursuits was not numerically strong in ancient Ceylon. Whatever the reason may be, the achievements of these Aryans during their first two centuries in the Island do not appear to have been very impressive in spite of the fact that one of their rulers, Pandukabhaya, not only founded the city of Anuradhapura, but also managed its affairs through an efficient administrative system.

The arrival of Mahinda with the message of Buddhism from his illustrious father, Asoka, marked the beginning of the cultural development of Ceylon. Even though an attempt is made by some to show that Buddhism was rather puritanical about arts, the evidence available not only from India and Ceylon but also from practically every Buddhist country in the world leaves no doubt that no religion in the world has inspired as much artistic effort as the teachings of the Buddha. Buddhism has exploited all that is serene and beautiful in human achievements to bring home to the people the doctrines of love, non-violence and selflessness.

The need for impressive monuments, which indicate the success of the new missionary religion, seems to have given a fillip to the progress of architecture. Gigantic Chaityas, wherein were enshrined the ashes of the Buddha and Arhants, were the earliest Buddhist monuments. In Ceylon the first Chaitya, namely, the Thuparama, was built under the direct supervision of Arhant Mahinda himself. There is no doubt that expert advice was available to the early Sinhalese builders from India. There are records which show that Indian artisans who had achieved a fair degree of perfection during the Maurya regime were sent to Ceylon, quite likely, for the erection of religious buildings. Besides, the Buddhist monks themselves were great builders and artists. Being adherents to a liberal religious system and engaged in the task of winning converts over to it, they encouraged every form of art which contributed towards the edification of both the followers and the non-believers. There is no doubt that the Buddhist monks realised the value of visual aids to religious education almost at the beginning of their missionary career. The missionary zeal of these Buddhist monks coupled with the enthusiasm of the new converts of Ceylon resulted in not only impressive Chaityas and Monasteries but also in the exquisite works of sculpture and painting which, to this day,

remain the most valuable of her cultural treasures.

Within five hundred years of the introduction of Buddhism, Chaityas rose in various parts of the Island. Nearly 175 miles from Anuradhapura, as the crow flies, a provincial ruler, Ilanaga, built in the 2nd century before Christ the Tissamaharama Chaitya which was, in all probability, the earliest Chaitya of that magnitude to be built anywhere in the Buddhist world. This was followed by larger Chaityas in Anuradhapura itself. The great King Dutugemunu built, besides a number of smaller Chaityas, the Ruwanweli Seya which has recently been restored. Two of the largest Chaityas in Anuradhapura, namely, the Abhayagiriya and the Jetavana, were constructed by Valagamba and Mahasena. Of these the Abhayagiriya was enlarged by Gajabahu in the 2nd century A.C. so that it was the largest Chaitya in Ceylon and was larger than the third pyramid of Gizeh. Perhaps, the greatest of the architectural master-pieces of the early Buddhists of Ceylon was the Loha Mahapasada or the Brazen Palace of which only one thousand six hundred stone pillars now remain to be seen. The monastery, dedicated to the Sangha by Dutugemunu, had nine storeys going up to a height of 150 feet. The Mahavamsa describes it as having a thousand rooms with delicately carved doors and windows. Covered with brazen tiles this glistening skyscraper of the 2nd Century B.C. was a peerless edifice to the glory of the Buddha. Equally interesting from the point of view of architecture was the so-called canopy built over such Chaityas as the Thuparama and the Lankarama. The rock columns round the Chaityas suggest that it was not merely a roof but a mansion to house the Chaitya. Such a structure, at an age earlier than the Buddhist caves at Karle, would have been unique in Buddhist Architecture. One may even wonder whether Chaityaprasadas, which are described in the Ramayana as peculiar to Lanka, were not such buildings.

The growth of architecture led to the rise in importance of both sculpture and painting. The stone columns and boulders used for buildings were carved with delicate decorative motifs. The friezes of lions and dwarfs on the tenons of the columns round the Thuparama, the friezes of elephants adorning the Wahalkadas or cornices of the Ruwanweli Seya, the guard-stones at the entrance to monasteries and shrines and the moon-stones are among the most beautiful pieces of sculpture in Ceylon. Though these have been used purely for decorative purposes and hence have no religious significance, the predilection of the Buddhist artist to make his work satisfying not only to the eye but also to the mind has not prevented them from being made symbolic representations of the lofty truths of Buddhism. All these beautiful works of art which adorned the places of worship were the direct result of the interest of the Buddhist Kings of Ceylon to make every shrine and monastery a veritable centre of art. No efforts have been spared to make every building artistically perfect. So great was the respect inspired in the mind of the Buddhist towards the Sangha that every gift to the Sangha was made a highly finished object of art. So it may not be surprising that even the lavatory stones of the great monasteries of Anuradhapura were carved with the most exquisite designs.

The early Buddhist sculptor did not confine himself to decorative motifs. Two pieces of sculpture depicting the dream of Maya and the miracle of Savatthi, besides the figures of Bodhisattvas, indicate that an attempt was made to illustrate incidents from the Buddha's life and Buddhist themes for the benefit of the devotees. At no stage did the Buddhist artist forget that his efforts in the creation of his products was for the purpose of educating the masses rather than satisfying his own artistic urge.

The Buddhist sculptor in Ceylon excelled in the art of statuary. Working on a somewhat rare variety of crystalline lime-stone, he carved

not only figures of gods, goddesses and his royal patrons but also the image of the Buddha which was introduced into Ceylon at an early age both as an object of veneration and a symbol of meditation as a result of Mahayanist influences. The statue of the Buddha, which, as Count Harmann Keyserling says, was always to be "the absolutely perfect embodiment of spirituality in the visible domain" gave the sculptor the urge to project his keenest aesthetic sense to his work. With meticulous care, the sculptor sought to create in the image of the Buddha the vividest manifestation of that all-embracing loving-kindness for which the great teacher stood. From Kandarodai in the Jaffna Peninsula to Tisamaharama in the South these statues stand as a living memorial to the religious fervour and the artistic skill of their creators. The most famous among these are the Buddha statue on the Outer Circular Road in Anuradhapura and the Toluwila Buddha. The former is recognised by a consensus of critical opinion to be one of the most serene representations of the Buddha. Equally well known is the gigantic Buddha statue at Aukana. Hewn out of the living rock and measuring 42 feet, this standing figure of the Buddha with His hand raised in blessing looks upon the life-giving water of Kalawewa and the smiling paddy fields below. It has impressed both the layman and the critic not only by its artistic excellence but also by its cultural significance as a symbolic representation of the pattern of Sinhalese culture; the Buddha watches and blesses the peasant who works for his livelihood in his fields. By far the most remarkable work of the Sinhalese sculptor was the stone gallery at Galvihare in Polonnaruwa. The last scene in the life of the Buddha, with its heart-rending atmosphere, is captured and depicted with masterly skill; the Buddha lies majestically on his death-bed while his trusted attendant, Ananda, weeps in sorrow. There are numerous statues of the Buddha—most of them buried deep in the woods—which speak

of a highly developed art. Not far away from Maligawela in the Uva Province are the fragments of a Buddha Statue which, measuring over 10 feet across the chest, would have been one of the largest Buddha statues in the world. To the Sinhalese sculptor the creation of a Buddha statue has been the fulfilment of his artistic ambitions. He represented the Buddha in various mudras: as a preacher, as a friend of the world offering safety to humanity, as the most compassionate of all beings, as a guide through the miseries of life and above all as a serene religious personality to meditate on whose countenance was in itself bliss. The art of statuary had survived to this day. The Sinhalese sculptor even today devotes his energy and his time to the perfection of the Buddha statues which are a *sine qua non* in a Buddhist shrine.

In addition to the statues carved out of rock and moulded with clay there were from about the 5th Century Buddhist statues in bronze and other metals. The finest bronze statue to be cast in Ceylon is the life-size figure of Tara which is now in the British Museum. Besides proving the existence of the ancient tradition of metal casting in Ceylon, this statue shows the development of the art of metal statuary, the early stages of which are represented by the bronze Buddha figures unearthed at Badulla and Toluwila.

It was in the realm of painting that the influence of Buddhism was more strongly felt. Used as a medium of instructing the adherent, the best works of painting in Ceylon, with the sole exception of Sigiriya frescoes, are religious in content and narrative in purpose. The paintings in the relic chambers of the Kantaka Dagaba at Mihintale and the Mahiyangane Chaitya, besides the accounts of the paintings in the relic chamber of Ruwanweli Seya found in the Mahavamsa and Thupavamsa, give a very clear idea of the use to which painting has been put by the Buddhists of Ceylon. In the 5th Century Fa Hian who visited Ceylon was impressed by the paintings

representing the 550 Jatakas which were seen on both sides of the road through which the royal procession taking the Tooth Relic to the Abhayagiriya passed. The Buddhist shrines have had their walls painted with scenes from Buddha's life and Jataka tales. Some of the most beautiful specimens of such mural paintings are yet to be found in varying degrees of preservation at Situlpahuwa, Tiwanka Pilimage and Yapahuwa and at the rock temples of Dimbulagala, Dambulla and Degaldoruwa. Right through the centuries the development of this art into what is today called "Sittara Art" is traceable. Varying in finesse and artistic value according to the competence of the artist, these paintings are executed in a technique entirely indigenous and superbly suited for the purpose for which they are used. This form of art has found expression everywhere in the Island, and even today no temple is complete unless its wall are painted with stories from the Jatakas or the Buddha's life. An artist with a reputation is generally employed to execute this work. Artists enjoying international recognition such as George Keyt and Nandalal Bose besides clever "Sittaras" like Hugh Mendis and Sarlis have been commissioned to paint the walls of some of our modern shrines.

These facts which I have placed as briefly as I could, without tiring the reader with chronological and historical details or a comprehensive analysis of, at least such monuments and pieces of art as have been unearthed and conserved, will no doubt convince all that the influence of Buddhism on every aspect of art in Ceylon—whether architecture, sculpture or painting—has been remarkable. As elsewhere in the world, Buddhism has continued to give an impetus to artistic creation in Ceylon. As Taranath has observed, "Wherever Buddhism prevailed skilful religious artists were found." Buddhism made art as the universal language through which the Message of the Buddha has been conveyed to the message of Asia for 2500 years.

Mukhari Raga-First Among Soulful Melodies

By

Sri T. V. SUBBA RAO

IN the entire realm of Karnataka music, there is perhaps no Raga which is so full of feeling as *Mukhari*. It is *Sokarasapradhana*. A well-known English poet has observed: "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts".

The essential gradity of a Raga is that it must delight the hearts of hearers. A Raga is, nonetheless, pleasing though its emotional content may be one of sorrow. For this reason alone, the Greeks welcome tragedies more than comedies. *Rasanubhava* is one thing and actual suffering another. No feeling can be so intense as sorrow. It is for this reason that *Mukhari* stands first among the soulful melodies.

In another sense too, *Mukhari*, being the oldest Raga from the vedic point of view, may be regarded as the first in the order of time. It is a common belief that music was derived by *Brahma* from the *Sama Veda*. This is a mythological statement of the fact that, though there was tonal variation in the chant of other vedas, the full complement of seven notes was employed directly or indirectly only in the recital of the *Sama Veda*.

The seven notes of the *Samagana* or the *Svaras* of the *Sadjagrama* which form the *Sruti* values is equated to the scale of *Kharaharapriya* or more strictly to the notes of *Bhairavi* in the ascent. If the notes of *Bhairavi* in the descent were the same as in the ascent, as they existed before the time of Lochana Kavi, then such *Bhairavi* which avoided *Komala Dhaivata* altogether would be the *Samic* scale.

Now as it is, we may speak of Raga *Kharaharapriya* as the nearest approach to, or as

the *Samic* scale itself, for by mere sharpening or flattening of a note by so much as a comma, more or less, will not alter the scale. For a scale to be different, the variation by at least a semi-tone would be required. This is just the reason why the *Samic* is spoken of as *Kharaharapriya*.

A scale by itself does not constitute a Raga. A certain order of notes with or without the omission of some note or notes with peculiar combinations or *Sancharas* with *Gamakhas* and other embellishment are necessary to express a Raga.

Conceding that there are differences in the *Samic* chant, and, therefore, taking only the greatest common measure of agreement in the recitals, it will be seen that it represents the rudiments of the modern *Mukhari* Raga except, in so far as in the case of *Bhairavi*, the *Komal Dhaivata* has been slowly, but perhaps to a lesser extent, displacing the *Tivra Dhaivata* in the descent.

Samagana is the basis of *Mukhari* which takes S R M P (N) D S in the ascent and S N D P M G R S in the descent with *Komal Dhaivata* coming in as *Anyasvara* in descent, though there are exceptions to it in many *Sancharas*.

It is not to be supposed that *Mukhari* Raga as we know it today was co-eval with the *Sama Veda*. The basic element of the Raga is to be found in the chant from which it has developed. It must be remembered that no Raga as such existed during the Vedic era or even for some centuries after *Bharata*. Only a century or thereabouts before *Mantanga* did the concept of Raga evolve. *Jatis* which roughly

served the purpose of Ragas were not in any sense abstract melody modes such as *Kambhoji* or *Sankarabharana*. They were set tunes which contained *Sahitya*.

The various names of *Jatis* indicated the initial words of different compositions. There were several compositions in the same tune. It was, however, the initial words of standard or the best known composition that gave the *Jati* its particular name.

To cite a modern example, it will be noticed that several compositions in *Sankarabharana* are cast in the same mould like "Yedutanilachite", "Manasu Swadhina", "Akshayalingavibho", "Yelagudaya", "Pasytidisidisi". Most of these songs were in *Triputa Tala*.

Tyagaraja, however, also added a song in the same *Varnamettu* in *Adi Tala*. The *Varnamettu* of these compositions should have had for its basis the corresponding *Jati* which seems to have persisted in its form long after the *Sankarabharana* Raga was evolved. While *Mukhari* adds its corresponding *Jati* to develop form, its roots in *Samagana* existed long anterior to the rise of *Jatis*. It is, therefore, the oldest Raga.

A discussion of *Mukhari* Raga would be incomplete without reference to a Raga of the same name now classified under the first of the 72 *Melas* formulated by Venkatamahli, the grammarian of the modern Karnataka music. This Raga, which is termed *Mukhari* or *Suddha Mukhari*, taking the notes S R M P D S in the ascent S N D P M G R S in the descent seems to have the same notes as *Mukhari* of the 22nd *Mela* which we have been considering. But being placed in the first or *Kanakangi* *Mela*, the *Sruti* value of its notes becomes entirely different.

In actual practice, there existed at no time any Raga corresponding to the *Mukhari* of *Kanakangi* *Mela*. The recent compositions of *Mela* Raga *Malika* or *Kirtanas* in all *Mela*

Ragas have made use of the first *Mela* for the mere sake of theoretical completeness, but not as interpretation of a traditional Raga. The old *Mukhari* took *Suddha* notes in the classical sense i.e. S with 4 *srutis*, R with 3, G with 2, M with 4, P with 4, D with 3 and N with 2.

After the emergence of all *Vikranta Svaras* and thus the 12 semi-tones to the *Saptaka*, *Sadaja* instead of having 4 *srutis* next after *Mandra Suddha Nishada* became the starting point of the scale. *Sadaja*, the *Niyata* *Sruti*, the last of its 4 *srutis* became the first *sruti* of the *Sadajagrama*. The 3 *srutis* preceding it were relegated to the lower *Saptaka*.

In the enunciation of the *srutis* of a *Svara*, the last *Niyata* *Sruti* of the previous *Svara* is not included. The *Suddha Rishaba* of 3 *Srutis* did not include the *Suddha Sadaja*. When *Sadaja* became the starting *Sruti* or the first note of the scale, the value of other *Svaras* increased by one. The third *Sruti* beginning from and including *Sadaja* which is only of *Dvi-sruti* value was mistaken for *Tri-sruti* *Rishaba* and was regarded as the *Suddha Rishaba* which had a *Tri-sruti* interval.

Similarly, *Chatu-sruti* *Rishaba* came to be regarded as *Pancha-sruti* *Rishaba*. The fifth *sruti* can have an interval of only 4 *srutis* and not 5. Suppose an event happened on a Sunday and it occurred again on Monday following, it may not be wrong to say that the event occurred on the second day also; it will certainly be wrong to say it occurred after an interval of two days. Likewise, the *Rishaba*, the third *Sruti* from, and including, *Sadaja* was mistaken for *Rishaba* of *Tri-sruti* value. Similarly, *Chatu-sruti* *Rishaba*, the fifth *sruti* from and including *Sadaja*, came to be regarded as *Pancha-sruti* *Rishaba*.

It is surprising how eminent *Lakshanakararas*, whose names it is unnecessary to mention, have fallen into this error. Confusing the third *Sruti* with *Tri-sruti* and fifth *Sruti* with *Pancha-sruti*, *Kanakangi* was misinterpreted

by Lakshanakaras as Suddha scale and Mukhari of the 22nd Mela was brought under the fifth Mela.

If Sadaja as the starting point of a scale of 12 semi-tones or *Svarasthanas*, leads musicologists into the confusion of estimating the most unmusical scale as the scale of *Suddhasvaras*, it was at one time the basis for the growth of the Raga system. This system is a unique contribution of Indian music to the music of the world. Evolving the Raga as an abstract idea from the Jatis, with a distinct form and identity all its own capable of infinite elaboration, is the highest achievement of Indian genius. The unlimited scope it gave to the artist for the display of his creative imagina-

tion made the Raga the main plank for exposition in a concert.

Time was when very few compositions were rendered in a musical performance. Raga and Tana with occasional *Pallavi* for rhythmic effects formed substance of *Kacheri*. The Raga system is the glory of Indian music. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that some text writers accepted this unmusical scale in the first of a mathematical tabulated system of Melas. Raga Mukhari, by its antiquity and richness of emotional content, stands as the crown of the Karnataka system of Ragas. In actual practice, it has all along been esteemed as taking the notes of ancient *Sadajagrama*, the basis of all that is best in our music.

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U. S. Ambassador Bunker and Chief Minister Chavan of Bombay.

WORLD OF BOOKS

KALYANI'S HUSBAND. A Novel by S. Y. Krishnaswami, I.C.S. Higginbothams, Madras. Price Rs. 300.

Kalyani's Husband is the story of a South Indian couple, such as we find among the educated middle class, whose means enable them to live in comparative ease and comfort not unmixed with a measure of contentment. What with mutual affection and good sense life for them goes gaily like a gondola until the male of the species falls a prey to the allurements of a courtesan. The first wrong step in the slippery road leads him irretrievably down to perdition, and the brilliant lawyer with an assured future is lost in the arms of a wily widow. Kalyani who is a cultured medical practitioner, true to her role as the typical Hindu wife is patient, enduring, forgiving, diligently seeking means to retrieve the fallen man. But by the time she succeeds in weaning him back to decency he is dead and she is a widow.

This is all the story, with scarcely anything exciting, hardly an incident or adventure above the common level of humdrum life. But the charm of the story is in the telling, in the delicate delineation of character and situations, in the skilful handling of the intricacies of human relationships, in the subtle sidelights thrown about almost casually with the prodigality of a well stored mind, and above all, in the dexterous use of a language—for all its being foreign—crisp or colourful as the occasion may demand. Indeed Krishnaswami's style is another attraction—a fit instrument for registering the subtlest nuances of thought or feeling—rich and allusive and racy of the soil. There is not a dull page in the book, and the story moves with the smoothness and ease of a well told tale.

The reader, however, has the feeling that half-way through the book he gets to the end of the story, while strangely enough, the end itself has a suggestion of inconclusiveness. The author may have his own reasons for the elaboration of the story, but the part ending with Kalyani's marriage is so complete in itself, so free from the taint of sex or crime, and altogether so wholesome that one could have no hesitation in commending it to schools for non-detailed study. Now that the Universities and the Book Trust are looking for

Indian books, by Indian authors, with an Indian background, a book of this kind will serve a pressing need.

TOWARDS THE UNIFICATION OF FAITH (Comparative Religion). George Perrigo Conger, Ph.D., Emeritus, Professor of Philosophy, published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

This is the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecture on Comparative Religion which stipulates that it must be demonstrated that Christian life is possible without acceptance of creed or dogma. Professor Conger as an Emeritus Professor of experience and maturity has made an excellent job of it. The subtlety of the argument in the first chapter for enabling Intuition to arise from Intellectual Exercise is a masterpiece. The fundamental aspects of the problem, namely, Monism, Monotheism, Matter, Spirit, Avatars and Prophets (Incarnations), Faith and Works, and This World and the Next are made the basis of an exposition which combines pithiness with clarity. The thesis proper in the concluding chapter is well illustrated by quotations from Christian and Hindu Scriptures. In the House of Our Father who is the Universal Parent of Life, Light and Love are many mansions, with Rituals in many tongues, but only as Maeterlink said when we meet in great natural open spaces under the canopy of the sky in intimate silence can we conclusively feel the unity underlying all diversity.

SNAKE-BITE. By P. Banerji, Author, Mihijam Santal Parganas, India. Rs. 5.

This is an abridgment brought up-to-date of the author's larger Handbook (1929 Edition). This is a complete and comprehensive advertisement for the author's discovery of a specific called Lexin compounded of gold chloride, hydrochloric acid, camphor and alcohol principally. This is said without any disparagement of the excellent background exposition of the different kinds of snakes and their venoms and first aid contained in the work. Similarly, the reviewer does not at all intend to minimise the well-documented claims made by the author for the efficacy of his formula which has been praised by many authorities. Altogether a very interesting and useful compilation in a land infested with indoor and outdoor snakes, like India.

ONE THOUSAND NIGHTS ON A BED OF STONES AND OTHER STORIES. By K. A. Abbas, Jaico Publishing House, 7, Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras. Rs. 2.

K. A. Abbas from whose pen has flowed a spate of novels and short stories and the like offers in this book a representative selection of his writings. Here is a gallery of portraits of men and women drawn from different grades of society—all equally vivid and throbbing with life. Abbas has a way of writing which makes one think it is a piece of real life. Life in the country depicting scenes of wheat fields and waving corn, of tractors, and reapers bending over their sickle, city life with all its glamour and sophistication, princes, peasants, and paupers, college girls and country wenches, actors, artists, scholars, sadhus, vagabonds crowd his canvas in an unending procession. We do not easily forget Usha or Ramesh or Deap Kumar, Bimla or Kantekar or Rahim, their joys and sorrows, their passions and frustrations.

THE FIRST DECADE: A SYMPOSIUM OF TEN YEARS' PROGRESS. 1947-1957. United States Information Service, New Delhi.

Eminent V. I. P's have compiled this symposium without the jolly old extrinsic aid of a merry after dinner drinking party. The preface is by American Ambassador Bunker and the Introduction by Chief Cultural Affairs Officer, Manshardt. Ex-Governor Diwakar deals with Gandhi's ideas in Post-Independence India, Ex-Governor Munshi dilates on Linguistic and Literary Trends, and Minister Nanda speaks on Planning, Minister P. S. Deshmukh talks about Agriculture, Professor Vakil on Industrial Progress, Vice-Chancellor Hansa Mehta on Education, and Director-General Lakshmanan on Health. Doctor J. M. Kumarappa and Shrimathi Sen write on Social Progress and Women's Progress. A most useful and timely publication.

THE LIFE OF DAVY CROCKETT. By Davy Crockett. — Published by the New American Library, New York. Price 35c.

The life of the genius and patriot, who was a mighty hunter, a fabulous marksman, a dauntless fighter and a colourful congressman, is a best-selling American classic. The narrative is gripping and the style is flowing. Altogether a true story-thriller.

NAPOLEON. By Emil Ludwig. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul, Jaico Publishing House, 7, Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras.

Napoleon's life and exploits have all the fascination of a romance, full of adventures, hair-breath escapes, and all the pomp and circumstance of war, which never fail to interest readers; and there will be no end to books on this historic figure who played such a decisive role in the making and unmaking of Europe.

Ludwig's Life of Napoleon written with evident sympathy and admiration for the hero, covers a vast field, dealing with his public life as a military genius and powerful leader of men who made and unmade kings and kingdoms. The story throws considerable light on the private life of Napoleon as well, his insatiable ambition, his colourful love affairs and the story of the intrigues which led to his ultimate fall.

To be able to produce a volume of this size (656 pages) neatly printed in clear type and offered to the public for Rs. 3.75 is an achievement of which Jaicos may well be proud.

GEMS OF ANDHRA LITERATURE. In English Verse, by Peri Suryanarayana, B.A., L.T. Srinivas Publishing House, Rajahmundry. Rs. 3.75.

The author has rendered into easy English blank verse selections from Nanayya, Yerra Pragada Tikkana, Palkuki, Somnath, Jaccaya, Nachana Soma, Bhaskara, Ranganadha, Gouranna, Pothana, Sreenadh, Pillalamarri, etc. The stories are mostly from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. What Romesh Chunder Dutt did for Valmiki who wrote in Sanskrit, Peri had done for those who wrote in the Kavya Period in mellifluous Telugu.

A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO SAMADHI. By Swami Narayananda, N. K. Prasad and Company, Rishikesh. U. P.

This is assuredly the product of the mind of an adept who is still happily with us. The essentials of Discrimination, Desirelessness, Good Conduct, and Love are the body and soul of Spiritual Teaching, but the joy is in its being repeated and revived as explained by individual instructors. It is comprehensive without being exhausting, and profound without being perplexing.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

SOUTH AFRICA

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The United Nations Special Political Committee made a fresh appeal to the Union Government of South Africa on Nov. 12 to participate in negotiations with India and Pakistan with a view to settling their dispute about the treatment of Indians in the Union in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter and the universal declaration of human rights.

A resolution to this effect sponsored by Iran, Mexico, the Philippines and Yugoslavia, was adopted by a roll-call vote of 63 to none with 14 abstentions, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom among the Commonwealth countries. Belgium which has a large colony in Africa, and Spain and Portugal were among the 14 abstaining. The United States voted in favour of the resolution.

The question of South Africa's racial segregation policy was brought to the current session of the General Assembly by nine nations, Bolivia, Ceylon, Costa Rica, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Liberia, the Sudan and Uruguay.

The debate was marked for the able support given to India by several Latin American countries which strongly opposed racialism of any kind.

Mr. Ali Yuvar Jung, who represented India in the absence of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, who took suddenly taken ill, said that the resolution did not mean that negotiations would be conducted under the United Nations auspices that was to say through the United Nations. But the United Nations would continue to be seized of the case.

PAKISTAN

HINDUS IN EAST PAKISTAN

Report that two lakhs Hindus in East Pakistan were awaiting permission to enter India due to fresh propaganda against India by the Pakistan Government, presumably referred to applications for migration certificates awaiting disposal with the Indian Deputy High Commissioner's Office at Dacca. Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, told Mr. Radha Raman in the Lok Sabha on Nov. 11. Instructions had been issued, that to expedite the disposal of these applications.

BURMA

COMPENSATIONS TO INDIANS

Burma had till now paid compensation to 168 Indians whose lands had been nationalised. Mr. Sidath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, told Prof. D. C. Sharma in the Lok Sabha.

Figures were not available, he added, in respect of those who had not been paid compensation.

Mr. Sadath Ali Khan parried questions as to whether Indian nationals whose lands were nationalised had expressed satisfaction over the arrangements made for payment of compensation and whether the Government of India was fully satisfied with them. "I am unable to say at the moment what our attitude in the matter has been," Mr. Sadath Ali Khan added.

Replying to supplementaries by Mr. Ramathan Chettiar and Mr. S. S. Murthy the Parliamentary Secretary said some of the Indians who were paid compensation had applied to the Burma Government for foreign exchange permits to repatriate their funds. The Indian Embassy was assisting them in getting these permits.

MALAYA

INDIANS IN SINGAPORE

Indians and Indonesians living in Singapore are hesitant in applying for Singapore citizenship unless their respective Governments can clarify the question of their property rights in their countries of origin.

It is still not clear whether these people can retain ownership of their properties in their countries of origin after they have taken up Singapore citizenship papers. By becoming Singapore citizens they take an oath of renunciation of their allegiance to their former countries and thus cease to be citizens of their countries. Several hundreds of Indians and Indonesians (Pakistanis and Ceylonese also) are bewildered by this question of property rights. When asked about this the High Commissioner of India in Malaya, Mr. V. M. M. Nair, said he had referred the matter to the Indian Government for clarification and that he would be in a position "in the near future" to advise Indians in Singapore regarding their property rights in India *vis-a-vis* taking up Singapore citizenship.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

November 1. The Red Cross Conference passes unanimously the Indian Resolution calling on all countries to abjure war.

—U.K. relinquishes control over Katuanyke (Ceylon) Base.

November 2. Ram Manohar Lohia is arrested at Lucknow.

—U.N. appeals to S. Africa to modify apartheid policy.

November 3. All India Sadhus meet at Ahmedabad.

—Russia launches a second earth satellite.

November 4. Mr. Mao, leader of China calls on Mr. Khrushchev at Moscow.

—President Diem of S. Viet Nam arrives in New Delhi.

November 5. Yuvaraj Karan Singh is elected Sadr-i-Riyasat of the Jammu and Kashmir State.

November 6. M. Felex Gaillard becomes Prime Minister of France.

November 7. Malayan Reds accept principle of surrender.

November 8. 13th Session of All India Newspaper Editors' Conference meets in New Delhi.

November 9. President Prasad inaugurates the 15th World Vegetarian Congress at Bombay.

November 10. India and the Soviet Union sign an agreement for setting up Heavy Industries in India.

November 11. Madras Assembly passes the Prevention of Insult to National Honour Bill.

November 12. Dr. Radhakrishnan inaugurates the 10 million gallon capacity rapid mechanical Filter Plant at Madras.

November 13. Pt. Nehru inaugurates I. L. O. Regional Conference at New Delhi.

—President Zapotocky of Czechoslovakia is dead.

November 14. Finance Commission Report is published: Govt. accept the Commission's proposals.

November 15. Britain calls off Pacific Atom tests.

November 16. Congress Working Committee meets in New Delhi.

—France protests against Anglo-American supply of arms to Tunisia.

November 17. Pakistan rejects Jarring's proposal to refer Kashmir question to International Court of Justice.

November 18. States' Finance Ministers' Conference meets in New Delhi.

November 19. Asoka Mehta Committee publishes its report recommending progressive and planning socialisation of foodgrains.

November 20. U. N. votes for 25 member Disarmament Commission; Soviet Union resolves to boycott negotiations.

November 21. Andhra Assembly passes Dowry Prohibition Bill.

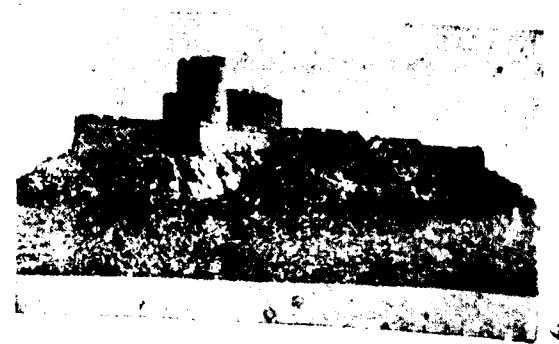
November 22. Russia offers to demonstrate her I.C.B.M. to the world.

November 23. Bombay-Calcutta Mail derails resulting in the death of several and many injured.

November 24. Panchayats take charge of gramdan villages in Kerala.

November 25. France rejects the offers of King and President of Morocco to act as mediators in the dispute between France and Algeria.

November 26. The International Court of Justice on "India-Goa" rejects India's 4 objections re. "Right of passage".



READERS' DIGEST

WHY THE U. S. IS DISLIKED?

Salvador de Madariaga, writing in the *New Leader*, says that the fact itself cannot be doubted: that Americans are disliked everywhere. Why, in spite of the Marshall aid and all that America is doing for stricken Europe and the helpless countries of Asia?

By and large, the trouble comes from the fact that the generosity and political disinterestedness which inspired the Marshall Plan were unable to resist the wear and tear of daily political life. "Aid without strings" is not a practical proposition. The "strings" were bound to emerge sooner or later, if only in the form of an inevitable and natural preference for their own views on the part of the givers. Now gifts with advice, in the eyes of the recipients, are apt to look very much like orders. This in itself was serious enough. It became more serious yet when American views and policies took shape and evolved in such a way as to alienate the sympathy of precisely those who should have been the best friends of the United States.

What is behind it all? First, perhaps, a lack of balance as between the claims of the hot and cold wars which has led to concentrating on weapons and metals and neglecting ideas and ideals.

No man in his senses would deny that a strong, efficient military apparatus was indispensable precisely to "neutralise" the hot war. But no hot-war step should have been taken that would injure the overriding interest of the cold war. For instance, no military argument should have been allowed to prevail over the essential condition that dictators of the Right or the Left are unacceptable as allies.

"It produced the conviction that the struggle was not really a conflict of ideals—freedom vs. slavery—but a war of power—the United States against Russia. True, we have seen power wars before, but the people of the world cannot stand this kind of thing any more. There are two reasons for their impatience: The first is that they do not want to be fooled again by grandiloquent words which the big powers do not really believe in but use merely for their recruiting value. The second is that, in the H-bomb era, power politics is as obsolete as oxcarts on Broadway."

In the end, it all comes to this:

"The United States is disliked because it is a leader that does not lead. And it does not

lead because it does not really practice in international affairs that democracy which is its pride at home, nor that imaginative creativeness which is its pride in applied science."

The realistic, pragmatic juggling with words to which this all leads, the inflation of the verbal currency of the West, caused a grievous loss of that moral authority which the United States enjoyed at the time of the Marshall Plan.

THE EXODUS FROM EAST PAKISTAN

According to *The Libertarian*, India has greater and more grievances from Pakistan to complain about with infinitely more justification than Pakistan has against India on any score. The only fault of India in regard to Pakistan is to give her more than her due and to excuse her hostility and unfair and scandalous propaganda ever since the foundation of the Islamic State.

"The number of people that have come over to India since Partition is nearly a crore. The figure accepted by the Indian Government recently was forty lakhs and today more than ten lakhs are still in camps awaiting rehabilitation. Perhaps the Government of India has so far spent about Rs. 100 crores in the rehabilitation of the refugees from Pakistan. The second Five-year Plan has set apart Rs. 65 crores for the next five years. Now no one seems interested in raising the question as to why India should not demand all this money for rehabilitation from Pakistan whose cruel action is responsible for the flight of her nationals to India. The Indian Government does not accept the two nation theory but why then does it admit Pakistani refugees into India? Why not close the border and ask Pakistan to deal with them as her own internal affair? Why should India make a gift of the property of the Hindu Pakistani to Muslim Pakistanis, official and unofficial? Why does not our Government take this matter to the UNO as the Arabs expect the Arab refugees from Israel to be rehabilitated by the UNO? The numbers of the refugees in India is ten times greater than those from Israel."

India should ask for land from East Pakistan for the rehabilitation of these refugees or demand adequate funds for the purpose.

"This is strict justice. But India does not seem to believe in justice when she is confronted with Pakistani actions and seems to pin her faith in silence and appeasement. Such silence and appeasement has not paid in the past."

JORDAN

If Jordan is being preserved merely to continue its role of pawn of the great powers whether Britain or the United States, its future is no brighter than its past, says the Jewish Frontier. Jordan could exist for reasons of inner vitality and not as an artificial creation were it to become openly what it is in fact—the state of Arab Palestine, just as Israel is the state of Jewish Palestine.

"This would mean that the population of Jordan, instead of squandering its energies in sterile belligerence and violent dreams of a second or third round, would have to concentrate on the development of the country. This is not idle fantasy. In antiquity, the region was once one of the granaries of Rome. It could be irrigated and restored, just as Israel has been, through zeal and imagination. Such plans as that of the Jordan Valley Authority, if put into effect, would transform Jordan as well as benefit Israel. Jordan and Israel form a natural economic and physiographic unit whose industrial and agricultural potential could be richly exploited were peaceful relations to replace the present impotent border raids.

PAK. PROPAGANDA

An example of the methods used by Pakistan to carry on anti-Indian propaganda is furnished by "peregrinus" of the *Hindustan Times*. He refers to the canard circulated by the Pakistan Press that India had closed the Upper Bari Doab Canal for a week in order to restrict the flow of water in Pakistan. The fact is the canal was closed because of the collapse of Chakriwal bridge across it. Three arches had collapsed but the bridge was repaired inside of a week which was, indeed, a creditable performance. During the period of closure not merely Pakistan cultivators but Indian cultivators also were denied use of canal waters. Pakistan engineers had been informed of the reason for the closure, and consequently, they could not even plead ignorance. Well might the Superintending Engineer of the canal Mr. Dina, describe the Pakistan report as "ridiculous, baseless and mischievous."

THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER

The North East Frontier Agency administration's policy of development may be described as the golden mean between two extremes, according to Prof. S. B. Mookherji in *Triveni*.

"Of the two views on the matter one advocated that the tribes should be 'preserved as

specimens without being exposed to the corroding influence of the changing world.' The other favoured a process of transformation and assimilation with the object of modernising the tribals. The Government of India have rejected both. They have adopted instead a policy of gradual change with an eye to the genius of the people. This policy is the outcome of a sincere desire to help the tribals to respect their own ways of life and their own customs. Nothing unaesthetic and impracticable is to be imposed. It would be a real tragedy if the exquisite tribal jewellery or some of the excellent handloom textiles were replaced by machine-made substitutes. The tribal culture is, however, to be preserved not for the sake of preservation alone. For one thing, it is so virile that its obliteration would be a real loss. For another, an effective reply to the Naga National Council's gibe of a 'dhoti civilisation' lies in proving that neither the Government of India nor the rest of the country has any intention of super-imposing a strange culture on the N. E. F. A. and its people."

RED RULE IN KERALA

Commenting on the advent of communist rule in Kerala Mr. G. S. Bhargava says in the *New Leader* that it will give the State the good government it so badly needs.

"When the next general election rolls around in 1962, the people will not judge the Congress party by Nehru's personality, his exposition of *Panch Shila* or even his pronouncements on Kashmir; the Congress record throughout the country will simply be matched with the Communist record in Kerala. The devastating effect that this will have can be fully appreciated only when it is realised that Nehru's personal magnetism and lofty promises of socialism and democracy have been singularly responsible for the Congress party's successes at the polls.

The Westerner may be surprised that an educated electorate like that of Kerala (with 80 percent literate) has ignored the evils of communism and supported it in the name of good government.

"But the situation here is similar to that created by the Kuomintang in China. The Kuomintang was so corrupt and so badly divided by warring factions that the Chinese could not visualize anything worse. At the same time, they observed that the areas under Chinese Communist control were being run by honest, hard-working, firm administrators."

YUGOSLAVIA AND INDIA

According to a survey in the *International affairs* Yugoslavia's relations with India during the last year developed in the spirit of cordial friendship and co-operation. The joint statement of our President and the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia in Dec. 1954 and in July 1955 contain principles which regulate our co-operation.

"Adhering in their international relations to jointly expressed principles for the respect of sovereignty, independence and integrity, equality and non-interference in the affairs of other countries, the two countries with their active policy each in its part of the world, and jointly at the international forums, have contributed to the further affirmation of these principles.

In mid-July 1956 a brief visit was paid to our country by the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. On this occasion views were exchanged between President Tito, Premier Nehru and President Nasser. The joint statement, signed at Brioni on July 19th 1956, confirmed the similarity of methods of the three Governments in approaching international problems, but a special significance of this document lies in the fact that it contributed to the further affirmation of the principle of active, peaceful coexistence."

"As regards cultural relations we can also point to intensified mutual co-operation. Scholarships are being granted just as previously, while several of our institutions, including the Institute for Nuclear Energy at Vinca, established direct contacts with its opposite number in India—with Indian scientists. Our country was visited last year by a large number of Indian journalists, and the first steps have also been taken for translating the works of Yugoslav literature into Indian languages and Indian works into Yugoslav languages.

"Economic relations have yielded significant results especially in the field of Yugoslav exports, which in 1956 reached the figure of about 1.2 billion dnnars, which constitutes a manifold increase compared to earlier years. Imports from India have also increased so that India became one of our most important economic partners in Asia."

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR EDUCATION

Writing on the above subject in the *Prabuddha Bharata* Dr. S. Haddar points out that in spite of ours being called 'a scientific age, a great age of thought and discovery,' 'most people' as a matter of fact 'dread the labour of thought almost more than anything else.' So far as students are concerned, he insists that originality should be the acid test. 'It is strange,' says he,

"That philosophers should insist.....that it is our reason, our mental faculties, that primarily must be educated when they know them to be so powerless in comparison with our instincts and desires, our emotions and passions, to direct our lives."

He shows the value of history, and of literature, 'especially poetry' 'which at first appears to be unrelated to reality, unscientific, and to deal with unreal situations and things,' while it is actually 'of most practical value for the improvement of man's life.' This leads him to a discussion of the study of classical languages,—of Sanskrit in India—as well as of 'Arts' subjects and 'Science' subjects. 'The human mind is one and cannot be divided into departments that are mutually exclusive.' 'All the means by which men seek to explore and describe reality, of whatever kind it is, are scientific and in this sense philosophy and history are themselves scientific,' and so too is poetry.....

PAK. ALLEGATIONS AGAINST INDIA

Pakistan has been assiduously trying to win Afghanistan over to her side, and to get her to join the Baghdad Pact. She tried intimidation and closure of trade routes to Kabul, but in vain. Recently, according to the *Indian Liberator*, "she has been trying the softer way of wooing Afghanistan, through state delegations and secret diplomacy. As a part of the new diplomacy, Pakistan has just announced what she calls the revelation of a secret clause in a treaty between India and Russia, purporting to divide Afghanistan herself between them! Of course, we know that India is too native and honest for such secret treaties. Nehru has denied the allegation and no one can disbelieve him on this subject. This is one more instance of the policy of Pakistan, which is tireless in sowing suspicion among the nations of the world, regarding India's *bona fides* and high-minded conduct in international relations."

LIBERTY AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

Writing in the *Indian Libertarian* Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao deplors the omnipotence of Government and its dominant influence in all spheres of Social and individual life that are responsible for many evils the least of which is corruption in government service. He holds that it is impossible to prevent corruption among the servants of government if the whole of life and its myriad occupations are controlled by them.

"The real remedy for this state of affairs is to revise our idea of the scope and function of government. We should give up the present fashionable notion of the omni-competence of government i.e., its right to enter into all spheres of life, all interests and occupations and to seek to control every transaction between man and man, economic or cultural. We should popularise once more the old theory of government that confined its essential functions to defence from external danger, to foreign affairs, internal law and order, justice between man and man and a few additional powers like posts, telegraph and wireless communications. Even railways need not be the monopoly of government. The management of currency may be conceded to government, though much of the troubles of modern economy stem from such control and the influence of central banking under State control on industry and commerce. If government confines itself to such basic and limited functions, the rest of social life and economic affairs will be left to partnerships, jointstock companies and co-operative associations or individual's operating singly, and taking full responsibility and risk for their undertakings. Corruption will then be substantially reduced. The area of corruption will shrink and competition and the choice of the consumer will bring about the production of goods at economic rates. Any losses that may ensue would be borne by individuals. The idea of limited government is, therefore, basic to liberty and democracy.

PREJUDICES AND TABOOS IN INDIA

Taboos and prejudices, as the conservative elements of tradition, form an integral part of all civilizations. Without tradition, and hence also without taboos and prejudices which perpetuate tradition, no cultural continuity can exist, observes Mr. U. R. Ehrenfels in *Mankind*, and without cultural continuity no civilization of whatever character is possible.

The over-emphasis on taboos, on the other hand, impedes the culture process which in essence is change.

"Removal of out-worn taboos is, therefore, the unavoidable condition for further culture-development, but no taboo or, for that matter, not even a prejudice can be removed, without creating a cultural vacuum. The important thing is not its avoidance, but its replacement. Which will be the new substitute for each abolished old prejudice or taboo, filling the cultural vacuum?"

The new substitute may be seemingly different from, and opposite to the old form which it is replacing, but it will in some way be akin to it by taking its place. It is not easy to anticipate the effects on any newly emerging and thus not yet known social system, which new prejudices and taboo will promote."

THE PERILS OF A SMOKER'S LIFE

The American Cancer Society has come to the end of its four-year study of the long-range effects of smoking on the male of the species. Its final report, observes Alistair Cook in *The Manchester Guardian*, confirms the worst fears of the interim findings and leaves the the melancholy implication that "a man reaching for a cigarette is a man driven by a hankering for the tomb."

"One hundred and eighty-eight thousand healthy men between the ages of 50 and 69, from nine states of the Union, were chosen as a statistical sample 44 months ago. They began by filling in a smoking questionnaire and every year thereafter 22,000 volunteer researchers checked their state of health, took from their doctors the clinical record of those who had fallen ill or died, and plotted the total findings on a series of graphs, showing the mortality ratio between smokers and non-smokers and their relative susceptibility to coronary artery disease, other heart ailments, cancer of the lung, throat and esophagus, other cancers, pulmonary disease, cerebral vascular failure, gastric and duodenal ulcers, and cirrhosis of the liver.

In bald summary, the report concludes that, all other health factors being equal, a regular cigarette smoker is ten times more likely to die of cancer of the lung than a non-smoker; seven times more likely to get cancer of the throat or mouth; nearly three times more apt to get a pulmonary disease. Cigarette smoking also increases the risk of fatal heart attack by 70 per cent.

PAK ARMY IN KASHMIR

From all accounts it would appear that Pakistan has turned the territory of Kashmir under her occupation into a base for attack against India, says Mehta Puran Chand in a letter to *Thought*. The power of the Pakistani army, has been vastly augmented by U. S. arms-aid which is said to include sabre jet fighters and tactical atomic weapons.

"Not long ago General Ayub Khan, Chief of Pakistan Army, referred to exercises envisaging the use of tactical atomic weapons to cross riverine obstacles. He also spoke of attacking enemy concentrations from the rear. All this seems to show that the present strength of the Pakistan army constitutes a formidable threat to this country. Within a short distance of the Indian frontier, there are said to be stationed well over 200,000 men equipped fully and with the latest weapons. And their number, it would appear, can vastly be increased any time."

According to a report published in a London paper, an 'Azad' Kashmir Minister has said that "Azad' Kashmir forces now numbering 35,000 can easily be increased overnight to 80,000 of whom 70,000 will be trained ex-soldiers."

"Further-more, commands are reportedly being trained at the rate of 800 men at a time in schools. Many hundreds of guerillas have been trained. Brigade headquarters have been established at Chakoti, Mirpur, Bhimber, Kotli and Bagh, all in 'Azad' Kashmir. Since 1954, about 900 miles of all-weather roads and bridges are said to have been constructed, linking these bases with a string of Pakistani cantonments at Abbotabad, Rawalpindi, Murree, Jhelum, Sialkot and Kharian, all of which are within a few miles of the Kashmir border. The air-fields at Gilgit and Chilas have been enlarged and improved; the former is now able to receive jet fighters. New air-fields have been built at Skardu, Bhimbar and Do Patta in 'Azad' Kashmir. Apart from Pakistani troop concentration on the Indian border, tribesmen are apparently also being massed for action. Ex-major General Akbar Khan who organized the 1947 invasion is said to have been placed in organizational command of these."

On top of it all an officially sponsored hate-campaign against India has been in progress for some time.

"Chowdhary Mohammed Ali, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, said, for instance, at a public meeting in Karachi: "I am ready for the liberation of Kashmir, but I want the people to get ready." Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Chief Minister of West Pakistan, said at the same meeting: "We will prove that we can liberate Kashmir with the strength of our arms."

Under these circumstances, he says, India can ill afford to disregard her security.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ILLICIT TRAFFIC

It is now common knowledge that a group of international gangsters is carrying on illicit traffic in narcotic drugs on a world wide scale. They are prepared to risk destruction of thousands of human lives if only they could reap large profits. It is in the interest of society as a whole to tackle with this problem in an effective way. Such control, to be effective, should be on a world wide basis too.

One of the main instruments of control is the International Criminal Police Organization, whose fight against the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs is described in an article written by Mr. J. Nepote, Deputy Secretary-General, published in the *Bulletin on Narcotics*, Volume IX, No. 2. (1)

"The International Criminal Police Organization establishes direct and permanent contacts among the different national police administrations. Its Secretariat is an information and co-ordination centre for police affairs. Technical records have been compiled, fingerprints, photographs and anthropometric cards of criminals have been assembled, making up by now a general file classifying some 100,000 individuals engaged in criminal activities. The Secretariat acts as a clearing house, circulating descriptions of suspected traffickers. If a trafficker is wanted, a warning to the police of all countries is broadcast in a few hours, and a few days later his exact description with fingerprints and photographs is circulated from Japan to Chile, from Canada to New Zealand. In 1955, 306 reports on cases of illicit traffic were sent to 46 countries and a number of big traffickers were caught because of this international service."

TOWARDS A UNITY OF KNOWLEDGE

It is argued that the deep differences which so unhappily divide the world today spring in a large measure from the fact that man's moral stature has not increased in proportion to his sudden great access of material power and wealth. While this is certainly true says *Endeavour*, what seem to be normal problems often have material roots without which they would not arise. Poverty, famine, and pestilence are among great material evils which tend to find irrational outlet in oppression or violence excused as the righting of moral wrong. It would be an ill world if all standards were material, but it would be a better world if all basic material wants—food, clothing, housing, health—were satisfied. To this goal of satisfying wants the intensive application of science seems by general consent to be our most hopeful route.

If this thesis be accepted, it follows that we require the widest and most rapid dissemination of knowledge of new scientific and technical advances, so that it can be turned to practical account with the least possible delay, and a general appreciation of science and technology.

ALGERIAN DEADLOCK

The situation in Algeria is getting everyday uglier and out of control. Even after an intensive military campaign of over 34 months, the French government has not been able to solve the Algerian problem either militarily or politically says *Freedom First*.

"France has now more than 4 lac French soldiers in the Algerian campaign which is costing her more than a million pounds per day. But the campaign has succeeded only in making a negotiated settlement of the problem more difficult than ever. The mutual killing indulged in by Algerian nationalists, French *colons* and the French soldiers stationed in Algeria is assuming ghastly proportions day by day."

The root-cause of this tragedy is the stubborn refusal on the part of France to grant independence to Algeria on the plea that it is an integral part of metropolitan France. It is like the Portuguese claiming Goa (6000 miles away) is an integral part of Portugal.

"But the fierce opposition of Algerian nationalists, who constitute more than 80% of the Algerian population, makes nonsense of

the plea. The presence of 1.2 million French *colons* with their insistence on maintaining their superiority at any cost has served to complicate the issue further.

THE SHAPE OF THINGS

The explosions of the Middle East and Eastern Europe have been reverberating around the world. The effect has been profound. The shape of world power struggle has been altered. The *New York Times*, judging the situation as affected by the recent explosions, offers the following assessment. Where do the powers stand as a result of some six weeks of crises? The analysis and the assessment alike are so reasonable that we make no apology for presenting its conclusions in an abbreviated form.

"Britain and France have gambled and appear to be losing disastrously. Their adventure in Egypt seems sure to be, as *The Manchester Guardian* has already called it, a "costly failure." Britain and France staked their prestige in the hope of gaining control of Suez and bringing down Nasser. They achieved neither goal. They have inflamed the anti-colonial peoples against them. They have broken openly with their American ally. They have since sustained a new diplomatic defeat when the U. N. General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for immediate withdrawal of the invasion troops from Egypt. Moreover, the flow of oil through the canal has stopped and in consequence all Western Europe faced a hard winter.

Israel has so far emerged from the crisis in a somewhat better position than the Western partners. The Israelis have shattered Nasser's myth of Egyptian invincibility. But Israel's basic objective was to force the Arabs to negotiate a permanent peace settlement with her and today the Arabs seem as far from talking peace as they have ever been. Moreover the Israeli invasion has not enhanced Israel's hopes that the U. N. would help Jerusalem to get a Middle Eastern settlement.

Egypt is in a fair way to turn military defeat into political victory. The Anglo-French invasion and the near-defeat of Nasser had the effect of rallying large areas of the world to his cause. The U. N. police in the Middle East will now operate on Nasser's terms and remain in Suez just long enough to see that Anglo-French forces pull out and Nasser resumes full control over the canal.

"Russia has exploited the Mideastern crisis to great advantage. By giving strong diplomatic support to Egypt, Moscow has won Arab gratitude. But the gains Russia has made in the Mideast have been offset by the opprobrium she has earned because of Hungary."

"The adverse reaction to Russia's course in Hungary came from all quarters. The Soviet course in Hungary has caused a new split with Tito of Yugoslavia. For the first time, a satellite delegation—Poland's—has parted company with the Soviet bloc on an important vote. Moreover a group of Asian nations led by India has expressed criticism of the Soviet's role in Hungary. And while that criticism was not nearly so sharp as Asian criticism of the Anglo-French role in Egypt, the fact was that the Asians were beginning to have some doubts about their previous acceptance of Moscow's good faith."

"The United States, for its part, has had an open break with its closest allies—Britain and France—and the break has not yet been repaired. They are in deep conflict over the nature of the crisis in the Middle East. Where London and Paris insist Nasser is implacable, Washington believes that once the fire is damped down he can be brought around by diplomacy and economics. The U. S. accordingly is striving to hold the Arabs' good will and keeping the British and French at their distance until they withdraw from Egypt as the U. N. demands."

"Nevertheless Washington recognises that the Atlantic alliance is a keystone of American foreign policy and that the frictions within it must be dealt with. The question is whether the old solidarity can ever be wholly restored."

"Deeply involved in all this international uproar is the status of the U. N. itself. The fact of a U. N. force policing the cessation of a war represents the realization of a fundamental purpose of the organization of the nations of the world. But the U. N. has yet to prove—in either the Middle Eastern Europe—that it can be the medium for the lasting settlement of international disputes."

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

In the course of the past six months the world has been shocked by a series of events endangering the peace and security of mankind. In fact, says Rohit Mehta in *The Theosophist*, the international situation at present is replete with dangers of war.

"The recent happenings in Egypt, in Hungary and in the Middle East have shaken the

very foundations of the United Nations. Will the plans and purposes of the UN prevail or will the world be broken up once again into military blocks and alliances? If the UN fails, like its predecessor, the League of Nations, then the war with the nuclear weapons will be upon us offering the gruesome prospects of destruction on a vast and colossal scale. How is war to be banished from human civilization?"

Can we achieve this end of the banishment of war through the convening of Disarmament Conferences and the inspection of nuclear weapons?

"Disarmament Conferences in the past have proved dismal failures and there is no reason why such conferences should succeed in the present context. All Conferences of this nature have to meet in a proper setting. Talks concerning disarmament, if carried on in an atmosphere of unreality, can never succeed. An atmosphere of distrust is assuredly an unreal atmosphere in which to pursue the subject of disarmament. If politicians attend international conferences with reservations and talk there with tongues in their cheeks—then surely the proceedings of such gatherings are absolutely unreal. Whether such conferences are held at the "summit" or are held in the valleys makes no difference whatsoever."

But behind the vast problems of war and peace lie the frustrations of the human individual.

"The human individual feeling utterly insecure and defenceless against the might of technology and science is trying to regain his lost significance by combining with other individuals. Strength in number is the technique which he seems to have adopted. And so the frustrations of the human individual are enlarged and made into national and international problems. But a nation has no frustrations—it is only the individuals that have. The causes of war lie there."

The frustrated individual, consciously or unconsciously, brings the exploiter into existence, out of whose exploitation arise political, economic and social conflicts culminating in national and international wars.

And so it is in understanding the frustrations of the individual that we shall be enabled to know the process by which problems of war and peace arise. The objective statement of UNESCO rightly says that it is in the minds of men that wars are started and so it is there that the foundations of peace should be laid.

WOMAN IN INDIAN SOCIETY

The problem of the status of young women in the fast changing conditions of modern India is serious and thorny, and calls for prompt but with considered solutions. In the *Aryan Path* C. V. H. contributes a suggestive article stressing the desirability of India's conserving her traditional social values while moving with the times. The progressive disintegration of the caste and joint family organisations can be effectively arrested without jeopardising social progress, he says, if the ideal of family relationships can be preserved out of the ruins of the old joint family organisation." For the family is potentially the most significant and the most powerful unifying factor in most organised civilised societies. It can be so in India too if without offence to her traditions family relationships are rationalized by the recognition of inter caste and exogamous marriages." The challenges posed by the social revolution in regard to the position of women in society are not insoluble, but the transition has produced certain upsets.

"There is no disputing the benefits accruing from higher education for girls. It broadens the mind, increases sensibilities, improves standards of living—all of which are assets in enabling them to play their part as wives and mothers. What is, however, of paramount importance is to decide whether the education of girls only for a career is a social gain or an unmixed social blessing."

If the traditional ideal of marriage and playing their role as housewives is the better ideal for Indian women, should they be encouraged to go in for university education in such large numbers?

"This dilemma Indian society has to resolve in a sympathetic and helpful spirit, realizing that the tide of revolution has advanced too far for it to recede, and that at the same time the tide has not yet advanced so far, or gathered so much strength, that it cannot be harnessed in the interests of the orderly progress of society."

This can be done, if it is realized that educated women should be afforded all opportunities and encouraged to utilize their talents for helping in social progress and for achieving social purposes. Otherwise a sense of frustration would be a provocation to revolt, depriving society of the services of much good human material and talent."

DO ELECTIONS CHANGE HISTORY?

This question is posed in *The New Leader* by William D. Bohn who, recording his personal impressions, says:

I can remember 14 Presidents. Ten of them were Republicans and four were Democrats (It is a curious fact that the four Democrats covered nearly as many years as the ten Republicans; 36 to 40). Under the inspiration of the present campaign, I have been recalling the political battles of the past and reviewing the administrations of these 14 men. I have come to a rather startling conclusion: It seems to me that if all these elections had gone the other way, if all the men who were defeated had been elected, United States history would have gone on much as it has. Individual men are less important than they think. Principles and social influences are what count."

SECULAR EDUCATION

In a secular State, writes Dr. Aurel Mendonca in *Mysindia* either all religions must be regarded as true and equal or no religion should be allowed at all.

"Among the followers of every religion there exists the religious sentiment, which is capable of being transformed into fossilised orthodoxy, bigotry and fanaticism. This sentiment, which comes down from many generations and is imposed upon the child from birth, often causes tension, rivalry, competition and bellicosity. Such sentiments are not easily given up. The only cure is to refrain from implanting them in children, by educating them in a free atmosphere, independent of sectarianism."

"This is the case for really secular education. Public education should be free from sectarianism. Religious instruction should be confined to the home and the family—the parents are better religious instructors than the public school teachers."

THRIFT AND SPENDTHRIFT

King George V was noted for his frugality and thrift, qualities he tried to instill in his offspring. The then Prince of Wales, on the other hand, was pretty much of a spendthrift. While at school, he wrote his father pleading for some additional money. In return he received a stiff note of reproof urging him to change his ways and learn to be a businessman. In the next mail the King found a note from his son which said:

"I have taken your advice. Have just sold your letter to a collector for £ 2½."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

MR. T.T.K. ON AID FOR THE PLAN

Finance Minister Krishnamachari conveyed glad tidings to the people of India when he said in the Lok Sabha, on Nov. 13 "I expect that we will get sizable assistance particularly from the U. S. and Western Germany and from the International Bank to help us in our present difficulties."

He said that as a result of his recent talks in the U.S. he had formed the impression that there was "a very real desire" in that country to assist India.

On his visit to the U.K., West Germany and Canada, Mr. Krishnamachari said that while the U.K. was not in a position to help to any significant extent in the immediate future in view of her own rather difficult financial situation, he was assured that the U.K. Government was anxious to do all it could to assist this country in its general efforts to obtain credit.

Mr. Krishnamachari had every hope that "significant assistance" would be available to India from West Germany.

He said that he had indicated to Mr. Diefenbaker, Canadian Prime Minister, that India would welcome an allotment of surplus Canadian wheat under an arrangement somewhat on the lines of the American Public Law 480.

THE RAMNAD RIOTS

In the Lok Sabha on Nov. 13 Speaker, Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Iyengar, gave a ruling that, law and order being a State subject, it should not be raised in Parliament and refused to allow any discussion of the suggestion made by several members that there should be a judicial enquiry into the recent Ramanathapuram incidents.

The Speaker stated: "So far as law and order is concerned, it is a State subject, except when military and others are called in, in which case alone the Centre will come in and will have its share of responsibility."

REVIVAL OF GRAHAM MISSION

The Government of India has instructed its delegation at the U.N. on Nov. 18 that the Anglo American draft resolution on Kashmir in

the Security Council reviving the Graham mission is "totally unacceptable."

Not being members of the Council neither India nor Pakistan can vote, but it is up to India to make known whether the resolution could be implemented or not.

RADIATION HAZARDS

Professor Otto Hahn, the German scientist who first succeeded in smashing the atom in 1938, said at Vienna on Nov. 14 "There cannot be any doubt that already to-day thousands of people are dying yearly as a result of radioactive rays."

Prof. Hahn, in a lecture before a packed audience at the Vienna Konzerthaus, added that the Big Powers had produced enough H-Bombs "to wipe out the human race." "Why are they continuing their production of that deadly weapon then?" he asked. He pointed out the great responsibility of scientists in preventing these weapons from being used.

Prof. Hahn said experiments with nuclear material meant that to-day thousands of people were dying yearly from damage done by radioactive radiation.

FINANCE COMMISSION REPORT

The Government of India has accepted the second Finance Commission's re-recommendations which involve the transfer of an annual sum of Rs. 140 crores to the States by way of shares in Central revenue and general grants-in-aid, as against an average of Rs. 93 crores during the five years ending 1956-57.

In addition, the States will, together, gain a relief to the extent of Rs. 5 crores per year as the result of a scheme proposed by the Commission for the consolidation of Central loans to States.

The unanimous report of the Commission, which was headed by Mr. K. Santhanam, was placed on the table of the Lok Sabha on Nov. 14 by Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, who also announced Government's acceptance of the recommendations and indicated that the requisite legislation was likely to be promoted soon.

Utterances of the Day

Mr. NEHRU ON PEACE

Prime Minister Nehru warned that the world, which had arrived at the inter-planetary age, stood on the verge of total disaster at the very moment when it had tremendous power to bring in quickly a measure of happiness and well-being for the people of the world.

Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the fourth ILO Asian Regional Conference at Vigyan Bhavan at New Delhi on Nov. 13. He said that the world could be saved from disaster only by getting out of the cold war atmosphere where "the act of some fool, or knave or some excited individual, even apart from Governments, might do something which step by step would lead the world irretrievably into conflict."

Commending the adoption of Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis on right means to solve problems, Mr. Nehru said that Mahatma Gandhi had once expressed his ambition to wipe out every tear from every eye. It was a tremendous task for as the Buddha had said more tears had fallen from human eyes than the waters of the seven oceans. "Are we to add to them through conflicts, through wars, at a time when we have it in our power to put an end to it and at least materially, and I hope spiritually, to raise humanity to ever higher levels? It is an extraordinary position to face. So I hope that you will consider the problems before you in the spirit of the new age and to get out of the old conflicts and to realise that it is within our power to solve them for the benefit of humanity."

THE NAMAKKAL POET ON BRAHMINS

Mr. Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai, noted poet, in a forceful speech in the Legislative Council at Madras on Nov. 15, claimed that the present campaign of threats to insult national honour arose out of a hatred for Brahmins, Samskrit and the northerners.

Mr. Pillai declared that to say that the Brahmin was an alien to Tamilnad was a "monstrous lie" because he was as much a son of the soil as anybody else and the "Tholkapiyam", the most ancient Tamil work written several thousands of years ago, spoke of Brahmins who existed in Tamilnad even then.

Speaking in the course of the debate on the Prevention of Insults to National Honour Bill,

Mr. Pillai said the Brahmins had never called themselves superior castes. In fact, the boot was on the other leg.

"I am some times called the leader of Brahmins, I am even described as a stooge of Brahmins. But, let me tell you, the privations the Brahmins have had to put up during the past so many years cannot be described. Unmentionable obscenities have been heaped on them. I have myself seen Brahmin girls being insulted. It is a tribute to the patience and non-violent nature of the Brahmins that they have shown great restraint in spite of threats being hurled at them—threats of killing them and burning their homes. If these threats had been addressed to any other community, I dare say, the whole of Tamilnad would have become a Mudukulathur," Mr. Pillai said.

Mr. MACDONALD ON HELP TO INDIA

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, High Commissioner for the U.K. in India, said at Bombay on Nov. 11, that the amount of aid given by Britain to India towards her economic progress was "continuous, immense and is far greater than given by any other country."

Mr. MacDonald, who was addressing the Rotary Club, said that a greater part of the Second Plan must be conducted by Indians themselves.

"I believe there is a growing recognition amongst democratic countries of the West that they must do everything in their power to support India in her economic development programme." The recent mission of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and the industrial trade delegation to the U.S.A., U.K. and other countries had achieved "a great deal in promoting greater understanding and sympathy for India's cause and would bring about practical results."

PRESIDENT PRASAD ON AHIMSA

President Rajendra Prasad, Vice-President Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Nehru told the first World Conference of Religions at New Delhi on Nov. 17, that 'ahimsa' was the only way of saving humanity which faced a grim and bleak future.

Dr. Prasad said that the world had seen "thousands of wars, hoping that thus aggression would end. That has not happened."

"Is it not time we gave up violence and gave a trial to non-violence and tolerance," he asked and added, "whatever we do to promote these is to the good of the world, and this is also the aim of this conference."

Political

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Prime Minister Nehru will inaugurate the second seminar on "Parliamentary Democracy" at New Delhi on Dec. 6, 7 and 8.

The seminar, which is being organised by the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, will be held in the Central Hall of Parliament House.

The President of the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies today said that many well-known personalities from several countries were taking part in the seminar. Speaker Ananthasayanam will preside. Apart from the foreign guests the seminar will be attended by Speakers of several State Assemblies and representatives of all political parties in the country.

The agenda includes subjects like disarmament and banning of nuclear weapons direct and indirect taxation, Parliament and the Press and the role of the private and public.

U.S. DEMOCRATS' PLEDGE

The U.S. Democratic (Opposition) Party pledged its "wholehearted support to President Eisenhower in any steps he may propose or take to strengthen the American defences and those of its allies and to work with peoples everywhere, towards a secure and lasting peace."

This was stated in a communique issued by the Party at Washington on Nov. 17.

The communique was drafted by the Democratic Party's 24-member Consultative Committee which includes the former U.S. President Mr. Harry Truman, the leader of the Democrat Party, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, and the New York State Governor Mr. Avereli Harriman.

D. K.'S THREAT

A reference was made at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee which met at Delhi on Nov. 17 to the activities of the Dravida Kazhagam in the South, more particularly its threat to burn copies of the Indian Constitution and portraits of Mahatma Gandhi on Nov. 26. There was, however, no formal discussion on this issue. There was a general feeling that an organisation like this making threats of burning the Constitution should not be given any quarter.

PLIGHT OF HINDUS IN PAKISTAN

Over 3,000 Hindus and Sikhs belonging to Scheduled Caste and Backward Classes residing in Lahore, Sialkot and other places in West Pakistan, besides a number of others in the

tribal areas of Peshawar and Kohat, wish to migrate to India but the Pakistan authorities are not permitting them to do so, according to refugees who were brought to Amritsar on Nov. 14 from the D.A.V., College transit camp in Lahore.

A spokesman for the 19 Hindu and Sikh migrants said that the economic condition of these people was fast deteriorating due to non-availability of jobs and means of livelihood.

INDIA GOA BORDER

Portuguese police had violated Indian territory 35 times during the last three months on the India-Goa border area near Belgaum, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, informed Mr. V. K. Dhage in the Rajya Sabha on Nov. 18.

The Prime Minister said the Government did not lodge any protests with Portugal, with whom it had no diplomatic relations, but took "normal action."

Asked what the normal action was, Mr. Nehru said. "We try to keep the peace, except for an occasional firing. It is quite clear that when such things happen, there is firing on each side and some people suffer."

Earlier Mrs. Menon gave details on an incident near the Maingini post on the Indo-Goa border where on October 6, 1957 an Indian police patrol party was fired on within Indian territory. The Indian patrol returned the fire and in the resulting encounter one Portuguese soldier died and another was reported to have received injuries. The Head Constable on the Indian side received a bullet wound and was now in a hospital at Belgaum.

INDIA'S POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Mr. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari elder statesman and last Governor-General of India, said in a letter published at New York on Nov. 16 America "should find no difficulty in understanding India's objection to positive alignment" in the cold war.

"The letter, published in the *New York Times*, said: 'Everyone, both in India and abroad, knows that America has reconciled herself to the Indian attitude to the cold war, although she cannot understand India's indifference to Western anxiety over Communism. But though reconciled to it, America is not happy. This has many consequences adversely affecting the development of goodwill between the two nations.'"

VICE-PRESIDENT ON PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, Nov. 15 asked the people to find out with a "critical and discriminating" eye what is living and what is dead in the Indian culture and cut off with a 'drastic' hand whatever, is dead and preserve whatever is alive.

"If we are able to do it, we will have faith in the reality of the Unseen and in the love of man, irrespective of distinction", he added. He said as we go forward we must change the several social institutions which had become practically 'idols' and protected injustice in the name of social justice. We should relieve ourselves of the burden of "inert ideas" if we wanted to progress, he said.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, who was presiding over the first college day celebrations of the S.I.E.T. Women's College, Teynampet, Madras, declared that any system of true education must help the people not only to become technically skilled and intellectually competent, but really cultured and morally cultivated. He said repeated "disasters occurred in the world not because the people did not have sufficient education, but because their education was one-sided and it had not made them 'kinder' to one another and more 'humane'". He felt that education must become 'illumination' and added: "What you read must not be a mere intellectual proposition but must enter into your heart, transform your being and give you what is called *tejas*."

LARGE FAILURES IN S.S.L.C. EXAMINATION

The All-India Council for Secondary Education discussed the question of large failures in S.S.L.C. or matriculation examination in 1957, as reported by different bodies and suggested certain measures to the State Governments to meet the situation.

The Council recommended to the State Governments to take early steps to remedy the situation arising from lack of accommodation, inadequate equipment, and unqualified and untrained teachers.

The Council recommended that State Boards of Secondary Education should examine the complaints about the heavy load in the syllabus, and the means to be adopted for the proper handling of the syllabi so that the emphasis might not be so much on the mastery of the subject matter as on the educational growth of the child.

3-YEAR DEGREE COURSE IN MADRAS

Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University, speaking on the White Paper on Education in the Legislative Council on Nov. 13, justified the introduction of the three-year degree course and said that it was done after due consideration by various committees for over two-years and with the approval of the Senate and Academic Council of the University. He claimed that the students would not feel much difficulty in facing three public examinations successively as the young men of our country were as good and receptive as any students in the world.

SECONDARY EDUCATION COUNCIL

Mr. S. A. Iyengar, I.C.S., Secretary, Education Department, Government of Andhra Pradesh, and Mr. R. A. Gopalaswami, I.C.S., Secretary, Education Department, Government of Madras, have been nominated as members of the All India Council for Secondary Education by the Government of India, vice Mr. D. S. Reddi, former Director of Public Instruction, Andhra and Dr. A. C. Joshi, former Secretary, Department of Education, Punjab.

NEW MEDICAL COLLEGES

The Union Government will assist the establishment of new medical colleges in the various States by contributing 75 per cent of the non-recurring cost and 50 per cent of the recurring expenditure incurred on them, Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, Health Minister, told Mr. H. C. Mathur, in the Lok Sabha on Nov. 16.

When the Minister's attention was drawn to difficulties experienced by students from outside the States who were asked to pay very heavy fees, Mr. Karmarkar said as a rule the policy of the Centre as not to interfere with the State administrations in the running of these colleges.

Mr. Karmarkar agreed with Mr. Mahavir Tyagi that there were not enough medical colleges in the country to cope with its growing needs.

Mr. M. P. DESAI

The Chancellor of the Gujarat University, the Governor of Bombay has appointed Mr. Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai as Vice-Chancellor of the University with effect from Nov. 30. A wellknown student of the Gandhian school of thought Mr. Desai was Editor of the Harijan group of papers founded by Gandhiji till they ceased publication last year.

KASHMIR AND WORLD COURT

Pakistan has rejected the Swedish delegate, Mr. Gunnar Jarring's suggestion that the questions of accession and plebiscite involved in the Kashmir Case before the Security Council could be referred to the International Court of Justice for advisory opinion.

The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, told a Press conference at Karachi on Nov. 15, that the "idea (of taking legal opinion) is for creating confusion. We cannot agree to reopen the question we had decided five years ago."

Mr. Chundrigar said that the accession of the State could be determined only by a "free and impartial plebiscite."

THE SUPREME COURT ON SETTLED TAX

Was the Government aware that due to the invalidation of certain Sections of the Income Tax Investigation Commission Act by the Supreme Court judgment, huge amounts of settled income tax was liable to be refunded to various proved tax-evaders, Mr. V. C. Shukla asked in the Lok Sabha on Nov. 13.

The Deputy Minister for Finance, Mr. Baliram Bhagat, replied: "In respect of cases in which the liability of the assessee to pay tax was settled on 'agreed basis' under Sec. 8-A of the Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Act, 1947, the Government has been advised that the Supreme Court's judgment, invalidating certain provisions of that Act, does not affect the liability of the assessee arising out of such settlements. In the circumstances, the question of refunding of tax already paid by such persons does not arise."

BOMBAY HIGH COURT

The President has appointed Mr. Justice Y. V. Dixit, a Judge of the Bombay High Court, to perform the duties of the Chief Justice of that Court with effect from Nov. 24, 1957, until the permanent Chief Justice resumes charge of his office.

MR. V. V. GIRI'S SUCCESS

Mr. V. V. Giri, at present Governor of Uttar Pradesh, was declared on Nov. 18, duly elected to the Lok Sabha by the Election Tribunal, consisting of Mr. W. S. Krishnaswamy Naidu, which set aside the election of Mr. Dippala Suri Dora (Socialist) to the general seat from the Parvatipuram double-member constituency.

EX-CONVICTS' CONFERENCE

Although the thousands of Congressmen who went to jail during the struggle for independence almost always came out with 'Jail Reform' on their lips, little has so far been done in the matter of reformation and rehabilitation of convicts and it is to the credit of Dr. Sampurnanand and his colleagues that they have taken up the matter in right earnest, says the 'Organiser'. At the first Convicts and ex-Convicts Conference held at Lucknow last month, Dr. Sampurnanand made some thought-provoking observations while inaugurating the Conference, but it may well be doubted whether he was on the right track. "We have to look upon those in our charge," he said, "as patients suffering from accidents that could well have been avoided if society had been a little more considerate and far-sighted and a little less callous." Mahatma Gandhi was nearer the truth when he said that what convicts need is not prison but hospital and that prisons should be transformed into hospitals.

Mrs. LEILA SETH

A 28-year-old Indian mother of two children has topped the list of successful candidates in the latest Bar final examinations at Lincoln's Inn, obtaining a Class II Division I pass. She is Lucknow-born Mrs. Leila Seth, from Batanagar, West Bengal.

Mrs. Seth was also awarded the Langdon Medal for Hindu Law, which was last won by an Indian seven years ago. Qualifications for winning the award are a first class in Hindu Law plus at least a second class in the Bar finals.

Mrs. Seth was formally called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn on November 26—in *absentia*. For she was then holidaying in Italy with her husband, Mr. Prem Seth, and their two sons.

INDIAN LAW INSTITUTE CONVENTION

The United States will be represented at the first convention of the Indian Law Institute at New Delhi by Prof. Lawrence Ebb of the Stanford University School of Law and Dr. Clark Byse of the University of Pennsylvania, says a message dated Nov. 24.

The invitations are the outgrowth of Stanford's summer conference where Prof. Ebb, Dr. Byse and two other American lawyers met five prominent Indian jurists to lay groundwork for research on many problems presented by the Indian public law system.

SAVING BY IMPORT CURBS

India will save approximately Rs. 60 crores by the restrictions on imports during the next six months excluding iron and steel.

Mr. Satish Chandra, Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry, giving this information in the Lok Sabha on Nov. 14th, added the entire saving was, however, not likely to accrue during the next six months, but would be spread over a longer period depending on the utilisation of licences.

Replying to a further question, Mr. Satish Chandra said it was not possible to forecast the extent of licensing on deferred payment terms and the rate of interest on which such payments would be obtained.

AID TO SMALL INDUSTRIES

Financial assistance of over Rs. 1.5 crores has been sanctioned by the Government of India to different States and Union territories for providing loans to small industrialists, says an official Press release dated Nov. 17th.

These loans will be disbursed during the current financial year by the State Governments and the administrations of Union territories under the State Aid to Industries Act and other regulations in force.

STABILITY OF INDIAN RUPEE

The Indian rupee is perfectly safe. It is in fact as safe as the dollar.

This is the view of Mr. G. D. Birla, leader of the Indian Industrial delegation to the U.S. and Europe, who declared at a Press conference at Bombay on Nov. 18 "I see no danger to the value of the Indian rupee."

Affirming his faith in India's capacity to pay back her creditors Mr. Birla said, "This is the only country which has not defaulted repayment."

INSURANCE POLICIES

In a written reply to Mr. R. S. Lal in the Lok Sabha on Nov. 13 the Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari stated that the total number of policies issued and the sums assured since the nationalisation of insurance business, were as follows: September 1, to December 31, 1956; 1,47,069 and Rs. 54.77 crores respectively; January 1, 1957 to October 28; 1957; 4,96,756 and Rs. 177.19 crores respectively.

The ratio of lapses during the years 1953, 1954 and 1955 were 8.9 per cent, 8.5 per cent and 9.0 per cent respectively.

REGULATION OF BANK ADVANCES

Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, has advised leading bankers of Bombay that lending against foodgrains "would have to continue to be carefully regulated".

Mr. Iengar made this observation during an informal talk with representatives of major scheduled banks of Bombay, held at Bombay on Nov. 13th.

Mr. Iengar explained the need for a shift from the liberal credit policy pursued by the Reserve Bank last year to a "policy of restraint" and said the implication of the new policy was "restrictive lending generally without hampering productive enterprise or genuine trade."

He added that the Reserve Bank would be guided by the same considerations in its own lending to banks during the current busy season.

Mr. Iyengar expressed general satisfaction at the reduction in total bank credit achieved during the slack season, and appreciated the co-operation of banks in bringing down advances generally as well as against foodgrains in the last few months.

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION

The Lok Sabha on Nov. 13 passed the Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill which will enable the Corporation to stand guarantee for deferred payments on import of capital goods by private enterprise.

The Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. Bhagat, told the House that it should be possible for the country to meet foreign exchange requirements on the scheme of deferred payments fully after 1959 or 1960.

After lengthy debate, the House referred to a joint committee of both Houses the Minister for Mines and Oil, Mr. K. D. Malaviya's Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Bill.

U. K. BANK RATE AND INDIA'S ECONOMY

The Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari said in the Lok Sabha, on Nov. 13th that the recent rise in the British Bank rate was not expected to have any significant effect on the Indian economy as a whole.

LIFE PEERAGE FOR WOMEN

Queen Elizabeth announced that her Government would introduce legislation creating life peerages for both men and women with the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords. She said this in her speech opening the new session of Parliament on Nov. 5.

This will be the first time in the many centuries of British Parliamentary history that women will sit in the House of Lords, the second chamber of Parliament. Its members hitherto have been drawn mainly from the male hereditary peerage of the United Kingdom. Until the present century, there were no women members of the House of Commons.

Queen Elizabeth said that her Government welcomed the recommendation made by the recent meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers in Canada, that a Commonwealth trade and economic conference should be held in 1958.

WOMEN AND VEGETARIANISM

The role of women in propagating the ideals of vegetarianism was emphasised at the women's session of the 15th World Vegetarian Congress at Bombay on Nov. 11 by Mrs. Rukmini Devi Arundale.

Mrs. Arundale said that women with their compassion and love and the welfare of the family at heart, were best suited to propagate the ideals of vegetarianism by inculcating this habit in their children.

Non-vegetarianism was a habit acquired from the West, she said. Even if women did not like to eat meat they did so to please their friends or husbands. Every woman should prevail upon her husband and children not to eat meat and herself show them the advantage of being vegetarian by practicing it.

Mrs. Clarence Gasque, President of the World Vegetarian Congress, said it was high time mothers asserted their influence over their children and instilled in them the habits of vegetarian diet.

WOMEN IN ARMED FORCES

Four members of the joint committee on the Navy Bill have, in a minority report, pleaded for the admission of women into the armed forces.

They say, "It will be superfluous if we record in detail the courage and capacity shown by the women of India in the past and especially during our glorious Freedom Struggle. In almost all countries women have proved themselves to be equal to men if not

more, and to-day there is no sphere of life, nor is there any kind of work where women cannot compete with men. Moreover, we feel that the admission of women into our armed services will, to a very large extent, have a salutary and welcome effect upon the outlook and morale of our fighting men."

RLY. COMPARTMENTS FOR WOMEN

Railway compartments meant for women will now be placed in the middle of all trains to enable women occupants to have refreshments at railway stations.

The Railway Board has instructed all railway administrations to adopt this practice as far as possible. A Rajya Sabha member, Mrs. Yashoda Reddy, had complained in the House that women passengers were not able to have refreshments as their compartments were usually at the rear of trains. The Railway Minister had agreed to remove this inconvenience.

CHINESE GIRL BEATS WORLD HIGH JUMP

Cheng Feng Young, a 20-year-old High School student, emphasised the all-round improvement in China's track and field athletics, when she broke the world record for the women's high jump at Peking on Nov. 18.

In clearing 1.77 metres (5 ft. 9½ in.) to beat the record of 1.76 metres (5 ft. 9¼ in.), set up the American girl, Mildred McDaniel, at last year's Olympics in Melbourne, Cheng Feng Yung became the first Chinese girl to beat a world mark.

WOMEN'S SAVINGS CAMPAIGN

Prime Minister Nehru has in a message dated 22nd Nov. to the annual conference of the women's savings campaign expressed appreciation of the work done through the campaign.

In the message, the Prime Minister says: "At any time the savings campaign is important and in the circumstances prevailing today, it is doubly so and every effort should be made to push it forward."

"There is another aspect of it which I think is important. This type of activity organised and taken up by women in India does good to them and gives them a certain training in public work and approaching people," he adds.

The figure of collections made by the campaign up-to-date comes to Rs. 4,14,32,557, it was announced.

General

MARSHALL ROKOSSOVSKY

Marshall Konstantin Rokossovsky, who was named Trans-Caucasian Commander last month, has been made a member of the Bureau (Presidium) of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The party Bureau appointment appears to go with the military post and does not necessarily signify any advance for Marshal Kokossovsky who last month succeeded General Ivan Fedyunisky who had held the military and party office.

ZAHID HUSSAIN

Death occurred at Karachi on Nov. 14, of Mr. Zahid Hussain, Chairman of Pakistan's taxation Inquiry Commission, after a brief illness. He was 64.

Mr. Zahid Hussain, a well-known economist, was Pakistan's first High Commissioner in New Delhi and the first Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan.

Till the end of last year he was Chairman of the Planning Board. He is survived by his wife and seven children.

MR. BISHNURAM MEDHI

The Assam Chief Minister, Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, who has finally decided to relinquish office on grounds of continued ill-health, is now awaiting requisite permission from the Central Congress Parliamentary Board, according to well-informed sources.

These sources said that a formal announcement was likely to be made shortly. Official confirmation of the report was, however, not available.

THE A.I.N.E.C.

The Thirteenth session of the All-India News paper Editors' conference met at New Delhi last month. Mr. J. Natarajan presided over the Session. The President's speech was full of constructive interest.

Mr. Nehru made a powerful speech in which he said that, while the Wage Board Award for Working Journalist would need to be implemented if the Supreme Court found it in order, the Central Government's attitude to all problems raised would be flexible, based on the two principles of the necessity of improvement in quality and quantity of all newspapers and survival of small and medium unit.

PRESIDENT ZAPOTOCKY

President Antonin Zapotocky of Czechoslovakia died on Nov. 13, at Prague. He was 72.

The President was admitted to a sanatorium sometime ago suffering from heart trouble. He was taken ill after seeing off a top-level Czech delegation to Moscow.

Prague Radio reported that the President was one of the founders of the Czech Communist Party and a former Prime Minister.

ANTI-LEPROSY VACCINE PIONEER

Sister Marie-Suzanne, 69 year-old religious nursing sister and pioneer of an anti leprosy vaccine died at Lyons on Nov. 15, only an hour before it was announced in Rome that her vaccine was successful.

After 20 years in the leper colonies of the Fiji islands, she worked on the vaccine for four years at the Pasteur institute, Paris.

Her discovery was given intensive tests by Vatican scientists. Already 300,000 doses have been prepared in France and are ready for distribution.

C. R. ON BALLISTIC MISSILES

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari expresses the hope in an appeal published in London on Nov. 14, that the leaders of England "will lead the neutral nations against the ballistic menace."

The appeal published by *Peace News*, the Pacifist weekly, said, "This planet has become too small for the ambitions of our times."

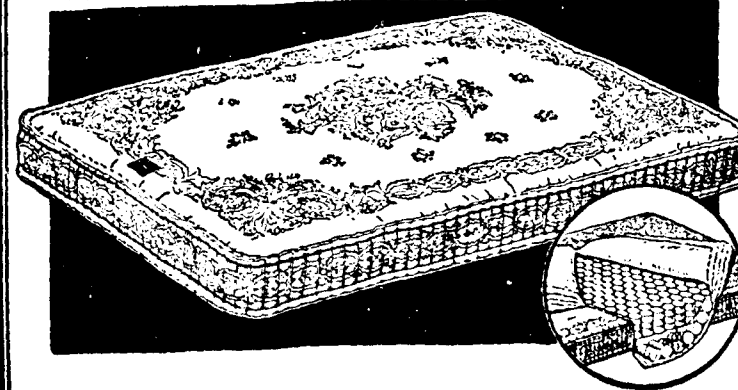
"Yet, let us remember, it is not lawful to make experiments across other people's land or over their heads; experiments which contaminate the air and waters that belong to others or which endanger their lives and health, just because we are inclined to run a nuclear or ballistic race. We must reconcile inclination with obligation."

"A discovery in science does not entitle us to demand a suspension of other people's rights or their lawful desire to live a quiet life."

"This was obvious to a previous generation, but it seems now that the necessity for national bargaining power has blinded us" said Mr. Rajagopalachari.

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