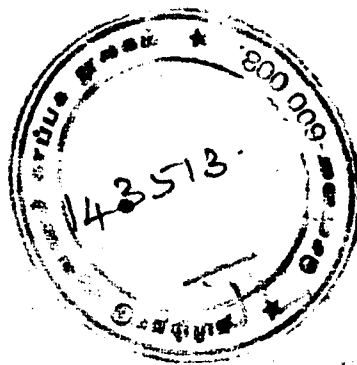




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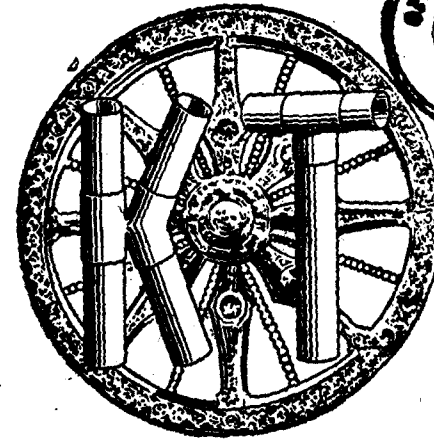
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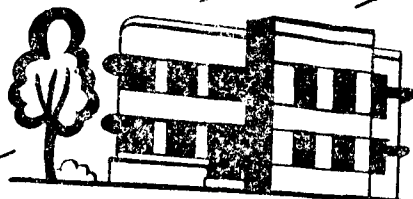
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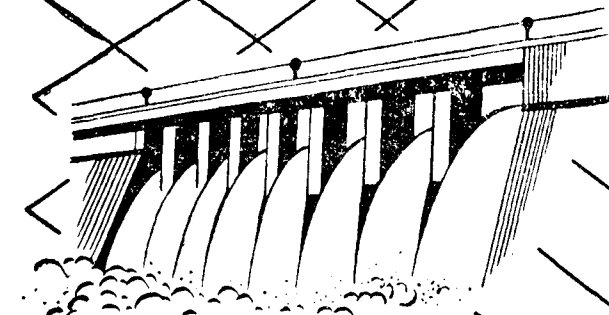
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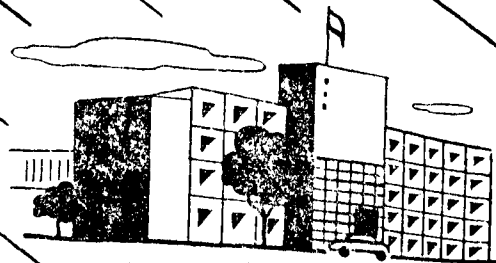
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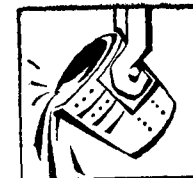
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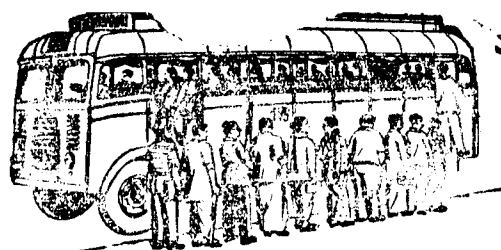
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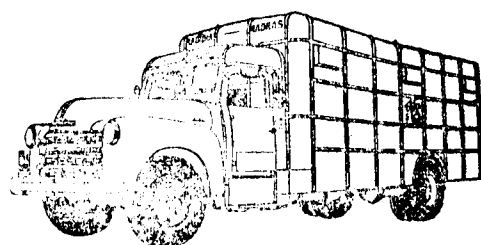
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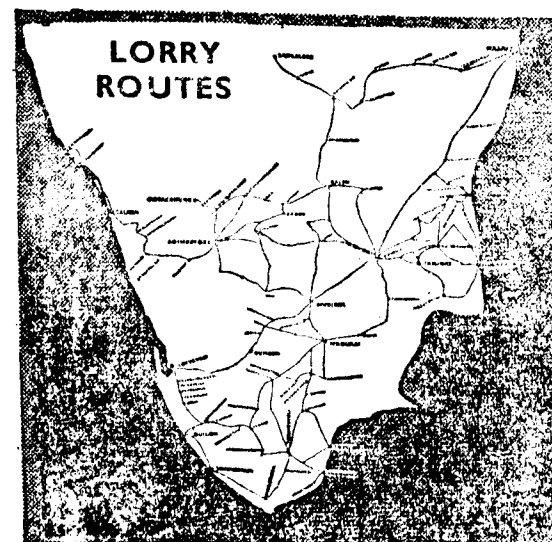
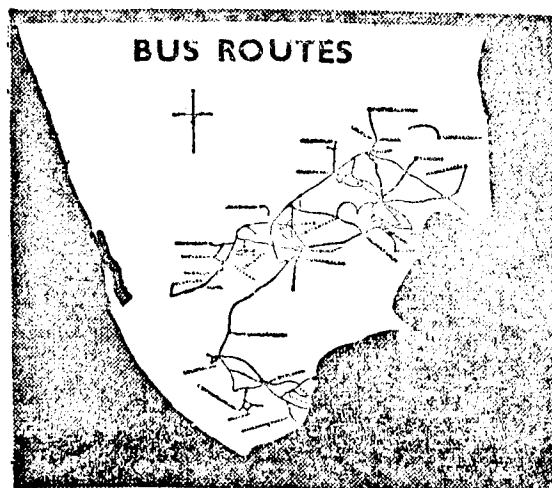
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JANUARY 1957

[No. 1

Modern Idealism and Social Change

By

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
Lucknow University.

Idealism as a school of philosophy is founded on the basic presumption that mind or idea is primary and that matter or material is secondary. The expression "Idealism" is, however, not a happy term, because it is used in popular usage in a totally different sense. When the word "Idealism" is used in philosophy, there is no reference to ideals as such. In philosophy, idealism implies that idea is created by mind, that mind creates matter, and that it is really mind that makes the universe and is the cause of everything. This school of philosophy may therefore be more accurately termed "Idealism" which expression, if generally adopted, would remove much of the confusion that may arise in the popular mind at present.

Philosophical Idealism received a new shape in modern Germany, which makes it different from all other Idealism of the past ages. Immanuel Kant, the founder of German Idealism, sought to find a compromise between religion and science, and the effort was absolutely original, for his mode of thinking made science secondary to religion. His ideas, however, show a slight approach to Materialism which he believed to be of some importance, and the essential substance of which he was prepared to recognise. While he considered religion to be superior, he agreed

to recognise the importance of science as well. It is this compromise which made Kant popular with the Church and the Scientists. His philosophy admirably mirrored the ideology of the progressive capitalist class of his time, and not of the old feudal order.

Hegel was the next great leader of idealistic philosophy. He was par excellence the fountain-head of bourgeois ideology of the 19th century. But when he sought to save Idealism from the onslaughts of Modern Materialism, his efforts proved ineffective. His opponents weakened his position by accepting some of his many progressive ideas. Actually, it is no exaggeration to state that Hegel unconsciously supplied the motive force which made Materialism a popular social ideology in the modern times. Many materialist thinkers, including Karl Marx, borrowed the reasoning of Hegel and applied it to Materialism with almost fatal consequences to Idealism. That is how the influence of Hegel is powerful on modern materialistic thought.

Hegel's reasoning sought to put society on a more judicious foundation, but he mixed logic with mysticism and also indirectly supported the vested interests of his age. But his ideas on the whole have powerfully influenced modern philosophy. He demonstrated for the first time that political, economic,

social and religious conditions are the consequences of diverse forces and factors; that these conditions are a reflection of these forces, and not the results of any one in particular. He believed that the philosophy of an age is shaped by the facts of that age; that philosophy of an age is in fact evolutionary; that it grew up as society grew up, and therefore should be viewed in its relationship to the conditions of an age. Hegel also held that philosophy and history are only the symbolisation and expression of "self"; that history is nothing but the unfolding of a great idea; that all history is a march towards freedom. This conception of Hegel implies that various states in history were aspects of the "spirit" seeking a more and more elevated level. This ideology, however, marks an excessive glorification of the state, for it led to the belief that the Prussian State of his time was perfect. In fact, Hegel did admire the Prussian state, and held it to be the nearest entity on earth to the absolute.

Since the time of Hegel, Idealism has undergone considerable weakening so much so that some of it is nearly akin to Mechanical Materialism. The modern version of Idealism is very much less pure than the Idealism of the previous ages. The progress of the philosophy is seen in the thinking of William James, John Dewey and Henri Bergson. These thinkers are essentially idealists, but they have approximated more and more to Materialism, and so their Idealism reflects strong materialistic influence.

William James viewed the world as a multitude of isolated problems and life as an attempt at solution of these problems. He suggested that we do not know and cannot know anything about the world itself, that we can know only about the problems it puts before us. This thinking underlies Pragmatism which he developed. This Pragmatism is perhaps the most progressive form of modern Idealism. Pragmatism is a compound of

idealistic and materialistic thought, and is an attractive type of Dualism. As such, it can be called materialistic idealism. This outlook glorified in fact the ideology of late nineteenth and early twentieth century liberal overgrown American industrialism.

Pragmatism is based on the idea that mind controls matter; that there is a conflict because terms have not been properly classified, that reflective thinking is the loftiest of all endeavour; that life is only a string of problems that can be solved by discussion. It holds that when the mind undergoes change, the body also undergoes change, and vice versa. This implies that there are two varied but integrated words, mind and body, and when something happens to one some change comes to the other at the same time.

John Dewey, the greatest exponent of American Pragmatism, held that thought is the means for meeting problems in order to keep in tune with nature. He held that man should always be in tune with nature. But, his thought seemed to fit man into society rather than to fit society to meet the requirements of man. He believes that discussion is the most important thing and that all problems, being verbal, can be solved through discussion by a "creative intelligence" plan. All this brought Dewey nearer to materialism than he himself could have admitted. But, there is no doubt that concepts such as these considerably influenced American society and acted as a progressive force in the beginning.

Henri Bergson, the last Idealist thinker, held that the thing itself can be realised only by reasoning, and that knowledge springs mainly from experience. He argued that there is, and must be, change, but believed that there can be some change only if there is something new. His philosophy of Vitalism (life force), which was very popular in western Europe in the early part of the twentieth century, contends that Life is in two parts, reason and intuition, that life and change are

known by intuition; that there is a creative spirit which causes progress; that change comes in a series of unrelated jumps; and that science is the material and static side of things.

Vitalism as a new trend in Idealism does undoubtedly exhibit some liberal features. But, it hampers experimentation and encourages confidence in supernatural forces for progress, and thereby obstructs the march of civilization. If Idealism were merely to imply that man cannot really know the world, then it is bound to discourage the growth of science and the consequent advancement of society.

The position which modern Idealism takes in respect of human society is not fully convincing to modern man. One cannot understand why change should be discouraged, why man should accept conditions which need a total change. That is the reason why Idealism is often considered to be a reactionary and "rightist" philosophy which glorifies a capitalist society.

That Idealism has objectionable and retrograde features will be apparent from the following facts: firstly, it does not encourage a fairer distribution of material things of life, secondly, it encourages faith in the supernatural and diverts man from reality, thirdly, it advocates fear as the chief means for control of society, and lastly, it encourages "esca-

pism" from all the evils which plague society. If Idealism is unfortunately losing ground today, it is because it appears to be opposed to social change. The latest advances in Science and Technology have also undermined Idealism so much that as a technique for the control of society Idealism has lost much of its influence. It is undeniable that Idealism seems to support the privileged classes in society for whose vested interest it is well suited. By obstructing change in capitalistic society, Idealism only serves to perpetuate economic inequality and class struggle.

If the influence of Idealism and Materialism on the over-all world struggle between Capitalism and Socialism is analysed, it will be found that Idealism at present is no better than a "ruling class" philosophy which strengthens the owners and employers in capitalistic society and the richer classes in general, and inspires the belief that democracy would be impossible without a competitive economic system. That is the reason why Materialism is growing more and more popular and fashionable as a substitute philosophy, for it makes a tremendously powerful appeal to the have-nots of society. This ideological conflict which has now arisen in the West can be resolved only on the basis of a wider appreciation of the idealistic Vedantic thought of Ancient India.

The Karma and the Cross

By

DR. E. STANLEY JONES

At first sight, the two ideas—the Karma and the Cross seem to be contradictory. Karma says that you reap what you sow and that there is no forgiveness. The Cross says that there is forgiveness, the divine act of God in giving Himself for us. At first sight, these two ideas are headed for a head-on collision. They seem to be contradictory ways of life.

However, if one were to pick out one characteristic of the thought of India and one characteristic of the thought of Christians, it would be that Karma is a characteristic of the one and Cross of the other. Now, I believe that there is an underlying truth in Karma. This is a moral universe. It is not indifferent to our virtues and vices. It takes sides. We

do not break the laws written into the nature of reality. We break ourselves on them. Those laws are colour-blind, sex-blind, and religion-blind. It is a universe where we get results and consequences. If we work with the moral universe, it will back and sustain us. If we work against the moral universe, we will get certain consequences and we will be frustrated. We are not free to choose the fruits of the consequences. As I said, we do not break these laws but we break ourselves on them. If we jump down from the tenth storey, we are bound to die. Since centuries, we know that individuals and nations breaking the laws of God get broken.

There is another truth in the law of Karma. Other people also reap what we sow. It is not quite true that "I reap what I sow." What I sow, other people reap too. Mahatma Gandhi sowed his life into India. The moment when he made his great choice, non-violent non-cooperation, was a moment of destiny. While Mahatma Gandhi was travelling on the train in South Africa, an European wanted to get in. He complained that a black person was in the compartment, and being a white person, he could not tolerate a black person travelling with him. The guard was called and he said to Gandhi, "I am sorry, you have to get down." He got out of the train and walked on the railway platform. Suddenly, there it formed in his mind that he must fight it out with non-violent methods. As he walked up and down the railway platform, he was thinking all about it. Now, white supremacy has not only gone out of the railway compartment, but it has been put out of the whole of India for putting Gandhi out of the railway compartment. It ultimately resulted in throwing the British out of this country. They reaped what they sowed and it looks as though colonialism is gone. In the next 25 years, there will be an end of it. It was a great moment, one of the decisive moment which turned the whole history of the

country, because the idea formed in the mind of Mahatma Gandhi. It took non-violent channels and it looks as though the freedom of the age is going to be accomplished by non-violent methods.

When Gandhiji sowed into India his endeavours, his love and his teachings, did he alone reap the results? No. All India reaped the results of his sowing. So there is the other side, namely, that other people also reap what we sow. If that be true, then that opens the door for various theories. Supposing there is somebody connected organically with the Son of Man and Son of God, and suppose He has sowed His life on the Cross for our redemption. Could the whole human race reap the results of the sowing of that crime? Could it be passed on to the human race? That seems possible, provided He is organically connected with the human race as Son of Man and Son of God. If He was a good man, like the rest of us, then his death was a martyr's death. But suppose, it was the willing sacrifice of God Incarnate. Men offer sacrifices of goats, animals, the fruits of their toil, their virtues and other things to God. But now, there seems to be the possibility of God offering Himself as sacrifice to us. That is breath-taking and seemingly impossible. It is possible only on one basis, namely, that *God is Love*.

God made man in His own image. If therefore we go wrong, it breaks His Heart, it breaks the Heart of God. We were talking about a Greek woman who came to India. We will call her sister Lavinia. She has felt that love of God. She does massage. She is going to Madhya Pradesh to a leper home. She has to apply massage to lepers to see if she can cure them. It is one thing to give some prescription and another to massage the sores of lepers. You have to touch them. You may say she is unhappy, tired of the misery now. But I can say that she is one of the happiest person I have seen. Those who

unhappy are those who do not do any good to others. Apply this to God. Suppose God sits in isolation, apart from the tragedies of the world, wrapped up in His own perfection and would do nothing on behalf of us when we struggle amid forces which we cannot control. What would happen? God would be unhappy. He would be breaking the fundamental laws. Suppose, this God whom we call Father and who, we say, is *Love*, should bear the tragedies and make them His very own. That joy, the joy of saving others comes to *Himself*. Now, since this was so risky, why did God do it? Then the question arises: Why do parents create? It is very risky for parents to bring children into the world. But parents want beings on whom they can lavish their love. Therefore, parents say, "It is risky, but we will go into it. If the children suffer, we suffer. Their sorrow will be our sorrow. Their joy will be our joy". Therefore, parenthood demands responsibility. We bring forth children and if they go wrong, we suffer in their wrongs and try to redeem them. God, the Infinite Lover, could not do other than create objects upon whom He could lavish His Love. We do not ask Him to create. We do not say, "We give you permission". We only say God would bear everything. Whatever falls on us falls on Him. Therefore, I believe, God took the Cross. Therefore God began to suffer. I believe God created us and was made responsible for our creation. He said, "Anything that falls on them falls on Me", and the Cross is the outer symbol. It is said in Revelation, "the lamb slain from the foundation of the world". Christ was the slain lamb. They offer the lamb as sacrifice. Here God Himself suffers as a lamb. At the moment, man sins and God is alongside. God will automatically take that on Himself and bear it and share it with man. He will have the incessant Cross on His Heart. He had it from the foundation of the world. How do we know that there is a Cross on the Heart of God except that He

left an outer Cross in history? From the outer Cross, we could see the inner Cross upon the Heart of God.

Miss Carmichael was running a Rescue Home in South India. The place was filled with deep divine joy. However, one girl would not respond. Miss Carmichael did everything to change her but to no avail. So, one day she bared her own arm and thrust a needle into it. Blood began to trickle. The girl burst in tears and said, "I did not know that you loved me like that." From that moment the girl was changed. She looked up through the blood that passed from the arm of Miss Carmichael and saw the incessant Cross. She was saved by that blood. So, something like that happened in human history.

The nature of God is Love. This is expressed in two Greek words—*Eros* and *Agape*. Both we call in English love. *Eros* is one kind of love and *Agape* another. *Eros* is sensual love. Plato says that God is *Eros* and by His perfection and beauty He inspires in us a yearning to be perfect. So, this was *Eros* and we began then to want to possess him to be like him. In other words, *Eros* is possessive Love, acquisitive love. On the other hand, *Agape* is Divine Love. It is non-acquisitive. It does not ask for anything. *Agape* is our going up the ladder. We also find God on the lowest rung of the ladder. He loves us not because of what we are, not because we are worthy, not because we deserve it. He loves us because He is Love and cannot help but love us. God loves the good as well as the evil. Christ says: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do". That was *Agape*—Love that gave itself not only to the deserved but also to the undeserved, not only to the good but also to the evil. You may say that is condoning evil. No, it is not.

I stayed with Mahatma Gandhi at Sabar-mati for 10 days. One day, two persons living in the Ashram were guilty of immorality. Mahatma Gandhi began to fast. He fasted

completely. At the end of six days, with tears streaming down their cheeks, they begged him to desist from the fast and to take them back into the fellowship. He took them back. But suppose he had forgiven them on the basis of the authority vested in him as the head of the Ashram? It would have been a very cheap forgiveness without the moral content. After six days of suffering with them and bearing their sins in his own body, could he forgive them? Yes, he could forgive them. If God can offer me forgiveness on the basis of His authority as Master of the universe, I do not think that I can take it because it lacks moral content. But suppose God, because He is Love, would come down and suffer and share my life as a man would share it to the full, and bear my sins in His own body on a tree, and suppose, he would offer me forgiveness? Yes, it would be forgiveness that God alone can give.

Jesus one day said, "I was hungry and you fed me. I was naked and you clothed me. I was thirsty and you quenched my thirst". Every man's hunger is His hunger. Every man's loneliness is His loneliness. His is

complete identification. There was a king named Shabel and he ordered that anybody caught for bribery would be given 100 lashes. It so happened that Shabel's own mother was involved in bribery. What did he do? How did he put love and justice together? The mother was brought in and the soldier was commanded to strike. One, two, three, four, five. He had his mother removed and then bared his own back and commanded the soldier to continue the lashes, 95 of them, without diminishing the force. When people saw his bleeding back, they cried, "How just! How merciful!" He suffered for the sake of his mother. Here, justice and mercy, were reconciled at the place of his suffering. God cannot only forgive us. At the Cross, justice and mercy, love are all reconciled. That is the supreme revelation of the meaning of Agape, the Love that did not wait for the people to be lovable, but while we were great sinners, Christ did for us. "For God so loved the world, as to give His only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but may have life everlasting" (St. John).

Democratic Approach to Planning

BY

Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

INAUGURATING the first meeting of the Panel of Scientists set up by the Planning Commission, Shri Nehru emphasized the importance of a democratic approach in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan and the need to secure the enthusiastic support of the peasants, workers, intellectuals and the vast masses of the people for the successful execution. "You cannot expect the peasant in the field or the worker to understand all the details of your plan" observed the Prime Minister, "Never-

theless, it is important that even the peasant in the field should appreciate what we are doing and welcome it and tell us in his own sphere whether he considers what we do is right." Shri Nehru asked the scientists to keep in mind "the urges of the people" in a democratic country. He added: "If you fail in this respect you will fail to secure popular support and the whole purpose of planning would be vitiated and would collapse". The Prime Minister also laid stress on the point that the principles of planning should be adapted to

each country's background and conditions, to the "urges and genius" of its people.

A question has often been asked whether economic planning is compatible with democracy. There are some economists and political thinkers who are of the definite opinion that planning is the surest road to "serfdom" and regimentation. There are others who think that economic planning in order to be really successful must be undertaken in a democratic set-up. In the Soviet Union, planning has been of the totalitarian or authoritarian pattern. In such a centralized and highly regimented planning there is not much scope for the freedom of the individual. The State holds itself responsible for achieving the targets of production, for arranging proper distribution and for ensuring full employment. In consequence, the individual tends to become, more or less, a cog in the huge machinery of State planning. A similar pattern of planning is being followed in the other Communist countries including the Republic of China. Of course, there are bound to be minor variations in accordance with local conditions. In the democratic countries like the U.S.A., U.K., France and other European States, there has been piecemeal planning in respect of agriculture or industrial production or the wage structure or social security. In the United States, we heard of President Roosevelt's National Recovery Act to combat the Great Depression. In the United Kingdom, we are familiar with the Beveridge Plan of Social Security. Several other countries have also attempted to introduce planned economy in certain sectors of national life. But India is the first country in the world which has launched the bold experiment of comprehensive economic planning under democracy. The First Five Year Plan, which was viewed with suspicion and doubt to begin with, over-achieved several of its targets and created a sense of confidence and self-help in the minds of the people.

The Second Five Year Plan has already started and promises to lay the sound foundations for a socialist pattern of society. If properly implemented, it will raise the national income by 25 per cent and will provide additional employment to about ten or twelve million people in both the rural and the urban areas. It will set up several heavy or key industries to form a strong base for future economic development. It will also spread a net-work of small-scale cottage and village industries throughout the country. Besides industrial development, the Second Five Year Plan also lays great stress on the urgency of stepping up agricultural production both for feeding the population more adequately as also to earn foreign exchange for purchasing essential machinery and raw materials from foreign countries. During the Second Five Year Plan period, several of our multi-purpose River Valley Projects will be ready to provide greater facilities of power and irrigation. All these achievements would be, indeed, highly exciting, specially in an under-developed country like ours. The Prime Minister has always appealed to the people to participate in "this mighty adventure of building up a New India". The beauty of this adventure is that it has been undertaken through peaceful and democratic methods.

It is wrong to think that planned economic development is a slower process as compared with the pace of economic progress in totalitarian countries. For example, we are often told that the tempo of economic development in China is greater than that in India. It is true that in some respects China is ahead of us. But in several other respects, there is no doubt that India is much ahead of China. Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, in the course of a recent speech in Bombay, stated that India has great achievements to her credit in different spheres of national development. "In many respects," observed Mr. Chou En-lai, "India was

more advanced than China and the Chinese people must humbly learn from their Indian friends". There has been friendship between these two great countries during the last two thousand years. The two nations have had periods of close economic, cultural and philosophical system. India is definitely pursuing the path of democracy and non-violent revolution. China is working out its destiny under a totalitarian set-up. We can surely learn much from each other. But we in India need not have the slightest fear that democratic planning is slower and less effective than authoritarian planning.

It is, however, essential that planning under democracy follows a decentralised pattern of agriculture and industries. While the State should own and manage the basic or mother industries, the consumer industries should be decentralised in the form of co-operatives to the widest possible extent. Each village or a group of village should try to develop local

self-sufficiency and initiative in order to build up the country from the bottom upwards. From this point of view the role of Panchayats and Co-operatives is of paramount importance. Otherwise, even under democracy economic planning can become an instrument of oppression and regimentation. We have always to bear in mind that the real success of democratic planning lies in the development of people's own initiative and resourcefulness, particularly in the rural communities. In place of Government's programme with People's Co-operation, Community Development Programmes are now trying to launch People's Projects with Government's participation. It is only through this process that we can really succeed in establishing a socialist society through the democratic set-up. If we do not exercise constant watchfulness in avoiding centralisation and over bureaucratisation of our planning structure, we shall be treading a difficult path at our great peril.

The Architect of Taj Mahal

By

Mr. S. BALASUNDARAM, B.A.

THE Moghul age was famous in the history of India for its encouragement of Art. Architecture, poetry, literature, sculpture, music and painting received equal patronage and recognition. Among the Moghul Emperors, Shah Jahan was the most famous patron of sculpture.

To the court of this magnificent and magnificent monarch came one day, a young, ambitious, Persian artist, Ustad Isa Mohamad. He had dedicated the whole of his life to art. Shah Jahan was impressed with Ustad's skill and dexterity and appreciated the excellence of his art so much that he even entrusted to him the task of decorating his Zenana. The

first work which he undertook, was an exquisitely carved screen of marble and the workmanship was so charming that it kept all on-lookers spell-bound.

In Shah Jahan's zenana there was a girl called Naseem. Amidst the craft and cunning of the court, she alone twinkled like a priceless gem, both in beauty and character. Her cousin Assad Khan, Controller of the Royal Household, was madly in love with this earthly Juno. His love for Naseem went to such extremes, that he became jealous of every man who dared to go anywhere near his lady love. He unfortunately allowed this love to grow in his heart without at first making sure that it

was reciprocated. Alas! he was only human and human feeling is like the mighty rivers that bless the earth. It does not pause for anything, but with resistless force flows, bringing at times chaos and destruction along with it. Naseem, on the other hand, admired the workmanship of Ustad so much that she fell in love with the artist without even setting eyes on him once. She yearned to meet so great a genius and even expressed her desire to that effect. When this news reached the ears of Ustad, his joy knew no bounds.

One night Naseem disguised herself and, under cover of darkness, stole to Ustad's house and surprised the latter by knocking at his door. He was working late and was busily engaged in designing his models. Naseem disclosed her identity to him and requested him to exhibit his work. The more she saw of his work, the more she loved him. After spending a pleasant couple of hours looking at the rare specimens of his work, she resolved to return. Ustad was anxious for her safety and offered to escort her back to the palace. But she declined the offer. Ustad, however, was very reluctant to let her go, because he felt that, since no male was ever permitted to enter the harem, he would never be able to feast his eyes on her again. Naseem then lifted her veil and Ustad was thunder-struck to behold such an angelic face. He had not so far seen such carmine lips, dimpled cheeks and finely chiselled features in all his life. In short, it was a face which could be put in a frame of gold. Cupid now pierced his heart with his golden arrow and Ustad also fell in love with Naseem. After promising to come and see him again, she took her leave. As she entered the palace she fell into the waiting hands of Assad Khan, who burning with jealousy, had been following her. He threatened to expose her to the Emperor and the Empress, but promised to keep the secret if she would marry him. Naseem's pleading was of no avail and finally finding

him relentless, she flew into a rage and challenged him to do his worst.

Naseem was the chosen favourite of the Empress and knew all her moods. So she waited for a suitable opportunity and confessed her escapade to the Empress who after first rebuking her for her carelessness, promised to help her. When Assad Khan heard of this, he was determined to thwart this alliance at all costs. He carried all sorts of fables to the Emperor. But these lies when counterpoised with the able defence which the Empress put forth for Naseem, bore little weight. The ultimate consequence was that within a week Ustad and Naseem found themselves united by the holy bonds of matrimony. The love the newly wedded couple bore to each other was so pure and so divine, that it was a source of inspiration to Ustad who thereby improved the excellence of his craft. To commemorate their love, Ustad made a clay model of building. When Naseem saw this she could not but declare that it was the most fascinating thing ever designed by man. Ustad had an idea of constructing a marble palace like the model, when he was financially better off.

Soon after this marriage, Shahjahan had to leave the capital to wage war against Ahmednagar. Assad Khan took advantage of this to tease and torture Ustad and Naseem, but the influence of the Empress prevented him from doing any material harm to them. Shahjahan returned home victorious, but the rejoicing was marred by the sudden demise of Mumtaz Mahal, the Emperor's beloved wife. The Emperor was broken-hearted and was, for a number of days, sunk in great despair. Mumtaz during her life-time had been an indispensable prop to Shahjahan. And her death was the shattering of his whole life. It was indeed an irreparable loss to him. He finally decided to raise a memorial of unsurpassed glory and beauty to his departed wife. All the renowned artists, architects and sculptors

from abroad were sent for and ordered to submit plans for the necessary construction. But the Emperor was not satisfied with any of their attempts.

Meanwhile Naseem who loved her mistress very much begged her husband to hand over this clay model to the Emperor. But Ustad declined to comply with the wishes of his wife. Assad, who had also seen this model, thought that Ustad's refusal to part with the model be a good excuse to work his revenge on him. So he went and asked Ustad for the model. But Ustad refused to give it. Then Assad tried to seize it by force but Naseem cried aloud that he should not do this, for God would not tolerate injustice. The Emperor hearing all this came on the scene and ordered Assad to leave. Ustad's steadfastness was commended by the Emperor and he appealed to Ustad to let him see his model. Shajahan was dumbfounded at the sight of the superbly splendid creation and at once decided to adopt that model. He immediately gave orders for the erection of the monument. The result of this was THE

TAJMAHAL, a dream in marble and one of the seven wonders of the world. The real architect, Ustad has been forgotten and every one considers the Tajmahal only as a monument constructed by the great Moghul Emperor, Shajahan. But in fact, it has a dual significance. It represents the sorrow of an emperor; it also represents the supreme happiness of a peerless architect. Therein lies the duality of this exquisite monument to earthly love. There are moments when this mausoleum appears to be sheer petrified love—cold, austere, almost awe-inspiring. One feels a pathetic kinship with the man who so lavishly, yet so inadequately, tried to fill a deep void in his soul. And there are moments when this marble structure appears to pulsate with a deep, abiding and divine love. It is a perpetual monument to the genius of a supremely gifted artist at the pinnacle of his emotional experience. By a divine dispensation, a rare combination of the essential joy and sorrow of life, not unknown in the realm of art, has been enshrined in the Taj Mahal.

Nalanda and Vikramasila

By

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

BIHAR possesses the unique distinction of being the seat of two great universities in ancient India, namely Nalanda and Vikramasila. The names of these two, especially of the former, are widely known, but we do not always realise their great importance as centres of international culture.

This is all the more deplorable because we are accustomed to think of internationalism, in practical form, as only a recent phase in the progress of human culture. But the cultural association of different nations, though hailed as a great experiment of modern times, is not altogether a novel idea as it is generally sup-

posed to be. The oldest instance of this is furnished by the history of Buddhism.

Originating as a local sect in Eastern India, it spread, in less than three hundred years, not only all over India, but also far beyond its boundaries. In the early centuries of the Christian era, it grew to be a powerful factor in shaping the cultural life of nearly the whole of civilized Asia from the borders of the Mediterranean to the Sea of China.

Along with Buddhist religion, various phases of Indian culture, of which it was a product, made a strong appeal to the peoples of Central and Eastern Asia, and a distinctive

type of culture made its influence felt in Iran, Afghanistan, Turkestan, China, Korea, Japan, Indo-China and East Indies. India, as the original home of this culture, naturally became the centre of this new cultural association.

The international aspect of Buddhism was symbolised by the two great universities, Nalanda and Vikramasila.

Nalanda was older in date and famous all over Asia. From a small beginning it developed into a mighty international organisation embracing the whole of Asia. The most learned scholars of the Buddhist world and seekers after truth and knowledge flocked to this university. It became a common platform and a general meeting ground for peoples belonging to diverse races, who imbibed through it a common culture based on language, literature, ideas, thoughts, beliefs and arts of India.

Apart from the various peoples and nationalities represented by scholars and students, two epigraphic records bring out the international character of Nalanda in a conspicuous manner. Both these belong to the reign of Devapala, the great Pala Emperor of Bengal and Bihar, who ruled over a considerable part of Northern India during the first half of the ninth century A. D.

The first of these records the foundation of a monastery at Nalanda by Balaputradeva of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled over an extensive Empire including Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and other islands of the East Indies. The very fact that the king of such a far-off land founded a monastery at Nalanda and endowed it with five villages for its upkeep shows the great importance attached to Nalanda even in the remote countries of Asia.

The other record gives a short history of one Viradeva, who was a resident of Nagarhara, the modern Jelalabad in Afghanistan. He was born in a Brahmana family and was well-versed in Vedas and other Shastras. Having adopted Buddhist faith, he travelled all over Northern India and ultimately came to Nalan-

da. His learning was duly appreciated by Devapala, who appointed him head of the Nalanda University. This incident also proves the international character of Nalanda University.

I-tsing has preserved the names of ten foreign scholars who visited Nalanda during the quarter of the century preceding his own visit. Two of these were Koreans, and one belonged to the Tukhara country.

In the heyday of its glory, Nalanda could boast of fine rows of towering structures, three or four storeys high, whose tops seemed to touch the sky, "Successive kings beginning from the fifth century A.D., if not earlier still, vied with one another in adorning the site with *Stupas*, temples and monasteries, "using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold". The entire area was surrounded by a high wall with one gate.

This gate served as a gate of admission, both in a literal and figurative sense. Learned scholars were the keepers of this gate, and those who sought admission into the University had to enter into a discussion with these gate-keepers. They put the candidates to a severe test by asking them knotty questions and engaging them in hard discussion, and no one was admitted, if he failed to satisfy these examiners.

The number of students and teachers at Nalanda is given as 10,000 by one authority and "more than three thousand" by another. Probably, the average number was somewhere like 5,000.

The curriculum of study was not confined to the various branches of Buddhist philosophy and literature, but embraced the Vedas and Brahmanical philosophy, as well as secular subjects like logic, grammar, medicine and even magic. In short Nalanda imparted instruction in all branches of knowledge, both religious and secular, including heterogeneous arts and sciences.

Tradition has preserved the names of a number of famous scholars that served as Profes-

sors at Nalanda. Among them may be mentioned Dinnaga, Chandrakirti, Gunamati, Shriramathi, Dharmapala, Silabhadra, Dharmakirti, Santideva, Santarakhsita, Padmasambhava, Kamalasila and Chandragomin.

Next in importance only to Nalanda was the great university of Vikramasila. It was founded by Dharmapala, the famous Pala Emperor, who bore the surname Dharmasila. The great monastery which formed the nucleus of this institution was built on the top of a hill on the banks of the Ganga. In its days of glory, this great seat of learning comprised more than 100 temples surrounding a central one and the whole area was enclosed by a boundary wall.

The great scholar Dipankara Srijnana, also known as Atisa, became the high-priest of Vikramasila about the middle of the eleventh century A.D. At that time Vikramasila surpassed in glory and renown even the ancient university of Nalanda.

Tibetan chronicles have preserved a detailed account of how, after repeated endeavour, the Tibetan king succeeded in taking Atisa to Tibet in order to reform the Buddhist religion. Atisa was received with royal honours at the frontier of Tibet by the officers and army of the king and was given a grand ovation by the king himself at the capital city.

Dipankara lived in Tibet for 13 years till his death. He reformed the Buddhism of Tibet and laid the foundations of the present Lamaism. From this time Tibet received the religious inspiration from the great university of Vikramasila and had intimate contact with it. We possess the name of quite a large number of Buddhist scholars who occupied high positions in Vikramasila.

Down to the latest days of Hindu rule in East India, the two great universities kept alive the tenets and traditions of Buddhism in

India, though it had lost its dominant position in the rest of India. Even the latest phases of Buddhism, which have left little traces elsewhere in India, but profoundly affected the development of that religion outside it, are to be found in the numerous texts written in these two universities.

They were the nerve centres, so to say, from which flowed the different currents of life all over the Buddhist world. So long as these great citadels of Buddhism stood secure, Buddhism could draw its sustenance from them and hope to live for ever.

With the destruction of these great universities, Buddhism lost its centre of strength and gradually decayed. The flow of foreigners who were attracted by their high reputation also ceased for ever. Thus Buddhism disappeared from India and Asia, lost the international organisation which sustained her culture on a high level. This great tragedy in Asiatic history has not yet received due attention from the historians.

In course of time, the ruin of Nalanda was so complete that its mighty buildings were completely hidden under the ground and its very location was forgotten. A series of high mounds enabled Cunningham to identify the site, where once the famous University had stood. Excavations on a minor scale carried by him, and in a more comprehensive manner in our own times have revealed the remains of some of the great buildings and a number of very valuable antiquities.

The site of Vikramasila has also been located near Patharghatta, on the banks of the Ganga. But, unfortunately, no excavation has yet taken place, though it is evident that high mounds scattered over a wide area conceal within them the ruins of huge structures and many other remains of that famous institution.

The Arabian Lands

By

VICTOR STANKOVICH

ALREADY in the course of the two world wars of our century, the Arab people have been subject repeatedly to the strains of rivalry between two competing groups of big powers. In both cases the Arabs tried to manoeuvre in such a manner as to extract the maximum profit for their national aspirations from the conflict of two power blocs equally alien to, if not equally distant from, them. From all my peregrination in the Arabian lands two adages have come to stick most persistently to my mind, as singularly revealing of the basic attitude of Arab psyche towards the imperial powers, part ruling them, part vying for their favour.

In a remarkable piece of classical Arabic poetry, the aging teacher is made thus to speak to his pupil:

I taught you the rules of the art of poetry,
and no sooner have you mastered them than you
began to ridicule me in your poems;
I am now teaching you to thrust the javelin;
yet I know that as soon as your arm is strong
enough,
you will transfix me with it.

The West must be aware that for whatever modern know-how it may have transmitted to the Arabs it must not expect any gratitude from them. It should in fact be prepared to experiencing on its own skin some of the newly-acquired faculties of the Arab nations. That the West might have imparted much that proved good and useful to the Arab Middle East out of entirely unselfish motives, is entirely irrelevant to the basic situation.

When, in the spring of 1941, British troops, supported by General de Gaulle's 'Free French Movement' launched their campaign for the conquest of the then French mandated territories of Syria and the Lebanon, held by a Vichy army, a wise old Arab politician, long since dead, characterized the prospective

attitude of the local Arab population by quoting the following proverb:

"Tell me", the child asks its mother, "with whom you are to sleep tonight, so that I may know whom to call 'father' tomorrow."

To play one big power against another and particularly a new contestant for influence in the Arab East against a big foreign power long entrenched there, is a traditional method of Arab political tactics. It is a tactics for which the West must not bear them a grudge: it has to be understood and taken account of in the fateful slogging match fought by the free world against world communism led by Moscow.

Considerably larger in surface area than Europe, the Arabian East is populated by certainly no more than 35 million humans. As many of the nomad Arab tribes have so far consistently refused any attempt to submit them to a census, population figures cannot in this area be ascertained with anything like the precision customary in the western world. The region is subdivided into seven at least nominally sovereign Arab States—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen—as well as a number of semi-independent emirates and sheikhdoms, the British Crown Colony and the Protectorate of Aden, and, finally the new State of Israel, now the target of the Arabs' passionate hostility. The lack of military efficiency as well as of local potential in the production of arms and ammunition, extremely difficult lines of interior communications; long and hardly defensible seacoasts—these are all added to a condition of demographic and political weakness to make up that vacuum of power which I have chosen as a headline for these reflections.

Nor must the factors of economic and social fragility be left out of sight—at least for the time being. Modern hygiene has drastically

cut down infantile mortality, contributing thereby to a rapid increase in population without, however, opening up adequate additional sources of food and earning capacity. In Egypt alone, for example a population that has been roughly stationary for five thousand years has doubled in the last half-century. Only now are thoughts of planning centered on the Aswan Dam scheme in order to conquer by irrigation vast additional farming areas from the arid desert within the next 5-10 years. The same applies to Iraq, where a generous development scheme is offering the hope of resuscitating from its ruins the grandiose network of irrigation canals wrecked by Tartar invaders many centuries ago.

The Middle Eastern oilfields developed with such spectacular speed over the last two decades, are of course representing an enormous actual and potential wealth—and also a corresponding temptation for the powers arraigned against the free world—but that wealth is not as yet matched by natural resources which, in the age of mechanised mass production, could secure a balanced economy to the Arab peoples.

In the social sphere, the Arab-inhabited region display the typical symptoms of unbalance, and therefore weakness, of a period of transition. To single out Egypt once more as an example, although the Cairo officers' junta has deprived the "two-hundred families", owning most of cotton plantations and the country's scant industry, of their "pasha" titles, it has not yet been able to break their monopolistic position in respect of the means of both agricultural and industrial production. Consequently, liberal economic ideas and methods of administration taken over from the West, have so far mostly resulted in enormously increasing the wealth of the property-owning classes while thrusting the toilers, formerly living in patriarchal penury, into the state once endured by the western proletariat under early capitalism. Right now, when world communism is making gigantic efforts to

win for itself the underfed masses of the underdeveloped areas of our globe, the Arab East is labouring in that state of transition, long overcome by the West, in which monopoly capital is not yet restrained by social legislation enacted at the behest of both organised labour and far-sighted and humane employers.

The conditions so far outlined only sketchily, and which can be said to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the entire Arabic-speaking world, would in themselves be almost sufficient to justify the Arab Middle East being described as a vacuum of military, political and social-economic power. However, there are additional factors in the emotional and intellectual make-up of Islam that are liable to open up dangerous avenues for communist conquest. In its substance, Islam is the theological and ritual expression of a basically nomad, if not anarchical, social conception. Modern methods of local government, impartial administration of justice by the State as paramount power, along with other like institutions, are still being largely considered a nuisance even by the more sedentary populations of the "fertile crescent." The religious-legal institution of hospitality still remains the all-pervading norm, which, while bidding you bestow on the stranger food, clothing and all other assistance of which he may stand in need so long as his dwelling in your tribal territory, does not prevent you from slaying and robbing him of all his goods and chattels once he has crossed the boundary of your domain. In their extreme forms these conditions do, of course, survive only in the ever-shrinking area in which the nomad Arabs still continue roaming; yet they have left their imprint in varying degrees on the Arabic speaking world as a whole. Again, this is a form of organisation that represents a state of weakness in the face of communist expansion.

Even during World War II, Soviet emissaries of Asiatic extraction and Muslim faith were being observed, in Saudi Arabia for example, attempting to curry favour with the Arabs in

order to open up canals for communist infiltration. At that time, they were still working with a crude appeal to a kind of Soviet-Arab Asiatic brotherhood, trying to engender joint ridicule for the conceited Westerner who set great stores by his cultural superiority while being only too apt to forget that his ancestors had still been skin-clad barbarians owing the primeval forests of North-Western Europe when the civilised peoples of Central Asia and early Islam were already possessed of a high-grade civilisation. Moscow has since considerably refined its methods of infiltration.

While in the West communism has succeeded only in a small number of ludicrously isolated instances in recruiting for itself auxiliaries from among those in holy orders—such as the notorious "Red Dean of Canterbury"—who maintains that the communist creed is but the political facet of Christian ethics, in the orbit of Islam it may soon be able to boast with far more substantial results.

A long series of political mistakes committed by the West, confusions of emotion and thought created by ill-coordinated promises, part kept part unredeemed, have also contributed to alienating the Arab East from the western world at large. The latest phase in that lengthy story of mismanagement is the handling of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Nor can the West rely on the solace that at least the State of Israel represents an unshakable bulwark against the onrush of communist expansionism in the Middle East.

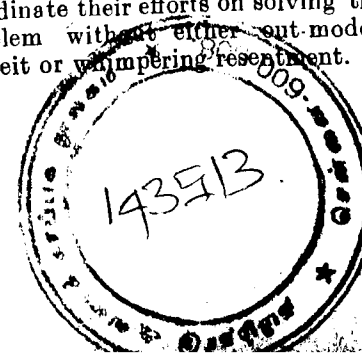
The eight years which passed since the birth "in blood and iron" of Israel from a "Jewish National Home" that never was quite allowed to take shape, have not been able entirely to assuage Jewish resentment, caused by western promises equally not kept. Moreover, the political life of Israel is still largely dominated by settlers from the old Tsarist or the modern Soviet Empire, to whom Russia—while often incomprehensibly obdurate and even cruel—can, like the King of England, "do no wrong." Over and above a largely State-regimented, if not nationalised, industry, the lesser number of privately owned farms and semi-capitalist agricultural co-operatives, the "Kvutsoth," the communal farms wholly run on communist principles

under the name of "Kibbutism" are playing a dominant part. They represent a form of agricultural organisation created to guarantee by communist methods the achievement of an essentially nationalistic goal—the settling of a maximum number of Jewish immigrants on a minimum surface area. These settlements have been created and are being maintained, at the cost of admirable heroism and self-denial, mostly by Jewish intellectuals turned collective peasants. Mr. Khrushchev will yet have to toil long and laboriously before he can produce anything like those Israeli settlements in the sphere of orthodox Marxism-Leninism applied to agriculture.

And although a considerable majority of groups and individuals in Israel today may be bitterly opposed to, or at least dumbfoundedly bewildered by, the Soviet Union because of its policies of anti-zionism and supplying arms to the Arabs, one of the well-known about-turns by Moscow would most likely be sufficient to turn Israeli hostility and bewilderment into swooning friendliness.

Even from a superficial *tour d'horizon* such as the foregoing reflections it can be clearly seen that the Middle East today represents a danger zone to the free world while offering countless possibilities to communist expansion. That danger is further accentuated by the fact that the North African Arabs and Berbers, who have basically little in common with their Arab cousins in the Middle East proper, are at present—owing to no mean extent to the "liberation propaganda" pursued by the Cairo regime—menacing the adjoining region of the Southern Mediterranean. That region the free world would be well advised to conceive of primarily not as a French colonial concern, but an integral part of Great Europe, as indeed for over two thousand years it has almost uninterruptedly been the scene of European settlement and civilising activities.

All this makes it imperative that the Arab East should be defended against communist seizure of power. That, however, can only be achieved if all the forces of the free world, including the United States, are willing to coordinate their efforts on solving the region's problem without either outmoded colonial conceit or whimpering resentment.



Haridas the North Indian Musician

By

MR. D. G. VYAS

WHENEVER South India is asked to name great pioneers of music it instinctively and reverentially mentions the immortal trinity—Thyagaraja, Dikshitar and Shyama shastri.

In disquieting contrast to it, is the North which puts its fingers only a few executants of the current age.

The North has not yet been able to locate in the past the pioneers comparable to the Trinity of the South.

In music, the pioneers belong to the class of composers and also to the rank of founders of schools.

The outstanding ones among them attain the eminence of celebrities.

Swami Haridas Maharaj was foremost among the pioneers in the North

In spite of his greatness, he is still recognised only when he is described as the Guru of Tansen.

This is rather distressing.

The order of introduction must be reversed.

Swamiji was born in the village Rajapur near Brindavan in Samvat 1537 (1481 A.D.).

The day was Wednesday, Bhadrapada, Shukla Ashtami, and it had some significance, as it happened to be "Radhashlani"—the birth date of Radhaji.

In Swamiji's creed of devotion, Radha was the principal object of adoration.

It was, therefore, a curious coincidence that the "deity" and "devotee" happened to have a common birth-date.

Swami Haridasji was Sanadhya Brahmin by caste.

This community is still represented by numerous families residing in the same region.

The name of Swamiji's father was Gangadhar. Mother's was Chitradevi.

When he arrived at the proper age, the sacred thread ceremony was performed by Guru Ashudhevidevji of the "Nimbark" Sect.

Ever since his early life Swamiji had shown a spiritual bent of mind which was reflected in his personality and behaviour.

He was noticed to have been apathetic towards the ordinary games of children, but he happened to be intensely interested in any game which was even remotely associated with Lord Krishna.

This was an enigma to the people of the village.

Swami Haridasji lived with his family till the age of 25.

During this period he studied Sanskrit, mythology, philosophy and music.

Although he was surrounded by relatives and friends, and was engaged in studies his inner vision was focussed on Radha and Krishna.

He was lifting himself above the pleasures and pains of the worldly life and was thus moving towards the stage of renunciation which was his ultimate goal.

At the age of 25—in the prime of life, Swamiji renounced the world. He was initiated in Bhakti by the same guru Ashudhevidevji.

He left his birth-place Rajapur, went over to Brindavan and settled down in "Nidhivan"—the sacred place—in which he continued throughout life to adore Radha and Krishna and to seek liberation, through pure and highest music.

Swamiji was 95 at the time of his death.

Swami Haridasji was a saint and devotee.

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He had pledged himself to life-long celibacy.

Obviously he had no progeny, and none who could claim descent from him.

The "Nimbarka" sect of Vaishnavism, of which he was a guru prescribes devotion in the feminine role (Sakhibhava), and adoration of the divine and youthful couple—Radha and Krishna.

To Swamiji music was the sole means of devotion and liberation.

He has attained immortality by leaving behind himself the rich tradition of music and its spiritual ideals.

Although Swamiji had no issue, his creed of devotion and tradition of music have been continued by the successive generations of his disciples.

Swamiji was the pioneer of a great epoch of music.

He was gifted in a full measure, with all the faculties which are essential to make music.

He was a musician-poet, composer and musician of rare genius and abilities.

He was a perfect "Vaggeyakara" in the language of Sangeet Shastra.

Above all, he was unrivalled in his art of singing.

He used to sing his own compositions, because music was to him a spiritual necessity and not an entertainment in the ordinary sense.

Swamiji's school of music was his own.

It was not an extension or a branch of any other nor was it affiliated to any darbari school.

Music which was popular, in his age was of the Dhruvpad and Dhamar style.

It was sung to the accompaniment of the Mridanga and string instruments.

Swamiji had developed music of this difficult style to a high degree.

His compositions are in the Talas like Chautala, Jhapa, Dhamar etc.

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The tunes sung by him were classical and pure. He selected them according to the time of the day and time of singing and to the necessity of interpreting "Rasabhavas" inherent in the different themes and episodes concerning Radha and Krishna.

In the circle of Swamiji's disciples, certain prominent names have been mentioned, and they are Baiju Bawra, Gopalalal, Madanrai, Ramdas, Divakar Pandit, Soma Pandit, Raja Sankasen and Tanna Mishra—Tansen.

Among them, Baiju, Tansen, Ramdas and others had gone out of the fold of the temple and had thus carried Swamiji's music to the distant corners through the Darbar as their centre, but at the same time, they had maintained the highest standards of music and had, thereby, done full credit to the training received by them from the guru, Haridasji.

The 'left motif' of Swamiji's compositions is devotion in the feminine role, adoration of the youthful couple, Radha and Krishna and their divine "Shringara."

From the poetic point of view, the compositions are exquisitely beautiful.

They give an impression that Swamiji had his eyes constantly fixed on his supreme ideal—that he was constantly living in proximity to the Divinity. He has sung every episode so vividly as if he was an eye-witness to it.

Swamiji's Dhamars give a fine portrayal of the spring festival of Radha Krishna.

His "Malhars" are equally expressive of the monsoon "Leelas" of the divine couple.

Swamiji's music was as it were, an uninterrupted out-pouring of the musings of the soul which had turned Brindavan into an abode of music.

The compositions of Baiju and Tansen also reflect the 'left motif' of Swamiji's songs.

This coincidence is not surprising, because they had learned from the Guru music as well as the art of poetic composition.

They had also taken from him the themes and motifs essential to compose music, and further the environments of devotion in which they were trained had left an enduring impress on their minds.

Although they 'sang' outside the temple, their music was devotional in content and purpose.

Baiju was popularly known as Bawra, because he was completely lost in devotion to the celestial art of music.

The high place occupied by him in the realm of music is now established as a historical fact.

Tansen was for some time at the court of Raja Ramachandra Badhela.

The popularity thus initially gained by him soon brought him to the Darbar of Emperor Akbar, in which he made his mark as the greatest musician who still stands unrivalled in his art.

It is not difficult to imagine the greatness of the Guru whose disciples were so outstanding.

"Nidhivan" used to draw crowds of people and also kings eager to pay respects to Swamiji.

Raja Ramchandra Badhela is mentioned among the distinguished visitors, and Emperor Akbar himself had gone to "Nidhivan" to meet Swamiji and to listen to his superb music.

Several of Swamiji's compositions are available in print.

Several others are still sung in the Vaishnavite temples.

The mark of authenticity which most of them bear is "Shri Haridaske Swami Shyama."

The compositions of Swamiji and other devotee musicians of his rank are known as "Keertanas."

The style of singing them is over 400 years old and is retained as a tradition in the Vaishnavite temples in which Keertankaras are engaged.

The Keertana is a distinct school of the Dhrupad and Dhamar style as moulded in the temple.

Those who have failed to appreciate the high music of the Keertanas and their Dhrupad forms have superciliously described them as Bhajans.

They should, at least, know that Bhajans are stylisations set in the easy Deshi talas which are prevalent among the people. The Keertanas are set to the talas of the Dhrupad style. There is, thus, a wide difference between the Keertanas and Bhajans.

The music of Swami Haridasji was of the highest classical type.

Swamiji has left for modern India a rich and resourceful legacy of music in his available compositions.

India must pay homage to him at least, once in a year—on the Radhashtami day—the date of his birth.

Swami Haridasji, should be the first and foremost among the music pioneers whose anniversaries should be celebrated and who should be honoured with memorials on a national scale.

Economic Complications of States Reorganisation

By

Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI M. COM. LL. B.

THE redrawing of the political map of India is an event which is unique and unparalleled in the history of the world ever since Governments came to base their authority on the consent of the governed. No other country of comparable dimensions and with a form of polity similar to our own has so far embarked on a similar enterprise.

The demand for the reorganisation of states in the pre-independence days was largely related to the principle of linguistic homogeneity. The Indian National Congress, which at first lent only indirect support to the formation of linguistic states, had adopted it as a political objective at its Nagpur session in 1920 and continued to adhere to it till 1948. The Dar Commission, appointed by the Constituent Assembly in the later year listed certain generally recognised tests which a linguistic area must satisfy before it could be formed into a province. These were inter se:

1. Geographical contiguity -
2. Financial self-sufficiency;
3. Administrative convenience: and
4. Capacity for future development.

Soon after the Dar Commission had submitted its report, the Indian National Congress appointed at its Jaipur session in December, 1948, a Committee, known as the J. V. P. Committee, which consisted of Jawahar Lal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, to consider the question of linguistic provinces and to review the position in the light of the report of the Dar Commission and the new problems that had arisen since Independence. The Committee struck a note of warning against an unalloyed linguistic approach.

Since then there has been a gradual but definite shift in the direction of the view that in considering the reorganisation of states all relevant factors such as the unity and security of the country, cultural and linguistic affinities, administrative convenience, financial circumstances and economic progress under the auspices of the National Plan, should be taken into account.

These factors constituted the terms of reference given to the States Reorganisation Commission appointed by the Government of India on December 29, 1953. The Commission consisting of Mr. Fazl Ali as Chairman and Dr. H. N. Kunzru and Mr. K. M. Panikkar as members submitted its report on September 30, 1955. In its report, the Commission proposed a scheme of reorganisation in which the component units of the Indian Union were to consist of 2 categories, namely, "States" forming federating units of the Union, and "Territories", which are centrally administered, in place of the complicated and transitional categorization into Part A, Part B, and Part C States and Part D territories. The States proposed by the Commission were Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Andhra, Bombay, Vidarbha, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, U. P., Bihar, W. Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Jammu and Kashmir. The three territories proposed to be centrally administered were Delhi, Manipur and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Chairman recommended that Himachal Pradesh also be a centrally administered territory, while Mr. Panikkar favoured the creation of a new state to be called the State of Agra consisting of parts of U. P., Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh.

The report of the Commission was released on October 10, 1955, for eliciting public opinion. Finally on January 16, 1956, the Government of India formulated their decisions on most of the Commission's recommendations. Three draft bills incorporating these decisions were referred to the concerned State legislatures for the expression of their views and placed before Parliament and finally passed by it in August and September 1956. The reorganization scheme that has now come into operation is embodied in the States Reorganization Act, 1956, the Bihar and West Bengal transfer of territories Act, 1956 and the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956. The redrawn political map now comprises 14 states and 6 territories. Bombay is the biggest State having an area of 190,919 square miles and Kerala the smallest with an area of 15,035 square miles. Population is largest in Uttar Pradesh (63,215,742) and smallest in Jammu and Kashmir.

Financial and economic factors, particularly in these days when the public sector is increasing in significance, are regarded as relevant to any scheme of redistribution of territories. Of these, financial viability is the most important. A State should have adequate financial resources to maintain itself and to develop its economy. In other words financial viability has 2 aspects—the short term aspect is the ability of the State to balance its budget over a period of time, not necessarily within each single financial year, the long term aspect is the capacity of the State to increase its economic resources in such a way that it is possible for it to balance its budget at a higher level of national development, unless it chooses on grounds of economic policy to have a deficit budget. But in a federation a transfer of financial resources from the Centre to the States may be unavoidable, but such transfer should normally be utilised for development purposes and not for meeting the ordinary obligations of a State on revenue account. "If a federal

system with any real independence in the States is to continue", says Sir John Latham, formerly Chief Justice of the Australian High Court, "the States must have financial resources under their own control reasonably adequate to their responsibilities." However the importance of this consideration should not be exaggerated. For one thing state finances are in a flux owing to the exigencies of planning. The taxation structure is due to be enlarged from year to year. Secondly, the Second Finance Commission is now at work and its recommendations may create a new situation in some respects in the near future. Therefore, no exaggerated importance should be attached to the possibility of revenue deficits. After all, even as it is, revenue deficits are the order of the day. In fact, among the current budgets of Part 'A' States, only Bombay shows a surplus and that surplus too is only nominal. Among Part 'B' States, Madhya Bharat and Pepsu alone show small surpluses. The estimated total revenue deficits of all State Governments stands at Rs. 76 crores, while the aggregate for Part 'A' States alone is Rs. 63 crores.

In these circumstances there is really not much point in discussing with any great seriousness the detailed impact of reorganisation on State finances, in terms of the sizes of possible revenue deficits. This issue would have assumed some importance had the Bombay state been split up. Since that partitioning has not taken place, all that is really necessary is to consider the broad point whether any of the new States is likely to have an exceptionally weak financial position. To this general question, the answer too has to be in an equally general form at the present time.

The new state of Madhya Pradesh has the advantage of the Madhya Bharat revenue surplus, but the loss of the Marathi-speaking districts to the new Bombay state may more than wipe out this budgetary gain. Roughly speaking, present levels of taxation and taking

into account the administrative expenditure incidental to the organisation of the new state, the outlook seems to be that the new Madhya Pradesh will start with a larger revenue deficit than the original budget estimates for the current financial year have indicated, the revenue deficit shown by these estimates being Rs. 3 82 crores.

The position of new Punjab is simpler and happier. The Pepsu budget will bring to it a revenue surplus of Rs. 47 lakhs, as against which the old Punjab has only a deficit of Rs. 21 lakhs.

The new Bombay state will have an impressive financial position, inspite of the fact that Saurashtra has revenue deficit. This is partly because the Kanarese speaking districts which it has lost to Mysore are estimated to be financially deficit and partly because Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh which have merged with it are considered to be in a position to contribute to a substantial budgetary surplus.

The areas which now join the Mysore state are estimated to be financially deficit, but the deficit is attributable to the irrigation, power and other projects, which have been taken up under the First Five Year-Plan and subsequently, these projects, when completed, will add considerably to the agricultural wealth of the State. The State has a revenue deficit for the current year of Rs. 3 89 crores.

Of the new State of Andhra Pradesh, it may be said that its budgetary position will not be worse than that of former Andhra (which showed a revenue deficit of Rs. 3.25 crores) but may be better. The Telengana area is financially self-sufficient at present and may well be able to contribute substantially to the expansion of revenues of the new state in the future.

The areas coming from Madras will add to the forest wealth of Kerala, which if developed together with the plantation industries (tea, coffee and rubber) may help in wiping out the revenue deficit of this state.

Another important economic consideration of States reorganisation is that the direct extra cost of reorganisation should be as little as possible: and economy in existing expendi-

ture may even be aimed at. For, at a time when all available resources are to be used for the purposes of the Plan and when attempts are made to increase such resources through economy in non-development expenditure, a scheme of reorganisation which significantly increases the load of non-developmental expenditure would be prejudicial to the national interest. The most obvious impact of reorganisation is that there are fewer administrative units with the consequence that the cost of administration on governors and ministers and legislatures will go down. The reorganisation of the States has undoubtedly furthered the economic consolidation of the nation. Geographical compactness and the reduction in the number of units from 28 to 20 has made for freer movement of goods and persons over wider areas. Rational location of industries and allocation of resources on a regional basis would promote inter-state trade, commerce and intercourse.

The effect of reorganisation of states on the working of the national plan should also be considered. The nation has committed itself to long-term economic planning. The First Five-Year Plan has been completed. The second is now on. Many more will follow. The existence of too many inter-state barriers and other limitations particularly in the case of irrigation, power and flood control projects relating to inter-state rivers have already proved increasingly unhelpful and irksome in the past. Now that these projects will be generally within the jurisdiction of a solitary state, the difficulty of inter-state control will not arise. But there is no doubt that resources forecast at state level will be upset and the newly created units are unlikely in the normal course, to address themselves with vigour and drive to the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan. Further, perfect economic regions not being the outcome of reorganisation, some sort of inter-state co-operation will have to be promoted, particularly when a project involves the destinies of more than one state; but with fewer states, the prospects of such co-operation will more bright. Particularly beneficiaries of the reorganisation will be the backward areas that will be elevated to the status of the advanced ones and getting better facilities, they are sure to progress within a short time.

India's Armed Forces

By

"A MILITARIST"

IN keeping with India's declared international objectives, the Defence Services are primarily intended to preserve her territorial integrity and not to join any race for armaments with any other nation. On attaining freedom, the country had to build her defence industry on the remnants left behind. She early realised that self-sufficiency in arms production was a vital necessity, and has, during the past nine years, made rapid headway in this direction.

In order to evolve a co-ordinated policy in regard to the demand for defence stores for the Army, Navy and Air Force, the Government of India have set up a Defence Production Board. Apart from being responsible for the efficient running of ordnance factories, the Board has paid special attention to maximum utilisation of the existing capacity for defence production. Since the beginning of this year, the Technical Development Directorate of the Army has been transferred to this Board, and there is also a proposal soon to merge the Development Wings of the Navy and the Air Force into this set-up.

While, on the one hand, efforts are being made to improve the efficiency of ordnance factories and fully utilise their spare capacity, on the other, the possibilities of further stepping up the manufacture of defence equipment are being explored.

Since the setting up of the Machine Tool Prototype Factory at Ambarnath in 1953 for manufacturing prototypes of weapons and precision-type or specialised machine tools required mainly by ordnance factories, another Industry, known as the Bharat Electronics, Limited, designed to turn out wireless and

radar equipment, has gone into production at Jalahalli, near Bangalore.

The Hindustan Aircraft, Limited, Bangalore, has made a distinct contribution in the shape of the newly-designed aircraft HT-2 and has, for some years, been assembling Vampire jet fighters now in use in the Air force. In addition, it has undertaken air frame and aero-engine repairs and overhaul work from the Air Force, the Navy and the Airlines Corporation.

The Defence Science Organisation has helped the defence industry by research and development of new designs for arms, weapons and equipment.

A fall in demand from the three Service resulted in a large number of workers being rendered surplus in defence installations. To obviate any large-scale retrenchment, the ordnance factories had to undertake the manufacture of goods for civilian consumption. But for this, more than 8,000 workers, who are now employed in civil trade work, would have been thrown out of employment.

As ordnance factories are exclusively designed to produce specialised type of defence equipment and stores, further expansion in civil trade work has not been regarded as a practical proposition. Even after the absorption of 8,000 men in civil trade, a large number of surplus employees continue on idle-time payment in these establishments. The average number of idle workers, both semi-skilled and unskilled, during the past, few months was more than 6,000 and, in addition, there are nearly 2,500 non-industrial workers. The efforts of the Defence Ministry to find alternative jobs for these sur-

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plus workers are bearing fruit, and already over 3,000 of them have been provided employment in other Government undertakings.

As the retention of a large number of officers in the Armed Forces on an impermanent basis affects efficiency in the defence organisation, Government are considering enlargement of the cadre of permanent commissions by absorbing the fit among those holding non-regular—emergency, temporary and short-service—commissions. As regards officers retiring or being released prematurely from military service, Government are examining the question of finding them suitable civilian jobs in consultation with the Planning Commission.

Although the defence and integrity of the country is the sole responsibility of regular forces, the real strength of a modern nation ultimately depends on the people at large. In order to infuse among the people the essential qualities of self-reliance and discipline, various schemes have been launched from time to time.

The Territorial Army, which offers, military training to adults for manning the country's defences in an emergency, without standing in the way of their normal avocations in civilian life, is intended to provide support to regular forces as its second line of defence. The TA's present strength is nearly 96 per cent of its authorised strength.

The year 1915 saw the inception of the J. K. Sahayak Sena (formerly known as National Volunteer Force) established with the object of instilling a sense of discipline among able-bodied citizens between 18 to 40 years by providing them elementary military training. One hundred and thirty camps of 500 each were held all over India during the year. Unlike the TA, there is no obligation for LSS trainees to be called up for active service.

The National Cadet Corps, which seeks to stimulate among young men and women a

sense of responsibility and a disciplined way of life at an impressionable age, made a small beginning in 1948 and has gradually expanded on a national scale. The cadet movement has proved extremely popular and its net work now extends to all the States. The strength of the NCC on January 1, 1956, was 1,21,400 as against 1,01,350 in the previous year. With the contemplated expansion of the cadet corps organisation under the second Five-Year Plan, it is expected that a unit of the NCC would be brought into being in every high school and college throughout the length and breadth of the country.

As the training facilities under the NCC could not keep pace with the increasing demand, the Auxiliary Cadet Corps had to be set up for high schools. The present strength of the ACC is estimated to be 7,50,000.

In evolving a balanced system of defence, Government have laid greater stress on the advancement of the Navy and the Air Force, which, being still young are naturally less developed than the Army.

Despite the organisational and administrative upsets caused by Partition, the Indian Army has successfully withstood severe tests in the difficult years that followed in Kashmir and Hyderabad and later in the Punjab and Delhi. In the international field, it acquitted itself creditably in Korea, and in Indo-China, it has been discharging its heavy responsibility of supervision of armistice in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia for the last two years.

Greater attention is being paid recently to reorganisation and training the Army. During the year, the Chief of the Army Staff instituted an infantry prize at the Military College, Dehra Dun, with a view to stimulating incentive and competitive spirit among gentlemen cadets joining the infantry, which is the basic arm of the Army.

The Army has established a reputation for itself in the field of social service. Whenever

called upon, Army units have unhesitatingly rendered assistance during natural calamities. It has also helped civil authorities during national festivals, and in this connection the Army engineers' valuable help at the Ardh Kumbh fair at Hardwar last summer will always be remembered. In April last, the Army was called upon to go to the aid of civil power in the disturbed Naga area of Assam and NEFA to maintain law and order.

In regard to the Indian Navy, the emphasis during the year has been on the extension of facilities for training. This has become necessary in view of the Navy's acquisition of some most modern ships.

Many new technical schools have sprung up in place of the old ones and some more are under various stages of completion. All these training centres are being fitted up with the latest type of equipment. A new technical course in engineering, for which naval cadets hitherto used to be sent abroad, has been started. The standard of naval training ashore and afloat has vastly improved.

In accordance with the Navy's modernisation programme, some new ships have been added to the Fleet in replacement of the old ones. Of these, two minesweepers have already arrived in India and four more have been commissioned in the United Kingdom. The INS 'Mysore,' a Colony-class cruiser, which is the prospective flagship of the Navy, is being refitted in the U. K. It has also been decided

to acquire some more frigates and an aircraft-carrier.

Rear Admiral R. D. Katari, India's first Admiral, has taken over the Command of the Fleet. At present, this Command—the second most important one in the Navy—held by a British officer, is for the first time, taken over by an Indian Officer. During last year's summer cruise, ships of the Flotilla paid goodwill visits to Burma, Malaya and Singapore.

It is an unusual feature of military aviation that it remains fully operational even in peacetime. This is very true of the Indian Air Force.

During the past 12 months, the Air Force carried out a number of "mercy missions" to help people affected by natural calamities. It dropped leaflets over the Laccadive Island to convey the first news of the well-being of a group of "missing, believed drowned" fishermen caught in a raging storm in the Arabian Sea, to their anxious families. It carried out air-drop missions in aid of flood-affected people in Orissa, the Punjab, PEPSU and Delhi. It also air-dropped supplies over Rampuri, Mandi, near Dehra Dun, for gentlemen cadets of the Military College Marooned while camping there due to sudden floods in the Jamuna. It rushed supplies to help Ladakhi tradesmen and other villagers in the Lahaul Valley and Pangi area in Himachal Pradesh trapped and cut off due to heavy snowfall last winter.

Recent Conferences

Indian Philosophical Congress

The Indian Philosophical Congress held its Session at Annamalinagar on the 19th December. Dr. Rashvihari Das presided over the Session. Over 209 delegates from all parts of the world attended. Inaugurating the Session Prof. Humayun Kabir, M. P. observed that so long as man had in him the urge towards realisation of values, metaphysics would never lack its own special field of study. "In our concern for the immediate end, we have at times lost sight of the world of values which ultimately move man to action". He called upon the students of philosophy in India and elsewhere to work for the revival of these studies and the pursuit of truth in all its aspects so that the world of values might once again be revealed. Dr. Rashvihari Das in his Presidential address said:

Philosophy certainly does not represent any growing body of knowledge as science does. Our old philosophers, when they are genuinely such, never become out of date. The fact is that a philosopher may, and does, learn from others as much as he can, but what he gives to the world as his philosophy is peculiarly his own. Philosophy in this respect seems akin to religion and poetry.

Speaking about different systems of philosophy the learned President said:

It would be invidious to grade the different systems of philosophy as higher and lower in some scale, because such grading would only betray subjective preference; I would further think that the different systems are not definitely true or definitely false, but merely represent different views of reality from different standpoints, corresponding to the philosophers' insight.

There has been steady increase in the number of foreign delegates attending this Congress.

Music Conferences in Madras

The 24th South Indian Music Conference and Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Indian Fine Arts Society met at Madras on Dec. 22. The Maharaja of Travancore inaugurated the Session and Prof. P. Sambamurthi presided over it. In the course of his inaugural address the Maharaja said that in the changing world of today music had to appeal on the one hand to the serious student and the erudite audience and on the other to cater to the average person, who mainly desired light entertainment. Therefore, if Carnatic music had to preserve its high standard and purity a division might be desirable separating classical music from popular one. This was not a new

suggestion as, when European music was faced with the same problem, a similar separation was effected.

Prof. Sambamoorthy, in his presidential address referred to the greatness of Indian music and said that India was the first country to evolve a system of solmisation. The scale system of India including the 5184 suddha-misra melas was so comprehensive that it was impossible for any one to conceive of a scale, heptatonic or transilient, which was not already anticipated here. The Indian music used some time-measures (talas), which were not known to other music systems.

The Thirtieth Music Conference organised by the Madras Music Academy was inaugurated by Mr. Morarji Desai, Union Minister of Commerce on Dec. 22. He said that classical music was vital to the progress of music and it should interest even a layman. He argued that if music could absorb the interest of birds and animals, then even the most ignorant human being could not but be affected by it. But if classical music did not interest the layman, then all he could say was that there was something wrong somewhere in the presentation of it.

Thiruvizhimalai Subramania Pillai, delivering the presidential address of the Conference stressed the need for training in vocal music for those who aspired to become Nagasvaram vidvans and criticised the trends of thought that it was not necessary for such vidvans to learn sahityams and, the habit of learning only the *swara sthanas*. This he deplored, would minimise the value of the sahityams and appealed to those who wanted to attain proficiency in the instrument to get a good grounding in *sahityams*, when alone their playing will attain the right quality.

The All India Pediatric Conference

The All India Pediatric Conference met at Vellore on Dec. 20. Dr. S. C. Shetu presided over the session. Inaugurating the Conference Dr. U. K. Rao stressed the importance of the study of pediatrics and the need for doing research. He said that the Indian Pediatric Society had striven to enable general practitioner to keep abreast of the advances that were of practical value to them in their daily work. He said that the two pediatric organi-

sations in the country should unite so that a united organisation could impress upon those in authority with one voice.

Dr. Shetu in the course of his presidential address said that the scope of the conference had been widened, so as to include all aspects of child life, health and welfare in its purview and not merely the care of the sick child. Child health demanded top priority on the health programme of a nation and it was gratifying to note that it had drawn the attention of our Planning Commission in the First and second Five-year Plans of development. The common man neglected the health of his children not because he was less affectionate, but because he was not health conscious. Care of the child, he said, was always an individual and social duty of most vital importance and must be attended to with all earnestness. Illness in a child retarded him not only physically but mentally and emotionally. Preventive and social medicine held the biggest promise in the field of child health and care. The problem of child health must be tackled on a nation-wide basis.

The All-India Lawyers' Conference

The All-India Lawyers' Conference convened by the All-India Association of Democratic Lawyers met at New Delhi under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee on the 23rd December. Dewan Chamanlal inaugurated the session. Mr. Teja Singh, a former Judge of PEPSU welcomed the delegates. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee in course of his address said that lawyers should recognise that "right and not might is the true basis of society and free expression of popular will and not force or violence is the true basis of Government."

Mr. Chatterjee felt that "time has come now for the legal profession in India to organise itself thoroughly. There should be an integrated All-India Bar and it should be put on a proper footing."

"There is need for a thorough overhaul of our existing statutes. Mere amendment of the procedural code will be of little avail unless and until the codes dealing with substantive laws are radically altered."

The Conference which adopted a resolution to this effect underlined the necessity for an independent judiciary in a free and democratic society. It said that the integration and independence of the Bar was necessary for the proper administration of justice.

The Conference, by another resolution, "strongly disapproved the ban placed upon lawyers in certain statutes for the conduct of cases before judicial and quasi-judicial tribunals."

The Conference urged the Union and State Governments to complete the separation of the judiciary and executive "without any further delay." It welcomed efforts already made by certain State Governments in this regard.

Asian Writers' Conference

Indian writers, assembled at New Delhi on December 22 for a preparatory convention to the Asian Writers' Conference and finalised the Indian delegation to the conference.

Kakasaheb Kalelkar, well-known writer and M.P., who inaugurated the convention, stressed on the cultural unity of India.

Prof. Kabir, who presided over the session, said that the conference would be the first meeting of Asian writers and that it would "prolong the message" of the First Asian Political conference held in 1947.

Prof. Kabir said that Indian languages, with all their differences, had a common outlook which could be described as "Indianness." This "Indianness," he added, had developed because of the fact that the 14 main languages of the country were either derived from or had been influenced by Sanskrit. In the middle ages, he said, Persian had also a great influence on Indian literature and in modern times English had sought to influence Indian life and culture.

Comparing Asian and Western literature, Mr. C. Rajogopalachari said that though the classics and ancient literature of Asian countries were superior to the old literature of the West, the present-day literature of these countries was inferior to that of the Western world. "We should aim at producing in all parts of Asia as good a literature as comes out of the Western peoples at present."

He also expressed the view that it would be better to produce new literature in this region than try to interpret Western literature.

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, former Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras University, expressed the hope that the spiritual and intellectual oneness would pervade the Asian countries and spread throughout the world. This, he said, would be a step towards the creation of "one world" in culture, if not in politics.

Indian Statistical Conference

The 25th Annual meeting of the Indian statistical Institute met at Calcutta on December 22, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh presiding. Mr. Deshmukh in the course of his address said in the coming years statistics would play a more important role as anyone, who counted in this country, had now learnt its significance. The draft for the Second Plan had been largely formulated by the Institute while the Union Government had recommended its service to State Governments in making their policies and plans in economic and social affairs. Nevertheless much more would have to be done by the Institute to help raise the standard of living of the people. He hoped the workers would prove equal to the task and accept that greater challenge.

Prof. P. G. Mahalanobis, Director of the Institute, said it was a matter of pride that from a very humble beginning the organisation had today become a centre of research for economic and social affairs. It had solved many intricate problems facing the country by theoretical research and by its practical application. For an underdeveloped country statistics was indispensable. He was happy to say that the people had begun to understand its value, he said.

S. I. Muslim Convention

The Muslim Convention of South India met at Madras on December 23. Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs presided. In his presidential address Mr. Syed Mahmud declared that separatism is the sure concomitant of the two-nation theory and where one nation has 90 per cent votes, the second with ten per cent is bound to be reduced sooner or later to a secondary if not a servile status. Let Mussalmans of India beware, let us not become a caste of untouchables."

It was true, he said, in the conditions which exist today the Muslims felt that they were somewhat neglected in matters of representation in the legislatures, that they were not pulling their due weight in government and administration, that they did not enjoy the amount of influence and the extent of opportunities of serving their motherland which every section of society might legitimately aspire of doing. There might be other matters and the combined effect of all of them might be a sense of frustration.

But what is the remedy ?

"Our remedy then is to belong truly to the great organisation of India so that we should circulate freely in its blood stream," he said and called upon them to play their part in the political stage with firmness and courage.

Earlier, Jamal Haji S. M. Mahmoodkhan, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the gathering. He said that the convention has been organised to give a lead to the Muslims in shaping the political outlook and to see that the "community gives up its communal politics." It was highly imperative that they must have unity and goodwill amongst all sections of the people. He said :

I sincerely request the Muslim leaders to organise themselves in co-operation with the Congress so that the community could secure its due share in all those nation-building departments in which they have no adequate representation and also to see that the Muslims take advantage of the Second Five-Year Plan to solve their unemployment problem by starting industrial and technical undertakings on co-operative basis."

Sir Mohammad Usman, the Nawab of Chataari, Mr. Ahmed Bijpuri, Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, Mr. C.A. Mohamed Ibrahim and S.M. Bahmani Saheb participated in the discussion and came to the conclusion that the Muslim League ideals have not even an iota of support from the community and that the community has no longer any faith in communal politics.

Silver Jubilee of Indian Talkies

The Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Talking picture took place in Bombay last month. Mr. S. K. Patil inaugurated the function. Mr. Patil said the Indian industry had all the talent which was required to attain this purpose. All that was essential just now was "concentration" and "devotion" so that they may rise above the limitations confronting the industry, he added.

If this was done, he added, he was sure that the time was not far off when the Indian industry would also "achieve a premier position in the world."

Mr. Patil paid tributes to the pioneers of the industry and stated that the seed that they had laid had resulted in the growth of a brilliant, shady and fine tree.

Side by side with the growth of the cinema, Mr. Patil said, it was essential to revive the theatre, which from time immemorial had existed in India. Wherever the theatre movement was strong, a flourishing film industry would also be found, he remarked.

Congratulating the pioneers, the artistes who braved prejudice and all those responsible for the growth of the cinema during the last 25 years, he said the contribution of the cinema towards national progress was no less than the strides made in other fields during this period.

The future boded well for the industry, Mr. Patil stated, as the Government was taking keen interest in the industry. Already a Bill was before Parliament and he was sure that some of the major recommendations made by the Film Inquiry Committee would be implemented.

Indian History Congress

The Indian History Congress held its 19th Session at Agra on Dec. 25 when Dr. Narendra Nath Law presided. Mr. K. M. Munshi, Governor of U. P. inaugurated the session. In his learned inaugural address Sri K. M. Munshi said:

While our history has to discard biased judgment of a foreign ruling class, we have to eliminate the partisan attitude of aggressive nationalism. Rewriting of Indian history has to be done with a view to discovering what in the course of centuries "we felt and suffered, how we reacted to new conditions, what were the central ideas and fundamental values which persisted through time, how we were influenced or overwhelmed by the impact of external forces or internal disruption and how we survived them to emerge as a vital and free nation."

Dr. N. N. Law in his address, called upon Indian historians to meet the new challenge that faced them after India's attainment of independence the challenge to do their best and live up to the highest ideals of getting at the truth in a scientific spirit. He said:

In the changed political status of the country, the Indian History Congress, as one of the most important forums of historical research, had assumed a more significant role than before, with a new zeal and formative urge. India's freedom had brought to the country's historians new opportunities and new responsibilities for carrying on investigations.

Indian Economic Conference

The 39th session of the Indian Economic Conference met at Cuttack on Dec 26. Mr. Bhimasen Sachar, Governor of Orissa inaugurated the Conference. During his speech he said: "Our objective is clear. We want to drive the demon of poverty from our sacred land. It has held its sway here for too long. We are therefore, determined to add to our national wealth. This at once brings us face to face with the question of the means to be employed

for increasing our wealth. That this should be so is right because after all, wealth is but a means to an end and not the end itself. Our end is human welfare, which implies a harmonious development of human personality."

If the country's programmes stood this test, Mr. Sachar said, it was well and good. But if their fulfilment meant nothing better than the "supersession of the inefficient forms of production by efficient ones. I am afraid, we are not on the right path and in our natural anxiety to get out of this slough of poverty, we may be unconsciously sacrificing the essentials of human existence."

Dr. S. K. Muranjan who presided over the session stressed that one of the greatest needs of under-developed economy was objective and cost-analysis study of ultra-modern techniques with a view to eliminating and replacing with human labour, mechanised processes at intermediate stages.

Dr. Muranjan said planned investment was a much more effective answer to a situation in an under-developed economy than private enterprise and competition.

All-India Medical Conference

The All-India Medical Conference met at Trivandrum on Dec 26. Dr. C. S. Thakkar, President of the Indian Medical Association presided. Inaugurating the session Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, Governor of Kerala advocated a philosophy of co-existence between modern and indigenous medicine. He told over 1,200 doctors from various parts of the country attending the session that if capable members of the modern medical profession undertook researches in Ayurveda and Unani, they might still find something useful in them to add to their own and to the sum total of human knowledge.

Dr. C. S. Thakkar urged for a mass health education programme. He said that the implementation of the programmes would require about 90,000 doctors by 1961. There were at present only 70,000 of them and at the rate of an annual outturn of about 2,500 from the 42 medical colleges in the country, the total number by 1961 would be 82,506. He therefore, stressed the need for "a planned distribution and gainful employment" of the available doctors and suggested the institution of an all-India cadre of medical and health services at an early date. He said that in some States, even to-day, there was a surplus of doctors, while others were clamouring for more.

WORLD OF BOOKS

INDIA'S SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY by Jag Parvesh Chanda, M.L.A.-Faiz Bazar, Delhi, Price Rs. 7-8.

This compendium of ejaculatory essays on a multitude of subjects said to form the background of the Prime Minister's Socialistic Pattern of Society will serve another useful purpose besides the advertised one of helping "public leaders, economists, businessmen, industrialists, service personnel, and students who sit for competitive examinations." (By the way all the categories except service personnel would have been eliminated in a socialistic society.) The purpose will be to warn us as Lord Bryce did that ultimately it is an oligarchy of individuals with survival value who rule even in an apparently full-fledged democracy. Now and then a Stalin may be deposed saying he established a personality cult and a Churchill defeated temporarily at the polls. This explains Pandit Nehru's recent unabashed recommendation for secondary elections. The whole book is tearing propaganda by a devotee of Pandit Nehru who is more royalist than the king himself. The chapter headings are arresting like "Star of Sarvodaya, Fears without Facts, Demolition of Dogma, the Prince of Peace (Vinobaji not Christ), Inner Integration, etc." A readable and painstaking production, but as in all material and intellectual repasts, the body and roughage are probably needed to tempt the appetite and assist the digestion while the nutrients form an apparently small percentage.

VEDANTA IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
Vedanta Press, Hollywood 28, California.
Price 50 cent.

This is a very attractively got up pamphlet giving an instructive resume of the work of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission in Southern California. The first part of the volume presents a picture of the work as it is to-day while the second part is historical giving an account of the growth of the three centuries. Brief and interesting accounts of such personalities as the Mead Sisters, Gerald Mecard, Christopher Isherwood, Spencer, Kellog, Aldous Huxley and others are found in the book. As an account of the activities of the Mission in Southern California, the little volume is certainly attractive.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND RURAL INDIA by Dr. S. N. Mukerji. Published by Shri J. C. Shah for Acharya Book Depot, Baroda. Price Rs. 10.

This is an elaborate and statistical study of higher education and rural India. Starting with a background of facts, there is description of higher education in India which admits the blessings of western education to the urban population and records its non-application to the countryside. The Rural Higher Secondary School and the Rural University are two concepts whose practical development will lead to a New Social Order for rural India. Separatist tendencies can only be cured by an essential unity in the two different types of education to be given for urban and rural communities. The basic suggestions given in this book, while they cannot be merely copied, are very valuable to solve the problems facing us.

MODERN ESSAYS by Jyotishwarup Saxena, Lecturer in English, Allahabad University - published by the Chaitanya Publishing House, 10-B, Beli Road, Allahabad - 2, Price: Rs. 5-8.

This collection of essays to instruct and stimulate candidates for Competitive and University Examinations is high in the category of tabloid mental pabulum provided now-a-days. As the author says it represents also the result of group discussions. So the topics range from the 'Atomic Age' to the 'Socialistic Pattern of Society' and from 'Caesar's wife being above suspicion' to 'Appreciating a Poem.'

CULTURAL UNITY OF INDIA by Gertrude Emerson Sen, published by The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India - Price: Rs. 1-8.

Mrs. Sen, the author of the **PAGEANT OF INDIA'S HISTORY**, has tried to utilize her ideas on the Cultural Unity of India. The homeland, the people, the roots of Indian culture and cultural continuity are select and beautiful. The modern synthesis at the end analyses the hopes and achievements of Five-Year Planning.

BOOKS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

by Robert B. Downes. A Mentor Book—published by New American Library, New York. Price 35c.

This series of comments on books that changed the world is very interesting reading. The chapter headings are in the best American style. Thus, 'The Prince' of Machiavelli is "ANATOMY OF POWER POLITICS", Malthus's 'Essay on the Principle of Population' is "TOO MANY MOUTHS", Karl Marx's 'Das Kapital' is "PROPHET OF THE PROLETARIAT", and Albert Einstein is "GODFATHER OF THE ATOMIC AGE". In this age of hurry, the mighty power of the many words printed originally by the authors has to be reduced into a quintessence and the work has been well done.

THE YOUNG TRAVELLER IN MALAYA AND THE CHINA SEA by Donald Moore.

With a map, 23 photographs, and frontispiece. Phoenix House Ltd, 38, William IV Street, London W. C. 2.

This is a very attractive modern version of Peeps at Many Lands Series. Our cycle-rickshaw is called a trisha there and half our tin and much of our rubber comes from Malaya and the adjacent regions. Travel is made pleasant, geography including commercial geography is made interesting, and international fellowship among children who have not yet been poisoned by national animosities promoted by this popular addition to the Young Traveller series.

The Theosophical Convention

The 81st Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society was inaugurated at Adyar, Madras on Dec. 26 by Miss Emma Hunt, the Recording Secretary, in the absence of the President of the Society, Mr. N. Sri Ram, due to indisposition.

Delegates numbering about 800 had assembled at the Headquarters Hall, which was decorated with the flags of about 60 Nations as well as the United Nations and the Theosophical Society's flag.

Opening the Convention, Miss Hunt read the message of the President, regretting his absence and asking the delegates present to make the Convention a success.

Srimathi Rukmini Devi, conveying the greetings of the World Federation of the Young

AMERICANS BY CHOICE by Angelo M. Pellegrini. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York.

This deals with seven persons who became Americans by choice and who were neither saints nor sinners. They escaped to the United States and became attuned to the free conditions of a young nation. As the author says, the book reveals in "feasts, wines, delight in labour and in the growth of the soil and all basic values."

DELHI DIARY by M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2.

The book contains Gandhiji's Prayer Speeches (139 in number) in indirect form delivered by Gandhi during the period 10th September 1947 to 30th January 1948. During these discourse, Gandhiji had spoken on a wide range of subjects including, Politics, Religion, the Refugee Problem etc. A valuable index at the end enhances the value of the book.

THE ADIVASIS published by the Director, The Publications Division, Delhi—Price: Rs. 2.

This reprint of articles from the Adivasi Number of the MARCH OF INDIA by the Publications Division contains notes by experts on the various aspects of the problem.

VIOLENCE IN VELVET by Michael Avalone. Published by The New American Library—A Signet Book—Price: 25c.

This is the usual type of murder thriller in which the suspense is kept up till towards the end.

Theosophists, emphasised the fact that much depended upon the youth of the present day. She took this opportunity of handing over to the Adyar Library, through the Recording Secretary, three precious manuscripts presented by the Dalai Lama as a token of his appreciation of the work done by the Library which he visited when he was in Madras.

Mr. Lord, the Treasurer pointed out the meaning and significance of such Conventions and the inspiration got out of them. Mr. Rohit Mehta emphasised how Theosophy could help in bringing about the change that was being recognised by philosophers all over the world namely from the domination of the mind to the unfolding of a new consciousness superior to the limitation of the mind.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. P. R. Pather, President of the Natal Indian Organisation, spoke at Durban on December 11, that Indians in South Africa regarded South Africa as their home.

The only link they had with India and Pakistan was one of cultural heritage. Mr. Pather added: "They form an integral part not only in the population, but also in the economic fabric of South Africa."

"Whilst they have rigidly kept to their own religion, they have made the two official languages a common tongue so much so that even in their homes they speak English and Afrikaans."

Any complaint that the Indian was not assimilable in the general pattern of South Africa was made without the slightest regard for truth.

"In my view, if education and levels of income were to be taken as a criterion for class, there is no difference between Europeans on the one hand, and Indians, Africans, and coloureds on the other."

Yet the S. African Government has made mass arrests on December 15 for alleged treason.

A total of 149 persons have been taken into custody including Mr. P. R. Pather, under the mass treason swoops in South Africa and some more arrests are expected, according to official sources. The arrested include 99 Africans, 23 whites and the rest are Indians and coloureds.

All the persons arrested are kept in a gaol in Johannesburg and they have been promised bail but the Crown, it is believed, will demand a bail of £ 1000 pounds each for the whites and £ 500 pounds for the non-whites, making a total bail amount of £ 86,000.

A special defence fund has been launched by prominent South Africans to raise bail money, pay for the defence and to provide, for the defendants of the accused persons who will be kept out of employment for the greater part of this year.

An impressive array of legal talent will take part in the inquiry. The defence have already briefed five Queen's Counsel and five other leading advocates.

CEYLON

INDIANS IN CEYLON

Reports from Colombo about the disposal of applications for citizenship of Ceylonese of Indian descent continue to make dolorous reading. Though there has been an improvement in the "rate" of such disposals in recent months but the ratio of rejections to acceptances is still unconscionably high. The total number of applications is over 237,000 (covering nearly eight lakhs of persons of Indian origin). Over 144,000 have been disposed of and of these, only about 14,000 have been accepted, leaving the rest of the applicants and their dependants to shift for themselves for the time being in the "Stateless" category. The Prime Minister of Ceylon has appointed more officers to get through the process of registration speedily; but evidently his officers still take a narrowly legalistic view of the provisions of the Citizenship law and insist on the production of impossible proofs.

GOA

INDIAN PRISONERS IN GOA

Prime Minister Nehru and the Minister for Legal Affairs, Mr. H. V. Pataskar, drew attention of the Lok Sabha on December 12 to the steps that had been taken by Government to minimise the difficulties of Indian nationals imprisoned in Goa, who may desire to contest in the coming elections.

Mr. Nehru told Mr. H. V. Kamath (PSP): "We have done everything to remove any difficulty on our side. We cannot remove difficulties from the Portuguese side, but, as far as I know in the past there have been no particular difficulties in any paper being sent there (for signature) and we hope there will be no such difficulty."

BURMA

INDIANS IN BURMA

Following representations from Indians living in Burma, the Indian Ambassador in Burma had sought modification of the new rules regarding payment for registration, Mr. A. K. Chanda told Mr. B. S. Murthy in the Lok Sabha. Under the new rules, all foreigners were expected to renew their registration certificates annually on payment of a fee of Rs. 25.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Nov. 24. U Nu, Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama and the Maharaja of Sikkim arrive in New Delhi.
- Nov. 25. Afro-Asian move to make the aggressors to quit Egypt at once is passed in U.N. — Britain begins her token withdrawal from Port Said.
- Nov. 26. Mr. L. B. Shastri resigns as a sequel to Ariyalur Railway disaster. — Government of India orders judicial enquiry re-Ariyalur Railway disaster.
- Nov. 27. Chou En-Lai arrives in New Delhi.
- Nov. 28. Supreme Court holds the Madras Prohibition Act as valid.
- Nov. 29. Mysore Government takes over Kolar Gold Mines from John Taylor & Sons.
- Nov. 30. U. S. A. assures territorial integrity to Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq and Persia.
- Dec. 1. Finance Ministry announces capital gain tax.
- Dec. 2. Indian troops move into Suez Buffer Zone.
- Dec. 3. Hungarian Government refuses admission to U. N. observers.
- Dec. 4. Mr. Ellsworth Bunker is appointed U. S. Ambassador to India.
- Dec. 5. Hungary invites Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to visit her country in response to resolution of U. N. Assembly. — Chou-En-lai is accorded grand reception at Madras. — Andhra Pradesh Assembly adopts motion for Second Chamber.
- Dec. 6. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is dead. — India wins World's Championship in Hockey at the Olympic tournament.
- Dec. 7. Mr. Jagjivan Ram is appointed Union Minister for Transport and Railways succeeding Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. — Syria urges Iraq to quit Baghdad Pact.
- Dec. 8. U. K. Government wins vote on Middle East by 327 against 260.
- Dec. 9. Dr. A. Ungar, Jewish Synagogue Head is expelled from South Africa. — Sri Prakasa bids farewell to Madras.
- Dec. 10. Mr. A. J. John is sworn in as Governor of Madras.
- Dec. 11. Congress Working Committee meets at New Delhi for preparing the election Manifesto.
- Saudi Arabia bans flights by British and French planes over her territory.
- Dec. 12. Republicans raid Ulster. — Russia-Japan state of war ends.
- Dec. 13. U. N. General Assembly approves termination of the trusteeship agreement for British-administered Togoland.
- Dec. 14. Pt. Nehru leaves for America to meet President Eisenhower. — Mr. Juno Paasikivi former President of Poland is dead.
- Dec. 15. Pt. Nehru meets Mr. Eden in London on his way to Washington.
- Dec. 16. Pt. Nehru arrives in Washington. — Port Said is taken over by U. N. troops.
- Dec. 17. Pt. Nehru and Ike continue to confer on world issues at Gettysburg.
- Dec. 18. Japan is admitted to the U. N. by the unanimous vote of the Assembly.
- Dec. 19. Mrs. Mary Chubwala Jadhav is appointed Sheriff of Madras.
- Dec. 20. Nehru and Ike issue a joint statement confirming a broad area of agreement. — Sweden, Colombia and Iraq are elected to the Security Council.
- Dec. 21. Pt. Nehru addresses the U. N. General Assembly and stresses on the triumph of world opinion.
- Dec. 22. Nehru in Ottawa (Canada). — Morarji Desai inaugurates Election campaign in Madras state.
- Dec. 23. Pope Pius XII broadcasts X'mas message.
- Dec. 24. Prime Minister Nehru arrives in London from America for talk with Eden.
- Dec. 25. Egypt claims compensation from U. K. and France by presenting a resolution to U. N.
- Dec. 26. Israel declines to allow Egypt to return to the Gaza strip.
- Dec. 27. Madras Assembly unanimously adopts Tamil as official language of administration in the State. Suez Canal repair work Commences.
- Dec. 28. Nehru returns to Delhi after his American tour.
- Dec. 29. America announces offer of aid to free nations in Middle East.
- Dec. 30. Mr. Nehru and Chou-en-lai confer.
- Dec. 31. Pt. R. S. Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh is dead.

READERS' DIGEST

BRITISH LABOUR AND KASHMIR

Earl Attlee's recent visit to this country including Kashmir has convinced him of the correctness of the position taken up by Nehru in regard to the integration of that part of the valley now administered by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and his colleagues. "Judging by results" he wrote in the *London Evening Star*, "the present regime is successful." He holds that the accession to India of Kashmir minus the territories now occupied by Pakistan, is definite and that everyone "is convinced that the present division of the country has come to stay."

The Ex-Prime Minister's view is no doubt shared by the British Labour Party as a whole. Commenting on Earl Attlee's article, *Thought*, the Delhi weekly, observes:

"It would appear that the leaders of the British Labour Party, among whom despite retirement from active politics Earl Attlee is to be counted, have decided to recognize the reality of as well as India's extreme sensitivity to the Kashmir problem. This recognition is bound to go a long way in superseding British Labour's earlier ambiguity. It was Earl (then Mr.) Attlee and his colleagues who willy-nilly became responsible for generating British vacillations in relation to what still remains the sorest spot in Indo-Pakistan relations. Had the then British Government foreseen clearly the possible impact of Kashmir on India's foreign policy, including relations with Britain, they might have prevented the British policy of drift."

With British Labour's undoubted confidence of return to power after the next general elections in Britain, this country may reasonably look forward, first, to removal of hesitation from British policy and, secondly, to the improvement in Indo-British relations, at the moment sorely tried by the conflict in Egypt. Indeed many in this country are already praying, in that hope, for the Tory exit from power in Britain."

EDEN'S FUTURE

Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of England, who took ill soon after the ill-planned Egyptian adventure, returned to London on the 14th December after a period of so-called rest cure in Jamaica. Despite air port smiles of welcome from his Ministerial Colleagues, Sir Anthony, according to a *Statesman* account, could hardly fail to realise that he came back to a divided country and a divided government. "Though the prevailing mood may be calmer than when he went away, it is the calmness of exhaustion rather than that which follows the conviction that all will be well in the future."

Leading British papers question his fitness—physically, morally and mentally—to unite the Government and to give leadership to the country in the critical days ahead.

"Either," writes *The Times*, "Sir Anthony Eden must now show that he can and will lead a vigorous, progressive and efficient Government or the strains that have been set up will demand someone else. The times are too grave and Britain's position is too hazardous for a replica of the Balfour administration from 1902 to 1905 to be supportable."

"What we need today" comments the *Manchester Guardian*, "is the capacity to devise new remedies however improbable they may be at first sight, and to carry them through."

The kind of leadership which brought about the transfer of power in India, the Marshall Plan in Europe and the evolution of the federation in the West Indies is a first requirement; not the kind which reverts to national use of military power for our own ends in defiance of the U.N. and our allies. Can the Prime Minister provide the right kind of leadership?"

Even the right-wing influential *Daily Telegraph* subscribes to the belief that if Sir Anthony Eden cannot bear the strain or give the leadership for which the country is crying out, then "another must step into the breach."

But its complaint is that Sir Anthony has not gone far enough but acceded to the U.N. cease-fire order. He started debunking Nasser and tried to throw him overboard.

But the man recovered of the bite,
The dog it was that died.

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THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The General Elections in India are scheduled to come off in the last week of February, and leading political parties are busy choosing candidates for the Central and State Assemblies. Of late there has been some talk of our election alliance between the leftist parties ranged in opposition to the ruling Congress party. But nothing came out of it. Commenting on these Election manœuvres, Mr. Ramakotiwara Rau, Editor of *Triveni* points out :

In spite of minor differences born of temperament, the Praja Socialist Party is nearer to the Congress than to the Communists or to the Lohia group of Socialists. With the acceptance of the "Socialistic pattern of society" as the ideal of the Congress, the differences between the Congress and the P.S.P. have been narrowed. An Indian type of Socialism is being evolved, and since the Congress and the P.S.P. are equally interested in such an evolution, they ought to pool their resources in man-power and organisational skill and pave the way for the emergence of a strong Centre Party, opposed to the conservative elements like the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Jan Sangh on the one hand and to the disruptive forces represented by Communists on the other.

It is common knowledge that the Congress in recent years has suffered in the estimation of the general public owing to the presence in its ranks of some self-seeking and corrupt politicians. At the time of elections some of them are put up as Congress Candidates. Old time Congressmen are reluctant to vote for these local bosses. But since the alternative is to vote for a Communist, a majority of votes are cast for professional politicians sailing under Congress colours. A feeling is therefore rampant that irrespective of party labels honest and talented individuals must be returned to the legislatures. This reaction is natural. But "herein lies a danger."

In democratic countries a Parliamentary system of government pre-supposes the existence of well-organised political parties based on differences in objectives and programmes, but all of them wedded to constitutional methods. People who owe no allegiance to any organised party and claim to be 'Independents' cannot be trusted to pursue particular programmes. The slogan of "the best men irrespective of party", must lead to chaos in our political life.

So the immediate problem for the Congress organisation is to find candidates who, in addition to being good party men, are also acceptable to the electorate on grounds of personal merit and integrity. The choice of such candidates, says the Editor, will win for

the Congress the enthusiastic support of the large mass of votes who may hesitate to vote for undesirable individuals selected by the Congress. For this the Congress and P.S.P. must coalesce. For

such a united party will draw unto itself the best elements in the public life of the country. It will also prevent the formation of miscellaneous groups swearing by individual politicians and bargaining for place and power whenever a new Ministry is formed."

ROOSEVELT'S ANTI-COLONIAL POLICIES

Two writers—Foster Rhea Dulles and Gerald E. Ridinger—maintain in the course of a well authenticated article in the *Political Science Quarterly* that an important phase of the foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt was a vigorous and persistent opposition to colonialism. He definitely believed in that section of the Atlantic Charter which affirmed the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government; in his opinion it was as applicable to the peoples of Asia as to those of Europe.

Throughout the entire period of the war, say the writers, Roosevelt continued to maintain this point of view. "He believed that the European powers should follow the example the United States was prepared to set in the Philippines and provide for the immediate self-government and ultimate independence of their overseas possessions and colonies. He was convinced that there should be no restoration of foreign authority in those areas of Eastern Asia liberated from Japanese control, and that whenever autonomy was impractical the United Nations rather than any single country should exercise a mandatory power and serve as trustee for the peace-loving nations of the world. He envisaged a world wide string of naval and air bases that, again under the control of the United Nations, would uphold international peace in a democratic world."

It is time that Roosevelt had not always been anti-imperialist. He had endorsed the rigid program of his friend General Wood for the Philippine Islands, and on March 1922 he wrote that "the vast majority of people in this country, understand that complete independence for all their people is not to be thought of for many years to come." But in six years the one time imperialist had been awakened to a new conception of the world

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READERS' DIGEST

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role of the United States. "The time has come," he said in 1928, "when we must accept not only certain facts but many new principles of a higher law, a new and better standard in international relations. We are exceedingly jealous of our own sovereignty and it is only right that we should respect a similar feeling among other nations." The outbreak of the European war of 1939 and "especially its repercussions in Asia as Japan allied herself with the Axis powers, extended her sway over Indo-China and threatened other areas in south-eastern Asia, soon aroused him to what he believed to be a necessity of assuring the peoples of Asia, as well as those of Europe that the allied cause was the cause of freedom." He realised that there was no other way of gaining their support. On March 15, 1941, in an address to the White House Correspondents' Association, he asserted in unequivocal terms: "There has never been, there is not now, and there never will be, any race of people on earth fit to serve as masters over their fellowmen... We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood."

Such ideas were very much in Roosevelt's mind, say the writers, when in August 1941 he was on his way to that famous meeting with Prime Minister Churchill which was to produce the Atlantic Charter. In his reminiscences of his father Elliott Roosevelt has recorded conversations touching the President's difficulty in converting Churchill to his view. And yet after they had signed the declaration that they would "respect the right of all peoples to choose their form of government under which they live", they each gave a different interpretation. "I have already made it perfectly clear "declared the President" that we believed the Atlantic Charter applied to all humanity." But Churchill who had declared at the Mansion House Dinner that he had "not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire" held that the Charter in no way qualified existing British policy in India and Burma and that "what he had in mind was the restoration of the sovereignty of the European nations under the Nazi Yoke." But the logic of events compelled Churchill to resign himself to the inevitable destiny of India and Burma as sovereign and independent States in Asia.

STATE REASON AND INDIVIDUAL REASON

In his Notes on the Oppenheimer Case published in *Confluence*, Nicola Chiaromonte calls attention to one spectacle in the modern world which is certainly worthy of philosophical wonder: It is the spectacle of men of power everywhere acting as if power has gotten out of control, and as if they were either groping in the dark toward it, or trying to exercise it back by a display of insolence.

"For the first time since the frenzy of omnipotence that bore the names of Hitler and of Stalin, the masters of the world are beginning to confess, in their acts if not in their words, that there are forces in the world stronger than power itself. Rulers today are in the position of the atomic scientists during their first experiments at Los Alamos. They do not know what they are doing, nor where they will be led by what they are doing; but they do it, because it is their job. Under such conditions, the most modest ones are the most admirable."

Dr. Oppenheimer's judges, it seems to him, were fundamentally modest people.

Torn between the official duty to apply certain rules and the obvious fact that the man before them had not done anything wrong but had only disregarded the letter of the rules by following his own judgment and obeying his own conscience, they rendered a somewhat Solomonic sentence. They may have made "the service greater than the God," but they stopped short of doing so in the name of God. They refused to say that Robert Oppenheimer had a moral duty to give his "enthusiastic support" to the super-bomb no matter what he thought of it as a scientist and as a man. They also refused to state unequivocally that he was under a moral obligation to give up what General Groves called "the American schoolboy attitude of not telling on a friend." They blamed him for not having done that, but they refrained from saying that he was under a moral obligation to do it."

By refusing to go to such extremes, Dr. Oppenheimer's judges reinstated (negatively, it is true) the principle "that the state cannot claim to own scientific or moral truth. This was exactly what the *ubris* of modern power seemed to be demanding of them."

POLICIES FOR SOCIALISTS

In the symposium on the post-Stalin evolution of Communist society, published in *The New Leader*, R. H. S. Crossman says that the one clear indisputable fact about the year 1956 is that it provided the opportunity for new initiatives to those who seized them. For ten years, he says, we have been waging political trench warfare, in which the chances of maneuver by either side were strictly limited. Now, as the result of the nuclear stalemate and the death of Stalin, the cold war battlefield has been transformed into a field of diplomatic maneuver. Here victory will go to those who decide their policies without waiting to see what the other side will do.

A Western initiative must proceed on some assumptions. Here are the assumptions which Crossman believes that Socialists should make:

1. If nuclear war is successfully avoided for the next 25 years, the balance of power will continue to shift—as it has been shifting since 1945—toward the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

2. Nothing except general war could preserve to the North Atlantic nations the virtual monopoly of power they have enjoyed since the Industrial Revolution—and have wasted on internecine wars. Now, that for reasons of self preservation, general war has been excluded from Western policy, we must recognize that we shall never again be able to “negotiate from strength,” i.e., to achieve our political ends by the diplomatic use of military superiority.

3. Because the new men in the Kremlin are aware of this shift of the balance of power and rightly credit it to Communist technological achievement, they are much confident than the old Bolsheviks ever were that the future belongs to Communism.

4. Stalinism, by the brutality of its external policies and the insanity of its internal purges, weakened the Communist challenge. By forcing the world into competitive rearmament, it made the task of “containing” Communism relatively simple. Any liberalization, therefore, which takes place inside the Communist States will increase both their internal strength and their chances of success if the cold war is resumed.

These assumptions, he says, will seem gloomy to anyone who believes that world peace can only be achieved by “defeating” or by “containing” Communism. “I have never understood how a Socialist with any historical perspective can believe either.”

ATTLEE ON COLLUSION WITH ISRAEL

Earl Attlee, former Labour Prime Minister, complained that no satisfactory answer has so far been given to the charge of Anglo-French collusion with Israel concerning the recent Israeli military operation against Egypt.

In a letter published in *The Times*, dated December 18, Earl Attlee urges Sir Anthony

Eden, to put an end to the uncertainty, created by this charge.

“During his (Sir Anthony Eden's) absence, repeated requests have been made to his colleagues in both Houses of Parliament for a clear statement as to whether the British or French Government knew in advance of the forthcoming Israeli attack on Egypt and whether the two Governments, prior to October 29, discussed the proposal for military intervention in the event,” the letter stated.

“No satisfactory answer has so far been given yet. The world-wide rumours on this subject are so authoritative and persistent as to affect the reputation of Her Majesty's Government and to prejudice the reputation of this country in future international negotiations.”

“Now that the Prime Minister is back, the country may reasonably ask that he should put an end without delay to an uncertainty which cannot fail to be damaging to the national interest.”

FUTURE OF INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

In a long feature article in *Scotsman* last month the diplomatic correspondent of the paper writes that if Mr. Nehru's stock has slumped in Britain, it has risen correspondingly in the United States, and that in these circumstances, Mr. Nehru may have in mind the adumbration of a new relationship between India and the United States, a new kind of East-West axis outside the usual military connotation.

After discussing the prospects of such a new East-West alignment materialising, the writer goes on to ask, “Where does Britain come into all this?” “The answer,” he adds, “seems to be that Britain would not come into it at all except as an ordinary member of the Nehru-led Commonwealth whose views might be listened to with polite attention by the directors of the new East-West axis, but whose voice would not count much more than that of any other West European Government.”

THE REAL STORY OF SUEZ WAR

In an interview to a correspondent of the American magazine *Time* President Nasser gives the Egyptian View of what happened during the ten days' Suez war crisis. Nasser said that until the Anglo-French air raids forced him to change his strategy, his forces were holding their own against the Israelis in the early days of the Sinai fighting and that his main forces were planning a mass counter-offensive.

By his own account, the action of the British and French upset all Nasser's calculations. “We had never believed any responsible

British leader could do it,” he said. “When their ultimatum came on Oct. 30, I had calculated there was no more than a 40 per cent chance they would really take military action...”

“I hadn't thought any man (i.e., Sir Anthony Eden) could gamble like this with his vital interests, not only in Egypt but the whole area, a gamble that would affect everything—oil, commerce, pipelines, politics—to a degree that would never be easy to repair if he achieved military victory.”

“We were caught in a very serious situation,” Nasser said. “The bulk of our army was in the middle of the desert facing the Israelis.....Even in Cairo, we had kept only one battalion for the city's defence. Our enemies' clear objective was to draw our troops into the Sinai, then occupy the canal, isolate them, and cut them to pieces, dealing later with the rest of Egypt at will.....We decided to withdraw completely from Sinai and concentrate all our activities in the Canal Zone and the Nile delta.”

With Egypt's airfields under Anglo-French attack, Nasser said, he could not give his retreating forces air cover. By the time they got back across the Suez Canal, he said, the main body of his armoured forces had lost 30 out of about 200 Russian T-34's and 50 out of 300 armoured cars. At Abu Aweigla, site of the heaviest fighting in Sinai, the Egyptians lost another 24 artillery pieces, 24 self-propelled guns, and 21 Sherman (U.S.) tanks.

Nonetheless, Nasser insisted, the Israelis (who claimed to have captured more than 100 tanks and nearly 200 artillery pieces) had won no real victory in Sinai.

“Despite great superiority—three brigades against two battalions—the Israelis attacked Abu Aweigla for three days without success, and finally took it only when our troops had withdrawn,” he said.

When asked to explain why he did not rush reinforcements in to encounter the Anglo-French landings at Port Said, Nasser said: “We may not yet be finished with the British and French.....and I don't want to talk about strategy.”

On the question of what happened to Egypt's air force, Nasser insisted that, except for one Ilyushin that cracked up on a take-off, all of her bombers had escaped to other Arab lands. In addition, some of his M.I.G. fighters had

taken refuge in Syria. Among them, he revealed, were some of the new twin-jet, supersonic M I G. 17's.

Where else besides Syria had his planes taken refuge, he was asked. “After enemy forces withdraw from our territory,” he said, “we shall have many stories to tell.”

THE MATURER NEHRU

“Evesdropper” of *Indian Finance*, writing of Jawaharlal Nehru in his Clive Street gossip gives a picture of the Prime Minister very different from the old familiar notion of him as the Hamlet of Indian politics. Reviewing Mr. Frank Moraes' biography of the Prime Minister “Evesdropper” continues the Shakespearean analogy but prefers to call him “the Prospero of our age, a wiser and maturer man, with greater understanding and compassion than Hamlet ever showed to anyone.”

“It is doubtless that the earlier popular picture of Nehru as spoilt child of the Congress family asking petulantly for the moon, and the Mahatma and the Sardar mollifying it by a variety of bribes and sophistry, is a silly caricature. It is also true that Nehru was no starry-eyed idealist with no particular grasp of detail or ability to master organisational complexity. Mr. Moraes is quite correct in debunking the notion of Nehru as a pedlar of generalities and poor organiser. Even during the pre-independent days, his eye for detail and capacity for inspiring confidence in a team was revealed in a variety of contexts. But, in redressing the balance in a distorted picture of Nehru as a “beautiful and ineffectual angel beating in the void his luminous wings”, Mr. Moraes has set the picture awry in a different direction. He has clipped the wings all right, but in the process made it appear a devil. The fact of the matter is that Nehru's ideals like those of any man of intelligence and sensibility, have been continually developing and acquiring newer dimensions by the fresh thinking.”

In his autobiography, Nehru writes that he “has had continually the feeling of growing up”, and “dynamic” and “dynamism” are favourite words with him.

Though Mr. Moraes is quite right in saying that nothing that Mr. Nehru thinks today is radically different from the hard core of political philosophy he had evolved for himself in the thirties, he has had its rougher edges sawn off, and the doctrinaire rigidity of some of his ideas never very unbending, has relaxed further since then.

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COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

Under the heading "Solomons of the world" Mr. Harvey Day contributes an article to a recent issue of the *Hindu Weekly Magazine*. Mr. Day is of opinion that the Permanent Court of International Justice can become a very useful institution, if only nations decide to give up war and resort to judicial decisions for settling disputes. Citing the case of war in Suez, Mr. Day says that it is difficult to understand why, when Egypt decided to nationalise the Suez Canal, the Suez Canal Company or the British and French Governments on its behalf, did not take the case to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which has in the past settled so many international and quasi-international disputes. This would have saved much undignified squabbling, personal abuse and other incidents which have clouded the issue.

Writing about the composition and functions of this court Mr. Day says:

Nations could not be compelled to take their differences to the Court; they had to approach it voluntarily. But even so with its limited powers the Court settled twenty cases up to 1920 and six after, one a bitter wrangle between France and Germany regarding repatriated deserters from Casablanca.

The First World War horrified the civilised world and it was agreed that a new Court of Justice with fifteen permanent judges should be elected by the League of Nations. After much dissension the Court was established in 1921, heard its first case in 1923, and in ten years delivered sixteen judgements and twenty-two advisory opinions, all of which were obeyed.

The weakness of the Court lay in the fact that both parties had to agree in advance to accept its ruling, and with the rise of the dictators this system collapsed.

Fortunately, the million-pound Peace Palace built for the Court by Andrew Carnegie at The Hague was almost undamaged and in 1943 at San Francisco the United Nations Organisation declared that the Court would be "the principal judicial organ of the United Nations."

The writer's suggestions for better functioning of this international institution are worth consideration. For it was the dream of Grotius the Dutchman for settling disputes without recourse to arms.

Incidentally, the name, Permanent Court of International Justice, is a misnomer for the Court is constituted anew for each case. When a dispute arises each party selects two arbitrators from the members, of whom only one may be a national, and the four arbitrators then choose an umpire. They must then agree to accept his judgment as final.

The Court will never be the tool or servant of any government or group of governments, for every three years five of the fifteen judges retire and new judges are elected to fill their offices. No two judges may be nationals of the same State, and they are chosen from men who have the highest legal qualifications and unquestioned probity.

At present the Court is powerless to settle every type of dispute, but when all nations realise the utter futility of war, armies are replaced by an international police force, and all disputes have to be submitted to the Court, then only will it function effectively. Then only can the world claim to have become really civilised.

ARREST OF SOUTH AFRICANS

The South African Government arrested many South Africans on Dec 14 on a charge of treason. Commenting on this the *Economist* says that the South African Government will be standing trial as well as the accused in the trial of about 140 South Africans arrested under the Treason Suppression of Communism and Riotous Assemblies Act.

"The immense powers taken by the Union Government under these and other Acts to crush all opposition not only to its racial policy but to its methods of enforcing its will receive world-wide publicity. Whether the accused have in fact transgressed the law will be the main issue in South Africa; to many in the world at large the issue will be whether such laws so applied to such persons can be regarded as law in any sense understood by a free and civilised community or whether they are not the instrument of a police State. South African Nationalists will think this is monstrously unfair and will point to the parliamentary forms and to the observance of legal procedure in open court.

"But in staging a mass trial at this stage, South Africa has opened its peculiar institutions to degree of world scrutiny which may have results very different from those intended."

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INDIA AND THE WORLD BANK

Referring to recent negotiations between India and the World Bank the *Manchester Guardian* infers from the parleys a new and co-operative spirit in Indian-American relations. The journal observes:

"Just over two months ago the President of the World Bank wrote to the Indian Finance Minister a discouraging letter," *Guardian* says. "There were certain aspects of India's Second Plan, Mr. Black said, which the Bank thought ought to give India cause for concern. He had the distinct impression that the potentialities of private investment were commonly underestimated, and its operations unnecessarily restricted.

"Here, it seemed, was one of the ogres of Indian mythology come to life: the dollar imperialist was balefully casting his strings. But, instead of flying into a passion of righteous anti-colonialism, the Indian politicians applied non-violent resistance. There was a lot in what Mr. Black said, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari (the Finance Minister) hinted. Constructive criticism was always welcome, added the Socialist Minister of Planning.

"What is more, they have not merely given Mr. Black the benefit of the doubt by charitably assuming that his advice was intended to tempt the American investor, they even seem to have taken it.

"The later correspondence between Mr. Black and Mr. Krishnamachari has just been released. The Bank is to give early consideration to a number of projects, and the Indian Finance Minister, while politely urging haste, agrees that the programme is perfectly acceptable and thanks Mr. Black for the understanding shown in his letter.

"Since his reply, Mr. Krishnamachari has unexpectedly introduced new taxes to curb inflation, and shortly before that the Indian Government insisted on generous compensation for the owners of the nationalised Kolar gold mines.

"One need not assume that it was Mr. Black's letter that brought about this eagerness to make India an attractive field for the foreign investor. The Government's extremely competent economists are well able to have thought it out for themselves. But in some moods advice like this from an American might have tempted them to do the opposite.

HOW RUSSIA AVERTED WORLD WAR

Russia's policy towards Hungary and Egypt "forestalled the start of third world war," says the Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* dated Dec 16.

The newspaper, quoted by the Soviet news agency Tass contends that "imperialist forces" attempted to carry out a coup in Hungary to coincide with their "aggression" against Egypt.

"The Soviet Union granted the Hungarian people aid in routing the counter-revolutionary conspiracy, thus staying the hand of the imperialist invaders not only in Hungary but also in neighbouring countries."

Pravda adds that, had Egypt been defeated, the next step would have been an "imperialistic" attempt to regain lost position in India, Indo-China, Indonesia and other Asian countries.

The Government newspaper *Izvestia* says in an editorial that reactionary forces were exploiting "difficulties and error" in Communist nations in an attempt to destroy them one by one.

"They try to choose a favourable moment to unchain the counter revolutionary underground movement consisting of the remainder of the overthrown classes." "This is precisely what has happened in Hungary."

"NEW YORK TIMES" ON NEHRU

Prime Minister Nehru was the *New York Times*' man in the news on Dec. 17. The article on Mr. Nehru says:

"For a man of 67 years, he is in sparkling physical condition."

"Mr. Nehru runs the Government of India the way a housewife runs her kitchen before dinnertime, reaching from pot to pot, tasting everything, and rushing over the cupboard for a dash of something extra."

"The road India is taking to her own form of Socialism is a Nehru charted road. The country's foreign policy by and large is Nehru's," it says.

"Even his sharpest critics in this city (New York) concede this much: India under Mr. Nehru has become the major counter-weight to Communist successes in Asia."

The article described Mr. Nehru as "the greatest single human influence on the lives of about 400 million people. His energy and their willingness to follow have given hope and direction to a country that, without him, might have had neither."

A.C.C.F. AND D.R.S.

The Prime Minister, replying to the debate on Foreign Policy in Parliament referred to the Hungarian incident as having "gone into wrong hands" complained of "interference" in such matters by associations such as the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and the Democratic Research Service. He also accused these of being merely political organisations comparable to the fronts put up by Communists, designed to serve "as a convenient handle to run down our government."

Freedom First refutes these allegations and points out that their aims are by no means unreasonable or irresponsible and that they are respectable bodies with honourable connections. It discusses the origin, aims and working of these bodies at some length.

To commence first with the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, it may be explained

that this is the affiliate in India of the World Congress for Cultural Freedom, a world-wide non-partisan organisation of thinkers, writers, scientists and artists whose object is the defence of intellectual liberties against all encroachments on the creative and critical spirit of man.

The headquarters of the organisation is in Paris. Among its Honorary Chairmen and members of International Executive are men of the highest international renown such as Bertrand Russell, Salvador De Madariaga, Karl Jaspers, Sidney Hook, Stephen Spender and Nicolas Nabokov, its Secretary-general. Among members of the Indian Executive are Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of U.P. Mr. Asoka Mehta, M. P. Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, a Minister in the Madras Government, Mr. Eric da Costa, Editor of *Eastern Economist*, Mrs. Rukmini Aundale and so on. The Indian Committee is an independent body and it does not accept either instructions or funds from its international organisation or from any foreign body. It has of late joined the All India PEN centre of which Dr. Radhakrishnan is the President and Pandit Nehru himself is Vice-President. Such are its credentials.

In so far as the Democratic Research Service is concerned, it may be recalled that this organisation was established in November 1950 with the blessings of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, then India's Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister.

Its purpose has been to contribute towards the education of public opinion in India to a fuller realisation of the need to defend India's national independence and her culture and of the possibilities of

social and economic advance through democratic processes. Among its purposes also is the combating of mendacious communist propaganda and infiltration in our national life.

The members of the Executive Board of the Democratic Research Service are Mr. Purshotam Kanji a veteran Congressman and a Gandhian constructive worker, who is also currently Chairman of the Bombay State Industrial Financial Corporation and of the Wage Board; Mr. D. F. Sethna, a senior Solicitor of the Bombay High Court, Mr. M. R. Masani, author and publicist; Mr. L. Sawhny, a business executive; Mr. H. R. Pardiwala, Barrister-at-law.

Among the members of the Advisory Committee of the organisation are Mr. Purshottam Trikumdas who was a member of the Indian delegation to the U.N. a couple of years back; Mr. Rohit Dave, editor of *Janata*; Prof. Anant Kanekar, Marathi writer and educationist; and Mr. J. B. H. Wadia, a film producer.

The Democratic Research Service functions openly and says publicly what it feels on issues as they arise; its views and its activities are open for all to see and to assess.

With such antecedents and record of constructive work, it is hardly fair, contends *Freedom First*, to accuse them of anti-government complex and activities.

TIBET, THE HOME OF LAMAS

Tibet the "Roof of the World," is remarkable even more for the elevation of its plains and valleys than for the loftiness of its innumerable peaks.

About three-quarters of the surface of the country in Tibet proper is over 15,000 feet. The amount below 10,000 feet is wholly insignificant.

The table-land of Tibet consists of a series of successive mountain ranges running in general east and west and divided from one another by valleys which are not very deep.

Tibet is dotted with numerous lakes, all of which appear to be of the same character.

Almost all the great rivers of South-Eastern Asia, from the Arabian Sea to the Yellow Sea, have their sources in Tibet and are referred to by the name under which they are familiar in other lands.

The climate in north-west Tibet is very dry as the south-west monsoon is shut off by the Himalayan ranges. The snow fall in this area is so little that the various passes are open almost throughout the year. The north is intensely cold in winter and relatively hot in summer.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

NEHRU-IKE JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Mr. Nehru who went to America last month at Mr. Eisenhower's invitation had consultations with him on many matters of importance. After the talks were over, President Eisenhower and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said in a joint statement issued on the 20th December that they had confirmed a broad area of agreement in their Washington talks.

The statement, issued in the form of a communique by the White House, said that the two statesmen had "full and frank talks" over a wide range of problems of interest to both their countries.

Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Nehru said they were convinced that "the greater understanding of their respective policies reached at these talks" would help their efforts towards peaceful international exchanges.

Following is the full text of the statement:

"Prime Minister Nehru and President Eisenhower had long anticipated a personal meeting to discuss current world problems. In three days in Washington and a day at the President's farm at Gettysburg they were afforded, in a completely informal atmosphere, the opportunity for full and frank talks on a wide range of problems of interest and concern to both countries.

"The talks confirmed the broad area of agreement between India and the United States which are bound together in strong ties of friendship deriving from their common objectives and their adherence to the highest principles of free democracy. The principles and policies of the Government of India and the United States have evolved on the basis of respect for the dignity of man and of the need to improve the welfare of the individual.

"The Prime Minister and the President are convinced that the greater understanding of their respective policies reached at these talks will facilitate the constant efforts of India and the United States towards the achievement of peaceful and friendly intercourse among nations in accordance with the principles of the United Nations."

NEHRU ON HIS TALK WITH IKE

Soon after his arrival at Delhi from U. K. by air on Dec 28. Mr. Nehru told the pressmen as follows:

"I feel that we are passing through an important historical phase in human development. This is good, but this requires wisdom to deal with it by patience, restraint and above all goodwill."

The Prime Minister said: "It does no good, I think, merely to go about condemning people even if we think that they are deserving of condemnation. We should rather try to win them over by goodwill, at the same time adhering to the principles that we consider important." He added:

"To give up principles is bad: then we have no anchor. In other words, we should adhere firmly to principles remembering always what Gandhiji told us that means are as important as ends, and our approach should always be a friendly approach, a patient approach and a humble approach."

"So far as our people in India are concerned they have a considerable responsibility at the present moment. All that I can say is that they will discharge it with wisdom, restraint and a measure of humility. There is too much shouting in the world. It is perhaps better to say what we have to say in humility. That way our voice may carry greater weight."

After about two weeks of wandering, I am glad to be back and to see friends and comrades again. During these two weeks, I had visited many countries, met many leading personalities who have influenced in the shaping of world events. But apart from personalities, there are currents of world opinion which I have been able to observe to some extent.

"During the past few months, we have passed through severe crises and witnessed tragedies both in the Middle Eastern region and in Central Europe. Tragic as these events have been, I believe that they have an element of hope in them. They have indicated the strength of world opinion which reacts powerfully against aggression and oppression. Therefore, there is hope for the future."

"The world is full of problems and turmoil. But the world has also earnest men seeking the path of peace and vast bodies of human beings, I believe in every country which want peace and a peaceful settlement of the problems that affect the world. It is obvious that there is no magic way of dealing with problems. One has to deal with them patiently, peacefully and solve them step by step. I believe that most people in the world want to do this."

"Sometimes, an attempt to solve all problems together merely adds to the difficulties. As you know, the main purpose of my visit was to meet President Eisenhower, and I had the privilege of having long talks with him and discussing a large number of problems, world problems as well as some problems of particular importance to India. I am very happy to find a great deal of commonness in our approach, in our outlook to many things."

Naturally the world looks somewhat different from India's as it does from other places. That does not come in the way of our friendly and common approach and attempts to co-operate, provided always we lay stress on similarities of approach on the desire to work for peace and to allow each country to work out its own way according to its own genius."

Utterances of the Day

MR. NEHRU ON ASIA

Speaking at Washington before a mammoth audience on the 18th Dec., Mr. Nehru said:

Asia today is resurgent and the countries which long lay under foreign yoke have won back their independence and are fired by a new spirit and strive towards new ideas.

"To them as to us independence is as vital as the breath they take to sustain life and colonialism in any form or anywhere is abhorrent.

"The vast strides that technology has made have brought about a new age, of which the U.S. is the leader.

"Today the whole world is our neighbour and the old divisions of continents and countries matter less and less. Peace and freedom have become indivisible and the world cannot continue for long partly free and partly subject.

"In this atomic age peace has also become a test of human survival.

Addressing the U. N. Assembly on the 20th December Mr. Nehru condemned military alliances in Asia. He spoke:

"I am quite sure that at the present moment as we stand today—I am not talking about whether something might have been justified in the past or not but today—all these pacts and military alliances are completely out of place. I would go a step further. They are unnecessary even from the point of view of those people who have those pacts and alliances.

"I may admit for the sake of argument that they were necessary at an earlier stage when conditions were different, but, for the moment, I would like you to consider circumstances as they are today, and I do submit that these pacts and alliances do not add to the strength of any nation.

THE LAMAS' APPEAL

The Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama were accorded grand reception at Madras on the 19th of last month. Replying to the address the Dalai Lama said:

"Get rid of vices like pride, hatred, and self-consciousness, which destroy the very meaning of your lives, and follow the path of the Great One, so that all beings might live in peace and happiness in the world."

The Panchen Lama said:

"Let us make constant efforts for the cause of peace and prosperity. May Buddha dharma flourish and last for ever. Let there be peace in the world."

H. S. SUHRAWARDY ON INDIA

Addressing the students at Dacca on December 9, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister of Pakistan said:

I can assure you that it is the policy of our Government that it should have good relations with India, if India will make it possible for us to have good relationships with her. We do not want war. We do not want to be aggressive. We do not want any quarrel. We know what our position is, we know what our status is.

GAITSKELL'S ATTACK ON U.K.

The British Labour party leader, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, charged in a speech in Derby on December 16th that there were reasons to believe that the British and French Governments made plans secretly several days, and probably about a fortnight before the Israeli attack against Egypt. He said:

What is the good of claiming that you have stopped war when you connived at the starting of it?" he asked. The British Labour Party leader said there had been secret meetings on Oct. 16 and 23 between the British Premier, Sir Anthony Eden and the French Foreign Secretary, Mr. Solwyn Lloyd, and the French Premier, M. Guy Mollet and M. Christian Pineau, French Foreign Minister.

CHOU-EN-LAI ON U.S. AIMS

The Prime Minister of China, Mr. Chou-en-lai, stated on December 6th when he visited Madras that he "wondered whether the United States wants to take the place of Britain and France in the Middle East and secondly whether the United States is going to continue to support the British and French plan for control over the Suez Canal which would interfere with the sovereignty of Egypt."

SAVARKAR ON INDEPENDENCE

Speaking at the Hindu Mahasabha on 10th December at Jodhpur, Mr. Savarkar said:

"If you desire that a country should continue to be independent in future, we must have sufficient military strength. Merely peace preachings and Panch-shila gospels won't serve that purpose. We must note that Russia and U.S.A. are taken to be the prominent nations in the world only because they possess Atom Bombs and Hydrogen Bombs, because comparatively their weapons are more powerful and destructive."

GHAZANFAR ALI ON PAK POLICY

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali-Khan, who recently gave up his Ambassadorial post in Rome to rejoin politics, stressed the need for Pakistan keeping out of Power blocs or East-West conflict.

Speaking at a symposium on Pakistan's foreign policy at Lahore on December 18 he said:

"Pakistan should have cordial and friendly relations, particularly with neighbouring countries. She should avoid bitterness, unnecessary unpleasantness or hatred with her neighbours as far as possible."

THE QUEEN'S X'MAS BROADCAST

Queen Elizabeth, broadcasting her traditional Christmas message, said the way in which the British Commonwealth was developing "represents one of the most hopeful and imaginative experiments in international affairs that the world has ever seen."

Political

FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

Prime Minister Nehru, explaining his policy of non-alignment in world affairs, said in Ottawa on Dec. 23: "We would be false to our traditions and methods of achieving independence if in the international sphere we followed policy of military pacts and alliances."

"There is even some doubt in our minds if we should have much to do with military means in our own country. We don't take to the idea very lightly," he said in an interview televised by the Canadian Broadcasting System.

Asked if it was possible that Western nations, by maintaining the balance of power, were helping India to pursue its foreign policies, he replied, "I don't think that that affects the question of India's policy very much."

"As far as India is concerned, I don't think any sensible person has the slightest fear of an attack from any big country. Although as far as other countries are concerned in Asia it is conceivable. Any kind of an attack on a weak country probably would lead to a major war."

"No country is going to take the risk of a major war unless by some circumstance it is forced into it. We have arrived at a stage where everyone wants to put an end to the idea of a major war and realises that a minor war might lead to a major one."

"If that is so, it follows that the atmosphere which might create a major war should be avoided. The cold war business is totally and absolutely illogical once you decide not to have a war."

ACCESSION OF KASHMIR

Yuvraj Karam Singh, Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir, said at Bombay on Dec. 14 that the accession of Kashmir to India was "final and irrevocable" and that "no foreign country had any business to meddle in our affairs."

He was speaking at a reception given to him and the Yuvrani by the Mayor of Bombay, Mr. Salebhoy Abdul Kader.

The Yuvraj said that if at all a "Kashmir problem" remained to be solved, it was the liberation of the "one-third of the area and one-fourth of the population of Kashmir" which was now under illegal and unjustified occupation of a foreign power. These people of Kashmir, he said, should have the opportunity of progressing with the rest of India.

Referring to "threats coming from a foreign country" (Pakistan) he said these threats had left the Kashmir people unmoved. "We have faith in the capacity of our leaders to defend our self-respect and integrity if ever we are threatened," he added.

INDO-NEPAL AMITY

Nepal's Prime Minister, Mr. Tanka Prasad Acharya, said at New Delhi on Dec. 6 that Nepalese friendship, based on geographical contiguity and cultural relations, was as firm as the Himalayas and had grown from times immemorial.

Speaking at a reception given by the Indo-Nepalese Friendship Association, he said the religious scriptures of the two countries spoke eloquently of their close relationship.

Mr. Acharya, speaking in Nepalese said: "Nature has never put any obstruction in our path of friendship. The cultural and other relations between us have never given any importance to man made obstructions in this bond of friendship."

LIBERATION OF GOA

The Presidium of the Socialist Youth international, which concluded its two-day meeting at New Delhi on Dec. 13 passed a resolution assuring the people of Goa of its "fullest support in their struggle to wipe out the last outpost of imperialism on the soil of India."

This is the first time that the Presidium of the Youth International, whose headquarters is at Vienna, held its meeting in India. It was presided over by Mr. Nath Pai, President of the International.

Last year the organisation had offered to send an international brigade to take part in the Goa satyagraha.

The resolution on Goa demanded immediate and unconditional release of "freedom-fighters who are being held in prison by the Portuguese authorities and an end to the terror in Goa".

RECORD OF INDIA'S 1ST PARLIAMENT

We are of opinion that the pace at which monumental measures of social, economic and political reform have been pushed through in less than five years by the first Parliament of the Indian Republic elected on adult suffrage reflects the urge of the popular leaders to make up for the time lost in the dark centuries of alien domination and to catch up with the more advanced nations as quickly as possible.

FINANCE FOR UNIVERSITIES

The allotments available with the University Grants Commission is not adequate if India is to keep pace in technological advance particularly and higher education generally, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the Commission, told Pressmen at Madras on Dec. 6.

Mr. Deshmukh, however, added that on the other hand it was probable that many Universities might not be able to utilise immediately such grants as were advanced because of the imperfection of their plans. The situation, he said, had, therefore, to be watched so far as the University Grants Commission was concerned.

Grants were given on the condition that either the State Governments or the Universities provided a matching grant, and inasmuch as some Universities had meagre resources, the State Governments should be willing to contribute its share. Unless this contribution was readily forthcoming Universities would be unable to take advantage of the grants by the Commission.

Dr. Deshmukh said: "We should spend much more on higher education if we want any real improvement of standards." He said at present the Commission had no money to give the affiliated Colleges and there was not sufficient money to tone up the standards in over 1,000 affiliated colleges in the country.

FUNCTIONS OF A UNIVERSITY

The Governor of Orissa, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, said at Cuttack on Dec. 24 that it was wrong to blame the universities for the large number of educated unemployed in the country.

Mr. Sachar who was addressing the 13th annual convocation of the Utkal University referred to the "misdirected" criticism of universities and said:

A university only gives you knowledge. Subject to the limitations of space and the teaching staff, a university will just not say 'No' to a person who comes to it for education. If you do not want educated persons of a particular variety to increase by all means take steps to prevent their number from swelling. But please do not throw the burden for bringing that about on the shoulders of a university. A good University should afford facilities for teaching every conceivable subject in which a substantial number of persons feel interested."

CURE FOR INDISCIPLINE

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, former Vice-Chancellor of Banaras University and a member of the University Grants Commission, on Dec. 21 contended that indiscipline among students resulted mainly from frustration and lack of proper direction.

The cure for indiscipline therefore, he said: "is the removal of the element of frustration in our schemes of studies and in the relation between the teacher and the taught."

Delivering the convocation address of the Banaras Hindu University, Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar attributed frustration to the ever present anxiety of the student with reference to his future.

A SANSKRIT UNIVERSITY

An appeal signed by 25 prominent citizens of Madras says that it has been proposed that utilising the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the ascension by His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya to the Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam, steps may be taken to establish a South Indian Sanskrit University. The imperative need to establish such an University for the promotion of Sanskrit studies in all branches as a medium to preserve our Bharata Dharma is explained in a note which also includes a draft outline scheme of the proposed University prepared by the Golden Jubilee Celebration Committee, Madras.

EDUCATION IN MADRAS

The Madras Legislature Committee which considered the White Paper on education in April of last year has suggested in its report which was placed on the table of the Assembly on December 17 that the total duration of school education should be 11 years and should not be increased to 12 years on a permanent basis.

The Committee agrees that the present S.S.L.C. courses of three years should be reorganised as four-year courses of secondary education as recommended by the Secondary Education Commission.

DISCIPLINE SCHEME

Over five million young boys and girls are expected to be brought under the National Discipline scheme of the Government of India by the end of Second Plan, said Mr. J. K. Bhonsle, Union Deputy Minister for Rehabilitation, at Bombay on December 19.

THE NIZAM'S APPEAL

The British Court of Appeal decided on Dec. 20 that the Nizam of Hyderabad could take proceedings in England to establish his right to over one million pounds sterling held in a London Bank and claimed by both Pakistan and India.

It reversed an earlier decision by the London High Court that the case could not be decided by a British Court on the ground of "sovereign immunity"—that the claimant Pakistan, was a sovereign State.

The Appeal Court said in its judgement that Pakistan had established not a scintilla of title to control the fund and since the earlier hearing, the Nizam had sworn an affidavit that the transfer to Mr. Rahimtoola was without his authority.

LISBON'S CLAIM IN WORLD COURT

The International Court of Justice has granted India an extension of four months for filing her preliminary objection contesting the jurisdiction of the Court with regard to the Portuguese complaint claiming right of passage through the Indian territory.

This was stated in the Rajya Sabha on Dec. 12 by Prime Minister Nehru in reply to Mr. Nawab Singh Chauhan who asked what steps Government had taken on Portugal's complaint pending before the International Court.

ADOPTION OF DAUGHTERS

The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Bill, the last instalment of the Hindu Code legislation, was passed by the Lok Sabha, on Dec. 14.

The Bill allows the adoption of daughters and also provides rights for women to adopt. As the Bill has already been passed by the Rajya Sabha, and no alterations have been made in Lok Sabha it will go to the President for assent.

The Minister for Legal Affairs, Mr. H. V. Pataskar, who piloted the bill, said the present measure was not meant purely from the religious point of view but only as a social reform. Adoption in modern times was not a moral or a religious necessity but a social one. It would have, therefore, to be judged from the secular point of view.

U.S. JUDGE ON PERSONAL LIBERTY

Judge William H. Hastie of the U.S. spoke on the slight shift in American outlook due to fast-changing events, on personal liberty vis-a-vis social security. But traditionally, the American was much more concerned with liberty than with security, he said.

The Judge further said any modern democratic society would have to face the difficult task of reconciling the contradictory demands for more personal liberty and at the same time security. The answer was in adjusting a balance between domestic liberty and security to meet the demands of the day.

The U.S. Judge was addressing the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in Madras on Dec. 4 on "Liberty and security in a free society" at the Congress Legislature Party Office.

HINDU MARRIAGE ACT

The Lok Sabha passed a private member's bill to amend the Hindu Marriage Act as passed by the Rajya Sabha.

The original measure had included venereal disease as a ground on which divorce could be sought. The amendment lays down that the person against whom divorce is sought should have suffered from the disease for not less than three years.

The Bill was moved in the House by Mr. Uma Nehru (Cong.—U.P.) and was accepted on behalf of Government by Mr. H. V. Pataskar, Minister for Legal Affairs.

ALL INDIA BAR

The Law Minister, Mr. Biswas, said the report submitted by the all-India Bar Committee was circulated to all State Governments who were requested to offer detailed comments on the recommendations contained in the report in consultation with the High Courts, the State Bar Councils, the universities and such other bodies and individuals as they considered proper.

WORLD LAW COMMISSION

Dr. Radha Binode Pal of India was among the 21 members of the International Law Commission elected by the U.N. General Assembly.

The term of office is for five years with effect from Jan. 1, 1957.

Trade and Finance

FINANCE COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

Fifty-Five per cent of the net proceeds of taxes on income, other than Corporation tax, (exclusive of the proceeds attributable to Union territories or to taxes payable to Union emoluments) is to be distributed to the various States by the Centre in the next financial year, according to the interim recommendations of the five-man Finance Commission headed by Mr. K. Santhanam.

For the distribution of estate duty in respect of property other than agricultural land the Commission has stated that the same principle as in the case of distribution of income-tax should be followed.

The Commission has recommended that 40 per cent of the net proceeds of Union excise duties on matches, tobacco and vegetable products be distributed among the States.

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

India has been drawing on her Sterling balances at the rate of about £ 3,000,000 (Rs. 3,99,90,000) a week, according to a spokesman of the High Commissioner for India in London.

But he stressed there was no cause for alarm at the rate of withdrawals. The Sterling balances were there to be used by India for her development, he said, and although the rate of withdrawal was higher now than in recent years, the British Government and financial circles had not expressed any concern.

India's balances now stand at about £ 400,000,000 (about Rs. 533 crores) of which £ 300,000,000 (about Rs. 400 crores) is earmarked as the minimum reserve for backing her currency.

FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari indirectly refuted in the Rajya Sabha on December 11, suggestions that the nationalisation of life insurance has had any adverse effect on investment of foreign capital in India.

Mr. Krishnamachari, who was replying to questions on private foreign capital investment said during the First Plan period it was estimated that Rs. 42 crores to 45 crores, including suppliers' credit, had been invested. Precise figures were not available, but the Reserve Bank was now engaged in collecting the data.

COMPENSATION TO INSURANCE CO'S.

The Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, Mr. Manilal C. Shah told the Lok Sabha recently that compensation for the life insurance companies taken over by the Government would be paid in cash.

Replying to Mr. Krishnamacharya Joshi, Mr. Shah said that complete data for payment of compensation had so far been collected in respect of 34 companies. Data in regard to others was being collected.

MORARJI DESAI ON FREE ENTERPRISE

"Free enterprise is a wrong word. If by 'free enterprise' it is meant that nobody should disturb it, and there should be no control whatsoever over it, will not be proper and useful", said Mr. Morarji Desai, Union Minister for Commerce and Industries, at a reception given in his honour by the All India Manufacturers' Organisation, at Bombay on December 18. Mr. Desai said there could be no 'free enterprise' in the context of the Second Five-Year Plan, which provided for regulated, well-thought out progress of the country.

The success of the Plan depended upon making regulated progress all round, whether it was the public or private sector.

WORLD BANK AND INDIAN PROJECTS

We learn that the World Bank, which has so far lent \$ 200 million to India is now examining eight projects of the Second Plan with a total foreign exchange component of a little over \$ 1,000 million.

Apart from general considerations of India's credit worthiness and the 'bankability' of each project in terms of its technical and economic soundness, there are two factors which will limit the World Bank's assistance for the projects listed above.

One is the fact that the World Bank's policy is not to reimburse expenditure which has already been incurred on a project. It is to be expected that India would already have incurred roughly one-fifth of the expenditure on these projects during the first year of the Second plan.

Secondly, the World Bank does not finance expenditure incurred in non-member countries (which include all the Communist countries except Yugoslavia). India has already arranged for a certain amount of supplies for railway expansion from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Women's Page

ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Mrs. Menon, who presided over the 26th annual session of the All-India Women's Conference at Indore on December 25, said that women should have full opportunities of development, because they were the custodians of all our social, moral and spiritual values.

The Conference, Mrs. Menon said, was convinced that in communities where women were educated and participated freely in social activities there was less corruption in administration, less indiscipline among the young, greater moral integrity among its people and healthier social values.

The A.I.W.C. she added, had been in the field of social and educational work for the past 30 years and would continue this work with added determination. The present condition of the country, she said, had made it all the more necessary to revitalise the organisation and "take our legitimate share in the building of our country." The Conference was neither a political nor a feminist organisation. It was a small attempt to organise women and to educate them to a realisation of their duties and responsibilities.

MRS. CLUBWALA JADHAV

Mrs. Mary Clubwala Jadhav, M. L. C., has been appointed Sheriff of Madras and the appointment is for one year with effect from December 20.

A well-known social worker, Mrs. Jadhav is connected with several social organisations in Madras City. Since 1930, she has taken keen interest in the activities of orphanages, the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society and the Children's Aid Society and she is the Honorary Secretary of the Guild of Service (Central), Seva Samajam since 1938 and founded the Seva Samajam Boys' Home and Girls' Home and also the founder and Honorary Secretary of the Madras School of Social Work. She was nominated to the Madras Legislative Council in 1946 and she continues to be a member of the Council. Mrs. Clubwala Jadhav was Under-Sheriff in 1948 and was recently given the award of 'Padma Shri'.

MRS. A. SITA

The Syndicate of Andhra University has declared Mrs. A. Sita, M.A., qualified for the M.Sc. Degree in Geography, First Class.

WOMEN IN FOREIGN SERVICE

All restrictions on married women entering Branch 'B' of the Indian Foreign Service have been removed.

Prime Minister Nehru on December 12, laid on the table of the Lok Sabha a copy of the office memorandum of the Ministry of External Affairs relating to the initial constitution rules of Branch 'B' of the Indian Foreign Service. It deleted provision in the rules by which women candidates who were married would not ordinarily be eligible for service in this branch.

EX-QUEEN NARRIMAN

Ex-Queen Narriman of Egypt has been ordered by a personal status court in Helio-polis to return to her husband Dr. Adham-El Nakib at the house he has prepared for her in Alexandria, says a Cairo message. Dr. Nakib had filed a suit asking the court to restore his conjugal rights. Narriman who was formerly married to Ex-King Farouk of Egypt is now living in the Lebanon. The 34 year old Dr. Nakib a Cambridge graduate, was married to Ex-Queen Narriman in a Moslem religious ceremony near Cairo on May 3, 1954.

MISS A. BELL

Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner in London, presented a gold medal on December 14, to 20 year old Miss Andrew Bell for equalling the world shorthand speed record 250 words a minute—for five consecutive minutes.

The presentation at the Albert Hall, took place during the annual prize giving of the Pitman business colleges.

IMMORAL TRAFFIC

The Rajya Sabha gave its approval last month to the Bill providing for the suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls in pursuance of the International Convention signed at New York in May 1950.

MISS K. RUKMANI MENON

Miss K. Rukmani Menon of the Indian High Commission became the first woman ever to head a foreign mission in Ceylon. She took charge on December 14.

Miss Menon, who was First Secretary, took over as the Acting Indian High Commissioner for India from Mr. V. M. M. Nayar, who left for India on a short holiday.

General

PANDIT R. S. SHUKLA

We regret to report the death in Delhi on 31st Dec. after a brief illness, of Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

Mr. Shukla entered Legislative Council as "Swaraj Party" member in 1923. He was also Chairman of the District Council at Raipur from 1926 to 1936.

Mr. Shukla was elected to the Provincial Assembly in 1946 and had since been Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. He was also Chancellor of the Sagar University.

After the States Reorganisation, Pandit Shukla was unanimously elected leader of the Congress Party in the new bigger Madhya Pradesh and he assumed office as Chief Minister of the new State on Nov. 1.

DR. AMBEDKAR

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar died on the 16th of last month. His career began with his presidency of the Depressed Classes Conference in March 1927. In the same year he became a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In 1928 testifying before the Simon Commission he urged separate treatment and status for the Depressed Classes apart from the other sections of Hindu community. As a member of the Round Table Conference in 1930-31 he continued to maintain this stand. Dr. Ambedkar's membership of the Governor-General's Executive Council in charge of Labour in 1942-46 and his role in the framing of the Constitution of India are recent history. From 1947 he was the Law Minister of Free India till he resigned the post in October 1951. Later he was elected to the Rajya Sabha. He has written a number of books on economic and social problems.

T. N. RAJARATNAM PILLAI

The death of Mr. T. N. Rajaratnam Pillai on the 12th December is a great loss to the musical world.

The late Rajaratnam Pillai was the disciple of Thirukodikaval Krishna Ayyar, and Thirumarugal Natesan. For over 25 years Rajaratnam remained one of the few Nagaswaram Vidwans, who were endowed with a rare capacity for the elaboration of important ragas, especially "Thodi raga".

Although he was at ease with any "Gana raga", it was his specialisation and mastery of "Thodi" that limelighted him in 1933-34.

He was equally noted for the rendering of other ragas, like "Saveri" "Simmendra maddhimam", "Behag" etc.

MR. W. B. KAEMPFERT

Mr. Waldemar B. Kaempfert, Science Editor of *The New York Times* for 26 years, died at New York on November 27 after a short illness. He was 79.

Mr. Kempfert was one of the early "science editors" in journalism, whose speciality was explaining the technical discoveries of scientists to the layman in popular language. He was awarded the Kalinga Prize two years ago.

MAZNAR ALI SOKHTA

Sri Maznar Ali Sokhta, wellknown constructive worker and a close associate of Jawaharlal Nehru died on December 11, 1956 at the Sokhta Ashrama about two miles from Kanpur on the Lucknow-Kapur Road at the age of 74.

Dr. PAASIKIVI

Mr. Juno Paasikivi President of Finland, died at Helsinki on December 14 at the age of 86.

Dr. Paasikivi, who proved his skill as a negotiator in his talks with Russia, stood throughout his life for his country's independence. He wielded more authority than any other of Finland's seven Presidents before stepping down early last year.

DR. C. V. RAMAN

Dr. C. V. Raman, Nobel Prize winner in physics on December 14 at Banglaore presented the results of his recent investigations throwing a new light on the physical properties of metals and especially on the relation between their thermal and elastic behaviours.

MR. S. RANGANATHAN

Mr. S. Ranganathan, Secretary, Union Ministry of Commerce and Consumer Industries, has been appointed Chairman of the Small-Scale Industries Board.

Mr. U. A. MENON

Mr. U. A. Menon, Chief Tanner and Leather Specialist, Messrs Gordon Woodroffe Ltd., returned to Madras last month by S. S. "Corfu" after a study tour in France, Germany and U.K. In England he worked at the Laboratory of Bespoke Leathers Ltd., Northampton. He is only 43 and he has a bright future before him.

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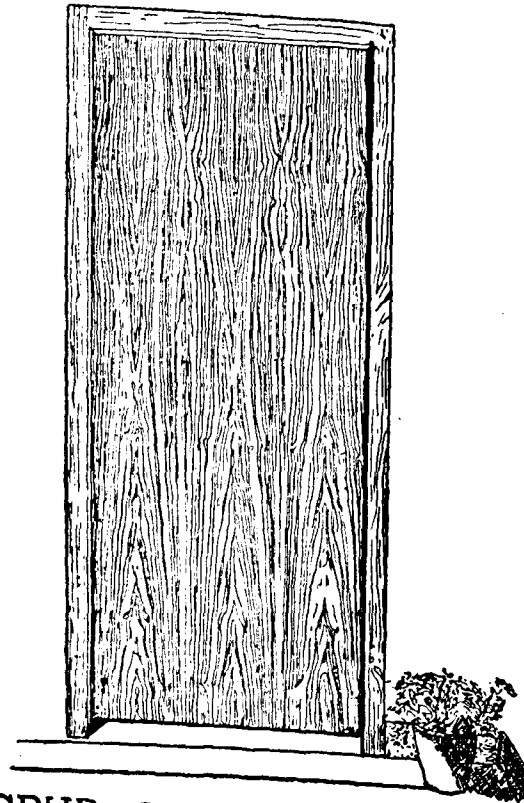
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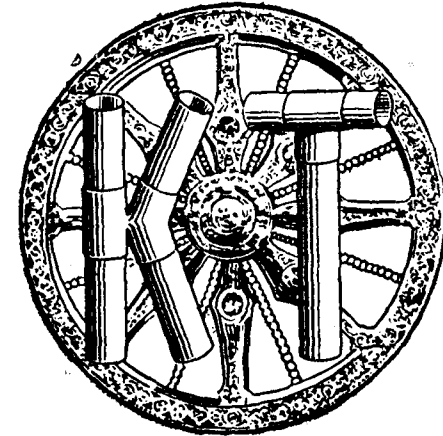
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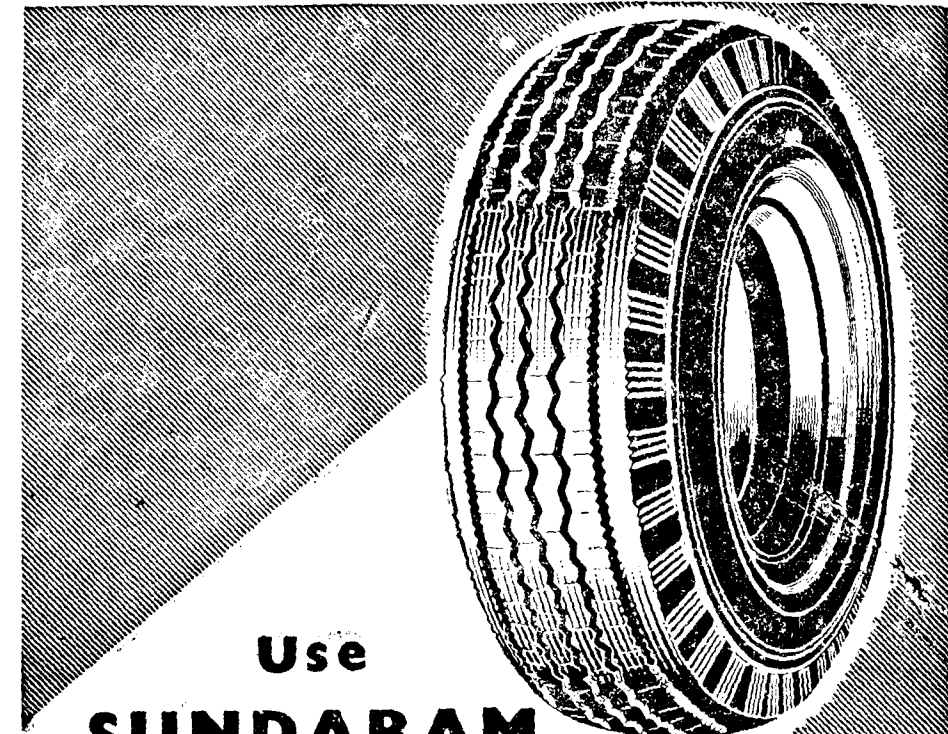
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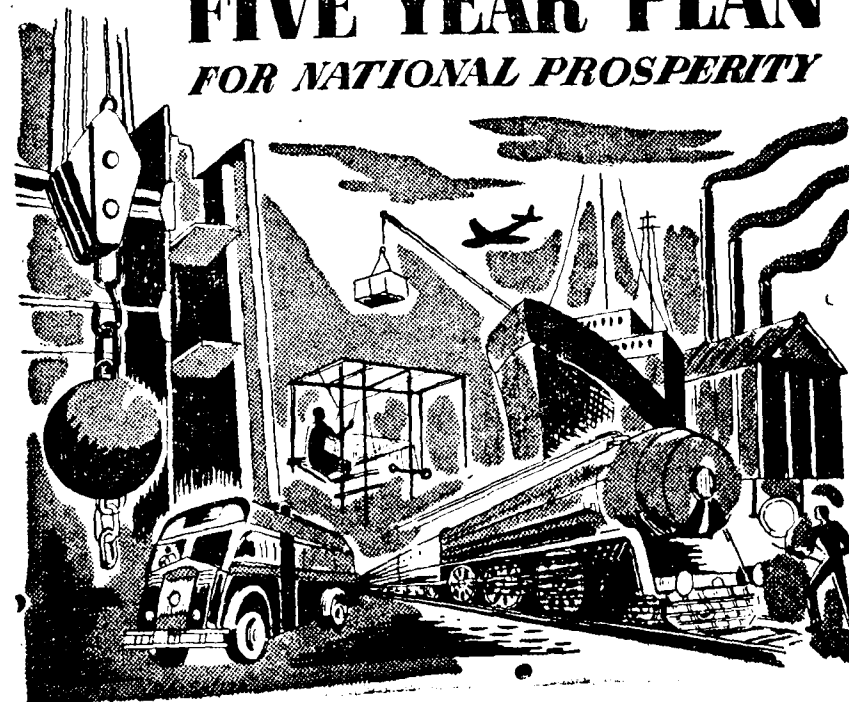
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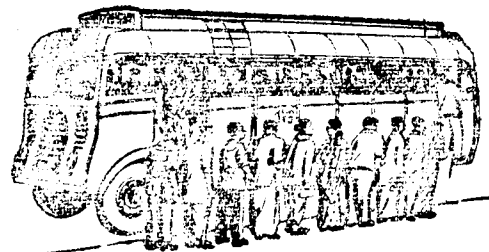
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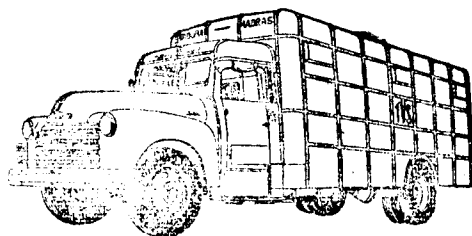
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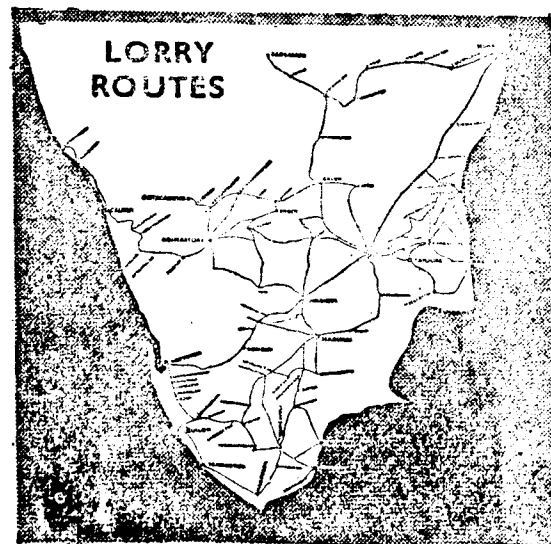
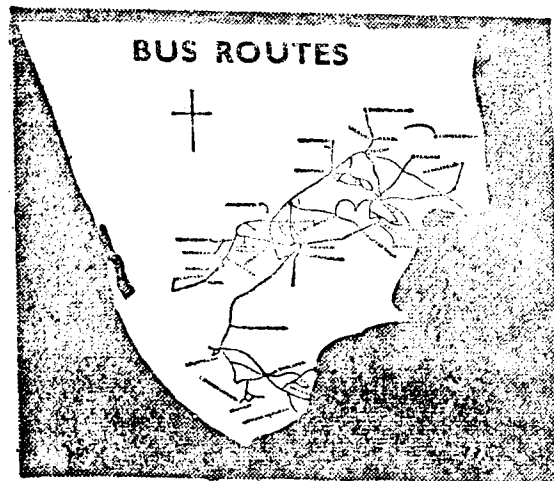
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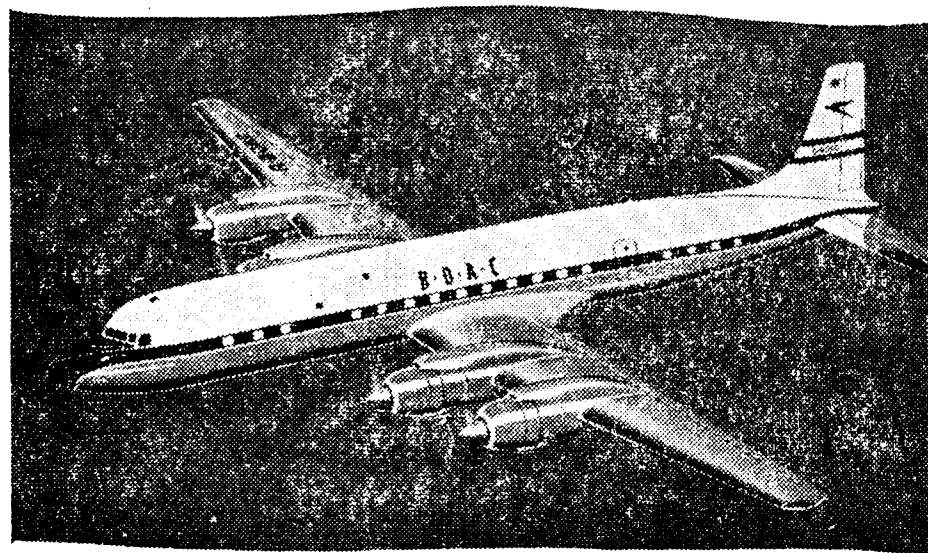
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The New Educational Approach

By

Dr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER

WE are at present borne along in a maelstrom of educational ideals. The claims of basic and vocational training, the place of technological institutions in the scheme of life and the competing demands of several languages and cultures form the topics of anxious enquiry and often of keen controversy.

At this stage, it may be of use to consider the problem of education in its fundamentals as they have been envisaged by modern thinkers and educationists. It is now admitted that the child should be gradually and progressively supplied with information assimilated to the background of its life and environment. It is also conceded that this information should not be poured into its mind, but that its powers of observation and education should be trained. The great contribution of Froebel was the insistence on stimuli like colours, playthings etc. as aids in character formation and in the securing of attention. The play method of education has been further developed by Madame Montessori, whose services to India have not been adequately acknowledged and whose work in the Kalakshetra in Madras, in Ahmedabad and elsewhere deserves more recognition than has been given to it.

There is another problem, which has been continuously present to the minds of teachers. Does one subject or one craft or handiwork

facilitate the learning of another? To put it more simply, does learning Hindi make the learning of Tamil easier; does vocational tuition in one department help in the acquisition of skill in another department of activity?

Recent educational theory asserts that improvement occurs only when the several subjects or crafts are similar to each other. The training of memory and what is called retentiveness has been greatly influenced by these doctrines, and recent investigation has advantages of particular methods of memorising and acquiring skills.

In this connection, I may cite Prof. Aveling, the noted psychologist. He says, "Though retentiveness varies from one individual to another, it is capable of general training; learning by wholes is more economical than learning by parts; and spaced out learning is better than learning all at once." These truths are of special value in deciding whether youthful minds should be burdened with the acquisition of a number of languages or a number of skills at the same time. Modern psychology has given an answer differing from that which seems to be in vogue to-day in India.

One of the most important developments in educational practice is the use of intelligence and other tests which have been rapidly perfected as a result of national freedom and in view of the great importance of making the fullest and most economical use of our man-

power and our intellect power, it is essential that, in our educational system, we should fully implement all methods of measuring general mental ability as well as certain special aptitudes.

Such a method, if used on the widest possible scale, will permit the grading of children for teaching appropriate to their mental rather than physical age. It will also furnish indication of special abilities, which would benefit by intensive training on the literary or scientific sides or in handicraft or art. What is more important, it will also indicate the lack of such of such abilities in youths on whom time will be wasted. Such tests have been applied with successful results in dealing with mal-adjusted or troublesome children.

It is a great pity that the psychological treatment of emotional defects and wrong habits has not been attempted in India and it is therefore incumbent on us to start Child Clinics which have a tremendous educational and re-educational value. These methods are possible only by a wise combination of the "Gurukula" system and modern experimental psychology.

A large number of schools and smaller classes are the conditions precedent for success. One of the concepts which modern education is re-emphasising is the prime discovery of the Indian and Greek systems of education both of which recognised that the heart lags a long way behind the head in adaptability. In other words, emotional as contrasted with intellectual tendencies are inelastic once they become hardened and set. The early training of the emotions through the sublimating effects of poetry, dance, drama and music has thus to be systematised.

It was from this point of view that the Greeks paid as great an attention to music and mathematics as much as to literature, accuracy of thought and emotional expansion

being regarded as fundamental stepping stones to the building up of a personality.

The disequilibrium of the world and the pervading suspicions that exist between class and class, province and province, State and State and East and West demand, moreover, that one of the principal needs of present day education is the increase of contacts across physical and psychological frontiers.

The educational uses of gramophones, cinemas and radio the teaching of language not as a collection of words and tricks of locution, but as a study of a foreign mind, are possibilities which have to be explored so as to implement the organisation of education as outlined by the UNESCO. Education must therefore be broadened and become more international; national prejudices have to be broken down strenuously.

Speaking in Glasgow Prof. Caird in an address on the study of History asserted: "Knowledge which is not elevated out of the domain of details cannot be regarded as a fitting instrument of higher education" and he added that, "history can be used (although it has not been so far) to widen the mental horizon, to train the judgment and impartiality, and to place men and women in their true perspective on the stage of affairs." The study of languages and the study of history have both to be reorganised with these ends in view and new books and new teaching methods are indispensable.

To insist on such a reorientation is perhaps to be characterised as doctrinaire or impractical; but such a criticism would be extremely shortsighted and the new education in India, whether it is termed basic education or home-craft or cultural or technological training, has perforce to utilize recent advances in knowledge and concentrate on the training of emotions and aptitudes as distinguished from administration of unassimilable intellectual nostrums.

Very costly and elaborate schemes are now being devised by the Central and Provincial Governments for imparting adult and primary education; and it needs no argument to justify the progressively increasing expenditure, especially with a view to the introduction of adult suffrage and the consequent indispensability of widespread education. One of the obstacles, however in the path of the educationist is the liability of the child (and even the adult) to forget within a few months what he has been taught, but has not absorbed. Psychological and intelligence tests, by means

of which the instruction given would be appropriate to the individual's capacity and background, are bound to lessen, if not to eliminate needless expenditure. Money spent on these preliminaries would in the long run, literally save crores of rupees. The first step therefore would be the creation of adequately trained and contented and enthusiastic teachers both for the children and adults. A few lakhs spent in this direction and in making the lives of the teachers happy and contented, would be the truest form of educational advance.

China and Asia

By

Mr. FRANK MORAES

WHILE Red China's attitude to the West, particularly to America and a lesser degree to Britain, is uniformly hostile, the Chinese Communists take care to present a different face to Asia. 'The outcome of the Communist struggle,' Lenin wrote in March 1923, 'depends in the last account on the fact that Russia, India and China comprise the gigantic majority of the population of the world.' It was an echo of the Napoleonic dictum that numbers annihilate. The observant will note the order of precedence in Lenin's litany. India comes before China.

Events have altered this gradation and China now bulks huge as the Communist Colossus in Asia. India, dedicated to the democratic way of life, stands as the major bastion of democracy in the Orient. Her proximity to China and Russia undoubtedly influences the form of her foreign policy but its spirit remains democratic. The victory of democracy or Communism in Asia will not be determined by Russia or America. It will be determined by India and China.

Nehru, in one of his parliamentary speeches, described the Indian Communist Party as 'the most stupid party among the Communist parties of the world.' There is something in that. If Communism has made some little headway in India it is despite, and not because of, the Red leadership. By and large this leadership has been uncertain and divided in its counsels. Since 1948, when the volatile P. C. Joshi was dethroned from the General Secretaryship, the party has had as many as three Secretaries-General, the present being the lean, tubercular Ajoy Ghosh, who holds at best a watching brief until the party Politburo makes up its ideological mind.

If anything, the internal vicissitudes of the Indian Communist party have been aggravated rather than eased by Mao Tse-Tung's triumph in China. The mental conflict is largely reflected in the Communist parties of Asia. Should Communist Asia follow the way of Russia or of China? Should she abide by Lenin's dictum that the urban proletariat constitute the spearhead of a successful revolution or

should she follow Mao's method of using the landless peasantry as the vanguard of Red revolt? Opportunism is integral to the Marxist creed, whether Russian or Chinese. And the shifts of history often dictate shifts in ideology and political warfare.

So far as Asia is concerned, 1948 marks the first watershed in the crucial years after the Second World War. In February 1948 the Communist Party of India held its second congress at Calcutta where a revolutionary programme was adopted on the ground that conditions in the country were ripe for staging a revolution. According to the Statement of Policy of the Communist Party of India issued in May 1951, this congress 'rejected the reformist policy pursued by the former party leadership which' in the name of building a united national front, curbed the struggles of the workers, the peasants and other sections of the people.' The jettisoning of the policy of a united front with Nehru's Government automatically implied the throwing overboard of the Secretary-General, P. C. Joshi, who symbolised that policy. This drastic and dramatic shift of front was accompanied by a great beating of breasts, led appropriately enough by Joshi. That the directives for this change of policy came from Moscow has been convincingly revealed since then. What the Indian Communist Party echoed in Calcutta was the now notorious Zhdanov line, and significantly its repercussion re-echoed all over Asia including China.

All this was part of a co-ordinated plan. With the Red clarion call from Calcutta, violence reared its head throughout Asia. In China the Communist forces pushed southwards from the northern regions which until then were the limits of their conquest. In India the Communists attempted to overthrow Nehru's Government by violent industrial and political action. During the early part of 1948 the Communists of Malabar became violent and began to attack the police and houses of

well-to-do people for arms and property. In India violence was concentrated largely in the southern tracts of Kerala and Andhra and in West Bengal. The Communists also succeeded in rousing the peasants in Telengana, a pocket of territory inside Hyderabad. Murderous assaults were made on villagers. Congressmen and public men, punctuated by agitation in jails and attacks on jail officials. An elaborate programme of sabotage and strikes directed at slowing down production was also organised, though not too successfully, on a countrywide basis. Against these overt acts of terrorism and violence the Government of India and the State Governments reacted strongly.

Meanwhile the flames had flared elsewhere. In Malaya the Communist Party, driven underground, opened up a campaign of banditry and murder. In Burma the Red began an armed revolt against the Government of Nu, while in Indo-China Ho Chi-minh took the offensive. In Java the Indonesian Communist Party tried to capture the Republican Government by force. These outbreaks occurred more or less simultaneously and were obviously part of a planned pattern originating in Moscow and communicated to the local leaders of Communism in the various Asian countries concerned.

Moscow had set its fifth columns astir. But nowhere except in China did they succeed in overthrowing the government in power though in some countries they gravely harassed and still continue to embarrass them. With Mao Tse-Tung's success China's Communist regime advanced to the borders of Southern Asia, to the frontiers of Indo-China, Burma, Thailand and India, and later as the Communists seeped through Tibet to the borders of Nepal. Significantly, only in the still colonial countries of Malaya and Indo-China has the Red threat been protracted and strong. In the politically independent countries of India, Burma and Indonesia local Red outbursts or insurrections were sooner or later—and sooner rather than later except in Burma's case—brought to heel.

If Russia had its fifth columns in these lands, so has China. They consist largely of the ten million oversea Chinese who are scattered throughout the lands of South-east Asia with the exception of India where their number is microscopic. Elsewhere they constitute a serious potential threat. Nearly three million out of Thailand's eighteen million people are Chinese. In Singapore out of a population of a million, practically threequarters of a million are Chinese. On the Malayan mainland proper there reside another one-and-a-half million Chinese. Indo-China contains about 500,000 and Burma about 200,000 though their number has recently increased. In Indonesia are another two million Chinese whose activities embrace almost every form of commerce in the islands. Until recently a considerable part of the retail trade was in their hands and nearly every town and almost every Indonesian village harbours a community of Chinese.

Mao, following the Kuomintang tradition, undoubtedly regards these elements as his shock brigades overseas. Even now Peking maintains a Commission of Oversea Chinese Affairs which has a venerable old lady, Ho Chiang-ning, as its chairman. Oversea representatives were present at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference which adopted the Communist Common Programme. It is through them largely that Peking hopes to effect the 'liberation' of Asia from 'imperialist and reactionary bourgeois' domination.

In November 1948, a year after India had obtained independence, Liu Shao-chi, the chief dialectician of Communist China, writing in *Internationalism and Nationalism*, declared: 'The Communists in other colonial and semi-colonial countries such as India, Burma, Assam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Indo-China South Korea must for the sake of their national interests similarly adopt a firm and irreconcilable policy against national betrayal by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, especially the big bourgeoisie, which has

already surrendered to imperialism. If this were not done, it would be a grave mistake.'

Has the advent of a Red regime in China detracted from Russia's direct ambitions in Asia? Or is Mao merely serving as a pipeline for Moscow? Here again I think the answer is to be found largely in the reactions of the Indian Communist Party whose policy will ultimately govern the pattern of Communist thought and action in other South-east Asian lands.

When by 1950 it became clear that the terrorist line laid down by the second party congress in 1948 had failed not only in India but in most of the independent countries of South-east Asia, the Indian Communist began to think again. The Statement of Policy of the Communist Party of India issued in May 1951 is notably revealing on this point. 'After the second party congress,' it notes, 'differences and controversies arose inside the party about the path that the Indian revolutionary movement must adopt.' These differences and controversies are mirrored in the deviations and changes of the following years.

At one stage the Central Committee of the Indian Communist Party sharply criticised Mao Tse-Tung's strategy and tactics. But in a statement issued by the central headquarters of the party in July 1950 the Central Committee released a resolution tendering an abject apology 'to Comrade Mao Tse-Tung for utterly wrong, irresponsible and slanderous criticism made against him by the old Politburo.'

Simultaneously it condemned the 'Left sectarian policy' pursued during the past two years by its Politburo and characterised it as 'utterly Left adventurist and out of tune with the prevailing situation.' It accused its own Politburo of seriously underestimating the strength of the agrarian struggle in the rural areas and said that its tactics had disrupted the unity of the peasantry in the countryside. Echoing Mao, it now decided 'to strengthen the alliance of the working

class with the entire peasantry and to unite under the leadership of the working class of all classes, parties, groups and organisations willing to defend the national independence and freedom of the country against the Anglo-American imperialists and their Indian collaborators—the big *bourgeoisie* and feudal elements who are ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing India.

In a sense the statement reflects the uncertainties of Communist leadership throughout Asia for while expressing loyalty to the fountainhead, Russia, it still makes obeisance before Mao. Thus it marks time, toeing the European way of Communism and what might be called Mao's way, uncertain which way to turn but attempting to make the best of both worlds. By a transverse process inside the country, the Indian Communists seek to exploit both parliamentary and totalitarian methods. Their insistence on the importance of building up the so-called 'peace movement' is an obvious effort to neutralise the millions of non-Communists in Asia who, while abhorring Communism, are still distrustful of the West.

Except in Indo-China and Malaya, this is likely to be the general Communist pattern throughout Asia. Although Trotskyite influences are at work in certain areas such as Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma their influence, with the exception of Ceylon, is microscopic. And even in Ceylon the Trotskyites work, for parliamentary purposes, hand in hand with the Communists. It would be dangerous and wishful thinking to hope for a Tito in the ranks of Asia's Communists. As far back as 1919 Chou en-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, warned: 'People will be disappointed if they

think there will ever be a Tito in China.' A year earlier Liu Shao-Chi came out in strong support of the Cominform's condemnation of Titoism as '*bourgeois nationalism*.'

Recalling Mao's warning in his *New Democracy* that the choice is between uniting with the Soviet Union or uniting with imperialism, Liu declared: 'It must be one or the other. That is the line of demarcation between patriotism and betrayal of one's own country, between revolution and counter-revolution, between progress and retrogression for any nation. Opposing the Soviet Union will surely be serving the interests of imperialism and betraying the interests of one's own nation.'

Whether one likes it or not, that principle still motivates the policy of Asian Communism. India's Communists, emulating their Chinese counterparts, may claim that their revolution should be conditioned by the circumstances prevailing in the country. But Asian Communists, like their prototypes elsewhere, still lean on Moscow, realising only too well that if they do not hang together they may be hanged separately.

History has a habit of repeating itself. In 1905 Japan, by driving back Russia's expansionist move in Asia, brought into being a wide upsurge of nationalism throughout that continent. Almost fifty years later the wheel had turned full cycle. Russia now bestrode a large part of the world and in Communist China had a willing accomplice and ally. In 1905 the European Powers used Japan to halt Russia. In 1950 Moscow used Korea and China to beat back the West. (A chapter from *Behind the Bamboo Curtain* By Frank Moraes, Editor. Times of India, Phoenix House Ltd. London. 2sh. 6d.)

Plan or No Plan

By

Dr. R. BALAKRISHNA,

University Professor of Economics, Madras.

Low living standards are at present a major concern of the world. Their existence anywhere makes advanced countries uneasy about their potentialities under-developed countries are painfully aware of their hardships by experience. A fair living standard is a criterion of welfare. Living conditions are particularly poor with deficiencies in nutrition and clothing. National income per capita is one of the indices of disparities of living conditions between economically backward and advanced countries. In the U.S.A., for instance, the per capita income in terms of rupees is 8,564, whereas it is only 281 in India; the former being 30 times the latter. Those of Japan and Ceylon are also higher, being thrice and twice that of India. The per capita consumption of food is another index of the level of living. In terms of calories, the per capita consumption in the United States is 3,090, whereas it is only 1,685 in India.

Under-developed areas suffer from poor living conditions on account of their low per capita production. They have an undiversified pattern of economy with a disproportionate weightage for agriculture. The population among them is large, with a small per capita cultivated land area and a small share of proved mineral resources. They also show a deficiency of capital and a low level of technological development. Their rate of economic progress, relatively to advanced countries, is slow owing to their poor and stagnant technique. This disparity in the rate of growth perpetually widens the gap between them.

For raising living conditions a direct application of approved economic remedies would be futile. One has to reckon with the social and institutional resistance to change among backward areas. There may also be a lack of

sensitivity to the economic calculus in the people of those areas. Besides one has also to reckon with the missing components in these countries for development, namely, technical skill, capital and machinery. The approach therefore for future improvement should at the outset be directed towards basic development, which would condition the economy for further endeavour. It may also warrant some measure of legislative reform.

For the purpose of elevating an economy to offer better living conditions to its people, there is need for a suitable economic constitution in which the process could be performed. The system of free enterprise under capitalism is one such constitution, but it is largely discredited on account of its non-conformity with certain social ideals. Besides, unbridled private enterprise has always given rise to economic insecurity. Still, capitalism is more productive and more democratic than any other system. But during the course of its evolution it has developed certain aberrations manifesting themselves in inequalities of wealth and income. So not much can be achieved through *laissez faire*, which is a negative economic policy. State intervention becomes necessary.

Planning is the best form of State intervention in economic affairs. It is a deliberate attempt to canalise all activities towards a desired end, be it the raising of living standards or any other equally noble objective. Under planning there would be a general supersession of individual enterprise. As the State would take the major economic decisions, there would be an enlargement of the field surveyed and it would exercise a substantial degree of determination as to how the national economy should operate. The State would

necessarily create conditions favourable for the proper utilization of national resources. A planned economy would not be exclusively shaped by the calculus of profit. The maintenance of national security and the achievement of social justice would loom large among the objectives. A planned economy is characterised by quantitative programmes formulated with a view to attain the main objectives of economic policy. An improvement in living conditions can be achieved with greater confidence through deliberate attempts than by means of the system of free enterprise.

But the costs of planning have also to be reckoned with. There would be a lack of incentive to efficient management owing to the weakening of the profit motive. There would certainly be a growth of bureaucracy. The direct controls under planning that are necessary to guide the economy are inherently contagious. They would require supporting or protective controls in the neighbouring sectors. There may be a need for a constant extension of the area under control, as market forces may neutralise some of them. But planning can also yield a few positive gains. With planning, the existing limitations of vision and calculation of private enterprise would disappear. The future exhaustion of materials and man-power would be duly considered under conscious planning. A planned economy would also override private interests for the sake of general harmony and a steady advance towards a just society. Under planning, the State can also envisage a gradual abolition of the unearned element in personal income to establish greater economic and social equality. Further, planning is also helpful from a social standpoint, as it lays emphasis on adequate standards for its people and not merely on maximum productive capacity.

Thus it could be recognized that through planning it would be possible to achieve certain objectives which may not be easy in a system of free private enterprise. Planning

would therefore commence with the determination of certain aims, and the raising of living standards could certainly be one among them. The aims would take the form of targets for realising the desired ends. The achievement of the targets would be governed by the availability of resources. In a democratic setup, there would be no regimentation of the allocation of resources for reaching the targets. The private sector would exist, as it is necessary to have the benefit of free enterprise. But in the interest of comprehensive planning, the private sector has to be made to conform to the overall plan which is for the benefit of the whole economy. Such adherence can be got through the offer of incentives and the imposition of deterrents, and also, if necessary, through the exercise of direct methods of control. Still, there may be conflicts between the private and public sectors. The private sector may either fail to respond to incentives or deteriorate in enterprise, as the sphere of its activity may be narrowed or its freedom of action curtailed. The private sector may also resent the labour welfare measures implemented by the State. The spirit of enterprise may be undermined by the fear of nationalization. A reconciliation of these factors is the essence of capitalist planning. The raising of living standards should not be at the cost of economic efficiency. The ultimate criterion of human welfare is maximum production, which cannot be attained without the co-operation of private enterprise.

Living conditions depend not only on the share of the national output received by individuals but also on the pattern of their life and work. The pattern yielded by the free enterprise system may not conform to the welfare ideal, owing to the extremes of poverty and riches in the society. So the adoption of a pattern appropriate for reaching the ideal is an essential part of planning. If it fits well in given set of circumstance and environment, better living conditions would

automatically follow. Its contribution will be in terms of higher values of life. The Socialist Pattern, as conceived in India, is one such pattern of life and work. It is broadly understood as an attempt to direct all economic activity towards the enhancement of the well-being of the people. It may have targets different from those that normally emerge under capitalistic motivation, as they alone might conduce to human well-being. It may insist on a national minimum wage and public expenditure for the amelioration of the poor. Free education upto the age of fourteen may be part of the social aspect of the pattern. There would also be social security with a wide coverage. In the Indian context, State planning would also have an eye on decentralised small enterprises, which would avoid the evils of centralised large-scale industrialism and foster traditional values and virtues. Thus under planning, a pattern of life and work, balancing economic and sociological objectives, can be determined in advance. This may not be feasible in a system of free private enterprise. There need be no fear of its effect on economic efficiency. Efficiency could be kept up by methods equally deliberate. Even if on balance it turns out to be a little less efficient in terms of economic norms, it would be more than compensated morally and psychologically.

The availability of employment opportunities is another vital issue influencing the choice between Plan or No Plan. Full employment is not automatically attained, as was believed, in a capitalistic economy. Effective demand has to be increased by public expenditure in order to employ all available resources in a country. Though in an underdeveloped country full employment cannot in itself solve the economic problem of low national income, as technical efficiency should necessarily accompany increased employment, still creation of employment opportunities is a basic necessity. The State can do this in a

capitalistic economy through the fiscal methods of compensatory expenditure or pump priming. But a more effective way of achieving the objective is through direct methods under planning. A plan can be employment-oriented instead of being directed towards maximum productivity. Labour intensive methods of occupations may be preferred to capital intensive methods in order to conserve capital and increase employment.

It is germane at this stage to inquire into the achievements and prospects of planning in India in respect of the raising of the living standards of the people. An appraisal of the achievements of the first Five-Year Plan should take into consideration two important facts, namely that it was conceived on very modest lines as an initial step in a long-range developmental programme and that the economic and political atmosphere of the time had considerable influence on the determination of priorities. As such, it might not be correct to expect a balanced improvement in all aspects of community life that go to constitute the standard of living.

National income during the Plan period rose by 18 per cent as against the target of 11 per cent. Per capita national income and expenditure rose by 11 and 9 per cent respectively. Investment in the Plan as a percentage of national income, which was 4.9 in 1950, reached 7.3 by 1955-56. In the sphere of agriculture, more than in any other sector, the Plan has concrete results to its credit. The targets set for agricultural production were exceeded except in the case of jute and sugarcane. The production of foodgrains increased by 20 per cent and the per capita consumption of cereals and pulses increased by 8.9 per cent. About 17 millions acres of land were brought under irrigation.

The generation of electric power increased by 67 per cent and the level of industrial production was higher by 22 per cent as compared with the pre-Plan period. The

targets fixed for important industries like cotton textiles, sugar, vegetable oils, paper, cement, bicycles, chemicals, etc. were all realised. The additional employment created by the developmental outlay of the Plan is estimated at 4.5 millions.

Community Projects and National Extension Service, which are of crucial importance in implementing the welfare aspects of planning, have manifested considerable success. The target of 1,200 blocks, covering about one-fourth of the rural population of the country, has almost been realised; and the response of the people to the stimulus of the Plan can be visualised from the fact that their contribution in cash and in kind forms nearly 60 per cent of the total governmental expenditure.

Impressive as these results are, they have to be seen in relation to the magnitude of the task ahead. There is a substantial leeway yet to be made up before India can have a standard of living which can compare favourably with that of some of the advanced countries. As already observed, India's per capita national income is 3 per cent of the United States of America and only 8.5 per cent of that of the United Kingdom. The economic progress attained by a country can be judged by the twin criteria of power and steel consumption. The per capita consumption energy in India is 1/73 of that in the U.S.A. and 1/9 of that of Japan. The consumption of steel is 1/122 and 1/14 of the levels in U.S.A. and Japan respectively.

Regarding consumption of food we have seen how badly India compares with other countries in respect of the per capita consumption in calories. Though there has been a

small increase in the per capita consumption of cereals and pulses during the Plan period, it is yet much below the accepted nutritional standards. In some items of consumption like milk, vegetables, meat, fish, eggs, sugar and jaggery, the consumption is even below the pre-war levels. The consumption of cloth, which is about 16 year's per capita, is also below the pre-war level.

The creation of employment opportunities has not kept pace with the increase in labour force, and according to an I.L.O. survey of the rising trends of unemployment in Asian countries, India tops the list. The Plan has also left much to be done in the sphere of social services.

Among the principal objectives of the second Five-Year Plan are an increase of 25 per cent in national income and an expansion of employment opportunities by the creation of about ten million jobs. The development envisaged in the Plan is deliberately aligned towards a reduction in economic and social inequalities. The 40 per cent increase that the Plan contemplates in agricultural production would contribute to an improvement in the nutritional standards of the people. Thus the basic objective of the Plan is an improvement in the level of living and the attainment of a greater measure of social justice. It aims at the establishment of a healthy and contented social fabric. As a means to this end the socialist pattern is adopted, involving a widening of the public sector and an increase in public investment for the optimum utilization of the resources of the country. Thus the living standards of the people could best be raised through planned development.

Economics of Village Panchayats

BY

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THE Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution point out that citizens of India have "the right to an adequate means of livelihood" and the State should shape its policy towards securing that the "operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment". These Principles, when viewed from the standard of living of the vast masses of persons living in rural areas, involve a system of administration which will ensure a stable and progressive rural economy. The system of village panchayats as a form of government in rural areas has been envisaged throughout the country. The Census of 1951 reveals that out of a total of 3569 lakhs of people, 2950 lakhs live in villages i.e., the population in urban areas is only one sixth. Therefore to improve the conditions of the vast population living in villages we have to organise their administration mainly out of economic considerations. Panchayats have been established in a number of villages in different States. One panchayat administers a population of about 1000 and where persons living do not come up to this number an area of three miles is covered by by one panchayat.

Having this background, let us examine the part that is assigned to planning in our panchayats. The First Five Year Plan accorded a very important role to Panchayats in national planning in so far as they assume responsibilities for function like :

- (a) Framing programmes of production for the village.
- (b) Framing budgets of requirements for supplies and finance need for carrying out the programmes.
- (c) acting as the channel through which increasingly Government's assistance other than assistance which is given through agencies like co-operatives reaches the village, and.

(d) securing minimum standards of cultivation to be observed in the village with a view to increasing production.

In the Second Five Year Plan the Planning Commission wants that "Village planning will be primarily concerned with agricultural production and activities ancillary thereto." Actually the Planning Commission has envisaged the formation of Development Councils in the villages round about the village panchayats. Where there is no panchayat an ad hoc committee might be set up. What is needed at present is that multiplication of different kinds of bodies at the village level should be avoided and village panchayats should themselves be the core of economic planning and development programmes should be woven round it.

At present the panchayats in different states are entitled to levy more than two dozen different kinds of taxes and fees. Some of the forms of income are taxation of land, house property, profession tax, vehicle tax, fee on transfer of land and other moveable property, reimbursement of recoveries on account of judicial fines, fees, etc., and licence fees of different kinds. Further, grants and contributions by District Boards and State Governments are also received. In some States panchayats are entitled to call for contribution from labour. For instance, in Punjab it amounts to about 48 man-hours and in Assam to 36 days' work. Those states which do not contribute labour pay their proportionate contribution in cash or even in kind.

With regard to the expenses which panchayats have to incur, roughly 50% of their income is spent on salaries, about 10% on construction works about 1% on the realization taxes and the rest of various miscellaneous items like water supply, public health, education,

etc. We thus find that half of the income is spent in the maintenance of administrative personnel and this is indeed a sorry state of affairs. The amount spent for the welfare of villagers is negligible. Granted that panchayats are primarily administrative bodies rather than being economic institutions, we must realize that the cost of administration has to be minimum in the system of Government by means of panchayats. Otherwise administration at the village level is indefensible and useless. Such huge unproductive expense cannot be allowed more particularly when panchayats' main problem today is shortage of funds. An important solution to this problem can be transfer of the collection of land revenue from State Governments to Panchayats which will mean loss of revenue to State Governments of the order of not more than 15 to 25 per cent. Moreover, experience has shown that Panchayats collection has been speedy and the arrears insignificant mainly because village communities have a direct interest in the realization of the land revenues. In addition to this, panchayats should be empowered to levy labour tax though voluntary contribution in the form of shramdan will have a better psychological effect. Management of common lands can be another source of income. Taxable capacity of the masses being limited governmental authorities at all levels will have to look to non-tax sources of revenue. That is to say, village panchayats should be encouraged to undertake as may in remunerative enterprises as possible e.g., management of markets, slaughter houses, car and bus stands, ferries, etc.

Some people feel that village panchayats can take up the work of farming and organizing cooperatives which is not a sound policy. For one thing, it is not possible to make panchayats and cooperatives co-extensive because their sphere of work is not the same. Cooperatives necessarily cover a wider area than one village and therefore has a wider field than that of panchayats. Secondly, cooperatives have to handle large amounts of money which kind of responsibility panchayats cannot undertake. Then again, cooperative activities are optional and voluntary whereas the membership of panchayats is compulsory and based on adult franchise.

However, all this does not mean that village panchayats cannot take interest in cooperative activities. They can certainly help in the formation of cooperatives by mobilizing popular support and encouraging villages to participate in their multi-purpose activities. In those places where cooperatives do not exist, panchayats can take up the economic activities till they are formed. Nevertheless the functions of these two bodies must be kept apart in places where both are functioning.

The village panchayats can perform economic functions to a great extent in order to improve the conditions of workers besides their function of administering law and order in our villages. Economic functions can be performed in a satisfactory manner if we strengthen their financial position and if proper planning of programme is achieved.

Ritual Music of South India

By

"A STUDENT OF ACOUSTICS"

THE simplicity of the devotional and ritual music of South India is bound to tell with the common folk who constitute a larger section of the listeners.

Even the ordinary temple bells have their tell-tale messages to give, announcing the time and nature of worship in the temples. It is common sight to see old women engrossed in domestic routine inside the kitchen lifting their hands in prayer at the call of *ucchi kalam* or *ardha jamam* puja. The ubiquitous Nagaswaram (the South Indian Shanai) could send significant messages to all familiar with temple routine even though less initiated in music.

By force of habit most of us recognise the strains of the *Nata* ragam emanating from the Nagaswaram heralding the temple Deity on his rounds through the main streets around the shrine. The *Mallari* (*Malahari taanam*, as it is more familiarly known in more sophisticated circles) has no *sahityam* but is spun round complicated tala solfa syllabus called *Tatta Karam*.

It could vouch an intellectual treat to a lover of *layam* and rhythmical sky-crappers and pitfalls to Nagaswaram or Taval accompanists pitted against more erudite performers in a competitive recital. This tradition is peculiar to Nagaswaram music and a close preserve of that profession.

A humble effort was made to find a radio forum for the *Mallari*. Unusual broadcast programme as it was, it had a nostalgic effect upon distant listeners in Malaya, some of whom felt transported to their native village attending the local temple festival after many long years. The grammar and the intricacies of the *Mallari* tradition is a closed book to most of the pundits in music and it is almost impossible to

ferret out authentic and worthwhile information on this worthwhile subject.

Considerable hints on (small) *chinna Mallari* (big) *peria Mallari*, *Ther Mallari* (*Mallari* appropriate to the procession of the chariot) have been gathered. This is just a beginning. A more sympathetic understanding of the musicians, worthwhile attractions for imparting interesting information should help us to unravel the mysteries of these hidden treasures. They should be of interest not only to listeners nearer home but also to millions of North Indian Pilgrims who throng the famous shrines of Balaji at Tirupathi, Rameswaram, Srirangam etc.

Dance-music of the ritual type is another interesting category. Apart from the text of the various Pushpanjalis peculiar to the various temples, the complicated rhythm and the dance sequences make interesting study.

The chatter of the cymbals, the drum and the bobs, recited verbally by the Dance Master, could still be heard and these would be lost to us unless salvaged in time. Sound pictures of these dance sequences could be conjured up in endless variety.

The '*Hetsarika*', in Yadukulakambodi or in Saveri, which announces through Nagaswaram music the return of the Deity at the conclusion of the festive rounds, is a forgotten melody. So is the clatter of drums portraying the march of the Deity on horse-back during the *vaiyali sevai*.

The religious fervour of South Indian marriages is wellknown and the songs heard at some of the social ceremonies are part of the daily routine of the temples where the Deity retires to his bed chamber after the '*Ekanta Seva*'. The *Jhula* is a wellknown institution but few

remember the 'oonjal Pattu' to the strains of which the bridal couple used to swing into matrimonial bliss. One such strain of Hindustani music is familiar from the shanai of Bismillah.

A more ambitious effort to preserve and resuscitate this type of music was made by A.I.R. Madras some time ago. The *serva*

vadyam performed in South Indian temples was a revealing study in instrumental variety and form of musical composition. The *Nava-sandhi* Ganam was a more complex and complicated venture and sound pictures of intricate dance patterns long since gone out of vogue. The Pallakki Seva Prabhandam and the Sarabendra Bhupala Kuravanji represent a high order of music associated with temples.

A Hundred Years of Higher Education in South India (1857-1957)

By

DR. K. K. PILLAY

CHRISTIAN Missionaries played a leading part in the introduction of English education into South India from the 18th century. The Government of Madras, however, undertook the first systematic attempt at encouraging higher education only during the governorship of Lord Elphinstone (1837-42), who arranged for the opening in 1841 of a High School, or as it was then designated, the 'High School of the Madras University.' This institution was raised to a College in 1853 and was renamed as the Presidency College in 1857, when the University of Madras was established.

The creation of the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 was the immediate outcome of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854, which provided a well-planned lead to the educational policy of India. Modelled on the pattern of the London University of the day, the three Indian Universities functioned merely as affiliating and examining bodies. Even long after the London University had extended its scope of activity, its Indian counterparts continued to discharge their limited responsibilities. The

Matriculation, which was the Entrance examination, the B.A. Degree examination, as well as the examinations in Law, Medicine and Engineering were conducted soon after the opening of the University. The number of colleges steadily increased. By 1871, four Government Colleges, besides the Presidency College, as well as seven private colleges had appeared. The courses of studies were suitably modified in accordance with the changing needs. It is beyond dispute that the standards of all the examinations were high. Competent outsiders have, from time to time, paid glowing tributes to the high attainments of the products of the Madras University. "Those who receive the Diplomas of the Madras University," observed Mr. J.D. Mayne, in the course of his Convocation address in 1860, "will go forth into the world, stamped as the possessors of knowledge far more extensive and accurate than would be evinced by the acquisition of a similar Diploma at home."

By far the most important change introduced by the Universities Act of 1904 was the widening of the scope and functions of the

Universities. Emphasis was now laid on the need of Universities organising research and teaching. Besides, the conditions of affiliation were made more rigorous. Systematic inspections of the Colleges were recommended so as to ensure adequate accommodation, proper maintenance of buildings, staff, hostels and other equipments. The Central Government was prepared to help the Universities by grants for undertaking the new functions.

In 1913, the Government of India passed a Resolution which, amidst other things, recommended the restriction of the jurisdiction of each affiliating University and the establishment of Unitary Universities wherever possible. In 1917 Mysore, and in 1918 Hyderabad, established their own Universities, which were, however, organised on the same pattern as the parent University. The Sadler Commission of 1917 though primarily concerned with Calcutta University, made valuable suggestions applicable to University education of entire country. Besides emphasising the importance of Unitary Universities, the Commission advocated the reduction of Governmental control over Universities, the appointment of full-time Vice-Chancellors and a closer co-operation between the Universities and the Colleges.

Some of these improvements were effected in the Madras University from 1923 when a new University Act was passed. By that time Dyarchy had been introduced in the Province, and Education as a 'Transferred subject', was placed under the control of a popularly elected Minister, who became the Pro-Chancellor of the University. The Act provided for a large measure of autonomy on the part of the University and also made the Vice-Chancellor a whole-time officer. These changes helped the University to develop rapidly, and though some minor amendments were introduced in 1929, 1937, 1940 and 1942, in substance it is the Act of 1923 which governs the University at present. In fact, the modern phase of the

Madras University may be said to have begun with the Act of 1923.

The expansion of the research departments was a striking feature of the modern epoch. While the older departments were strengthened, the new departments of Zoology, Bio-Chemistry, Botany, Statistics, Indian Music, Geography, Anthropology, Politics and Public Administration, Technology and Psychology were opened. More recently the departments of Physics, Geology and Geo-Physics, Hindi and Legal Studies, Analytical Chemistry and Business Management have been started. Many of these research and teaching departments conduct Diploma courses like those of French, German and Journalism are also conducted.

The departments of the University, besides doing their normal teaching and research work, have helped the furtherance of knowledge by undertaking projects of special importance. Thus the preparation of a Catalogus Catalogorum in Sanskrit listing all available manuscripts in Sanskrit, a Tamil Lexicon which is a comprehensive Tamil Dictionary of no small importance for research, the editing of the Mackenzie Manuscripts, the undertaking of Agro-economic research, Farm Management study and a Socio-Economic survey of the Madras city are some of the notable pieces of research in which the concerned Departments of the University have been engaged. The Central and State Governments of India as well as the Government of Madras and other organizations have frequently sought the assistance of the research departments of the University. Thus, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Forest Research Institute, the Tata Foundation, the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Madras Department of Fisheries have frequently availed themselves of the co-operation of the different research sections of the University. Almost every Science department of the University has been assigned specific problems for investigation. Valuable results, obtained

through such investigation, have been furnished to the authorities concerned.

Meanwhile, this period witnessed the rise of new Universities. In fact the Madras University Act of 19-3 itself encouraged the establishment of Universities wherever practicable. New Universities appeared in South India like those of Andhra in 1926, Annamalai in 1929, Travancore in 1937 and the Sri Venkateswara in 1953. While the numerous Colleges which once formed parts of the Madras University became affiliated to the daughter Universities, new colleges sprang up in the Madras University area in order to cater to the needs of the ever increasing demands of higher education. The total number of Arts Colleges under the jurisdiction of the Madras University is 73, and the number of students on the rolls of these colleges at present is 51,182. There are 32 Professional Colleges with a strength of 7,699 students.

Women's Colleges in particular have increased considerably. There are now twenty-four Colleges exclusively for women, while many other colleges have become co-educational. There are at present no less 9,975 women students attending the Arts and Professional Colleges. It is noteworthy that the progress of women's education has made the greatest advance in South India, though the Madras University has not lowered the standard by permitting women to appear privately for examinations.

The improvement of Physical education is another notable feature of the modern period. The University has insisted on the appointment of Physical Directors at Colleges, while compulsory physical exercises, games and sports have been introduced. Military training has been provided through the U.O.T.C., and the N. C. C. The organisation of the Women's branch of the N. C. C. is the latest development in this sphere. The Madras Uni-

versity Union organises Inter-Collegiate Sports besides Inter-Collegiate debates.

The University has encouraged numerous types of extracurricular activities. Social Service Leagues have been organised in most of the Colleges and they are doing commendable work such as adult education, improvement of sanitation and encouragement of cottage industries. It is significant that the Madras University has instituted a Diploma in Social Service, which is now run by two Colleges.

Thus the achievements of the Madras University during the modern epoch of her history have been at once many and varied. New departments of teaching and research have been opened, and the output of their work has won the approbation of the outside world. The position of the Colleges has improved. Women's education, physical education, military training; extra-curricular activities have all made remarkable progress. While maintaining the glorious traditions of the past, the Madras University has steadily advanced on modern lines. Under the pre-eminent leadership of her present Vice-Chancellor, ably assisted by the Syndicate of experienced educationists and a band of devoted administrative personnel, the University of Madras has made rapid strides.

The many-sided progress of the Madras University during the first hundred years of its existence constitutes a glorious record of which all of us are legitimately proud. While it is true that a period of hundred years forms but a short span in the life of a temple of learning, it is equally true that the achievements of this nascent epoch provide the inspiration and guidance for still greater advance in the days to come. With the foundations well laid during the opening century of her history, the University of Madras looks forward to a bright and glorious future.

The Cultural Glory of Kanchi in the Seventh Century A.D.

By

Mr. K. V. RAMAN, M.A.

THE City of Kanchi holds a unique and honoured place in the cultural history of South India. Considered as a holy place by the Hindus and the Buddhists alike it was also one of the oldest cities of our country. Even though Kanchi played a conspicuous part as a key city of South India throughout its long and chequered history, it was in the seventh century, when it was the capital of the Pallavas, that its glory attained the fullest bloom. It not only outshone other cities in importance but virtually presided over the destinies of South India.

Kanchi was singularly fortunate in the seventh century in having been ruled by a glittering array of eminent kings like Mahendravarman I, Narasimhavarman or Mamalla, Parameswaran and Rajasimhan who were at once the most powerful and the most cultured of kings. Inevitably, under their spell, Kanchi witnessed a spectacular outburst of cultural and artistic activity, rarely equalled by any other period in history. Personally accomplished as these kings were, they brought to bear on their many-faceted activity the wealth of their learning and creative thinking with the result that Kanchi became a veritable treasure-trove of cultural greatness. Architecture, music, painting, literature' religion-all these-strongly felt the impact of these kings. If Mahendravarman I could write full treatises on subjects like painting, and music, one can easily imagine how advanced the knowledge about these arts must have been at that time. As if to confirm this impression we have the beautiful paintings in the Pudukkottai state which bear ample evidence to his generous patronage of music and dancing.

Adorned by great literary luminaries Kanchi at this time, was the very nervecentre of

literary efflorescence. If Madura was the seat of Tamil learning under the Pandyas, and Nalanda of Sanskrit learning under Harsha, Kanchi under Pallavs represented a harmonious blending of both. Sanskrit poets like Bharavi and Dandin as well as the Tamil poets like Appar and Sundarar found in Kanchi a convenient home and in the Pallava Kings lovable patrons. The king Mahendravarman was himself the author of the famous farce-Mattavilasaprahasana. Added to these was the celebrated metaphysician Dharmapala who was also the Vice Chancellor of the Nalanda University for some time. According to Hiuen-Tsang (who visited Kanchi at this time) Dharmapala lived and studied at Kanchi for considerable time. Some scholars are also of the view that Bhasa's Sanskrit plays were adapted to the stage and enacted at the Pallava Court.

The main promoters of the Tamil language at this time were the Alvars and the Nainmars who were also the promoters of Hinduism. Hinduism at this time, as Dr. S. K. Iyengar points out (in his "The Contribution of South India to Indian Culture") underwent a revolution thanks to the Bakti-cult which was so ardently fostered by the Vaishnavite Alvars and the Saivite Nayanmars. Emotional outpourings of devotional songs expressed through chaste and mellefluous language roused the spirit of Bakti among the people and brought about so successfully a reaction against Buddhism and Jainism. The decline of these two religions began to definitely set in as could be easily gauged from the fact that Mahendravarman himself forsook Jainism and embraced Saivism thanks to the missionary zeal of Appar. Thus the Thevaram, Tiruvasagam and Nalayiraprabandam are not only

the embodiments of the Tamil language at its purest and loftiest but also they represent a revolutionary stage in the growth of Hinduism.

The innumerable temples with which Kanchi is studded give special beauty to the city. Many of these temples including the famous Kailasanathar temple were built in this century. Further more, the very style of architecture underwent a through going change in as much as new techniques or methods were introduced. For the first time temples were carved

out of single stones thus eliminating the use of brick and mortar. In exhibiting this peculiar style of architecture, Kanchi together with Mahabalipuram took a leading part. Well do the scholars like Vincent Smith and Jonvean Dubrevil consider the architecture of Kanchi and Mahabalipuram as an important landmark in the evolution of South Indian architecture.

In short such a glorious cultural burgioning that Kanchi witnessed in the seventh century that one is tempted to rank it with bright Periclean Athens and the Elizabethan England.

The Arabian Days of Faith and Science

By

Dr. KHALDOUN KINANY (Of Syria)

The ordinary reader has usually derived his knowledge of the Islamic world from renderings of *The Arabian Nights*, which may or may not impart some of the flavour of Arab tastes, but are, in any case, racy, highly coloured stories, mingling wild flights of imagination with sordid details, and conceived originally as light entertainment for the masses.

Other sources of knowledge are the many travel books written by Westerners. Some are very well written, but unavoidably biased, and the most popular and widely circulated are usually those which content themselves with fascinating details and romantic descriptions. However, there is an increased demand for more exact and serious literature on Eastern cultures, as the numbers of internationally-minded readers in Europe and America are growing. These readers, representing the new spirit of the century, seek to know, through their national institutions or through international organizations promoting international understanding, such as Unesco, more about the East—to understand better than

tourists walking in narrow streets whose high walls hide the life of the people within. They would like to enter oriental house, to be introduced to Asian life, to learn about its soul and to study its culture from the inside.

"No culture," says T. S. Eliot, "can appear or develop except in relation to a religion." Arabian civilization and Moslem civilization during some periods of Arab history, and sometimes now, are identical. So it will be relevant to begin by looking at Moslem religion, and the ways in which it has deeply influenced the thought and behaviour of the builders of Arabian civilization.

Islam, by the extreme simplicity and clarity of its creed, struck the minds of men who were looking for a God and for a faith. Islam, recommending puritanism and brotherhood, appealed to the masses and to communities which were in need of social reform, moral and spiritual revival, and political security. Conversion to Islam helped nations and individuals to find their souls and ensure their salvation. It made them feel that they belonged only to themselves and to God, and to

the large Moslem community based on brotherhood among all believers.

History has known religions which come too early or too late for their times. But Islam is one of the religions which arose at the right moment in time. Its message swept like fire all over the Middle East, and by the Seventh Century A.D., only ninety years after the coming of Mohammed, Moslem culture was established in a vast empire extending from Spain to India.

Why was Islam so phenomenally successful? Springing up as it did at the right moment was fortunate, and the fact that it has always disregarded prejudices based on race, colour, social class and country. It accepted from the very beginning the co-existence of other religions, which were free to develop within the Moslem world. Islam's traditional tolerance is well-known to all readers of the history of the Arabs, and the Arabs were well-rewarded for their religious tolerance. The tremendous wealth of philosophical and scientific knowledge which came to them from Greece, Egypt, Persia, India and other countries during the first centuries of their renaissance was passed on to them faithfully and consciously by Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian hands. Moslem religion, and subsequently Arabian culture, set the search for truth as the highest aim of human life. There is only one truth, all over the world. Islam never claimed to be a new religion, but the continuation and reformation of Judaism, Christianity and the Hanif religion. Similarly, Moslem thinkers and scientists never believed the truth could be found in only one people and one country. Their endless journeyings all over the Moslem and non-Moslem world during the middle Ages in search of true knowledge was almost certainly unprecedented in the past.

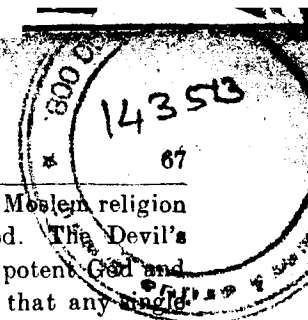
One last characteristic of Islam is its conception of Evil. Although Islam may be clas- sed with those religions which conceived the creation and evolution of the universe to be the result of a perennial dualistic struggle

between light and darkness, in Moslem religion evil is not as powerful as good. The Devil's power is smashed by the omnipotent God and reduced to the level of power that any single human being could possess. At any rate, if the evil power could sometimes overwhelm individuals it could not prevail against communities or nations. The prophets who were sent by God to help nations and races in their fight against evil are no longer needed since the coming of Mohammed, the very last prophet of God.

Islam takes a firm stand on this point. The belief that evil has little power against group thinking probably explains the Moslem's close attachment in thinking and behaviour to their groups, and may be one of the reasons why the Moslem brotherhood is so strong all over the world.

What bearing has the foregoing on Arabic culture? In the field of literature and the fine arts, Arabian culture suffered heavily from the absence in its universe of little gods and powerful spirits fighting with each other for the possession of this world, and the domination of the destiny of mankind. During its long centuries of development, Islam gave birth to no myths, metaphysical legends, folklore, carnivals, dances or religious theatre. However, it showed fertility in other fields of art and literature, which expressed confidence in life, trust in human destiny, and self-assurance in the artist's mind and soul. Arabic architecture, arabesque ornaments on mosques, palaces, carpets and luxurious furniture are well known to the Western world. However, the influence of Arabic poetry of troubadours and courtly love in Europe, and the role of Arabic music and prosody in the creation of the European sonnet, code and ballad, although accepted by some orientlists, has not yet been seriously studied.

The freedom from fear of harmful and mysterious powers encouraged the Arabs to adopt a daring attitude towards the universe, and they set out to study its phenomena, to



disclose its mysteries and discover its governing laws.

According to the Koran, true believers should reflect on the creation of heaven and earth. Those who succeed in melting and using iron or in benefiting from wind power, for example, and all who succeed in making life on earth more enjoyable and more comfortable for themselves and for their fellow men, are favoured by God. Their deeds and discoveries are considered as an act of worship. So it follows that the Arabs were as attracted by positive sciences as by philosophy and ascetism, and their favourite Greek philosopher was Aristotle, who was mainly concerned with science. The major contribution of the Arabs towards the progress of the culture of mankind, was in the field of science.

During the centuries when Arabs were the torch-bearers of civilization, the Arab scientists strove to replace astrology by astronomy, and alchemy by chemistry. In place of mythology they offered highly developed mathematics, algebra and trigonometry for the better understanding of the cosmos. Sarton, in his encyclopaedial *Introduction to the History of Science*, and E. F. Gautier, in his book *Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans*, show, in detail how the Arabs not only preserved Greek science and transmitted it to Renaissance Europe, but how they improved on it immensely, and that in such subjects as mathematics, algebra, trigonometry, astronomy, chemistry, physics, mineralogy, medicine, pharmacy, agriculture, metallurgy, the Arab scholars left their Greek teachers far behind. Gautier believes that it could be claimed that pharmacy was created by the Arabs. He reminds us that the mariner's compass, and the inexpensive writing paper made in those days from cotton wool were also Arabic inventions. The major Arabian contribution to the progress of science did not consist solely in achieving additional knowledge and new discoveries in physics and chemistry and other scientific fields. The Arab contribution was much more

important—they introduced an entirely new method, they introduced experimentation in science.

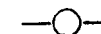
Sarton states that the Arabs' great contributions to the advance of science is not generally known to the average scientist. For this lack of information he gives the following explanation: "The majority of the teachers and historians speaking of mediaeval thought have dealt with Western, and specially with Latin, writings. Now, it is true that a number of important works were composed in Latin, but many others, just as worthy of consideration, were written in Greek, Syriac, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, and even in Japanese. The most valuable of all, the most original and the most pregnant, were written in Arabic. From the second half of the eighth to the end of the eleventh century, Arabic was the progressive scientific language of mankind.

People often refer to the universal character of the Arabian culture and to its capacity to accommodate itself in any region with any civilization. Nevertheless, the sweeping character of the Arab conquest was in some ways harmful to the development of the Arabian culture. The Arabs became unable to control their vast empire, especially in the cultural field. In some countries, their culture and their religion were not given sufficient time to adjust themselves to new conditions. Fatalism invaded Moslem religion and the Arabian culture which had primarily advocated free will. The productive scholasticism which, on the basis of the Unity of Truth, maintained a wholesome liaison between scholars and scientists, was hastily substituted by an unproductive scholasticism which put scientists at the mercy of religious scholars. Love for perfection and ideals were overshadowed by love for materialistic existence and the acceptance of daily life without glory or noble ambitions. Unfairness and seclusion were sometimes, and in some regions, the reward of Arab women who fought courageously with their men for the victory of Arabian civiliza-

tion, and who enjoyed, in Arabia during the first century of Islam, rights and privileges which are not obtained even today by women in some civilized countries. The Arabian culture went into a long period of decay, from the thirteenth till the end of the eighteenth century.

The awakening of the Arab world, which began in the last century, is now achieved. The modern Arabs are now fully aware of these two aspects of their culture, the one which built up their glorious past, they went to keep, and the other which caused their decay, which

they are trying to overcome. The Arabian culture has already demonstrated its firm belief in moral values, in universality, the dignity of the human personality, and in the progress of knowledge. It has advocated tolerance and fraternity among nations, races and religions. This culture, in spite of a very long period of decay, has now worn itself out. In fact, it has taken on a new vigour, and has great potentiality. The revival of Arabic culture will surely contribute to international understanding and the advance of mankind towards a better world.—*Unesco*.



Handicrafts of India—Revitalised

By

SRI MANIAN NATESAN

Managing Editor, Indian Review, and Convenor, Second All-India Handicrafts Week

INDIA has a long and rich tradition of craftsmanship. In the pre-industrial age, that is, till nearly a Century ago, the appurtenances to civilised living were fashioned by hand. These included, primarily the requirements of day to day life, such as clothes and utensils. Secondly however, there were articles that transcended the demands of mere utility, such as pictures and jewellery. The purely useful articles also were capable of being created with an eye to beauty, in addition to their usefulness, such as drinking cups, salvers, mats and needless to say clothes. There is a very indefinable borderland between the region of utility and the region of beauty. In examining the products of a civilised country, it is futile to try to separate them. They become integrated into patterns that please the eye and serve the needs simultaneously.

The harmony between all the forms that human aspiration takes is often missed by the casual observer. The religion of India is the

search of the lone soul for its Maker. It is an intensive pursuit which ends in an experience and not just understanding. The music of India is, similarly, a solitary reaching out of the mind for the beauty that inheres in a single sound pattern. It is not the crash of a hundred units that are welded into a composite harmony, but a thin line, as it were, which the artist follows as a hunter follows a trail. The architecture of India is a monumental upliftment, soaring heavenward, in an effort to express in stone, the still unfulfilled yearning of man. Hence the hundreds and thousands of philosophical systems, the minute tracery of the Indian Raga, the almost filigree character of the temple carvings. They are the multifarious expressions of a fierce and dominating individualism.

And it is this individualism that characterises the handicrafts of India. To some extent it arises out of the fact that things made by hand are not uniform. But that

refers only to two of a kind not being duplicates. The real point is the infinite variety of the crafts themselves.

The two significant features of Indian handicrafts are colour and form. Colour is easily seen and explained. Particular attention is invited to the duo-tone combinations in silk and cotton, and the patterns that have been woven into the rush mats. The carpets, needless to say, are in a class by themselves. The richness of the colours is in consonance



Metal Ware

with both nature and temperament. It is the art of the land of the Gold Mohur tree, the redveined lotus, and of yellow sunsets. It is also the art of a people who are warm in sentiment and expressive by inclination. To be rich is not to be loud. One can be extravagant in a pastel shade, and unreticent in silence. Nature has not been ungenerous in colouring the plumes of the peacock and the parrot, but in recent years, there has grown up amongst some, the fear of being artistically extrovert, which has led, if one may say, to a flight from colour.

Form in Indian Handicrafts takes a little explaining. The Indian mind is deductive in its reasoning. It ratiocinates from one to the many. But once the primary postulate is

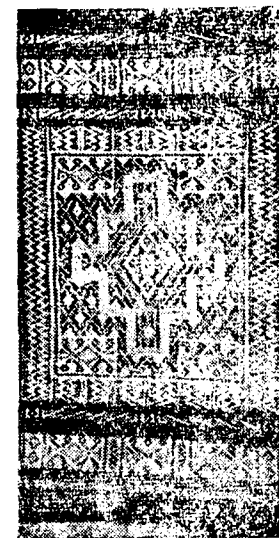
granted, it burrows into the minutest detail with a precision that a scientist of the present day might well envy. Indeed the method is scientific in the strict sense of the word. Many are carried away by the tiny traceries and careful carvings with which the handicrafts of India are replete. This is especially so with respect to silver and brass. That, however, is to miss the forest for the trees. The articles possess a proportion that is artistic, and a shape that is beautiful. Take, for instance, the necklaces and the ear-rings, the wooden trays and boxes, and the figurines in ivory. The form is the first care of the craftsman. It is fundamentally unsound to assume that the details do not accord with emphasis on the form itself. Like the toilet and the costume that go to enhance the pristine beauty of a woman, the carvings are the embellishments within the limitation of an already defined form. Much useless criticism has been indulged in because of the absence of sympathy with the culture that it represents.

With the advent of a popular Government in the year 1947, the Handicrafts of India entered a period of revitalisation. We awoke from our long sleep, rubbed our eyes, and saw that there were several things of beauty in our midst. But they were languishing for want of support. The workmen were unorganised. They had no funds to buy the materials they required. The trade was in the hands of middlemen. The profits made were unregulated and irrational. Much of it went into the hands of the financing traders. The markets were local. There was no arrangement for proper packing and transport to distant places. The markets were local. The foreign markets remained practically untouched.

The All India Handicrafts Board with Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya as Chairman aims to correct the mistakes and create a suitable climate in which the handicrafts will thrive. In the beginning the Board was asked by the

Government to advise on the development of production and promotion of trade. It was also asked to help in the distribution of Central grants to the States. The Board has since built up a complete programme of work, which has been divided, for the sake of convenience into ten categories:—procurement and supply

therefore be adopted for the whole country, or even for a single trade within a region. In the very nature of things, the problems are varied, and require *ad hoc* approaches and sensitive handling. The crafts are a heritage from the past, and do not admit of abrupt efficiencies by giant executive who sweep away the cobwebs by a wave of the hand.



Mat

of raw materials; introduction of better techniques and equipment; improvement in design and introduction of new patterns; describing standards of quality; training of personnel; promotion of research; conducting of surveys and the collection of statistics; publication of guide books and pictorials; setting up of museums for the display of handicrafts; and promotion of sales organisation in India and abroad.

The total value of the handicrafts produced in a year is estimated at over one hundred crores of rupees. The Board has thus taken a task which is patently onerous even from the purely economic point of view. But there are difficulties which are peculiar to these crafts. They are specialised, complicated and — scattered. The designs and the processes are local, and often, individual. No one single plan can

Perhaps the statement is trite and needs explanation. "Bigger and better" is a phrase that has gained currency in recent years. We have learnt to think in terms of millions, and we possess the—technical ability to design machines that are capable of turning out standard products which lack neither beauty nor durability, at a cost which is perhaps less than that of a similar hand made product. It is easy to argue and difficult to refute, that good things should be made cheap and made available to the common man. But a rich and variegated life is the *sine qua non* of real freedom. The standardization of manufacture is the insidious progenitor of standardized thought. It is the father of all conformity, and of impatience with dissension. It is the subtle and perhaps unconscious tool that dictators use to mould the masses into a uniformity which the victims believe to be for their own good.

It may be startling, but is nevertheless true, that, within the broad unity of a nation, the only guarantee of individual liberty is the existence of variety, be it in language, or literature or crafts. Every little helps to preserve the fortress of freedom against the onslaught of power. The desire to do good and the power to do it carry within themselves the germs or a dangerous anaesthesia, and one may make bold to assert that the preservation of the ways of work that call for a thousand different talents spread all over the country, each unostentatious and by itself insignificant, is a guarantee against the descent into the acceptance of imposed standards.

It would not be out of place to underline this salutary limitation on the aims and the work of the Handicrafts Board. The Board cannot aim to convert the handicrafts into big business. It cannot attempt to multiply the output a hundred fold. It cannot introduce modern motifs that jar on the time tried patterns. It will, for instance, be unwise to produce a micky mouse saree, or an ivory aeroplane. This is not to say that it should rest content with [what is merely old and has nothing else to recommend it. But the innovations have to fit into the previous patterns by way of improvement and economy. The Board is therefore concentrating, on the one side, on the economic side of Handicrafts. In the field of pottery for example, the Board has arranged for the construction of a common kiln for the workers in a colony, and in affording of assistance in securing standard mud pots, glaze and colour. It assists the mat weavers in procuring proper grass in adequate quantities. Marketing assistance and organisation, needless to say, is one of the major functions of the Board. This, in turn, calls for a minimum of quality control. On the artistic side the Board helps to maintain the designs of the past, which are in danger of deterioration. In fact, before anything else, the Board was confronted with the appalling falling off in the quality of the products. The artisans made no effort to maintain the genuine old designs. They made haphazard departures. The resuscitation of the original designs was itself a major task. At the same time, new designs had to be evolved with a double objective. Firstly, to preserve the tradition which

harmonises with the culture of the country, and secondly to introduce new designs to suit the changed conditions of living and modern tastes. The Board has created designing centres in various homogenous regions. Each centre is under the guidance and control of an experienced artist, and the proposed designs will be integrated with the local crafts; i.e., advice on designing will be made available to the craftsmen in the region so that master craftsmen may once again rise from their own ranks under the guidance and stimulation of the designing centre. The research programme of the Board is directed towards the better manufacture of the articles by the encouragement of specialisation, use of waste material, improvement in the quality of the raw material, especially colours, the designing and introduction of more efficient appliances and the like.

The Board has a modest but a practical programme.

In the drive for publicity and popularisation, the Board has recognised the value of Exhibitions. The earlier exhibitions in India were revelations to ourselves. Foreign exhibitions have a twofold value. Immediately, they serve to stimulate exports. It is part of the commercial policy of the Board. But there is a deeper significance attached to them. They bring to the people of other countries the products of a civilisation, a way of life, a culture. They are our ambassadors abroad. They create understanding and appreciation. It is in this sense that even a small venture of this type brings mankind nearer the concept of one world.

Congress and Conferences

The Indian National Congress

FOR the third time Mr. U. N. Dhebar presided over the 62nd session of the Indian National Congress which met at Laxmibai Nagar (Indore) on January 2nd. It conducted its deliberations for 5 days. The open session met on the 5th January when Mr. Dhebar delivered his presidential address. He devoted a major portion of his address to emphasise the need for a new outlook in dealing with the problems of our time, and in the establishment of a new order based on complete equality and justice. He said:

"We cannot survive, as a federation of tribes, castes, communities or business or occupational interests. The prejudices and other social gradations they breed cannot disappear unless we have a realisation that they will go with the values on which they are based or by which they are nourished. We cannot think of an integrated society so long as we do not replace the values that govern the present social order."

In a significant reference to the Prime Minister's contribution to understanding among nations, the Congress President laid stress on the importance of the recent meeting between Mr. Nehru and President Eisenhower.

Then followed a strong condemnation of the violence practised in Suez and Hungary and the colonial and racial policies of Portugal, France and S. Africa.

Mention of the general elections was made only for appealing to Congressmen not to treat them as a battle for votes but as an opportunity for mass education. He asked them to keep the campaign at a high level.

But the main theme which the Congress President set for himself was contained in these words: "We have to strengthen our social fabric. We have to develop our economy. And all this we have to achieve in conformity with our principles and in the context of democracy, human freedom and world peace."

Warning against the dangers of continuance of rigid and primitive social attitudes, based on caste, privilege and provincialism the president called for psychological and emotional integration and for a full and frank acceptance of the implications of equality and justice. He pointed to the many gaps in our society between professions and practices and pleaded for a radical change in outlook and in our attitudes to the weaker and down-trodden sections in the country.

Previous to the open session, the Subjects Committee met and adopted four resolutions—on foreign policy, amendment of the congress constitution by adding "social" to the declared congress objective of "co-operative Commonwealth," wording of the manifesto in view of the forthcoming election and the centenary of 1857 revolution.

Mr. Nehru dominated over the whole session and made vehement speeches all the five days at Indore. He was of opinion that the phrase "socialist" as used by the Congress cannot be brought under any particular definition of socialism, for India is evolving its own form of socialism suited to Indian conditions. Government policy and plans since Independence have indicated on broad lines what is meant by the Congress party's goal, and a hard and fast definition cannot be made out even with reference to what has happened. Whatever the programme may mean it has the general approval of the people, because Nehru and the Congress reflect the desires and aspirations of the common man. The following which the Congress has may be put down to the prestige of Gandhi and Nehru attracting the allegiance of a largely illiterate public. But this illiterate mass of people are not oblivious to current issues; they can not only understand them but have begun to assert themselves. They follow the Congress because the utterances of Nehru and other top leaders find an echo in their hearts and they believe the Congress alone will deliver the goods.

Mr. Dhebar will continue to be the President till the end of the year, as the election of the next Congress President has been deferred till then, in view of the forthcoming elections.

The Science Congress

The 44th session of the Indian Science Congress met at Calcutta on the 14th of last month. Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of Bengal presided over the session. The Congress was very largely attended. Prof N. K. Shidhanta, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, pleaded for more co-operation between the scientist and the politician to solve human problems.

With such co-operation, he said, there was a greater possibility today than at any previous period in human history of the evil passions being gradually eradicated and human happiness assured in an era of mutual trust and dependence.

Miss Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal opened the session. She asked scientists to pledge themselves individually and collectively to "the high resolve that never shall the knowledge that come to them through research be used in any part of the world to violate the sanctity of life".

Pt. Nehru who inaugurated the session told the scientists of sixteen nations assembled on the occasion that in their journey to the temple of science they must remember that "this temple is essentially and should be one of tolerance, one of humility to the great truth which they are seeking to discover."

The scientists of to-day were "perhaps overlapping the borders of morals and ethics". A great deal of burden had fallen on them as their work in the midst of a world of conflicts had to be "fundamentally one of the basic rhythm of development", he said.

Dr. B. C. Roy in his presidential address appealed to scientists to contribute their share towards the development of a human society "where man might live in peace and harmony with nature and with his fellow-beings". He said.

"We are living in a new era—the Atomic Age. Science has found a new and a vast source of energy which has put into man's hands great power, for good or for evil.

"Whether the Hydrogen Bomb will prove to be the doom of mankind or a stabilising force for permanent peace cannot yet be predicted. Yet it is equally true that materials developed from nuclear reactors can be wholly beneficent. They create a host of new substances which are proving to be of greatest value in research, medicine, agriculture and industry".

"We know", Dr. Roy said, "the one pursuit of the physicist and the chemist is the discovery of the nature of matter and energy, the one purpose of the technologists is to apply that energy in changing the social environment and the one purpose of the capitalist is to make profits through that energy. Thus both industry and war have provided the momentum which ever increases the output of energy. But can the scientists be held responsible for this perversion of physics and chemistry"? he asked.

Science, Dr. B. C. Roy said, was a common agency which draws millions of people into one fabric of human society and social order.

Tamil Art Festival in Bombay

Mr. Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay inaugurated on the 16th of January a ten-day Tamil Arts festival organised by the Sri Shanmukhananda Fine Arts and Sangeetha Sabha at Matunga, Bombay. Speaking on the occasion Mr. Prakasa said:

"Ancient India, if it lives anywhere, lives in the south, consisting of Tamil Nad and contiguous areas. There you have still the traditions of Indian art, architecture and music. People there are very simple in habit and their intellectual abilities and attainments are very great indeed.

The Governor said the atmosphere in the pandal was very familiar to him and congratulated the organisers of the drama festival on having created a miniature Tamil Nad in Bombay City. He recalled his visits to Tanjore and said that great temples in the south were "an example of the imagination and artistic talent of the great patriotic kings of that day." Engineers to-day were wondering how in those days a 80-ton stone could have been placed on top of a 220-foot high temple. Madras engineers were even to-day among the greatest engineers of the world.

Mr. Sri Prakasa said he could never forget the great hospitality of the people of Madras which he enjoyed during his tenure as Governor of that State.

Mr. T. V. Ramanujam, President of the Sabha, earlier welcomed the Governor.

Mr. T. K. Shanmugam, of the T. K. S. Brothers, who were staging dramas during the festival, recalled the happy association the artistes of the south had with Mr. Sri Prakasa when he was Governor of Madras.

World Academy of Sanskrit

The annual session of Visva Sanskrit Parishad met at Kurukshetra on Jan. 14. Mr. K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh presided. About 400 delegates attended the session. In his address to the Parishad Mr. Munshi said:

"The message of the Gita is in our hearts and spreads in the world. The voice of Prime Minister Nehru is heard in the world not on account of his individual capacity but due to the greatness and rich heritage of the culture of our country. Mr. Nehru represents the heart, the desires and the culture of India. The culture is represented by Sanskrit. India is free to-day and we have to spread the message of world peace. At the same time, we will be Indians only if we preserve Indian culture. Let us each be a missionary."

Mr. Munshi said that he always regarded Veda Vyasa the author of Mahabharata as the greatest prophet and preceptor in the world. Without him, he added, they could not have had Mahabharata and the Gita.

He exhorted Sanskrit scholars to consider each one of themselves as a miniature Veda Vyasa and spread the message of Sanskrit, the Gita and Indian culture to every nook and corner of the world.

Dr. A. C. Joshi, Chairman of the Reception Committee recalled that the first session was held in Sarnath in 1951, the second in Banaras, the 3rd in Nagpur, fourth in Tirupati and now the fifth in Kurukshetra. He hoped that this cycle of sessions would continue and the tenth session would be held here again in rotation. By that time the Kurukshetra University, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Dr. Rajendra Prasad would have been completed.

Earlier in the morning, the All India Sanskrit elocution contest was held under the presidentship of Mr. N. N. Chaudhury, head of the Sanskrit Department, Delhi University. Eighteen student teams participated. The students spoke in Sanskrit on subjects prescribed by the Parishad, namely, the Second Five-Year Plan, means of propagating Sanskrit, my favourite poet, favourite political leader and Sanskrit book.

The Handicrafts Week

The Handicrafts Week sponsored by the All-India Handicrafts Board of which Srimathi Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya is the Chairman was celebrated in all the States of India from the 15th January. Mr. Manian Natesan, the Managing Editor of this journal whose article on the "Handicrafts of India," is printed elsewhere in this issue, is the Convenor. Srimathi Kamaladevi releasing to the press the necessity for the preservation and development of handicrafts said that they are the material symbols of India's unique cultural ethos. Unlike the products of the mindless machines which are more or less alike the world over, the products of Indian craftsmanship would always be inimitably Indian, she said:

"As a matter of fact handicrafts along with other cottage industries have constituted the central elements in the organic and cultural unity of the people. In the numerous and far-flung villages of India, the colourful strands of the tradition and culture were woven into these objects making each of them unique and individualistic and lovely to look at:

She continued:

How much of this traditional treasure will survive the impact of new and challenging forces of today is still a question mark. It will depend largely on our awareness of our own heritage and our capacity, skill and genius to adapt these products to present-day life without destroying their basic charm and essential spirit.

How the Handicrafts Board has planned to revive old handicrafts which were on the verge of dying has been explained by Mr. Manian Natesan in the following words:

"The Board has built up a complete programme of work, which has been divided for the sake of convenience into ten categories: procurement and supply of raw materials; introduction of better techniques and equipment, improvement in design and introduction of new patterns; training of personnel; promotion of research; conducting of surveys and the collection of statistics; publication of guide books and pictorials; setting up of Museums for this display of handicrafts and promotion of sales organisation in India and abroad."

WORLD OF BOOKS

(1) THE ART OF ASIA by Tibor Horvath. Corvina Publishing House, Budapest. (2) HUNGARIAN SCULPTURE. Corvina Publishing House, Budapest. (3) HUNGARIAN DECORATIVE FOLK ART, Corvina Publishing House, Budapest. (4) PAINTINGS OF MIHALY MUNKACSY, Institute of Cultural Relations, Budapest.

These four books are a welcome addition to the library of the world's art. The first book contains reproductions in black and white of the bronze, jade, lacquer and marble figures of India, China, Japan, and Pakistan. The figures belong to several centuries and just afford an idea of the vast treasure house of the art of these countries. It serves as a useful introduction to the great art of the East. The Japanese paintings are particularly attractive, and show a sense of line which combines economy with effectiveness.

The reproductions of Hungarian sculpture range from the earliest to the present day. The early work is highly stylised, and reveals a skilled technique in floral and animal carving. The approach is towards a strong realism and displays the paramount influence of Greece and Rome, the love of the body beautiful, which all the fear of the Church could not destroy.

Hungarian decorative folk-art covers a wide field. Pottery, examples of the Herdsman's art in walls and doorways, furniture, weaving, embroidery, all are included in the scope of the folk art. The designs are mainly floral, as is but natural amongst people who live with nature. Of motifs from animal life birds are favoured. Figures and scenes appear most frequently in the carvings of shepherds and the herds of horses and cattle.

The collection of the paintings of Mihaly Munkacsy is a commendable effort. He lived in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and his work reflects the transformation from mere portraiture to impressionism which characterised French work of the late nineties, on the one side, and on the other, the struggle of the people of Hungary for freedom from the oppressive rule of Austria. The first is technical, the second is emotional. The first is seen in pictures like the "Maize field", the second in those like the "Condemned Cell". Needless to say, the latter have an appeal based on the theme, as well as one based on the treatment.

The impression left on one's mind after a perusal of these four books is that Hungary had a varied and rich art potential, but that till the land became politically free, its art was stifled in two ways; firstly by the demands of the rich who went in for portraiture and of the Churches which had a limited range to suggest, and secondly by the absence of the free atmosphere which gives to art a vitality that any form of control reduces.

But one also notices a swing in the opposite direction. Too much attention is paid to the economic freedom that the masses have attained since the termination of the second world war, as the condition that has conducted to the sudden efflorescence of the art of the country. It would seem as if art is the hand maiden of a new social system, one of the numerous ways in which propaganda is being done for the new system. One may seriously doubt if any real art can thrive when the objective is extra-artistic. We want the art of a people, not the panygeric of a revolution, however advantageous it may be to the masses. It is to be hoped that the art of this great country will not suffer a new imprisonment.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PRATIMOKSA by W. Pachow, Ph. D. Published by Kalidas Chatterji, Santiniketan Press, Santiniketan, West Bengal, India — The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, Santiniketan Price Rs. 12/-.

This is a very erudite book dealing with the Pratimoksa on the basis of its Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali versions. Pratimoksa really means 'characterbuilding' and it follows the traditional nursery rhyme which says "Sow a thought and you reap a deed; sow a deed and you reap a habit; sow a habit and you reap a character; and sow a character and you reap a destiny." The directions about the various kinds of sinful or tendentious activity are fully explained and the appropriate austerity and penances for expiating such sins. Dr. Pachow has with Teutonic thoroughness examined every portion of the text. He has not shirked examining mentally even directions about not talking when there is food in the mouth, about not committing adultery in the heart, about not exploiting religious status or authority to gratify desires of the body.

FEBRUARY 1957]

WORLD OF BOOKS

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KHADI (Hand-Spun Cloth) WHY AND HOW by M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kurmarappa. Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Ahmedabad-14 — Price: Rs. 3.

This is Bharatan Kurmarappa's defence of Khadi. Its economic aspect to relieve poverty, its social aspect to abolish casteism, its spiritual aspect to improve character and chastity, its industrial aspect to improve the wealth of everyone in the country are dealt with in a manner worthy of the highest praise. The Socratic instructive conversation on Khadi at page 224 is most interesting. As Gandhiji concludes "It is man's privilege to overcome adverse circumstances. Is not conquest of nature the slogan of the age we are living in? If circumstances alone had counted, Germany and Japan would have won the war. Let us in this respect take a leaf out of the book of the English people who do not know what it is to admit defeat. We have to cultivate austerity and penance in our life. There is nothing that the power of penance cannot achieve."

INDIAN HANDICRAFTS. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Price: 2-8-0.

The Publications Division have done a very lovely introduction to every type of handicraft from fish-hooks found in Mohenjo-daro to sandalwood-carving from Mysore. All the illustrations are full of life and most interesting.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN INDIA by Prof. K. R. Kulkarni, Vol. I—published by V. V. Bapat for The Co-operators Book Depot, 9, Bakehouse Lane, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 20.

Professor Kulkarni has written a monumental work in 1951 and has now revised and enlarged it and made it exhaustive. It is a vade-mecum both for the student and for the man of business. The synopsis of contents shows the thorough grounding in economic thought which the author presumably owes to Dr. & Mrs. Marshall. The German-thoroughness with which every term has been defined and explained must evoke unqualified admiration. But the crowning beauty of the work is that the exposition is always brought down to earth by reference to contemporary economic history and statistics. Considering the wealth of illustrations and tables, the price of Rs. 20 is not excessive.

MARX AND ENGELS ON MALTHUS. Edited by R. L. Meek. Price Rupees Three. People's Publishing House, New Delhi.

This is an Indian Edition of the British 1953 Edition. Marx said the hatred of the working classes against Malthus was justified as they sensed instinctively that Malthus was not a man of science, but a bought advocate, a shameless sycophant of the ruling classes. The extracts are analysed and logically arranged with an Introductory Essay and Notes. To cure the over-enthusiasm generated by biased advocates of reckless family planning now a-days, this volume will be most useful.

OUR FUTURE: ABUNDANCE OR ANNIHILATION. By Lawrence Benjamin, Price Rupees Four and Annas Eight, People's Publishing House Ltd., Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

According to the propagandist author, the U.S.S.R. and her "satellite countries" are Planning for LIFE while the U.S.A. and her fellow-travellers are Planning for DEATH. As in such work, he exaggerates by painting Communist lands as in a rosy state and non-communist lands as bloody with gangsterism (p. 157). One gets a testimony almost unbelievable that Senator Kefauver who was running mate for Vice Presidency to Adlai Stevenson said in his Crime in America that criminal and political corruption is rampant and close to ruination point. This ex-Member of the British Labour Party is kind enough to approve of the Panch Sila though still incredulous about the benefits of India's socialistic pattern of society.

THE GOSPEL OF THE PROPHET MANI by Duncan Greenlees. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The Oxford Dictionary says that the Manichean system represented Satan as coeternal with God. The Prophet is said to have lived in Persia in the 3rd to 5th century. He was proclaimed on 12th April 240 and finally died in prison on 26th February 277. The introduction running to 176 pages is a masterpiece of descriptive religious history. The Catechism and the Gospel follow. The 'Gospel' ends with a beautiful, almost Indian, prayer expressing the Soul's ancient yearning for freedom from the endless chain of births and deaths.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OR THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH.

By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Rs. 3/-

This popular, cheap and sixth edition of Gandhiji's autobiography is quite welcome to the public. This book must be read by one and all. It is very inspiring and thought provoking. "The experiments narrated should be regarded as illustrations, in the light of which every one may carry on his own experiments according to his own inclinations and capacity. ... Let hundreds like me perish, but let truth prevail." This is what Gandhiji has practised and advocated the same in his introduction to this book. The book is finely got up and the price of Rs. 3 is reasonable.

THE AGRARIAN PROSPECT IN INDIA

By Daniel Thorner, published by University Press, University Buildings, Delhi 8.

Daniel Thorner like Mr. Wofford of India is much preoccupied with land reform legislation. He is obviously Left-Socialist in his tendencies as shown by his discontent with attempts at land reform legislation. The Delhi University is to be congratulated on the get-up and print.

PHILOSOPHY FOR PLEASURE. By Hector Hawton. Published by Fawcett World Library, New York.

We may describe this as a vertical analysis of philosophy as contrasted with a horizontal or chronological description. The chapter headings are arresting like "The Discovery of Reason," "The Rape of Reason," "Architects of the Universe," "The Debate Continues." It is a good adventure in ideas and justly ends with Buddha's advice "After examination, believe what you yourself have tested and found to be reasonable, and conform your conduct thereto."

OUR EDUCATION by Jagat S. Bright, Bright Institute, Delhi-6, Price One Rupee.

Mr. Bright has been thinking aloud. But that might is not right and false is not truth as Dr. Radhakrishnan points out, the problem is too vast for summary solutions. The Rose University is still a Dream University and will probably have to remain so.

HAS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FAILED? By A. D. Shroff.

Published by Forum of Free Enterprise, 235, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bombay-1

This is a text of a speech by Mr. Shroff at the Commerce Graduates' Association, Bombay, on October 23, 1956, that Democracy will suffer if Free Enterprise is not allowed to be practised.

5000 YEARS OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Price Rs. 2.

This also starts from the drainage system at Mohenjo-daro and ends with a house designed by Le Corbusier, Chandigarh. All regions of India are represented and practically all ages of architecture.

STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS by Prof. Krishna Kant Misra, Nanakchand A. S. College, Agra University. Published by the Everest Publishers, Meerut City, Price Rs. 2-4-0.

This series of essays by the Head of Nanakchand A. S. College deals with the topics like Laski, Coexistence, Neutrality and Post-War Soviet-American Relations. If sometimes the book reads like precis notes from newspapers, one cannot complain, as the matter does not admit of any other kind of treatment.

PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIP by Edvard Kardel, New Delhi, Published from the Yugoslav Embassy, New Delhi.

This paper by the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, describes practical reactions on urgent problems like re-arming of Western Germany, NATO and the Balkan Pact and so forth. It is a no-bloc policy.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

INDIANS IN CEYLON

Over 50,000 citizenship applications, involving roughly 1,50,000 persons of Indian origin in Ceylon, have been rejected during the eleven months since the Bandaranaike Government assumed power. These applications represent only those which have been rejected either without recording any evidence whatsoever or without affording an adequate opportunity for the applicants concerned to show cause why their claims to Ceylon citizenship should not be rejected.

Consequent on frequent complaints made by the leaders of the Ceylon Workers' Congress that the notices issued by the Department of Citizenship Registration calling upon estate workers to present themselves for enquiry and investigation were never actually served on them, thus resulting in the rejection of their citizenship claims even without their knowledge. Mr. C. Vanniasingam, M.P. for Kopay, asked a series of questions, addressed to the Prime Minister on the subject.

In a written answer the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs has replied on January 18, that from January to the end of November last year, 28,204 citizenship applications had been rejected on account of non-delivery of the notices. During the same period 2,310 applications had been rejected without any evidence being recorded. The Ministry added that separate statistics in respect of the periods before January last year were not available.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Communist leader, who had discussions with the Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, on problems affecting Indian settlers said at Colombo on January 23 that the Ceylon Government has accepted in principle the demand for payment of gratuities of Indian settlers, who return to India after service in Ceylon.

Mr. Gopalan, who met Mr. Bandaranaike said that his discussions covered, among other things, the problems of illicit immigration and the future of persons not registered as citizens of Ceylon.

Mr. Gopalan added:

"I quite agree with the view expressed by Mr. Bandaranaike that outstanding questions can be settled on the basis of negotiation, mutual understanding and goodwill".

S. AFRICA

RACIALISM IN S. AFRICA

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, leader of the Indian delegation to U. N. said on 17th of December that there would be no greater tragedy than for the idea to become fixed in the minds of the United Nations that the questions of the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa was a hardy annual.

He was speaking in the special Political Committee of the General Assembly at the opening of the debate on the Indian question in South Africa.

Mr. Menon then traced in detail the attempts made by India to bring about conversations with South Africa. "My Government and the Government of Pakistan have conformed to the instructions from the Assembly and have pursued them to the best of our ability", he added.

"We shall not throw away the support of the United Nations or United Nations' responsibility. We have gone out of our way to meet South Africa but we feel obliged to see that the negotiations are conducted in continuation of the resolutions of the United Nations".

India, he said, was prepared to construct negotiations anywhere adding that since South Africa had broken off diplomatic relations with India and India had no representative in South Africa they could not conduct negotiations there.

Mr. Eric H. Louw, the South African Minister of External Affairs had said Mr. Menon placed the onus on India for pursuing this matter "as a vendetta." The Indian leader said he left it to the Assembly to judge. He was sure that they would see that it was with a spirit of conciliation that India had pursued the matter.

Mr. Menon then dealt with the reports from the Government of India and Pakistan that were before the Committee. Those reports stated that the purposes of the resolution adopted last session had remained unfulfilled. The resolution had urged the parties concerned to pursue negotiations with a view to bringing about a settlement of the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa and invited the parties to report as appropriate jointly or separately to the General Assembly at its next regular session.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 1. Mr. Chou-en-lai leaves for Peking.
—President Nasser abrogates Egypt's 1954 treaty with Britain on the Suez Canal.
- Jan. 2. Mr. Dhebar, President of the Indore Congress arrives at Laxmi Nagar (Indore) and is given grand reception.
- Jan. 3. The 62nd Session of Indian National Congress meets at Laxmibainagar.
- Jan. 4. Open Session of the Congress begins:
—Subjects Committee unanimously approves Congress manifesto for the coming elections.
- Jan. 5. U. N. Dhebar delivers his presidential address to the Congress.
—U.S.A. calls on U.N. to bring about the unification of Korea.
- Jan. 6. The Kedar Government of Hungary announces Democratisation proposals.
- Jan. 7. Chou-en-lai arrives at Moscow.
—India objects to U.S. plan for supervised Elections in Korea.
- Jan. 8. President Eisenhower sends message to Nehru re. U.S.'s new programme for Middle East.
- Jan. 9. Sir Anthony Eden resigns.
—France declines to leave Algeria.
- Jan. 10. Mr. Harold Macmillan becomes the Prime Minister of England.
- Jan. 11. President Prasad lays the foundation stone of Kurukshetra Sanskrit University.
—Mr. V.K. Wellington Koo of Nationalist China is elected member of International Court of Justice.
- Jan. 12. U.K. forces bomb Yemen's Towns.
—Saudi Arabian guns shell Israeli ship at the Red-sea entrance.
- Jan. 13. Pt. Nehru opens the Hirakud Dam across Mahanadi.
- Jan. 14. 44th Session of Indian Science Congress meets at Calcutta.
- Jan. 15. Egypt nationalises British and French Banks.
- Jan. 16. Pakistan demands U.N. force and Plebiscite in Kashmir from the Security Council.
- Jan. 17. President Shukri al-Kuwatly of Syria arrives in New Delhi.
—Japan appeals to U.N. to halt nuclear weapon tests.
- Jan. 18. Arab leaders of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Jordan open summit talks at Cairo.
—S. Africa threatens to close her ports to Indian Ships.
- Jan. 19. Arab leaders sign an agreement on aid to Jordan.
—Nehru - Kuwatly talks conclude.
- Jan. 20. Dr. Prasad urges common script for all regional languages of India.
- Jan. 21. Prime Minister Nehru and President Kuwatly of Syria issue a joint statement urging Big Powers to leave Mid-East free.
- Jan. 22. India and Pakistan sign a trade agreement.
—Central Govt. decides to establish a big aluminium plant at Mettur.
- Jan. 23. Marshal Zhukov, Soviet Defence Minister leaves for India.
- Jan. 24. Israel urges U.N. to demilitarise Sinai Desert.
- Jan. 25. U. N. Security Council votes for *Status Quo* in Kashmir.
- Jan. 26. Kashmir's constitution comes into force.
—Republic Day Celebrations throughout India.
- Jan. 27. Syrian President leaves Bombay after a tour of India.
- Jan. 28. The centenary celebrations of the Madras University is inaugurated by Governor of Mysore.
- Jan. 29. Government of India issues an Ordinance taking powers to control the movement of visitors from Commonwealth Countries.
- Jan. 30. Russia and Czecho-Slovakia in a joint declaration announce that the Warsaw Pact would be strengthened because of Western refusal.
- Jan. 31. Pt. Nehru lays the foundation stone for the Madras University Centenary Buildings.

READERS' DIGEST

BRITAIN AND EGYPT

Now that the Suez episode is over, at least for the moment, the *Manchester Guardian* offers its dispassionate assessment of the Anglo-French military operations in Egypt. First, the landings were achieved with astonishingly few casualties, and respect for the Cease fire also brings credit to the soldiers, their commanders and the government. Secondly, the Government has achieved its aim of quenching the flames of the Israeli-Egyptian conflict. As against these items on the credit side, it must be said the Government has failed in its aim of protecting the Suez Canal. The Government has also failed to safe-guard the oil supplies.

Apart from the tangible and immediate results, the moral and political injury both to Britain and to the cause of peace, can hardly be ignored. "Over view is," says the *Guardian*, "counting the tangible factors alone, it has been a costly failure."

But there are other factors intangible and less easy to state, but of still greater importance. They are the damage to Britain's moral standing in the world, to the United Nations, to the Atlantic alliance, and the Commonwealth; and the enormous gain to Russia in the Middle East.

The moral damage has been caused by Britain's breach of its pledges in the United Nations Charter. It has used war as an instrument of national policy, and it has sought to resolve a dispute by force. It has been guilty of aggression—and no talk of "police" action, of defending our rights and interests, or of preventing a greater conflict can absolve us of the guilt. No nation should take the law into its own hands, as Britain has done, or go to war in its own interests without the approval of the United Nations. That is one of the fundamentals of the Charter. It is an essential part of what many men who fought in the 1939-45 war—especially men of the younger generation—believed they were fighting for. To-day war and military force cannot justly be used by one nation against another, except in self-defence against attack. This is a transcending obligation. We must keep the peace and we must help to create a form of international order. The British Government, by breaking its pledges, has offended grossly.

NEHRU--IKE MEETING

Great things are expected, in the long run, to flow from the Nehru-Eisenhower meeting. That the leaders of the two largest democracies in the world should have found themselves so close to each other, is a measure, according to *Thought*, "not only of goodwill and understanding between two eminent men but of the essential identity of interests and aims of India and America in these anxious times."

Certainly leaders of goodwill can do much to reduce between two nations points of possible friction and unnecessary misunderstanding. But an abiding friendship results from profounder reasons. It springs from community of feeling and objectives between two peoples. To the Americans generally there have been only two loves for the whole past decade: young India and old America. To the Indians emerging from centuries of subjugation to foreign rule this has not always been clear. In fact, enthusiastic expressions of friendship by the Americans sometimes appeared to them too ostentatious to be genuine, which led to shrinking if not slinking away from each other. But the clarity of vision and the maturity of outlook of which India has recently given unmistakable evidence show how quickly a people possessing goodwill and integrity can measure up to its new role. Potentially India is to free Asia what America is to the free West. In the world taken together the two are not competing but complementary forces.

If the Prime Minister's visit and welcome in America are any guide, the two countries will, in future, pay greater attention to their common spiritual and political ties.

The two may yet continue to keep their respective aversions. Nations need deeds rather than words whereby they can feel assured. Time alone can heal the wounds inflicted by men on mind and body. But where India and America meet today transcends contemporary politics, attitude to other nations or even economic considerations. The two take their stand on a common faith so handsomely enunciated by the Vice-President of America and warmly reciprocated by the Prime Minister of India. Irrespective of absence of agreements sometimes on policy, America and India said Mr. Nixon, share "a common dedication and devotion towards developing the kind of world in which individuals can be free, in which nations can be independent and in which peoples can live together in peace." Assuring the U. S. Vice President that India adhered to the ideals of which he had spoken, the Prime Minister made a declaration which is both a faith and a pledge of undying character. "We are going to adhere to these ideals whatever else may befall us." Abraham Lincoln himself could hardly hope for anything better.

JAPAN IN U.N.

Commenting on the admission of Japan to the United Nations, *New York Times* observes that at the conclusion of World War II Japan lay diplomatically isolated and her envoys barred from the world's conference tables.

"Tokyo's first diplomatic goal on the long road back was to reach a peace settlement with her former enemies, notably the United States. The Korean War in 1950 accelerated this development and at San Francisco the following year the U.S. and 48 other nations signed a peace treaty with Japan which restored full Japanese sovereignty over her home islands. Soviet Russia refused to sign the treaty on the ground that Communist China was not invited to the conference.

Thereafter the Japanese concentrated on reaching a settlement with Moscow. Two months ago, after protracted negotiations, premier Ichiro Hatoyama flew to the Kremlin and negotiated the final touches to a Russo-Japanese peace pact ending the state of war between the two countries. The pact pledged Soviet support for Japanese membership in the U. N.—a major Russian concession. For years Moscow had blocked Japanese U. N. membership by exercise of her Security Council veto."

Moscow and Tokyo exchanged instruments of ratification. Soon after, Japan's renewed U. N. application came before the Security Council. The council—Russia included—unanimously voted to recommend Japan for membership. The General Assembly has approved by an overwhelming majority the admission of Japan as the U. N.'s eightieth member.

"Thus Japan regains full standing as a member of the world community. Most Asian experts feel that Tokyo's next move will be directed towards normalization of Japan's relations with Communist China. Peking has long extended the tempting lure of increased trade with the Chinese mainland."

THE ELECTIONS IN INDIA

Nehru's visit to America has naturally provided an occasion to the American press to devote more space to Indian affairs. We are interested to read a fairly objective account of the preparation for the ensuing general elections in India, in the *New York Press*.

Selecting the right time for the second national election—the first was held in the winter of 1951-52—was something of a prob-

lem. The election commission had to avoid times of heat, monsoons and festivals.

The Congress party in the present election has decided to drop about a third of the men and women who hold office under the ruling party's ticket and replace them with new candidates. This is part of a "new blood" campaign.

From Feb. 25 to March 12 almost 1,000,000 polling officials will be checking off names on the world's largest electoral list. About 200,000,000 men and women over the age of 21 are eligible to vote, and it is expected that a majority of them will march to the polls from mountains of the north to the plantation country of the south.

The voters will choose about 3,100 members of state legislatures and 500 members for the House of the people, lower chamber of the Indian Parliament. Most members of the upper house are chosen by the state legislatures. The Indian President has the right to name about a dozen leaders in the fields of science, culture and education.

All Indian states except Kashmir will vote this winter. Kashmir, which the Indians recognize as part of the Union and the Pakistanis do not, is scheduled to elect a state legislature in the spring. The legislature, under the provisions of Kashmir's own Constitution, will select members for the national Parliament.

Four parties—those that won at least 3 per cent of the national vote in the last election—are recognized as national parties.

They are the Congress party, by far the strongest; the Communist party, the Praja Socialist party and Jan Sangh, a rightwing Hindu party.

Since most voters are illiterate, the parties will plaster the country with symbols under which they will contest the elections. There will be about 3,000,000 ballot boxes, each marked with a party symbol. The Congress symbol is two yoked bullocks. The Communists selected ears of corn and a sickle. A hut is the Praja Socialist symbol and a lamp the symbol of Jan Sangh.

In addition to the four major parties, eleven parties are recognized in various states of the Union. These parties and independent candidates will also have symbols, all carefully approved by the national election commission: lion, elephant, bow and arrow, camel, bicycle.

NEHRU IN AMERICA

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's recent visit to America has been acclaimed a great success.

On Oct. 11, 1949, says an American Correspondent, a short, slender man in a Western business suit and a white Gandhi cap stepped off a plane at Washington airport, told the President and the press, "My knowledge of America comes entirely from reading and hearsay," and then set out to find out about America first-hand.

Nehru has not paid a second visit to the United States. "In the intervening years Indian-American relations have blown warm (when the U. S. granted India a wheat loan) to cool (when India espoused Communist China) to icy (when the U. S. granted military aid to Pakistan) to warm again (when the U. S. supported Egypt and India voiced concern over Hungary). Recently an Indian newspaper portrayed the new rapprochement in a cartoon of Messrs. Dulles and Nehru sitting together on a rock. Dulles was saying, "I'm sick of these British and French. They behave like Russians." Nehru was saying, "I'm sick of these Russians. They behave like the British and French."

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

Russian tanks and troops have drowned in blood the heroic revolution of the people of Hungary, writes V. B. Karnik in *Freedom First*. The revolution is no doubt crushed for the moment but resistance of the people to the Soviet occupation forces and the puppet regime set up by them has not ceased. It is still crying aloud to the free people and nations of the world for help and Co-operation.

The battle in Hungary, he goes on to add, may be temporarily lost, but the war of freedom has just begun. In a remarkable article published in the American weekly, *New Leader*, Mr. Milovan Djilas, that intrepid thinker from Yugoslavia has drawn pointed attention to this fact. According to Mr. Djilas: "With the Hungarian peoples' revolution, a new chapter began in the history of humanity." He writes: "Human history is changing in Eastern Europe.... It is no longer possible to stop the struggle of the people of Eastern Europe for independence. The Hungarian revolution blazed a path which sooner or later other Communist countries must follow."

SEGREGATION AND THE JEWS

The Autumn number of the *Jewish Review-Mid Stream*—is devoted mainly to the consideration of Nasser's attitude to Israel and the Soviet attitude to the Jews. Apart from this there are two reports on the reaction of Jews in the troubled South. Albert Vorspan presents some composite portraits of Southern Jews under strain; while Henry L. Golden discusses their situation to-day, caught between the moral demands exerted on them by the fight for the Negro's rights and the pressures of their white Gentile neighbours.

"The tragedy of the moment is not that the end of racial segregation is being delayed. The Supreme Court will prevail. The greater tragedy by far is that large groups of Southerners are being deluded; they are being served huge doses of self-delusion and false hopes. Politicians and wishful thinkers have been telling the people that the decree of the Supreme Court can be defeated. But the Supreme Court will not be defeated."

THE HIRAKUD PROJECT

On January 13 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru opened the Hirakud Dam which is said to be the world's biggest dam. The *New York Herald Tribune* says in its recent issue that India should be congratulated for having planned, financed and built the enormous Hirakud Dam in Orissa "almost single handed."

The newspaper noted that thirteen million dollars in technical aid and equipment came from the United States, and added, "But it illustrates what can be achieved by the newly-independent nations of Africa and Asia in the way of installations which will be of lasting economic benefit."

"Such tasks are precisely the object of the new Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East. Trading cotton for tanks and guns does not advance the economy of the country or benefit peoples who are close to starvation. Well-planned and soundly-financed improvements in agriculture and industry help the national income and standard of living. It is a thought which nations not having India's resources might do well to ponder."

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

In a New Year message to the *Hindustan Times* Lord Bertrand Russell says:

"India as the most important of the uncommitted nations is in a position to do an immense service to mankind in mitigating the evil effects of the conflict between rival Great Powers. I am wholly at one with the Government of India in its condemnation of Anglo-French action in Egypt and I also rejoice that this condemnation has not led India to break with the Commonwealth. I am glad that the authority of the United Nations has been successfully asserted as regards Egypt. It is tragic that there has been no equal submission to its authority when Hungary is concerned. If India is to continue to play its beneficent role as an uncommitted nation there must be a perfect equality in condemnation of the sins of either bloc.

The harm done to Commonwealth relation by the Suez affair is partially mitigated by the British agreement to withdraw troops from Egypt but I do not think it can be completely undone until there is a change of Government in England. I do not see what India can do beyond continuing the same line of policy as hitherto in regard to the Middle East while coupling this with a vigorous denunciation of Russia's brutal crimes in Hungary."

EGYPT AND ISRAEL

In a letter to *Thought* (Delhi) Mr. P. Kodanda Rao of the Servants of India Society says that the root cause of the Conflict in West Asia is Israel to the creation of which the Arab states have been opposed from the beginning.

The antagonism between Arabs and Jews would not have developed to the present irreconcilable pitch if the Arabs had no good reason to view the planting of a political and military base for hostile powers to overawe them. The further fact that the Jews in Israel owe their striking prosperity to external help, particularly American Jews, which is not open to the Arabs, alienates them from their Arab neighbours. More than all, Israel was not created on the invitation of the Arabs out of pity for the persecuted Jews, but was forced on them by others anxious for political domination over the Arabs, which renders any reconciliation in the foreseeable future practically impossible.

The only rational and permanent solution to the conflict, according to Mr. Kodanda Rao, is the elimination of Israel as a *Jewish State* and to place the area under the direct adminis-

tration of the United Nations, without reference to race or religion, Arab or Jew.

It will then be a secular state, open to all within its economic competence. Its citizens will be world-citizens, owing allegiance to the United Nations, as the precursor of the World State.

He, however, admits it may be difficult to secure general acceptance to direct administration by the U. N., but any other solution, according to him, seems to be even more difficult.

THE DIFFERENCE

To our policy of non-alignment, opinion in the United States, both governmental and public, is now largely reconciled, says *The Times of India* in an Editorial.

Indeed informed opinion recognises that a non-aligned country such as India, constituting as it does the largest democracy in Asia, is peculiarly well-positioned to play a useful and positive role whenever a crisis or a collision threatens between East and West. What American opinion finds difficult to understand is the habit of India, a democracy, of equating totalitarianism with democratic systems and of placing America or Britain on a par with Russia or China. Here, argues the U.S., is both a difference and a distinction. If a totalitarian country is to rate equal with a democratic country, then the difference and distinction lose all meaning and are valueless.

There is a difference and distinction between totalitarian and democratic values, and it is high time, it says, we recognized this more positively in our foreign thinking.

If, as is sometimes suggested, we cannot go the whole way because of our non-alignment policy either with the democracies or the totalitarian bloc, how can we convincingly explain our preference in going the whole hog on Egypt and in desperately striving to hold our horses on Hungary?

The truth is that there is no convincing explanation, and that our clouded, confused thinking has led us into positions from which we now find considerable difficulty in extricating ourselves. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in our policy of non-alignment which indeed is eminently suited to India's interests and to the cause of world peace. But we would be indulging in a dangerous form of self delusion if while implementing this policy we leaned invariably in favour of the totalitarian bloc against democratic countries, and thereby helped to undermine the very foundations of our own ideals and values. At the very least, let us when it comes to giving the benefit of the doubt give it to the democracies with whom we are ideologically linked than to the totalitarian countries whose avowed aim it is to disrupt and destroy the things we cherish and would like to preserve. What we are now doing is to use the totalitarian knife to cut our democratic throat.

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF MADRAS

Madras is, in a way, the problem State of India, writes Khasa Subba Rau, Editor of *Swarajya* in the Madras Supplement to *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*. For in this State the major party, traditionally in opposition to the Congress in the period of freedom struggle, has after the advent of freedom, managed to capture the soul of the congress leadership.

The Justice Party as a separate political organisation has disappeared; its sole survivor in the legislature today is Sri P. T. Rajan. But there is scarcely any need now for the continuance of the Justice Party. Its objects have entered into the spirit and policy of the Congress Ministry.

The Justice Party arose, some forty years ago, out of the revolt of the non-Brahmin leaders against Brahmin exclusiveness. The Brahmins were then in a dominating position in the public life of the state.

The movement was, therefore, not without a certain historical justification. It achieved success by shattering the Brahmin monopoly of the good things of life. But it developed an anti-Brahmin spirit which, at the moment of its political extinction, passed on to the non-Brahmin majority among the Congress leaders, as the Congress entered on the task of governing the State.

Discussing the currents and cross currents in the political life of the State since then Khasa points out that two main developments have occurred as a result of this transfer.

First, it has disrupted the unity and integrity of the Congress as a political party, since the non-Brahmins in it felt more drawn to their communal kindred outside than to the Brahmin colleagues and political partners within their own party. Secondly, there has been a sort of non-party, or rather all-party combination to put down the Brahmin community, far exceeding the requirements of any legitimate movement for social equality. A protective social movement of revolt against exclusiveness and monopoly has thus become transformed into a new tyranny.

There is however, one significant distinction between the old exploitation and the present tyranny.

Forming a small fraction of the population, the Brahmins could never have withstood (in conditions of freedom with the authority of an outside power eliminated) any organised campaign of resistance to them on the part of the vast majority of people in the State. But there is no such hope of relief from resistance now to the numerically insignificant

Brahmin minority against majority tyranny. There is also the fact that centuries of enjoyed privilege in multifarious forms have had the effect of equipping the Brahmin community with a considerable average of superiority in talent and intellectual endowments and the character that goes with them. One result of all this has been that the anti-Brahmin movement inside and outside the Congress has been forced to take on the aspect of an anti-merit drive.

After pointing out the steady transformation of the Chief Minister of the Congress into the Messiah of the anti-Brahmin movement, armed with the powers and authority of the State executive, Khasa says:

The animus of the process has invaded every branch of the Government and even the schools. It has downgraded the character of the public service and visibly led to deterioration and degeneracy.

PLEBISCITE IN KASHMIR

The *New Statesman and Nation*, commenting on the Kashmir question, says that Prime Minister Nehru's position would be morally as well as physically stronger if he had not made his promise of plebiscite.

"He can fairly argue that India has done much for the welfare of Kashmir that Pakistan would not have done, and that if Indian troops were withdrawn Pakistan would then turn the plebiscite into a 'holy war'—a method of campaign which Nehru cannot accept since India has never agreed to a division of the continent on communal lines and has, in fact, some 40 million Muslims within her own territory.

"The Pakistan tactics at the United Nations appear to be to denounce the Indian proposals as inconsistent with the promise of a free and impartial plebiscite and then to propose that both Indian and Pakistan troops should be withdrawn in favour of a United Nations military force.

"India will reject this proposal on the grounds that there is no fighting in the area. Intensifying the bitterness of this struggle are India's fierce reaction against America's interest in Pakistan as a military base and Pakistan's insistence that the object of the Baghdad Pact is defence not against Moscow but against Delhi."

WHO WILL SUCCEED Mr. NEHRU?

An anonymous writer contributes an article to the *Souvenir* published on the occasion of the 62nd Congress session under the title "who leads India after Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru?" Attempting to answer this question the writer believes that if at any time Mr. Nehru is unable to shoulder responsibility on account of old age or other cause, a group of Congressmen under his guidance are likely to run the Government of the country. The writer is of opinion that it is difficult to imagine India without Mr. Nehru. Recalling that when in the recent past Mr. Nehru wanted to lay down office both as Prime Minister and in the party command, the Congress felt paralysed, the writer says.

"This is where the Congress party is very weak. This weakness is a longstanding weakness even from Gandhiji's time. Gandhiji wanted the Congress to exist on its own inherent strength, and not on the strength of an individual or two".

The author also believes that it is not only the Congress Party, which felt prostrate and paralysed at the prospect of Mr. Nehru giving up his leadership. There is no leader even in any other party, who may be considered equal to Mr. Nehru.

He writes: "There are leaders next to him in the second line. Obviously, there is none like him with so many good points in his favour".

NATIONAL COMMUNISM

While India is prepared to accept Soviet Russia's attempt under the new leadership of Bulganin and Krushchev to follow a more liberal and democratic procedure in the affairs of Eastern Europe as a genuine step in the direction of bringing about relaxation and understanding between East and West most European and American papers still continue to suspect Soviet intentions and regard their actions and utterances as a new technique in their Plan of campaign designed to further strengthen their stronghold on weaker nations. Thus Dimitar Valchev, writing in *Eastern Europe's Monitor*, questions the sincerity of Soviet leaders' recognition of national communism. He calls it Moscow's "stage management," for according to him

the very notion of "national communism" is a contradiction in itself. For, despite all their zig-zagging changes of talk and the lip-service paid to the

national idea, the communists never renounced their endeavour to sterilize the national substance of all peoples in order to promote the coming into being of a "higher type" of supra-national society as conceived by world communism. It remains the ultimate goal even if, for tactical consideration, some temporary freedom of manoeuvre is conceded to one or other communist dominated regional unit.

He goes on to warn the world's public opinion "not to fall for the cock-and-bull story about the dawn of the new era in the Satellite countries—new era which, under the sign of "national communism" could provide the foundations of relaxation and understanding."

This view is emphasised in an editorial which declares that "De-Stalinisation must not be regarded as being identical with de-communisation."

The West, which has for long displayed an inferiority complex in its relations to communism, should beware of swinging out to the other extreme. It must be aware that the latest developments in Russia's satellite empire are much less attributable to Western policies than to the internal crisis of communism and, to an even greater extent, to that "eternal spirit of the chainless mind" which keeps on glowing even under the ashes of the most sterile and cruel tyranny. Let the West make no mistake: recent events in Poland and Hungary are the expression of a universal rejection of communism.

WHAT IS AGGRESSION?

News From Israel, a fortnightly published by the consulate of Israel in Bombay, naturally puts the case for Israel with considerable warmth. Without entering into the merits of the dispute between Egypt and Israel we may consider the general principles embodied in the feature article by Nathan Feinberg, as fairly sound. He quotes what is known as the Litvinov Formula as an acceptable test of aggression. The definition was approved by a large majority of the League of Nations Committee in 1933.

This is the text of the definition as given in the Litvinov-Politis formula: (the text of the Formula is retranslated from the Hebrew).

"Article 1: In an international dispute that state shall accordingly be recognized as an aggressor..... which shall be the first to perform one of the following acts;

- (a) A declaration of war against another state;
- (b) An incursion of armed forces into another territory, even without a declaration of war;
- (c) An attack by land, sea or air forces on the territory of another state, or on its ships or aircraft, even without a declaration of war;
- (d) A maritime blockade of the coasts or ports of another state;

(e) The giving of support to armed bands which have been organized on its territory and penetrated into the area of another state, or the refusal to take all the measures at its disposal within its own territory to prevent any support or defence of these bands in spite of a demand by the state whose borders have been violated.

"Article 2: No political, military, economic or other reason can serve as a pretext or a justification for an attack mentioned in the previous article."

It follows that a state which encourages armed bands on its territory to take action in the territory of another state, and of course one which engages in the organization of such bands, must be considered as aggressor.

LIBERALISM IN INDIA

Confluence, the International quarterly published under the auspices of the Harvard University, devotes the current issue to a study of Woodrow Wilson and The Problems of Liberalism in connection with his birth centenary. By a curious coincidence 1857 was also the year of the Indian War of Independence which, in British times was known as "The Sepoy Mutiny."

Mr. D.V. Gundappa, writing on the growth of liberalism in India, says that the intellectuals of both countries—India and the U.S.A.—were disciples of the same school of political and social philosophy which in England was led by Mill and Gladstone. "They breathed in the same climate of opinion charged with excitement about parliamentary reform and industrial economy." Woodrow Wilson's book on *The State*, together with Bryce's on *The American Commonwealth* and *Modern Democracies*, were among the classics popular with students of politics in India.

The liberal movement in India did not develop in response to any challenge of aggression of King or ecclesiast, as in Europe. There was no instance of excessive abuse of authority by state or religion to provoke a serious conflict in community. By and large, "the rule of Dharma or the traditionally accepted Law of Righteousness was obeyed without question by King and commoner alike; nor were

there any inventions of science to disturb the people's loyalty to inherited faith or to upset the age old balance of economic forces."

Ranade gave Indian liberalism its distinctive physiognomy—his approach to political Social and economic problems being followed in the early years of this century by English educated leaders in the various provinces. Dadabhai and Telang and Gokhale and Vidyasagar and Subramania Iyer and a host of others, scholars, lawyers and publicists. The new liberalism was thus concerned with all developments of the country's life—a tradition which Gandhi took up with a new dynamism and gave a twist peculiarly his own.

But the good that India can do in the world, says the writer,

"is to remind India—to keep to her own Dharma—and not to become another Russia or another America. Her scheme of values is different. Not that she cannot acquire things of value from other people. She has much to learn from both Europe and America. It has been India's habit all through history to turn to every corner of the globe for the light of truth and the blessedness of wisdom. But she must be selective in taking things from others, and her selection must be strictly in relation to the ingredients of her nature. All plants draw nourishment from the soil and the surrounding air; but each plant selects that which is suitable to its particular Dharma..... So has each man and each community to look within and find out what is needed for healthy growth and purposeful functioning in the world and then decide what to adopt from the patterns set by all the countries of the world..... Indiscriminate imitation can only make India not a more worthy India, but a hybrid India."

COMMONWEALTH IN ACTION

Life magazine, issued on the eve of Sir Anthony Eden's resignation, contains an editorial which says that his motive in stopping the Anglo-French fighting in Port Said was because the Commonwealth was against him from the start.

The editorial discounts the idea that it was the Soviet Union's threat of intervention which led to the cessation of the fighting. It says that the French agreed to the cease-fire for one reason only, "Eden absolutely insisted on it."

"As for Eden's motives, one among many was conclusive—he received a concrete threat

that the British Commonwealth would be dissolved within a matter of hours—and dissolved permanently—unless the fighting was stopped. India and Ceylon were particularly insistent: Canada only a little less explicitly threatening.

"In addition, Eden was influenced by the British Press and other articulate opinion. So much of it was negative that Eden assumed the country was against him which later turned out not be the case. But the Commonwealth was against him from the start and that was his main reason for cutting his political losses by sacrificing his military goals."

Life says that other considerations "would not have been decisive with Eden had not the moral pressure reached him by way of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is held together mainly by its common political ethics. It was this that made the difference and deserves the credit in history books."

A RESERVOIR OF TALENT

There are in the United States now many Indians past the prime of life of very high endowments in their respective spheres of work who no longer wish to continue there but they are forced to remain there, against their will, writes "Saka" in *Swarajya*, for lack of opportunities to reestablish themselves afresh in congenial occupations in their original homes. These men are not merely home-hungry. Some of them are quite distinguished, and many of them are capable executives, leaders and organisers. Here is a valuable reservoir of talent to draw upon for the Central and State governments in India for the proper and improved execution of their Five Year Plans, if only they care to tap it."

WHAT IS SARVODAYA?

Under this title "Odysseus" contributes an article to a recent issue of the *Eastern Economist*. The writer says that Sarvodaya's ideals are a self-sufficient village life, non-violence, and the exploitation of natural resources in

such a way as to preserve human individuality. The panchayat (village council of five) is taken as the basis of political organisation. Villages, autonomous in their internal affairs, should be the units for both political and economic planning. An interesting exposition of principles is to be found in the plan adopted by the Sarvodaya Economic Conference held at Wardha in 1949.

The writer gives the details of this plan as follows:

This plan rejects proprietorship "in which the owner could use or misuse land as he likes" (and if this sounds Utopian, we may recall that legislation exists, and has been used, in Britain whereby a farmer who is held to be neglecting his land can be ousted). The plan envisages that (1) land rights should be "shared between the community and the tiller" and (2) co-operatives and collective farms should be training centres for a rural economic service. The unemployed should be put into collective farms and agro-industries. India's great modern industries should be nationalised and regarded as auxiliaries to the local "decentralised" co-operatively-owned industries. A self-sufficient decentralised economic life would require a minimum of international exchange and the use of money, therefore, also reduced to the minimum.

This idea, says the writer, reflects the prejudice of traditional rural societies against money which they regard as some sort of wicked, modern, or capitalistic, complication of life. The absence of money, of course, does enforce a society of simple structure and simple productive abilities, but it helps to keep a nation poor. What enables wealth to be multiplied rapidly is (1) the division of labour among specialists and (2) means of accumulating savings and dividing them up among many different productive outlets and resources—neither of which it is possible to develop to any great extent without money and credit. (In Chestertonian paradox, I add that, of course, from the economic viewpoint, goods are always exchanged against goods: it is only in times of inflation that they are exchanged against money!).

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

IKE'S PLAN FOR MIDDLE EAST

President Eisenhower last month asked the Congress to authorise the use of American military forces to "protect the territorial integrity and political independence" of any Middle East nation requesting such aid to "overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism."

The President made his request at an extraordinary joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives. He told the Congress that his Middle East Plan would authorise the United States to co-operate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East in the development of their economic strength.

It would also authorise his administration to undertake programmes of military assistance and co-operation with any nation or group of nations which desired this type of aid.

The President proposed an expanded programme of economic assistance to Middle East region. He said that later he would ask Congress to authorise him to spend 400 million dollars during the next two years for this purpose.

The President said the measures he proposed "would have to be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States including the Charter of the United Nations and with any action or recommendations of the United Nations."

KASHMIR IN U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL

The U. N. Security Council on Jan 24 approved a resolution calling for the maintenance of 'status quo' in Kashmir while the Council was considering the dispute between India and Pakistan over the State's future.

The resolution, which was adopted by a vote of ten to none while Mr. V. K. K. Menon was still arguing India's point of view and with the Soviet Union abstaining, reminded "the Governments and authorities concerned" of six resolutions adopted by the Council between 1948 and 1950 declaring the principle that a plebiscite conducted under U. N. auspices should decide final disposition of the State.

Prime Minister Nehru expressed surprise that the five members of the Security Council should have drafted such a resolution on Kashmir even before listening to India's reply to the Pakistan Foreign Minister's allegations and her own point of view.

"Kashmir is not 'res nullus' or no man's land. It belongs to her people who have been carrying on their own peaceful Government. Their constitution cannot be treated by the Security Council as a scrap of paper," Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

NEHRU-KUWATLY APPEAL

Prime Minister Nehru and President Kuwatly of Syria declared, in a joint statement released at New Delhi on Jan 21 that nothing should be done in the Middle East now which would aggravate the tensions and conflicts in the area.

In an appeal to the Big Powers on whom, the two statesmen said, a "special responsibility" lay in this regard. They said intervention by the Big Powers in the form of military pacts and alliances was detrimental to peace and stability in the area.

The two leaders reiterated that the Baghdad Pact had caused bitter conflicts and divisions in the Arab world" and had greatly increased international tension.

Middle Eastern problems, they said, could be solved if the countries in the area were able, in complete freedom and without domination by any foreign power, to develop in accordance with their genius and traditions. A military approach to the problem would only create further disharmony and instability.

Reviewing the "recent grave events" in the Middle East, Mr. Nehru and President Kuwatly declared that any further delay in the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from a part of the Egyptian territory and the Gaza strip was likely to create new dangers.

Strongly supporting the national freedom movement in Algeria, they hoped Algerians would soon be free.

The statement said the talks between the two leaders took place in a cordial atmosphere and showed a "close similarity of views on a wide range of international problems."

Utterances of the Day

ZHUKOV ON RUSSIA'S STRENGTH

Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Zhukov said at Dehra Dun that the Soviet Union has "super long-range weapons capable of carrying nuclear missiles to the farthest point of the globe."

Marshal Zhukov made this statement while addressing 700 cadets of the Military College at Dehra Dun on Jan. 29.

Marshal Zhukov also referred to Russia's superlong-range weapons to illustrate his argument that "the Soviet Union, in making its proposals on disarmament, was acting not out of weakness, but because she is convinced about the futility of war."

MORARJI DESAI ON THE CONGRESS

Mr. Morarji Desai said at Surat on Jan. 29 that the Congress would never become weak, just because some prominent Congressmen left the organisation due to some differences.

Mr. Desai, who referred to "dissident" Congressmen leaving the organisation in protest against the selection of candidates for the ensuing elections said that in the past, such leaders as Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and Acharya Kripalani, both of whom were Presidents of the Congress at one time, had left the organisation due to some differences. Though their resignations were unfortunate, the Congress, as an organisation, did not become weak.

Dr. PRASAD ON N.C.C.

The President was addressing on Jan. 29 at the Rashtrapati Bhavan over 300 boys and girls of the National Cadet Corps who took part in the Republic Day parade. Cadets from the United Kingdom, Australia, and Ceylon were also present. He said:

"Our policy is one of peace and we have no designs against anyone else—but at the same time we have to be vigilant and cautious, and we have to be prepared for all emergencies, if anyone chooses to attack us. It is for this reason that our forces and officers of the Auxiliary Force, in whatever station they may be, are expected to be always prepared to do their duty by the country."

BAKSHI GULAM ON KASHMIR

Speaking at Jammu before a mammoth gathering on the 27th January Bakshi Gulam Mahomed, Premier of Kashmir said:

"One of the factors responsible for our decision to convene the Constituent Assembly was the failure of the Security Council to undo the wrong of aggression perpetrated by Pakistan upon the people of the

State of which she continues to enjoy the fruits. No amount of legal quibbling will wipe away the memory of death and destruction which the people of Jammu and Kashmir have suffered as a result of that invasion. I do not wish to sit in judgment upon the conduct of various Powers, but it does strike as something odd and extraordinary that while those Powers have hastened to take notice of aggression in other parts of the world, they have hesitated to take a similar attitude in regard to Jammu and Kashmir. Aggression is aggression whether it takes place in Korea, Egypt or Kashmir. Keeping in view the attitude of these Powers on the issue of Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir, we should be perfectly justified if we regard their views as biased and totally divorced from considerations of justice and equity so far as this issue is concerned."

Mrs. PANDIT ON INDIA

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit said that India was building a bridge for world understanding, but that the bridge might never be used. "All you can do is to make the bridge and hope people can walk over it", she said at New York on Jan. 15.

Mrs. Pandit added that another name for the "bridge" was co-existence, a concept which she felt had been much misunderstood by the Western nations.

"Co-existence is essential. There is no other way of survival and we work toward that end", she said. I am convinced that the almost unprecedented experiment in democracy we (in India) have undertaken must have the understanding of the Western countries and the moral and material support of great democracies like the U.S.A." she said.

"One commodity we don't have", she added, "is time". She explained that countries such as India, coming late to independence, were impatient for progress and wanted peace, so that they could work without interruption to that end.

THE EARL OF HOME'S HOPE

Britain's Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, the Earl of Home, said on Jan. 28 at London that the British people, without qualification, wished to cement their friendship with India and to contribute to the best of their ability to India's welfare and prosperity.

Doubtless colonialism could be evil but on the Commonwealth stage "we call our witnesses" said Lord Home. Among the most powerful and influential of them India was one, "and just because we are so different in tradition, in religion, in language and in culture, the new relationship becomes more valuable to mankind. In partnership within the Commonwealth East and West can find harmony and satisfaction and advantage."

Political

FOREIGN POLICY OF U.S.

Sworn in on Jan. 21 for his 2nd term as President of the U.S.A. Mr. Eisenhower said that in his search for peace the United States would respond when in time of want or peril nations that were or would be free asked for help.

The President said that in too much of the earth to-day—from the deserts of North Africa to the islands of the South Pacific—there was want, discord and danger. "No nation, however, old or great escapes this tempest of change or turmoil ...," he added.

"The divisive force is international Communism and the power that it controls. The designs of that power, dark in purpose, are clear in practice...."

"Yet the world of international Communism has itself been shaken by a fierce and mighty force; the readiness of men who love freedom to pledge their lives to that love."

"Through the night of their bondage, the unconquerable will of heroes has struck with the swift, sharp thrust of lightning."

"Budapest is no longer merely the name of a city; henceforth it is a new and shining symbol of man's yearning to be free."

"Thus, across all the globe there harshly blow the winds of change. And we—though fortunate—know that we can never turn our back to them," he added.

The President said that to serve the cause of peace based on justice and moral law was hard. "And to attain it we must be aware of its full meaning and ready to pay its full price."

THE PROBLEM OF GOA

The Portuguese Defence Minister, Col. Fernando Santos Costa, referred at Viana Do Castelo on Jan. 16 to the attachment of the Portuguese to its territories in India and declared that Portugal was prepared "to resist, to suffer and to be involved up to the limit of its forces in order that what belongs to her does not fade away."

Speaking at a farewell to the battalion which left Portugal for Goa to relieve Portuguese forces here, Col. Santos Costa said: "Threats do not frighten us. We do not give way before terror. We are intransigent in what really matters. We do not change course."

In the United Nations Trusteeship Committee there was a heated discussion on Goa on the 31st January.

The Brazilian delegate Mr. Donatello Grieco supported the Portuguese position that the status of Portugal's overseas territories was "exactly" the same as that of metropolitan Portugal, and in the course of it quoted from the list of overseas "provinces" in the Portuguese Constitution. The Portuguese Constitution refers to the Portuguese pockets in India as the "State of India."

Mr. Jaipal of India retorted: "This was a curious way of referring to Goa. There is only one State of India and that is the one I represent," Mr. Jaipal said. "As far as we are concerned, Goa is a Portuguese colony, established by force, initially by piracy and later by conquest."

U. S. ATOM BASES

The Tass News Agency said, in an official statement on Jan. 23 that the U.S. was proposing to use American bases in foreign territories to "prepare an atomic war."

The statement warned the U.S. Government and the Government of countries permitting the establishment of American "atom bases" on their territories that they would bear the full consequences of their actions.

The statement said Soviet leaders had taken note of American Press reports of the projected atom bases in Western Europe, Turkey, Persia, Japan and other countries and were convinced that the peoples of those countries about to be dragged into the American plans for an atom war would realise the danger with which they were fraught and would resist them.

The statement said the Press reports made no attempt to hide the intentions of the U.S. Government, but were making an effort to confuse public opinion by references to measures against aggression.

INDO-BRITISH COLLABORATION

Mr. John Strachey, a former British Secretary of State for War speaking at London on Jan. 15 expressed the view that positively successful collaboration between Britain and India "with all that it would mean for the Commonwealth and for the future of Asia depends upon Britain implementing a genuinely U.N. policy."

Mr. Strachey further explained that by this he meant "Britain attempting to channel both economic aid and political policy through the U.N."

Educational

MADRAS UNIVERSITY CENTENARY

The Centenary celebrations of the Madras University were inaugurated by Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, Governor of Mysore, at an impressive function at the University Campus, Chepauk, Madras on Jan. 28.

In his address the Mysore Governor said: "Universities have to balance and reconcile various and often conflicting claims—of thought and action, of matter and spirit, shall we say also of science and the humanities and of men and women; they have to supplement knowledge at every stage by wisdom, to fire conventional patriotism with the divine spark of fellow-feeling; they have to instil integrity and teach men invariably to prefer justice and peace."

Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras, and President of the Centenary Celebrations Committee, in his welcome speech, pointed out that the two qualities which distinguished the product of the Madras University were command of language and capacity of expression and a sense of discipline. He claimed that Universities had a very important place in democratic society even when built on a socialistic pattern.

On the 29th January, a special Convocation was held. Eleven distinguished scholars were honoured by Conferring honorary degrees.

The four distinguished men from abroad honoured were Dr. D. W. Logan, Principal, University of London, Dr. G. E. Hall, President and Vice-Chancellor, University of Western Ontario, Canada, Dr. Robert F. Goheen, President-elect, Princeton University, New Jersey (U.S.A.), and Dr. William Norman Brown, Indologist and Professor of Sanskrit in Pennsylvania University, United States.

The seven distinguished Indians were Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Sir Mahomed Usman, Dr. M. R. Guruswami Mudaliar, and Sir Samuel Ranganathan.

An exhibition was also held at Guindy. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh opened the same on Jan. 28.

Mr. Deshmukh stressed the value of taking an "integral view of life which does not make any difference between the material and the spiritual." On Jan 31, Pandit Nehru Prime Minister of India laid the foundation stone for Madras University Centenary Buildings before a very large gathering of distinguished Delegates and visitors and the elite of Madras.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTENARY

Dr. Radhakrishnan, who delivered the centenary convocation address of Calcutta University on Jan. 23 said the world today, split as it was into two groups with large stores of atomic weapons, faced devastation and the risk of catastrophe, but "the future is in our hands."

"Sheer self-interest requires us to re-live the tensions that beset the world and establish decency and friendship in a world which had apparently forgotten them. We must create and develop the forces of spirit which will revive lost hopes and ignored values. We must recognise that mutual hatred is more deadly than mutual violence."

The Vice-President said if the world was to be united, people of different nations should be made conscious of what they had in common.

"The world must develop a cultural unity before it can become a political fact. Peace is not the absence of strife or the silence of guns. As absence of conflict, it is negative, precarious, liable to be shattered. Peace is goodwill for others, understanding of those who are different from ourselves in race and religion. It is an appreciation of the feeling of those whose worship is different from our own."

Dr. Radhakrishnan began his address by paying a tribute to Calcutta University. He said that in its century-old existence the university had produced great scientists and eminent scholars.

"Of the nine Fellows who were elected to the Royal Society in our time, five worked in this university—Jagdish Bose, C. V. Raman, Meghnad Saha K. S. Krishnan and P. C. Mahalanobis. The two Noble Laureates in Literature and Physical Science, Rabindranath Tagore and C. V. Raman were associated with this university."

MADRAS SANSKRIT COLLEGE

The unique characteristic of Sanskrit classical works and literature to rouse in us the 'universal' the enduring and the permanent, was referred to by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India who presided over the Golden Jubilee celebration of the Madras Sanskrit College and S. S. V. Pathasala, at Madras on Jan. 28. He pointed out that Sanskrit literature had exercised an enormous influence not only in India but in other parts of Asia.

The Chief Justice, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, in his address emphasised that Sanskrit was the common link between the several languages of India and was both a token of fundamental unity of Indian culture as well as unifying force.

Legal

MOVEMENT OF COMMONWEALTH CITIZENS

The Government of India have issued an Ordinance, on January 29 taking powers to control the movement of visitors from the Commonwealth countries in the same way as is done in the case of visitors from other countries.

The Ordinance also empowers the Government to exempt any country or individual from the operation of this order.

Under the Ordinance, the Government have issued an order exempting seven Commonwealth countries from the operation of the Ordinance. The countries are the U. K., Canada, Australia, Ceylon, Ireland, New Zealand and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Pakistan and South Africa are the two Commonwealth countries, who have not been exempted and who come under the purview of the Ordinance.

In the last few years, it is stated, visitors from Pakistan have often overstayed in India and judicial courts have ruled that Government had no power to deport them. Some of these Pakistani nationals are also reported to have taken part in undesirable activities.

The Ordinance empowers the Government to include within its purview any citizen of any of the seven Commonwealth countries now exempted in case the Government are satisfied that it is necessary to do so for the following reasons: (a) in the interest of the defence of India or security of India, or (b) in the interests of friendly relations with any countries outside India, (c) in the interests of the general public or any section thereof.

RELEASE OF GOA SATYAGRAHIS

It was announced in Lisbon on January 22, that Portugal had amnestied "a number" of Indian Satyagrahis.

The released satyagrahis are to be taken to the frontier and let off, a communique from the Portuguese Overseas Ministry said, but it did not give the number of Satyagrahis benefited by this amnesty.

The communique said the amnesty was granted taking into consideration that these Satyagrahis did not use violence.

INTERNATIONAL LAW SCHOLARSHIPS

The Hague Academy of International Law has offered some scholarships of the value of Fl. 300,00 each (Rs. 376 approx) for the 1957 session (July 15 to August 10, 1957), of which not more than two may be awarded to Indian nationals.

Candidates must be distinguished students and authors of books, essays, articles and reviews pertaining to the subject of International Law. There is no age limit.

Applications stating the applicant's surname, first name, qualifications, profession, nationality, place and date of birth together with a statement of titles and evidence which the applicant considers of value of obtaining a scholarship should be submitted by the applicant to the Secretariat of the Academy, Peace Palace, The Hague, direct so as to reach there by April 1, 1957.

APPOINTMENTS TO JUDICIARY

Mr. S. Varadachari, retired Judge of the Federal Court, giving evidence before the Law Commission on January 22, at Madras expressed the view that English would have to continue for many more years in the High Courts and the Supreme Court.

He said judgments of the High Courts should continue to be in English, while lawyers may be given the option of arguing either in English, Hindi or in the regional language.

Mr. Varadachari recommended the use of the regional language for all purposes for the subordinate courts.

INDIAN DETENUS IN PAKISTAN

Indian Sikhs, numbering 14, who were under detention at Karachi for about seven months, were released last month by an order of the West Pakistan High Court bench in Karachi.

Thirteen of the detenus went to Pakistan in March last year and were arrested under the Pakistan (control of entry) Act by the Karachi C.I.D., and one was arrested under same charge in Lahore in June, 1956.

KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

The Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was on January 24 sentenced by Mr. Justice Shibir Ahmed of the West Pakistan High Court to imprisonment till the rising of the court and to a fine of Rs. 14,000.

Trade and Finance

INDO-PAKISTAN TRADE

The negotiations between the Trade Delegation from Pakistan and representatives of the Government of India resulted in a new trade agreement between the two countries which was signed at New Delhi on Jan. 22.

The agreement is subject to ratification by the two Governments, and is expected to come into force from February 1, 1957. It is likely to remain in force for three years. It is the general opinion here that the eventual life of the agreement, and its usefulness in promoting the expansion of trade between the two countries on the basis of mutual advantage, will depend on the spirit in which it is worked.

The agreement was signed on behalf of India by the Secretary to the Union Ministry of Commerce and Consumer Industries, Mr. S. Ranganathan, and on behalf of Pakistan by that country's Commerce Secretary, Mr. Aziz Ahmed.

INDIA'S PLANS

Mr. H. Rowan Gaither, Chairman of the Ford Foundation, said at New Delhi on Jan. 15 the full growth of any nation and its peaceful character would depend, in the final analysis, on the development of its human resources, of its people.

Mr. Gaither, who was addressing a meeting under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, said India's community development programme was an outstanding and precise example of the kind of structure essential to develop a nation and its people. India has already moved ahead in its First and Second Plan to set up the educational system for its needs for technically-trained manpower.

Referring to the industrial progress made by India, he said, the country had already made an excellent start on setting up small industry service both for mechanised small industries and the hand industries.

ADVANCES TO BANKS

The Reserve Bank of India announced on January 31 that as from 1st of February its rate of interest on advances to scheduled banks against Government and other eligible securities has been raised to 4 per cent per annum.

This is the first time that a distinction has been made in the bank rate on the one hand and the rate of interest on securities on the other.

FUTURE OF INSURANCE COMPANIES

All companies doing business in general insurance in India have voluntarily accepted a "code of conduct," according to which an inspection of all the insurers would be carried out by a group of selected firms of auditors.

Di-closing this at a Press conference last month Mr. H. M. Patel, Secretary of the Union Finance Ministry, stated that it had also been agreed that the insurers should maintain certain minimum departmental reserves, that they should maintain a minimum margin between their assets and their liabilities and except in certain specified cases, they should collect the premium before assuming risk.

Mr. Patel, who was speaking in his capacity as the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the General Insurance Council, hoped that the compliance of the "code of conduct" would result in a marked improvement in the general insurance business in India, where certain practices were found "undesirable." This was a renewed effort by the industry to set its house in order, he added.

MR. SHROFF ON FREE ENTERPRISE

Mr A. D. Shroff President of the Forum for Free Enterprise described the activities of the State Trading Corporation as the "most sinister attack" on free enterprise in this country.

Unless traders in this country woke up and realised the 'dangers' before them, the State Trading Corporation would be a 'very serious encroachment' on the individual freedom of trade, he said.

Mr Shroff, who was addressing the Chambers of Commerce in Madras on Jan. 16 appealed to the members to contribute their mite in keeping the Forum 'going in an active way'. He promised it would, in course of time, act as a 'restraint, on the 'crazy and frenzied' finance that 'we have seen from Delhi recently.

EGYPTIANISATION OF BANKS

Cairo's action on Jan. 16 taking over British and French banks, insurance companies and trading agencies and announcing that those of other countries would be "Egyptianised" within five years is regarded as reflecting the Egyptian Government's determination to achieve full economic independence.

Women's Page

LADY MOUNTBATTEN

Lady Mountbatten who came to Madras on January 31 was entertained by the Madras Branch of Indian Red Cross Society. Mr. A. J. John, Governor of Madras paying tribute to Lady Mountbatten said that Lady Mountbatten was a great figure and an indefatigable social worker. As the Chief Superintendent of the St. John Ambulance and Nursing division she was making great efforts to organise that work throughout the world. After referring to the aims of the Red Cross and St John Ambulance, the Governor said, Lady Mountbatten's work for the relief of refugees, during the days of the upheaval consequent on the partition of the country would be remembered for ever. She was a great lover of India and was a great friend of social service organisation in general.

THE LONDON WOMAN OF TODAY

The London woman of today no longer totters as she used to do. Her heels are a more reasonable height and she is therefore able to walk more gracefully and normally. Her coat is no longer of the dreadful tent variety, but it has a certain amount of loose fullness, and it also has a large collar. On her head she wears of creation obviously inspired by a bucket, with appropriate modifications and trimmings, of course. And in her hand there is another bucket, this time, naturally the right way up, to serve as a basket. Obviously this is the bucket age. But the most striking thing about the present-day woman of fashion is the walking-length umbrella she carried. Everyone with any pretensions to smartness walks with one, usually in a slender nylon cover, and seldom unfurled, however wet the day.

WOMEN'S HIMALAYAN EXPEDITION

A team of five women hopes to explore the Kulu Lahoul-Spiti watershed in the Himalayas this summer, led by Mr. Joyce Dunsheath.

The expedition expects to leave Britain for India in March and plans to explore the Kulu-Lahoul-Spiti watershed from the point where the 1955 R. A. F. expedition left off. The all-woman team which has adopted the title of the Abinger Himalayan Expedition, 1956—hopes to explore an 18,000 ft. ice pass sited by I. E. Gunter in 1953, and also to find the source of the Gyurdi River. The women will take

with them a sketch map made by Gunter from information obtained from the Royal Air Force expedition, and also a copy of a rough Indian survey map made between 1849 and 1863.

BOMBAY'S WOMAN SHERIFF— GULESTAN BILLIMORIA

The Government of Bombay have appointed Shrimati Gulestan R. Billimoria, as Sheriff of Bombay in succession to Bakshi Delip Singh. Shrimati Billimoria, whose appointment is for one year, recently took over charge of the office of Sheriff. She has taken considerable part in Women's activities in the city and was associated with the late Professor K. T. Shah in producing a valuable book. Shrimati Billimoria is the wife of Bombay's oldest medical practitioner and one of India's leading T. B. specialists, Dr. Billimoria. She is the sister-in-law of veteran city auditor Shapurji Billimoria who was formerly the Sheriff of Bombay. The first woman Sheriff of Bombay was Mitham Lam, one of India's first women Barristers.

MISS T. DORAISWAMI

An experienced lecturer in science is Miss. T. Doraiswami, who is proceeding to the United States on deputation.

Miss Doraiswami is selected under the Science Teacher's project for study abroad. She is now working as Lecturer in Science, Lady Willingdon College. She is expected to be in the U. S. for about one year to "observe methods of teaching science". She hails from Bangalore.

PRINCESS GRACE

Princess Grace of Monaco, the former Grace Kelly, gave birth to a girl. The birth was announced by Prince Rainier in a broadcast as a 21-gun salute was fired.

The girl automatically becomes heir to the throne of Monaco according to the traditions of the 700-year old principality.

WOMEN'S HOSTEL AT MADRAS

A two-storeyed women's hostel for the students of the Presidency College and research workers of the Madras University will be built in the Government Estate, Mount Road just behind the State Guest House, Chepauk, at an estimated cost of Rs. nine lakhs.

PT. G. B. PANT

The President has conferred on Jan. 25 the highest national award of Bharat Ratna on Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Minister for Home Affairs, obviously, for the successful accomplishment of the task of reorganisation of States.

Dr. A. L. MUDALIAR

Unveiling a life-size portrait of Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar presented by the Annamalai University in the Senate Hall, Madras on Jan. 30, Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar, Governor of Mysore, paid a tribute to his attainments and expressed the hope that his noble qualities would inspire coming generations in their pursuit of knowledge and in their service of mankind.

SIR ANTHONY EDEN

Sir Anthony Eden resigned as Prime Minister of Britain, on Jan. 9.

His sudden resignation climaxed weeks of controversy that had raged over his handling of the Suez crisis.

An announcement from Buckingham Palace said: "The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Anthony Eden, M. P. (Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury) had an audience of the Queen and tendered his resignation as Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury which Her Majesty was pleased to accept.

Mr. H. MACMILLAN

Mr. Harold MacMillan has become Britain's new Prime Minister, succeeding Sir Anthony Eden, who is said to have resigned because of ill-health.

Mr. MacMillan was called to Buckingham Palace on January 10 after Queen Elizabeth had consulted her elder statesman Sir Winston Churchill, on the choice of Prime Minister.

DR. V. R. RAO

Dr. V. R. Rao is one of the two Indians who have gained awards under the Royal Society and Nuffield Foundation Commonwealth bursaries scheme.

This is a considerable distinction as the total awards for all countries numbered only 12. Dr. Rao has been awarded a bursary to enable him to study spectroscopic techniques in cytology at King's College, London for three months from April 1957. He is a Reader in Physics at Andhra University.

U.S. PRESS TRIBUTE TO MR. V. K. MENON

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon ranks as "possibly the outstanding figure of the whole General Assembly," the *New Yorker Magazine* says in its latest issue.

In an article analysing U.N. problems and personalities, it describes Mr. Menon as "the unquestioned spokesman for the Asian and African countries."

It says: "Even the chief delegate from Pakistan, a country hostile to India, lets Mr. Menon speak for him if the two of them see eye to eye on a subject."

DR. K. N. KATJU

Dr. Kailash Nath Katju was sworn in as Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh on Jan. 31. Dr. Katju, who was till recently Defence Minister of the Union Government, was unanimously elected Leader of the Madhya Pradesh Congress Legislature Party on January 8 after the death of Chief Minister Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla.

Mr. T. C. GOSWAMI

Mr. Tulshi Chandra Goswami, well-known parliamentarian and former Minister of undivided Bengal, died at his Calcutta residence at 58.

He was the righthand man of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das for many years and a great fighter in the freedom struggle.

ACQUITTAL OF A. K. GOPALAN

The appeal filed by the State of Bombay against the acquittal, by the Judicial Magistrate of Ahmedabad, of Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Communist leader who was charged with contravening an order banning assemblies or meetings of five or more persons, was dismissed by Mr. Justice Chainani and Mr. Justice Patilkar, at the Bombay High Court on Jan. 29.

A CORRECTION

In the January issue we published an article under the title "Economic Complications of States Reorganisation." The author writes to us that the correct title of article should be "Economic Implications of States Reorganisation."

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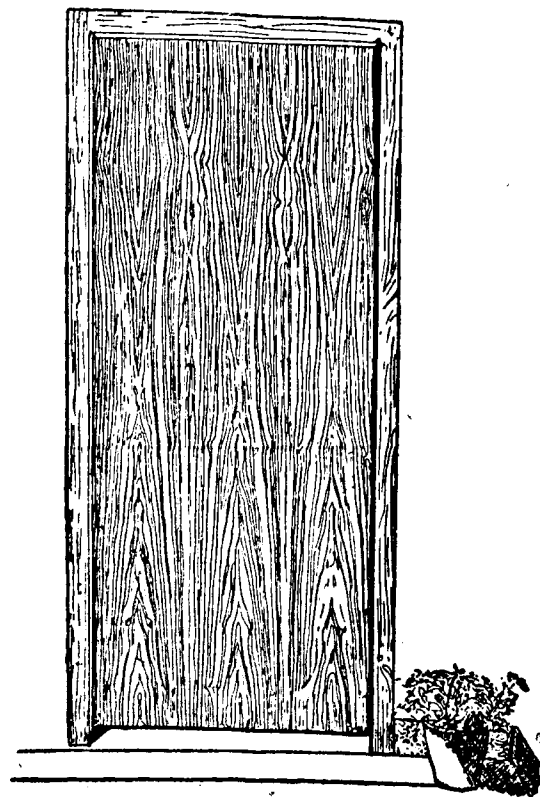
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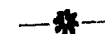
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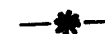
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MARCH 1957

[No. 3

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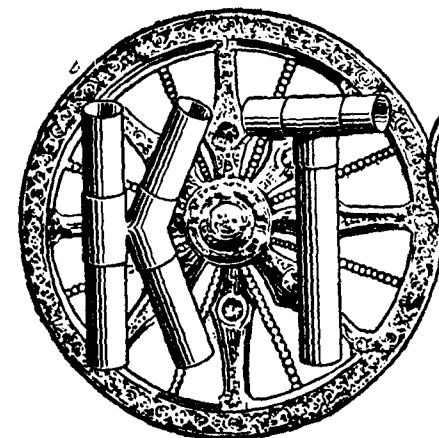
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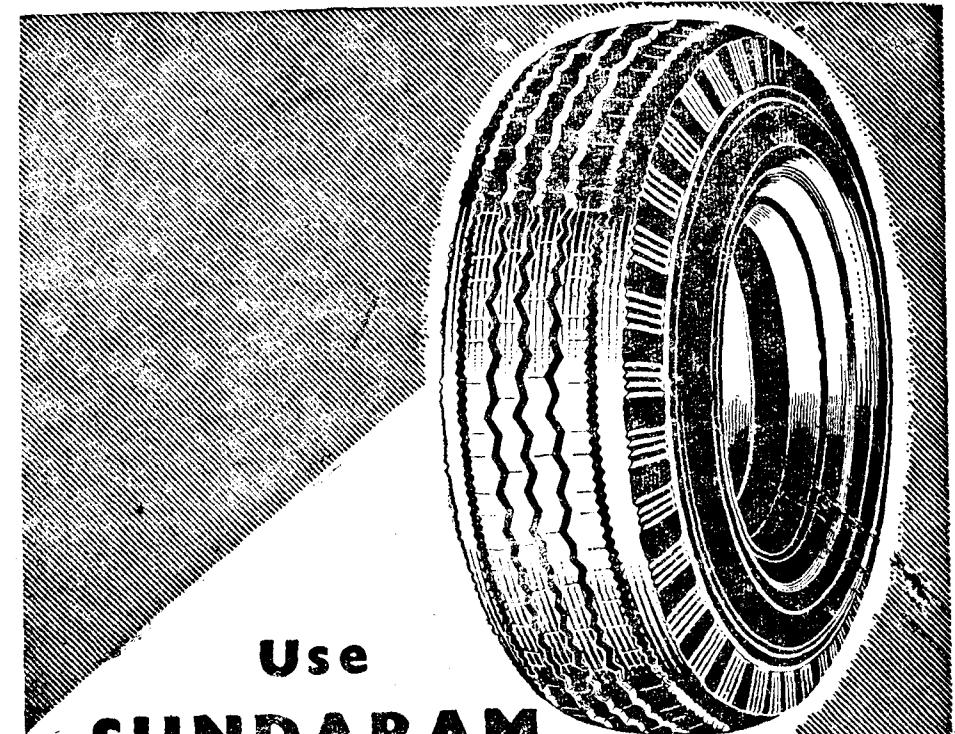
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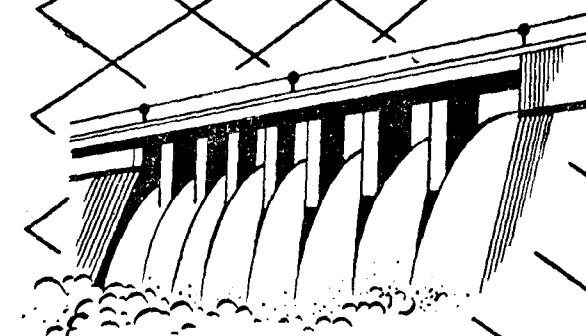
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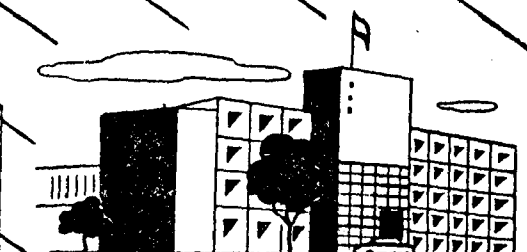
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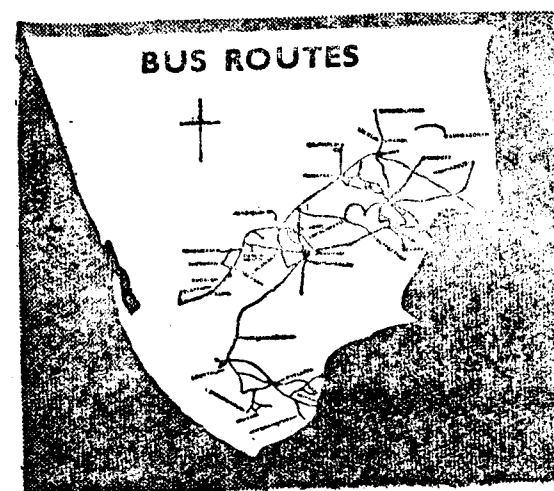
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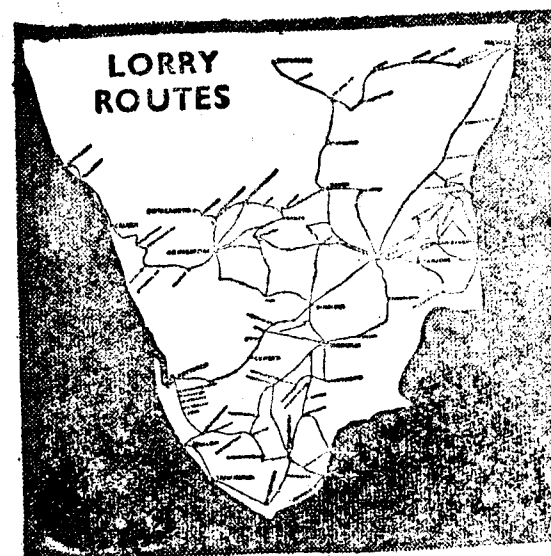
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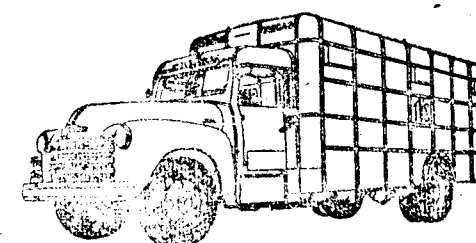


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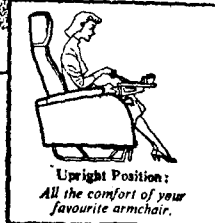
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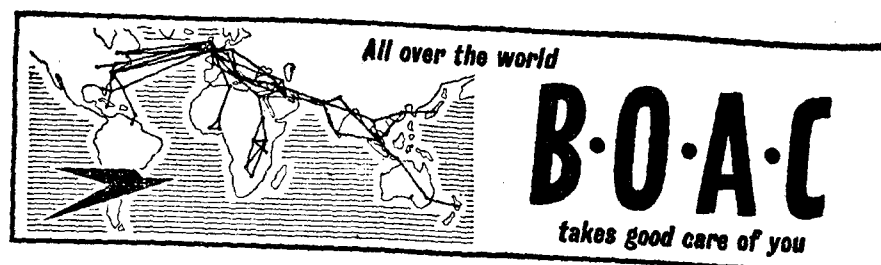


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Books I Remember

By

DR. K. N. KATJU,
Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh.

Books may be captivating, even thrilling, for the moment, even for days and weeks, and yet they remain something outside your life.

This is true of great poetry and dramas, and works of fiction and other such literature. As you read them, they grip your attention, your mind, but they seldom create any permanent impression on your mode of thought or way of living. By the passage of time, their charm fades away, and you just remember the book as something which had fascinated you at the time.

I can recall a recent memorable experience of that description in my own life.

When I was in jail, in 1941, I came across Hindi translations of the novels written by Sarat Chandra Chatterji. For months together I lived in a dreamland, the creation of that wonderful writer, in my opinion, one of the world's greatest novelists. I read all his books, and remember them still as masterpieces of description, subtle, invigorating, of deep insight into human nature, but those stories are not the ones which have in any manner shaped my life.

Then there are all sorts of books relating to different topics which are read only by those interested in one occupation or other. These books also mould a man's character. Sometimes they create in some a love for the law

for its own sake. There are hundreds of law books, authoritative treatises expounding different branches of the law which have come down to us from remote antiquity, and there are myriads of law precedents which every lawyer reads with the utmost care.

The general reader would consider such books very much like the tools of a trade or profession, and forgotten the moment you quit it. But this will be an imperfect assessment.

Our ancient law books are founded upon a penetrating analysis of human nature and working of social institutions, and in the course of centuries have proved great ties for binding mankind together for thousands of years in great communities and nations.

Again, many of the judges in every country have been men of great intellectual attainments and moral stature, and their judgments occasionally contain gems embodying sublime truths in a manner which shine for ever in your mind.

Take, for instance, Sir John Simon's seemingly casual observation in the course of judgment which he delivered as Lord Chancellor of England. "It is a great mistake to suppose", he observed, "that length of life is length of happiness." What a deep truth, and how beautifully and concisely expressed?

I read it many years ago and will remember it for all time. There are numerous judgments

which are noteworthy as remarkable expositions of great philosophies of life.

Everyone who is interested in books has his own likings. His temperament, his outlook on life, habit of thought attract him to a particular class of literature.

I have been personally interested in stories of concrete human endeavour and action, and, therefore, memoirs and biographies, books of travel and explorations, have always interested me deeply. I am influenced by narratives of actual happenings greatly, and not so much by efforts of imagination on the part of great writers. And such books, read in early youth, leave abiding impressions, mould one's character, and one's way of thinking and of life for ever.

Such was one I came across in my student days, "Boswell's Life of Johnson." Samuel Johnson was a great figure in the literary world of England in the second half of the eighteenth century. He had many outstanding qualities; he was independent and fearless, and he was a great conversationalist.

For more than fifty years he has held me captive. His pithy sayings are so shrewd and witty, withal so full of commonsense. Take, for instance, his exhortation to Boswell, "Free your mind of cant." I wish we all did that.

Boswell was the best of biographers. He brought before his readers Johnson as he was, with all his qualities, good and bad, his strength, his weakness and his foibles. I must have read this book dozens of times, and the lessons I learnt from it have been of the greatest use to me in my life, and particularly in the practice of my legal profession.

An argument in a law court is always a keen and vigorous debate between Judge and Counsel, and in such debates Johnson with his emphatic "Yes Sir" and "No Sir" and "You do not see your way through the question, Sir" always guided and inspired me.

That brings me to another class of literature which fashioned my style of advocacy in law

courts. I refer to "the Sherlock Holmes stories." Conan Doyle was really a marvelous story-teller. As I became familiar with Sherlock Holmes I completely forgot that he was a creature of fiction. So far as I was concerned, he was a living human being with wonderful, incisive intellect, and deep powers of observation and inference.

Literally, the rules expounded by Sherlock Holmes in his inimitable manner to his dear Watson saved in my own practice dozens of people from the gallows and enabled me to unravel the mysteries in hundreds of baffling cases. They enabled me to discover the truth lying under a mass of falsehood, or at any rate, to build up a plausible story based on the evidence on the record to the great advantage of my own clients.

I always consider Sherlock Holmes as my master in the art of detection. During the last fifty years I have read and re-read his immortal Memoirs and Adventures literally hundreds of times.

Now take another book. I am a great lover of personal liberty, the right of every individual to live one's own life in his own way, of course without in any way interfering or infringing with similar rights of others. This lesson I learnt for ever from John Stuart Mill's book—or rather his essay—on "Liberty."

I consider Mill as my Guru and he taught me once for all to respect the personal right of every human being to do what he likes with himself of course within the limits of the law.

Another master has been Carlyle with his "Heroes and Hero Worship." He made me venerate and respect for ever the silent strong men of action. Carlyle preached the Gospel of Silence though he did so in thirty volumes. He was a wonderful writer in many ways.

In his "Sartor Resartus," Carlyle broke new ground and expounded the great philosophy of clothes. He told us that often it is not the man that makes the clothes, but clothes

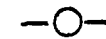
that make the man. Not rarely show and display hide the real make and nature of a man.

Then there was another book which I read as part of my course in my College days, "The Intellectual Life" by Hammerton. His searching analysis of the qualities of different professions convinced me of the great truth that the medical profession was the noblest among all others, and among other fine attributes, it could satisfy all the cravings of an intellectual mind throughout the years. Influenced by this thesis, I decided firmly for myself to qualify as a doctor in the Lahore Medical College but fate planned otherwise and that ambition was thwarted and has remained unfulfilled.

As a student of history I have read lots of histories, of India and foreign countries. Histories of Rome and Greece are so instructive, and interesting and in our own country Ashoka shall live for ever by his own great inscriptions which are the quintessence of the teachings of Gautama Buddha.

Then we have our own masters, from Kalidasa down to Rabindranath Tagore, each wonderful in his own way. This subject of books, worthy of remembrance, is a vast one.

I can only hope that others may be tempted to think over this topic, each for himself, and to write on it at least for the benefit of his own children, about the books which have proved beacon lights in his own life and have rendered it worth living.



it easy for western culture to dominate, for it paved the way for a break with the past and living in the present. Instead of a wise correlation of the two cultures of the East and the West, which were brought face to face, the policy adopted was one of aggressive westernization, through the medium of the almost exclusive English education. It shook the very foundation of eastern culture and gradually relegated oriental learning to a secondary and insignificant place.

It is true that even eighteen years before Macaulay wrote his Minute, there was a spontaneous demand for modern English education, which led to the establishment of the famous Hindu College in 1817, not by the government, but by the prominent citizens of Calcutta. The Hindu College was uncompromising in its modernity and, notwithstanding its name, it was non-Hindu in its attitude, for in its earlier stages it rigidly excluded oriental studies from its scope. Thus, when Macaulay was called upon to decide the educational policy of India, there was already a growing desire and demand, for English education. Macaulay accurately gauged this existing demand, and was certainly right in not withholding the knowledge which the people themselves wanted, at a time when their political destiny brought them within its gates. But he took a wrong step when, in his over-emphasis on western learning, he brushed aside eastern learning altogether. When he declared too confidently and sweepingly that 'English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit and Arabic', presumably as the key to useful knowledge, he took a narrowly utilitarian view, and did not realize that the study of Sanskrit and Arabic had a special and peculiar claim for full recognition in this country.

But the usefulness of western education had become so vivid in the last century that educated Indians themselves—not to speak of an impatient foreigner like Macaulay—could not pause to think otherwise. Even Rammohun Roy, himself a competent Sanskrit and Persian

scholar, declared that the study of Sanskrit would only conciliate old prejudice and propagate effete ideas. Impressed by the tremendous effect of the new learning, no one had the patience to demonstrate, with good reason, that for India the ancient learning had a peculiar significance and importance, and that without it our system of education would be one-sided and insufficient.

The so-called orientalist of the time, in opposition to the Anglicist, leaned upon the comparatively weak argument of the excellence of Indian literature and philosophy. Even admitting this contention, it was easy enough to show that there was no dearth of excellence in European literature and philosophy, and the argument proved of little avail. In those days the different branches of oriental literature had not yet been properly explored, and oriental studies had not yet been fully and critically developed. There might have been some pride in ancient glory, but there was not enough knowledge to support it. The time had not yet come when one could insist with deeper insight upon the cultural and humanistic, as well as scientific value of oriental studies in the sphere of history, religion, morals, and society, or in the appreciation of literary and linguistic problems of far-reaching importance and stimulating interest. It was not properly understood in those days, and it is not properly understood even today, that oriental studies furnish us with the key to the understanding of our own culture and tradition, of our own ways of life and thought, of our own manners and morals, and, in fact, of ourselves. It has never been realized that oriental learning has its roots in the national consciousness, and cannot be summarily dismissed; and that it is not wise to replace it entirely by western learning, however necessary or useful it may be. It is because of this imperfect understanding that we failed to do justice to what was great and good in ancient learning. As a result, oriental studies, which were merely

suffered to exist, were never assigned their proper place in the Indian educational scheme, which became one-sided and, in all essentials, alien in character and outlook from the very beginning.

In our excessive zeal for western learning in the last century, we forgot that the attitude was severing national education from the roots of national life. No doubt, such a stimulus, as was furnished by western education was needed at the moment: and it was right that such a stimulus was eagerly sought and obtained. It will not be just to deny that western education had been productive of immense benefit; without it we would have been out of date in an advancing world. But in the educational policy, which was hastily enunciated in the last century, no attempt was made either to adopt the old learning to changing social and political needs, or the new learning to national sentiment and outlook.

Towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, a reaction set in; and the better minds of India sought for a reorientation of our educational policy by a real synthesis of the learnings of the East and the West. This was one of the reasons which led to the establishment of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College towards the end of the nineteenth century. After admitting that western education had stimulated intellectual activity and had produced some men of whom the country might feel proud, the first report of the College pointed out that it had nevertheless produced a deplorable schism in society and created an educated class separated in outlook from the vast mass of the people. About the same time, this fact was being emphasized in Bengal by Bankimchandra in some of his thoughtful essays. In 1911 Rash Behari Ghosh, in a memorable speech, in support of the establishment of the Hindu University, said: 'Education must have its roots deep down in national sentiment and tradition.... We are the heirs

of ancient civilization, and the true office of education ought to be the encouragement of a gradual and spontaneous growth of ideals which have given a definite mould to our culture and our institutions.' The same feeling was voiced by Srinivasa Iyengar, who, presiding at an Educational Conference at Madras in 1921, declared that the western system of education had been barren of results, and attributed its failure to the fact that those responsible for its direction and control had ignored India's psychology, history, literature, and religion.

Thus, with the awakening of national consciousness in the twentieth century, we have perhaps attained greater balance of mind and have become less strong believers in the superior virtue of an alien civilization. But have we had time to pause and look back and revise our partial notions? In spite of committees and commissions, have we really considered the problem in its entirety from the point of view of national good, or have we haphazardly carried on, with occasional patchwork and tinkering, the century-old policy, which itself came into being haphazardly? Have we yet fully and seriously realized that no national system of education can fully succeed at the cost of alienation of what is deep-rooted in national sentiment and culture? It is not suggested, contrary to teachings of history that a nation can go back many centuries to its primitive rule of life. We believe in modern India; but however much we may think we are emancipated from the old ideas and strive to lead a modern life, we cannot eliminate that inherited and ingrained mass of beliefs and usages which are not *corpus mortuum*, but the very basis of our mental and social well-being.

Speaking of Sanskrit study, Professor F. W. Thomas, one of the foremost orientalists of Europe, who had himself written in 1891 on the 'History and Prospect of English Education in India,' observed the anomaly and spoke discerningly in 1937: 'For higher edu-

oation on the humanistic side, the Sanskrit is in India an imperative requirement. . . . With the aid of English it is, no doubt, possible in large centres to lead an entirely modern and international life of political and social interests and amusements. But such a life, divorced from the total *milieu* and dependent upon stimulus from abroad, is without roots in its own soil and is related to its surroundings rather by irritation than by sympathy.

We believe that we are now at the dawn of a more constructive era. We have no blind faith in the blessings of the new culture, and we value the culture that we have inherited. Is it not time that the two cultures should find a common ground in our educational system? We must move with times and adapt ourselves to the changes of a progressive world; but at the same time, we must not forsake our priceless heritage or cut ourselves off from our old moorings which have preserved our integrity through centuries of vicissitudes. With the establishment of national government, the time has now arrived for a judicious readjustment of our one-sided educational system by rectifying the mistake we committed in the last century and which we are still perpetuating. It is now imperatively necessary that the system, which at one time we accepted by the logic of circumstance, but without much thinking, should no longer continue. It should be reoriented on the much firmer basis of national life and national culture. For this, oriental studies can never be ignored as an important factor.

And yet, we find that the recent Radhakrishnan Commission could not look at the problem from this fundamental point of view. There had been a similar decline of classical studies in England, and a committee was appointed by Lloyd George in 1912 'to ascertain the right position of the classics in the whole system of education'. Similar committees were also set up to investigate the position to be assigned to modern languages and natural sciences. Although the problem is not

identical, what these committees reported applies with much greater force to the question now becoming so vital in India. All these committees, including the one on classics, came to the emphatic conclusion that 'men of every school of thought' would consider 'that it would be a national disaster if classical study were to disappear from our education or to be continued to a small class of the community'. It is most extraordinary that those who are responsible for national education in India should overlook this decision, though Sanskrit and Persian are certainly more intimately related to modern Indian languages than Greek and Latin are to English, both from the linguistic and cultural points of view. What is considered to portend a national disaster in England is, strangely enough, passed over in India, in similar circumstances, as a matter of not much importance.

What the result of this unfortunate attitude has been is well known to those who are interested in oriental education in this country. We still carry on the teaching of classical language and literature, but it is nothing more than a mere carrying on. Even in the sphere of research, one century's effort cannot be said to have produced results comparable in extent and importance to those achieved in other countries or in other subjects.

Another important consequence of the State policy is also seen in the segregation of Sanskrit study in the *tols*; for not having been recognized by State policy, the university has never given Sanskrit the place it deserves in the curriculum, but has only suffered it to exist as one of the many subjects to be taught. Because of this, there exist in this country two different modes of oriental study, pursued respectively in the school, college, and university, on the one hand, and in the indigenous *tol*, *maktab*, and *madrassa* on the other, which, being unconnected and apparently divergent, have proved an obstacle to a fuller development of these studies. Both pursue the same end, but there is an unfortunate lack of co-

operation and co-ordination. In Europe, classical education is not segregated; it is taught in the universities only, critically and on modern lines, and nowhere else.

The effect of the segregation of Sanskrit learning in the *tols* has been to make it narrow and unfruitful. There can be no doubt about the utility of the old method in the understanding of old texts, and the traditional method has not yet outlived its usefulness. But if we are to progress, we must also look ahead, and the modern method is unavoidable. If oriental study is to be made interesting and adapted, as far as possible, to modern requirements, it must move with the ideas and methods, of the modern age. We can no longer ignore the application of historical, comparative, and critical methods, nor fail to take into account the discovery of new facts or of new relation of old facts made possible thereby. The assistance rendered by archaeology, comparative philology, comparative mythology, and comparative religion has been immense in elucidating many obscure points in the history of Indian thoughts and literary endeavour. Modern scholars of oriental literature have also brought to light a large mass of Hindu, Jaina, and Buddhist works, which are of great importance in the understanding of our ancient culture. The traditional scholar hardly knows or cares to know anything about these things, thereby confessing himself out of date. It is unnecessary therefore to underrate unjustly the value as much of the modern as of the traditional scholarship. Both have their own importance; but prejudice, misunderstanding, importance, and unreasonable apprehension have all long stood in the way of their fruitful correlation. It is sometimes said that if you modernize the pundit he vanishes. Even if this be true, there is no reason why the pundit and the modern scholar should not work together to their mutual benefit, and in the real advancement of oriental learning. I would therefore suggest that the State should consider not only the

possibility of reforming *tol* education, if it is to be maintained, but also of establishing a correlation between the *tols* and the university in this respect.

The number of indigenous *tols* in Bengal had been fairly large. They never came into limelight, but they did, in the past, keep alive the study of Sanskrit by handing down the torch of learning from generation to generation. The pundits not only imparted free education to their students, but also gave them free board and lodging. It was their reputation of scholarship in particular branches of oriental learning which drew students to their private academies. Zemindars and benevolent people often helped the pundits, in ancient days, by grants of land and other pecuniary benefits, while they also received voluntary gifts from people on ceremonial occasions. This state of things hardly exists today. The great pundits of old are now disappearing one by one, and the widespread distress and difficulties of the times affect the body of pundits no less than any others. They have come to such a state that it is doubtful if they would be able to maintain much longer their usefulness and prestige. To add to this change of circumstances, a new educational device was set in motion by an unimaginative or unsympathetic government, which laid the axe at the root of traditional learning. It is the cheap machinery of what is called 'title-examination.' In olden days, when scholarship was highly valued, a pupil had to spend many years with his preceptor in order to obtain complete mastery of the subject by continuous application and singleness of devotion, while the preceptor's high reputation itself was guarantee enough to require any mechanical examination. At the present time, there is neither the patience nor the enthusiasm, nor the inducement for such a laborious process. If the passing of the Tirtha examination, with much less industry and in much less time, ensures the same economic result, namely, the ill-paid post (if

he can get it) in a school, why should one undergo so much trouble and effort? Like cheap private schools, the 'Tirtha-making' *tols* have multiplied, but the unfortunate result is that the stupendous scholarship of the old type is fast vanishing.

In 1948, the West Bengal Government appointed a Committee, presided over by the Hon. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, to inquire into *tol* education in West Bengal and recommended steps that might be taken to organize and improve it. With the honest belief that the traditional teaching of Sanskrit by the *tols*, however much it had deteriorated in modern times, had yet its value and importance, and with the sincere hope that systematic State encouragement would lead to its revival and reform, the Committee made certain recommendations which the Government have substantially accepted. We expect that the educational experiment suggested will succeed; and it is too early to say if it has effected improvement. Having regard to the comparatively few people who, in modern times, can devote themselves wholeheartedly to oriental studies, regulated State help, as envisaged by the Committee's report, ought to be provided for them. But at the same time, we cannot help feeling that no system of education, however useful or necessary, can be kept alive for ever by mere monetary help to students and teachers, unless there is urgent popular demand behind it and future prospect for them for useful employment. Not only State encouragement, but an entire reorientation of the State policy in Sanskrit education is necessary for effecting a change of general outlook and attitude. This alone can incline the popular mind towards classical studies. Unfortunately, the reference to the Committee was restricted to *tol* education, and was not extended to Sanskrit education in general. But the question of *tol* education should not be considered piecemeal, but should be a matter of general educational policy concerning Sanskrit education.

It should be pointed out in this connection that one of the particular causes of the lack of general interest in Sanskrit study, at the present time, appears to be the uninteresting and unscientific way in which Sanskrit is being taught in schools and colleges, as well as in *tols*. As a language which is exceedingly rich and complicated in grammatical forms, Sanskrit is undoubtedly a difficult proposition to a young learner. However enthusiastic and industrious he may be, he is frightened, at the outset, by a long course of dry memorizing of grammar and lexicon, with the result that very often he picks up an initial aversion to the study. For a general diffusion of knowledge, if not for intensive scholarship, it is clear that such a process can never prove attractive. The modern direct method of teaching a language is practically unknown in this country; and it is often forgotten that grammar is meant for language and not language for grammar. It is true that for a perfect command of any language it is necessary for the scholar to master grammatical and idiomatic niceties, but that stage should come after an interest is created in the language itself. It is not right that the cart should be placed before the horse. In order to make oriental study come within the orbit of popular understanding, and not merely confined to a small group of scholars and specialists, the teaching should be remodelled on modern lines, so as to lead to a popularization, but not vulgarization, of the study; and learned pedantry should not stand in the way. It is not necessary that everyone should be an oriental scholar, but it is desirable that he should know something of Sanskrit in order that he may keep himself in touch with his heritage of ancient learning and culture.

These are some of the fundamental problems which demand the attention of every well-wisher of Sanskrit education. Whatever may be the solution of the difficulties, there can be no doubt that in our zeal for modern learning we have, so far neglected ancient learning; and the time has now come, not for piecemeal remedy, but for a radical change of outlook, which should properly define the place of oriental study in our one-sided educational system.

Children in China

By

FREDA GRIMBLE

TO visit China, a country so rich in area, population, beauty, achievements and possibilities, is the experience of a lifetime. Yet if I were asked what impressed me most I would say without hesitation the children. Even during the ride from Peking airport to the hotel, where everything passed was delightfully new, our eyes could not be diverted from the children. There were such numbers of them—and all were healthy, full bouncing energy, clean, fearless and, like children everywhere, bringing to their activities a characteristic singleness of purpose. It was so different from what one had been led to expect; so different from what I had already seen in many other countries; and so astonishing when later we saw the homes from which these children came and heard of the lives of Chinese children in the past.

No picture of the care of children in new China can be appreciated without reminding ourselves of the circumstances in which they were brought up before the liberation. Insufficient food, ill-treatment, little or no health services, no education, mud huts with no sewage, no running water even in the towns—these were the conditions of life into which millions of China's children were born and all too often died. In Fukien, for example, the infantile death rate was 190 per thousand, 30 per cent of this mortality being due to tetanus in the early weeks after birth.

Since 1949 the new economy has given the children sufficient food according to good standards of nutrition. A mother in Shanghai's new people's village said that before 1949 two full time wages would not support a family of four in a one-roomed mud hut, but now her husband's wages alone easily supported a family of six in a worker's flat and allowed for a number of extras, such as a sewing

machine, a bicycle, good beds and bedding, and new furniture.

It is true that many years of planned effort will be needed to destroy the legacy of bad housing. But the laying of drains and pipes to dispose of sewage, the supplying of piped water and electric light even in the old housing areas, though the development of new housing sites is proceeding rapidly, has done much to improve the chances of a healthier existence for all—and small children in particular. Linked with this is the cooperation of the people themselves in what is called the "patriotic sanitation campaign". Flies, a menace to the infant in every country, have been almost exterminated by the determination of the people in killing grubs, destroying eggs, swatting the adults, and allowing no rubbish to lie. The streets, often narrow and still flanked in many areas with mud one-roomed huts, are spotless.

Each street or group of streets has its mutual aid team, with representatives chosen to function on the ward committee and local council. One of their many functions is the supervision of street cleanliness in which the people take great pride. Other functions of streets committees are to help with the care of children when mothers are at work, attending meetings, or otherwise engaged; and to advise mothers on such facilities as day nurseries and kindergartens, or the work of mother and Child Protection Committees. These efforts have helped to give China's children standards of health equal to that of many countries which have known good housing conditions for several decades. The achievement testifies to the determination of a people confident of the future.

The street is the community centre, the club, the play centre, and in it much of the life of

the people and their responses to children can be seen. Never did we see a child smacked or shaken; in fact, we never saw an adult impatient with a child. A national campaign had been conducted on respect and affection for children, but it would have had little success if the lives of the people had not been changed for the better and charged with new hopes and opportunities. Their happy, forward-looking existence is invaluable for the proper growth of the children. They have few toys, but they are all busy joining in the business of the street, the activities of their homes, and the small domestic industries which have increased in importance. Thus, their lives gain a richness and reality which many educationalists know to be of far greater value as physical and mental stimuli than all the toys with which so many children are cluttered up.

It must not, of course, be thought that children are mostly left in the streets. On the contrary, there is a great development of play space, day nurseries and kindergartens. A rapidly increasing number of infants up to the age of two years are cared for in nurseries with trained staff, and more than half a million between the ages of two and seven are in splendidly equipped kindergartens in charge. Every factory we visited had its creche and kindergarten, which are regarded as being as essential as the workers' canteen, rest-room, clinic, library, spare-time school rooms, and gymnasium. Feeding rooms are a feature of the creches, as breast-feeding is regarded as a pre-requisite to healthy babyhood. Mothers are given time off for this purpose, but full wages are paid.

The problem of absence is so considerable where large number of women are employed that it can only be met by having reserve workers on the staff. Their need is further emphasised by the facilities given to pregnant women, who are put on to light work at six months, given one hour's extra rest during the working day at seven months, and then sent on paid leave until 56 days after delivery.

In the rural areas seasonal creches are run. In areas where women take work home or work in offices and shops, the local authority sets up the nurseries and kindergartens. The mothers pay about 6 yuan per month, irrespective of husbands' wages, mainly to cover the cost of food. This is for day care. In some areas, where shift work takes place, there are 24-hour nurseries which are used by the mothers to fit in with their hours of work. Some children stay for the five working days and go home during the week end.

Other types of nursery were those seen on the main railway stations, where a room is allocated to mothers with small children and a portion of the platform is also fenced off as a large play pen from which the children can see the many sights of the station. All long distance trains have a mother and baby carriage, a nursery giving privacy for feeding, ample hot water, a room for noisy toddlers, and a nurse. The trains are spotlessly clean, and the compartments are frequently invaded for sweeping and swabbling with antiseptic.

The daily routine of children in the nurseries is much the same as in those of any country, except for the appearance of the mother at regular intervals for a feed and a cuddle—a very important difference. Many of the nurseries are in adapted buildings, and the children have not the same opportunity to crawl and explore as they have in Britain; or as they have in the newer and specially built nurseries in China, for the value of exploration and self-help from the floor level is fully appreciated.

One of the happiest kindergartens I have ever seen was in an area outside Shanghai which was once known as the "Miserable Village" (now the "Happy Village") because 80 per cent of its population were always sick. It consisted of mud houses in which half the kindergarten was busily engaged, while the other half, on a space cleared when houses were pulled down, the other half was taking part in games, nature talks and singing. Much

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of the apparatus was made by the parents' committees and by local factories, the remainder being extremely simple: for example, in some games, ink bottles on the ground, each with a different coloured paper flag stuck in it, served to indicate the spots to which to run.

For contrast, on the other side of Shanghai, there is a superb new kindergarten in a brick building of two floors, with rooms and doors opening on to sunny verandas. This is as good as the best that we have in British kindergartens and the design of the building included some features that should be copied. For instance, a slide has been built in at the side of every stair-case to allow a choice of methods of going down. The children I saw there certainly used such opportunities, for they are as experimental and inquisitive as all children are. Accustomed to seeing women in trousers, our legs were a never ending source of interest to them—and on more than one occasion a small toddler lifted my skirt to see where my trousers had gone.

I have concentrated on the nursery service because I am sure it will be understood that it is a good indication of the other mother and child services. Of these I saw many; clinics, children's hospitals old and new, a painless childbirth maternity home, play facilities on housing estates, schools, children's Pioneer Palaces for out-of-school and holiday care, besides examples of the general social and cultural services. It was interesting to see the pride with which even an old children's hospital or nursery was shown, as every available

space was in appreciated use by the people. Bright hopes, strengthened by what already existed, were at the same time expressed in the buildings, equipment, training, and opportunities that children enjoy in the future.

It was difficult to estimate how many children benefited from nursery facilities, but their number is very large and at all levels the system constantly urges expansion. At the street level 25 families constitute a unit which elects a representative to the ward council responsible for a group of streets. These ward councils are direct links between the people and the local councils, which regard the ward councils as very important democratic bodies where representations have to be carefully and sympathetically considered. Thus, it is not a question of local governments deciding what social services they can afford to give the people but of the people critically demanding what they need and participating in its provision.

Cooperation is, in fact, the keynote of Chinese successes in every sphere. The people have gained confidence, strength and vision through discussion, mutual aid and close organisation from below; from using the old (expect the old ideas) while replacing with the new, and from clinging steadfastly to the five loves of China—love of labour, science, motherland, people and peace. Without such fundamental principles, a trusted government which has consulted the people about every major change, and the tremendous upsurge of energy and invention in a nation previously renowned for its industry, there is no limit to the future before the children of China.

The Tragedy of Maharaja Duleep Singh

By

Prof. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

By the Treaty of Lahore (March, 1846), which marked the end of the First Sikh War (1845-46), a British force was to remain at Lahore till the close of the year "to protect the Maharaja and his Government." The Treaty of Lahore was superseded by the Treaty of Bhairawal in December, 1846, whereunder the Punjab was placed under the dictatorship of a British Resident who was to have full control over every department of the State. It also provided for the continuance of a British force at Lahore, until Maharaja Duleep Singh should attain the age of sixteen, that is, till September 4, 1854.

By this treaty Sir Henry Lawrence, British Resident at Lahore, became the virtual ruler of the Punjab, subject only to the instructions of the Governor-General. Maharaja Duleep Singh was then but a child of six. His mother, Rani Jindan, was a most shrewd woman and she suffered for her uncommon intelligence and by the Treaty of Bhairawal, was excluded from any share in the Government. This was only the beginning of the end. Her sufferings came in battalions.

Tej Singh was the Commander-in-Chief of Sikh forces in the First Sikh War. Like Mir Jafar he was in league with the Britishers and had undertaken to get the Sikh forces shattered at the hands of the British army. When the battle of Sobraon was raging furiously and Sardar Sham Singh of Atari, in spite of his advanced age, was valiantly fighting, Tej Singh fled in haste from the field of battle and when he and his cowardly followers had crossed a bridge of boats, he sank the middle boat, so that the Sikh soldiers in their inevitable retreat should have no alternative but to plunge in the swollen, tempestuous river to find their watery graves. Thus hundreds were drowned and hundreds were shot down by the British guns, when the defiant Sikh soldiers plunged headlong into the river and were

struggling against the surging, swallowing waters of swollen Sutlej.

Now this worthy Tej Singh had to be rewarded by the Britishers for his 'meritorious services.' In 1847 a grand Durbar was held at Lahore, to confer the title of Raja on Tej Singh. Maharaja Duleep Singh was to mark the forehead of the distinguished traitor on his investiture. Maharaja Duleep Singh tarried along with his mother and when he did come, he would not put out his hands to anoint the tilak or frontal mark on Tej Singh's head! Poor Rani Jindan was held responsible for this "open insult to the British Resident." She was consequently removed from Lahore to Sheikhpur, with the laudable object of saving the Maharaja from the pernicious influence of his mother! But more was yet to follow.

Rani Jindan was implicated in a plot against the Resident and British officials. The Rani was removed from Sheikhpur to Banaras. From Banaras again, she was conveyed to Chunar Fort. From Chunar she escaped to Nepal.

Now came Maharaja Duleep Singh's turn to suffer. In 1848 two British officers, Agnew and Anderson, were murdered at Multan. Dewan Mool Raj dreaded the consequences of this reckless action, in which he had no hand and he sought his safety in rebellion against the Lahore Durbar, of which Sir Frederic Currie was the supreme head and *de facto* ruler. The Lahore Durbar sent forces under the command of Raja Sher Singh to put down the rebellion. Raja Sher Singh's father, S. Chuttur Singh, who was Governor of Hazara, wrote to his son of the humiliations heaped on him by British officers.

Raja Sher Singh was enraged and he recoiled. The Punjab was soon full of turmoil. Sher Singh with his 30,000 Sikh soldiers was on the war path. The battles of Chillianwala

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and Gujarat followed. The Sikh army laid down arms and was disbanded in 1849.

But it must be carefully noted that Maharaja Duleep Singh and his Sikh councillors were loyal to the British throughout the war.

Sir F. Currie wrote to the Governor-General (Lord Dalhousie):—"The conduct of the Durbar, collectively and individually, had been entirely satisfactory in everything connected with this outbreak and indeed in all other respects." The child Maharaja remained "in profound ignorance that any unusual events which could affect him or his sovereignty were passing." The insurgents were proclaimed as rebels against the Government of Maharaja Duleep Singh. And yet when the insurrection was quelled, Maharaja Duleep Singh was deposed, his Koh-i-Noor and all other precious stones and gold and silver in the treasury were seized. "Every article of property in the possession of the Maharaja was declared to be State property" and he was permitted to retain such articles as were considered necessary for his *personal* use.

By the treaty of 1849 under which the Punjab was annexed and Maharaja Duleep Singh deposed, the Maharaja was assured of a pension of "not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of rupees per annum." But England's promises and pledges were ever, written in water. The following lines would show how shabbily the innocent Maharaja was treated.

The British deposed Maharaja Duleep Singh for no fault of his. They seized his Koh-i-Noor and all. They were not content with it. To make Maharaja Duleep Singh odious to the Sikhs so that they should never think of him as one of their own, satanic strategy was employed. Lord Dalhousie's own words provide a clear and unmistakable clue to the nefarious design. Here are his tell-tale, revealing words, "I should object decidedly and do not wish to countenance any relations henceforth between the Maharaja and Sikhs either by alliance with a Sikh family or sympathy with Sikh feeling." How significant

are the words! To make Maharaja Duleep Singh odious to the Sikhs, and to make the Punjab safe for British rule, things were so manoeuvred that the child should conceive an aversion to Hinduism and Sikhism.

Lady Login, the biographer of Maharaja Duleep Singh, writes, "His Highness left Lahore for Hindustan without taking with him a copy of the Granth or a single reader of it." No Sikh priest, no Sikh counsellor and no Sikh tutor accompanied him and he was deported to Fatehgarh (U.P.) Sir John Login and Lady Login sweetly but subtly moulded him in their own fashion in those impressionable years of his boyhood. Not a Sikh priest but one Bhajun Lal, a wily Brahman of Farrukhabad who, we are told, could speak English fairly fluently officially acted as his priest and narrated to the Maharaja disgusting, cock-and-bull stories which he represented as the essence of Hinduism.

No wonder, if the boy's mind was shaped and moulded as was desired by his guardians and the Maharaja then barely ten, expressed a desire to embrace Christianity! They did not wait for his maturity. He was baptised as a Christian! The newly imposed British rule in the Punjab was thus made safe and secure. But the Britishers never did things by halves. The Maharaja was represented as very eager to go to England. He was then taken to England before he came of age; he was made comfortable there, in order to charm away his sense of nostalgia. He was treated kindly by Queen Victoria and his Prince Consort in the Buckingham Palace.

The Maharaja was now fast growing up. Victoria's conscience felt uneasy about the Koh-i-Noor, in view of the odious and malodorous circumstances in which the diamond had been seized. It was proposed that he himself should offer the world-fame diamond to the Queen. Could Duleep Singh possibly refuse it, no matter what his own personal feeling might have been? This is how the drama was staged. "Taking the diamond in

her hand, the Queen advanced to the dais on which the Maharaja was posed for his portrait and the Maharaja found himself once more with the Koh-i-Noor in his hand. It was with some emotion and eagerness that he walked to the window and minutely examined it, while the spectators could not help watching his movements with some anxiety. It was a nervous quarter of an hour for Lady Login. Then Duleep Singh walked across the room with a low obeisance and presented the Koh-i-Noor to the Queen." He only bowed to the inevitable, not voluntarily but because he was helpless. Later on he bitterly recorded that he had been "despoiled" of the Koh-i-Noor and "cheated out of his kingdom."

When Maharaja Duleep Singh came of age, he demanded the pension ("not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of rupees," guaranteed by the treaty, under which the Punjab was annexed. He never got the stipulated pension. Much correspondence passed to and fro, between Duleep Singh and the Secretary of State for India and between the Secretary of State and the Government of India and the case was never settled.

But this pension affair was not his only worry. He had other vexations too. The Maharaja arranged to go out to India in 1860 to see his mother and to arrange with Government for her future residence in British territories. He was told not to visit the Punjab. It so happened that while he was at Calcutta, several Sikh regiments who had arrived from China besieged his hotel and were very demonstrative. Lord Canning told Duleep Singh to return to England at once. So the mother and son sailed for England.

Then Rani Jindan was not what she had been. Her heart and health were broken, her eye-sight dimmed and her once-famed beauty vanished. They were together in England for a while and we are told that "his (Maharaja's) religious feelings were in a very excited and unsettled state." His mother was supposed to be responsible for the change. And so he was separated from his mother and mother and son lived apart. The mother's anguish in that foreign land may well be imagined. Rani Jindan died in England. Maharaja Duleep Singh returned to India to cremate his mother's remains at Nander in the Deccan and had to return to England thereafter.

His financial difficulties persisted, for his pension remained unsettled. He had not the means to live according to his rank. His representations bore no fruit. He was told that at his death his property would be sold and his eldest son would get only £ 3000/- per annum. Duleep Singh was disgusted. He resolved to proceed to India and "be done with England and her hypocrisies" as he bitterly recorded. He embarked for India. When Duleep Singh reached Aden, he was arrested by order of Lord Dufferin *in the presence of his fellow-passengers* and he was told not to proceed to India. Maharaja Duleep Singh was furious and refused to accept for himself any pension or allowance and withdrew to the continent of Europe where he died in destitution, unwept, unhonoured, and unsung—a poor forsaken exile.

This is how the historian Malleon comments on England's dealings with Maharaja Duleep Singh:

"I have myself always held that the treatment dealt out to Duleep Singh after the close of the Second Sikh War was alike impolitic and unjust. When that war broke out, Duleep Singh was the ward of the British Government. He was a child of nine years and took no part whatever in the administration of the country, of which the British Government recognised him the sovereign but of which the English Resident and a Council of native nobles were the actual rulers. The revolt of Mool Raj and the uprising of the Sikh Chieftains in Hazara which followed, were directed against the actual Government of Lahore, which as I have said, was presided over by an English Resident and which ruled in the name of Duleep Singh. Yet when those risings were suppressed on the field of Gujrat, the British Government, then absolute master of the situation, visited the sins of Mool Raj and the Hazara chiefs on the innocent ward, deprived him of his kingdom and consigned him to the care of Doctor-afterwards Sir John Login."

May the Koh-i-Noor which England grabbed in the peculiar circumstances from an innocent, helpless child, shed undimmed lustre on the Crown of England and may History forget all the malodour that envelops this episode and the tragedy of Maharaja Duleep Singh! But so long as the Koh-i-Noor adorns the Crown of England, the world will remember the tragedy of poor Duleep Singh.

English - The Richest Language

By

Prof. M. V. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

(Member, Asiatic Society)

THE language controversy is not as recent as most persons think. It can be traced to His Excellency Lord William Bentinck. It was at that time that English was accepted as the official language and the medium of instruction, for certain very important considerations. It must also be remembered that it was done not so much due to the language fanaticism of Lord Macaulay as is usually supposed. For, the decision was enforced by an extreme liberal like Lord William Bentinck. Moreover, it must be said to the credit of the English that eminent Englishmen like Mr. H. H. Wilson and Mr. James Mill strongly opposed this move at that time. Mr. James Mill, then an influential officer in the India House drafted a strong censure on the impolicy of forcing the English language on the people of India.*

We should also note that the British Government were very quick to rectify their mistake. Thus in 1853 Lord Dalhousie "earnestly recommended that the system of vernacular education, associated with the honoured name of Mr. Thompson, should be extended to the whole North-Western Provinces."† The famous Despatch of Sir Charles Wood (later Lord Halifax) of July 1854 recognised the importance of Vernacular Education in the Primary and the Lower Standards.‡ Thus, although English was given pre-eminence, the Vernaculars were not completely neglected.

Today the Indian Government have reversed this decision, and made Hindi, the most representative Indian Language, the national

* The Rise and Expansion of the British Empire in India. By Sir Alfred Lyall (P-311)

† The Marquess of Dalhousie. By Mr. W.W. Hunter (P-206)

‡ India its Administration and Progress. By Sir John Strachey (P-266)

language. English has been discarded. The question should be reviewed now in all its aspects in the most impartial manner.

It is one of the burning questions of the day and much has already been written on it. We propose, therefore, to restrict ourselves to those aspects of the questions that have been improperly emphasised so far.

First of all let it be clearly understood that the adoption of Hindi in place of English is mainly on sentimental grounds. It is clear that Hindi or any Indian vernacular has no superiority over English as a language whether we consider vocabulary or literature. English is the richest language, the only international language. This no one will deny. Thus the change is made mainly for a 'Sentiment.' But it should be remembered that 'Sentiment' is also a great thing for a nation. So, while the change is justified, the limitations should also be clearly accepted.

We should also appreciate why the educated classes are opposed to this change. In all branches of higher knowledge, the main literature is in English. It will continue to be in English at least for a sufficiently long period. There is either no literature in Hindi, or what meagre literature has been speedily produced, is at best cheap translation, without the slightest trace of originality. The inevitable result of all this is to lower the standard and quality of output. This is a serious thing for the intellectual classes. Thus they feel that although Hindi may be the desideratum, it is better to go slow in this matter, that the change should be evolutionary rather than revolutionary. It is unwise to give up English before Hindi has properly matured.

The educated classes further consider that it is one thing to admit Hindi: but an entirely different thing to forget English. They feel

that we can never afford English, that if we do so, it can only be at a tremendous cost. The modern Age is the Age of Science. Whether we like it or not, there is no escape from it. Even for our very existence we must not forget that scientific study and research is essential, if we have to be a part of the moving world, and if we have to occupy the front rank in it, we must attend this all important matter of scientific progress. The knowledge of the latest scientific discoveries and inventions will be at once and readily available in English, never in Hindi. It will take quite sometime before that is translated in Hindi. And it is sure that everything can never be translated. Even if it were to be, that will still mean that we shall never be up-to-date in respect of the latest scientific knowledge. Here again, although Hindi may become the national language, English can never be completely abandoned.

We should also try to understand the difficulties of the people in the South, with far greater consideration than we have done so far. The Scripts and the Languages of the South or so completely different from those of the North, that the burden of a Northern Language with its Northern Script must be very heavy on them. It is no exaggeration to say that it is almost equivalent to learning a foreign language. So, I feel that it is very considerate on their part that they have accepted Hindi; but the speed and impatience with which Hindi is enforced should be reconsidered.

Now I come to the most serious reason against completely replacing English by Hindi. Every language has a special type of literature and a special literary tradition behind it. The literary tradition behind English is radically different from the literary tradition of Hindi or of any Indian Vernacular for the matter of that. The tradition behind the Indian languages is one of blind obedience and contentment. The English literary tradition is one of self-criticism, fight for freedom, and Democracy. Once the people of this vast sub-continent forget English, say in the course of a generation or so, what will be the political result of it. It is plain that the light and the inspiration of the English literary tradition

they can no more have, they will have no idea of the liberal and democratic tradition that our generation (and also past generations) have derived from James Mill, J. S. Mill, Bentham, Spencer, Burke, Sheridan, Godwin, Paine, Laski, Richard Cobden, John Bright and Julian Benda; to name only a few instances. My contention is that devoid of this Light and Inspiration they will never be able to defend the democratic tradition satisfactorily. For Democracy is not merely the counting of votes, it is a rational approach rooted in a deep conviction in the justice of the cause which comes only out of a liberal study. Hindi or any Indian Vernacular with its corresponding literature does not have anything approaching this light. Our Parliaments, Republics, Federations, ideas of Equality, Liberty, and Democracy in the modern sense have their roots in the English literary tradition for the greater part. Cut off from this root, the corresponding political institutions cannot thrive in a healthy manner. This is the real danger to the abandonment of English.

In conclusion let us sum up the position clearly. No one should oppose the National Language—Hindi (which should be learnt in the spirit of learning a new language.) But learning Hindi does not mean that we should forget the international language—English. Most persons do not seem to appreciate this fact. They feel that Hindi should replace English. This is not only wrong, but as we have seen, dangerous. To learn Hindi may be patriotic, but patriotism does not require that we must forget English. The Government should be more sympathetic towards English. Lastly, we should never forget the advisability to go slow in the matter of Hindi propaganda. We should not forget the decision of the Gujrat University Senate in setting aside Hindi in favour of Gujrat and the change in the East Bengal Government brought about some months ago mainly on the language issue—as very ominous signs. This is just what Mr. Anand Kumar Chairman, Inter-University Board told at Aligarh on January 18, 1956, when he hinted that the medium of instruction in the Universities should be in English for a considerable time.

The British Universities Today

By

Prof. C. M. MacInnes

THE function of a university is to provide instruction and to extend the bounds of learning. In England, the teaching of under-graduates has traditionally been considered to be of primary importance. Though, today, some university teachers appear to ape certain American colleagues by measuring their academic importance by the extent to which they are immune from undergraduate teaching, the majority of them still attach great importance to this side of their work. They feel that it is part of their duty to turn out men and women adequately equipped to serve in Church and State. In recent years the demand of industry and commerce for educated people has also been recognised as imposing upon the universities a special obligation. So, the first degree is held to be of paramount importance in England and the standard is high.

The method of instruction varies. In Oxford and Cambridge, certainly on the Arts side, the lecture is usually considered to be of little account. "Here is the lecture list for the term", a don once said, "but it's up to you to decide whether you go to any or not". In Scotland, on the contrary, the lecture is all-important, and other British universities fluctuate somewhere between these two extremes. In some places lectures are compulsory, but this practice is dying out. In other places they are voluntary, though attendance is considered to be desirable. Opinion is divided on the value of the lecture, but it is a common view that the kind of lecture which is merely a form of dictating notes is not desirable, though what might be termed the inspirational or wide-sweeping address may have a good deal of value.

The tutorial system, in some form or other, is to be found in every university in the country. This term covers a variety of groups. A tutorial may mean an hour's instruction

given by a don to three, two or even one student. They bring their essays to his room and, in Oxford and some other universities, they read their products to him. This is frequently a somewhat trying experience, particularly for the careless student, but it is a salutary one, and many graduates consider their tutorials to have been the most valuable part of their university training. There are other combinations of teacher and student to which this term is also applied, but, whether the tutorial group is fairly large or just one individual and his mentor, the essential feature is that there is personal contact between teacher and taught and that the meeting is informal, even though it may be compulsory in some places to wear a gown. The seminar, as this term is understood throughout the world, also flourishes in English universities, both for undergraduate and post-graduate work. In these gatherings carefully prepared papers may be presented and discussed, or the group may concern itself with particular problems raised by individual members; and there are dozens of other ways in which a seminar may be conducted. Some critics of the tutorial system, and usually those who know least about it, regard it as a degrading form of "spoon feeding" from which a young man or woman should have been emancipated upon leaving school.

The ideal set by British universities today is a ratio of one teacher to 10 students, but in practice this is seldom reached. The result is that in England, where the personal contact between teacher and taught is so highly regarded, the lecturing staff is frequently over-worked. At the same time it must be understood that the universities are also fully alive to the importance of post-graduate studies. While, on the whole, it is true that in this country graduate schools have never become so widesp-

read as in the United States, nevertheless some do exist. Their number is now increasing, but not without some mis-givings among those who fear that if too much stress is placed upon post-graduate work the first degree will be debased.

Attached to some universities are research institutes of various kinds in which much primary research is carried on. Almost every university teacher is concerned with writing or research work of some sort or another. Indeed, the word 'research' has been so much abused that some university people are inclined to be sceptical on this subject. They question the value of the stream of theses, monographs and learned articles which pour out from the universities of Great Britain and the United States every year. Much of this is, of course, good work, and some of it unquestionably is pedestrain stuff, produced by dull people in order to qualify them for admission to the economic profession or for promotion. Even if this were not so, over-emphasis on research might be harmful, for the great teacher has a part, and a very important part, to play. By giving sound instruction to his pupils and helping to mould their lives, he may well be performing a far greater service to mankind than if he were merely to add another bucketful to the turbid stream of ponderosity which masquerades as contributions to knowledge.

Some university teachers prefer teaching, some prefer research work, but the majority of them should be proficient in both. Undoubtedly the man who is in constant contact with the problems peculiar to his subject can be of greater service to his pupils than one who is not. Similarly, the man who knows the difficulties of the subject from teaching it will probably approach the work of investigation in a becoming spirit of humility.

The staff of a university is divided into well-marked grades. At the top are the professors, usually men who have won distinction in their subjects by their publications. Next to them

in seniority come the readers. A reader receives this title because of his established reputation as a scholar in his own field. The lecturers do the bulk of the day to day teaching in the universities as well as much post graduate instruction, while the assistant lecturers are fledglings whose position in the profession is not yet established. Normally, a man or woman remains in this grade for three years before moving on to a full lectureship or leaving the university service. Once more it may be necessary to utter a word of caution that all of these terms vary from place to place, and in addition to the groups referred to there are various other specialists that need not be mentioned here. The college dons of Oxford and Cambridge stand, of course, in a group by themselves.

University teachers, as has been indicated earlier, are members of various governing bodies and innumerable committees. They are not wage earners divided from the administrative side by an impassable gulf. The analogy of workman and master is totally misleading when applied to universities. The university teachers, the administrative officers and laymen are all colleagues. They are members of a living corporation and not units in a factory.

According to the latest figures procurable there were 80,602 full-time students in British universities in 1953-54. Of these 62,173 were in England, 13,998 in Scotland and 4,431 in Wales. Oxford and Cambridge contained 15,000 or thereabouts, London 18,000; there were about 30,000 in the civic universities. The majority of these students come from Great Britain, but the student body contained 4,607 from the Commonwealth and 3,373 from other countries abroad. In addition to full-time students, there were some 15,755 part-time students who are not included in the figures just mentioned. 28.1 per cent of all full-time students in British universities lived in university residences or in colleges, and it is generally agreed that this figure could with

advantage be raised substantially. 40.9 per cent lived in lodgings. The quality of this accommodation varies greatly and despite the most vigorous efforts on the part of university authorities it is conceded that it is not always satisfactory. The universities, in fact, must have more residences and more colleges. 31.0 per cent lived at home, which is far too large a figure. It is the belief of the universities that college or residential life is not the least valuable part of the student's experience.

The Arts group was by far the largest and amounts to 43.0 per cent of the whole. Pure Science accounted for 21.1 per cent, Medicine 16.4 per cent, Technology 12.4 per cent, Dentistry 3.2 per cent, Agriculture 2.6 per cent, Veterinary Science 1.3 per cent. In the years 1953-54, 71.9 per cent of full-time students received financial assistance of one kind or another. The decline of the student group whose expenses are paid by their parents is, in fact, one of the most outstanding features in university history during the past few years.

The students and each university, outside of Oxford and Cambridge, are organised in guilds or unions and these in turn are affiliated to the National Union of Students. The Oxford and Cambridge Unions, however, are merely debating societies, for men only. In some universities the student body, through the Union, is represented on Court. After graduation the university man or woman in the civic universities becomes a member of Convocation which, again, is represented on Court and Council. In various ways all the universities make some attempt to retain the interest of their graduates, but, speaking generally, graduate bodies have never been as influential in the universities of Britain as they have been in those of the United States.

In order to maintain a uniform standard in examinations, external examiners are appointed. These are well-known scholars from other universities who are familiar with their own examination standards.

On the administrative side, the principals and vice-chancellors of the universities have formed a committee. This has no executive functions. At its meetings questions of general university policy are considered, but each university retains its autonomy. The Home Universities Conference, which has appeared since the war, meets once a year. To its meetings come a number of representatives from each university—vice-chancellors, laymen, professors and lecturers. It discusses questions of Common interest to all universities such, for example, as "Halls of Residence and Student Amenities," "Vacation Employment of Students," "Are Under-graduate Courses of Study Overloaded?" and "The Retiring Age for University Teachers."

The teaching staff of the universities has its professional association—the Association of University Teachers. During the past 35 years, this body has not only watched over the material interests of its members but has produced a series of valuable reports on such subjects as "Salaries and Grading," "Higher Degrees," "University Developments," "University Expansion," "Student Health and Physical Education," "University Entrance Requirements" and "The Place of Technology in the Universities." This body publishes a journal, the *Universities Review*, in which appear the reports of the Association, together with articles and letters on a wide range of academic topics.

Before the outbreak of the 1914-18 war an organisation was established, known as the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, which is now styled the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth. In recent years it has done notable work by publishing the *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook* and reports of the Home Universities Conference, and also by organising the quinquennial congresses of the Universities of the Commonwealth as well as the annual conferences of Commonwealth university heads. This body advertises vacant posts throughout the Com-

monwealth, assists the inter-change of students and scholars between Commonwealth universities and between the latter and those of foreign countries.

The Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas is concerned solely with the interests of the new colonial university colleges. On it are represented all the universities of the United Kingdom and it is hoped that by maintaining this contact Great Britain will be able to help these institutions directly in their early days.

Besides all these bodies there are now two

international organisations to which reference should be made. The first is the International Association of Universities. This is an official body which seeks to promote greater understanding between the universities of the world and it does this mainly by the organisation of university conferences and by the promotion of exchanges between university teachers. The International Association of University Professors and Lecturers is an unofficial body which tries to achieve the same results by promoting greater understanding between university teachers throughout the world.



Re-Reading Geeta

By

Mr. J. N. GANGULI

It is good to re-read and re-think. So many things we hear and read, and we accept or reject them according to a passing impulse or changing mood. Quite often, in that way, we do not get at any deep significance which may have been underneath them. Things accepted on faith due to venerable authorities cited or discarded because of apparent unappeal in them—neither of them do us any good, for they are not deeply thought over. This applies to scriptures and religious beliefs also. A critical study of them does not weaken faith, but purifies and strengthens it; nor is it detracting to their intrinsic merit. But a critical study needs a critical mood, which comes when the mind withdraws within and the commonplace interests loosen their grip on it.

In such a mood I was re-reading Geeta. But as I re-read it doubts swelled up, complexities spread out and confidence quivered. What age had upheld and millions had bowed to should I presume to judge and question?

But let me put down my reactions so that

they may provoke more thinking and benefit me.

The academic discussions regarding how Geeta came into the Mahabharat, if it did not really form part of the original, or whether the expounding of Geeta's philosophy was possible on the battlefield when hostilities were just to start, are of little philosophical significance. I am not thinking of that; but I am wondering what can the object be of a discourse like Geeta's except to induce a person, who recoils from an act that was not upheld by his religion as he understood it, and was shunned by his sentiments and unapproved by his conscience, to do it. The analogy may not be quite apposite when the full context of the Geeta is considered, but an inducement as that given to Arjun may well bring to mind the efforts made by political leaders to rouse fighting enthusiasm in people in a war against another country.

'Shall I kill my friends and dear relations: my great grandfather; my Guru who loves me more than his son; my cousins and all those

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whom I have known so well; and so many others also to whom I owe no enmity or grudge? And that for what? For a mere kingdom? What joy and happiness can there be in a kingdom when all dear ones are gone, in a kingdom indeed which costs their lives and which is reared on their bones and blood?

And so Arjun turned back.

How strenuously religious preachers have always sought to dissuade us from revengeful spirit; from fighting for gain, and even from self-preservation. Give yours and yourself for the cause of others. By giving, and not by keeping, you disentangle yourself from the lure of pain-causing illusions. By curbing and sacrificing yourself you subdue your 'I' which generates *a-vidya*.

Such and similar have been religious teachings. When such teachings strike and halt us at impulsive moments of passion what can be better? True, the Pandavas had suffered and suffered bitterly at the hands of the Kauravas, and it was only in the natural worldly way that they had taken the battlefield. But if on the battlefield and in the din of battle cry Arjun's ascetic mind recoiled and made him hold his mighty arms from striking, what indeed should have been given to him for his benefit—an encouraging help-up which might have steadied him in his resolve, or an incitement to his passions followed by a stupefying philosophical discourse on human acts and doings vis-a-vis God's all-covering performances and accomplishments?

'No, I will not fight. I would rather go to forest loneliness, to mountain forest, and leave them all in their possessions and in their enjoyment.' He insisted and took his face away from the scene.

'What is this, Arjun? You the valiant warrior whom all your enemies dread; you the victor of all battles, you turn back from a battle? What will your enemies say at this? How will they call you a coward? 'Arjun fights, but not against superior forces like

ours'—will be their crisp, taunting comment.

But Arjun had laid his vanity down and ascended to a plane where pin-pricks of taunts and biting remarks could not reach.

So Sri Krishna tried another way. 'You are showing pity and softness to whom,—to those who unjustly and deceitfully dispossessed you of your rights and possessions, who so many times made attempts on your life, who insulted you beyond description in open court, and who above all, most shamelessly treated your wife before the public?'

But that also failed. Arjun had won many battles of arms; but this time he had won the supreme battle of passions, and so the bitterest recollections which Sri Krishna projected before him could excite his conquered passions no more.

Then a master stroke came. Sri Krishna understood Arjun's mood, and so he tried a psychological effect on him by diverting him from his troubled thoughts into a realm of abstract philosophy. This, in fact, people always do. When a man is to be consoled in his grief or agony a philosophical talk is very useful. This is law of Nature; what you imagine to be yours is really not yours; your relationship with that is only an incidental occurrence, a temporary meeting as between two rolling balls coming and hitting each other and then separating away. And so on.

The philosophical outlook which Sri Krishna now presented before Arjun was presented with an acumen and a nicety which were characteristic of him. The effect gradually went home. Arjun listened. His up-surging *vairagya*, worldly detachment, was braked and he began to look down. His subdued passions opened their eyes and started stirring. Sri Krishna went on expatiating on the theme and completed the effect by throwing before Arjun's bewildered eyes a picture of the universe contained and held within his body, which was infinitely magnified. 'Behold, O Arjun, all that you think to be the world is nothing but parts and parcels of myself. What you

imagine you do or others do are all my work and doing. There is nothing for you or anyone to do. See there on the battlefield they all lie dead. There is no one for you to kill, nor can you kill anyone.' And so on he explained.

Arjun was disillusioned back into the world, or rather he was induced into it by the tremendous hypnotic and psychological effect which Sri Krishna brought to bear on him. His disinclination to fight, disinclination that was said to be due to a passing wave of *tama*-sense, was gone. About this *tama* sense I may seek the hospitality of the *Indian Review* another day for expressing my reflections with particular reference to its mention in the Geeta.

Let me proceed.

Arjun took up arms and entered into the heat and roar of the battle. Love and tenderness for his kinsmen; pity for his weak victims; sympathy for those who were to be bereaved by the death of their dear ones; or the pricking thought of have to strike elders and gurus and other venerables were all gone. His human Self came to himself and took control.

I closed the book. The comfort and solace which I had sought in the Geeta were not obtained. My mind, instead, was submerged in an anguishing despair, which was not in the scene before. I had thought, and I was told, too, that my misery and sorrow, bitterness and disappointment germinated in *rag*, that is, in my attachment, love, desire and hopes. If I could leave them through *vairagya*, through detachment, there would be no pain, no misery. The six *ripus* (enemies) which drive and impel me to action were to be subjugated; and successfully or unsuccessfully my mind was on trying it. But now comes an extra shock to my distressed mind. Hard, terribly hard that it is to deflect the mind and keep it to the dry and dreary track of *vairagya*, even if I put a foot on it what tremendous forces immediately sweep me out of it. Apart from the every little and big thing which surrounds me and tickles my super-sensitive senses an overwhelming force in the shape and form of one who is held in the highest esteem appears to loosen my foothold. The great seers, who warn and enjoin me to take to detachment, were as conscious of the futility of such attempt as others and here one of them who

wants to expound in Geeta the philosophy of life in a new form, while staging a spectacular drama in which Sri Krishna is made the principal actor, inadvertently uses him as a means to pull back Arjun to the common earthly path of *karma*. When Arjun takes his hands off a *karma* behind which were passion, fury and aggravated self-sense, divine power through the mouth of Sri Krishna sharply appears to argue him back to it in all possible manner. The author of the Geeta in his enthusiasm to start on an exposition of his philosophical reflections overlooked the serious damage he was doing to it by the manner in which he was introducing it and by the background on which he was placing it. It was only when Sri Krishna failed to infuriate Arjun's passions that he brought in his philosophy to play on Arjun's weakness. Arjun's inherited faith in traditional religious philosophy, which naturally made him respectful to shastraic allusions, made him an unquestioning listener and also easily susceptible to the effects of what he was told and shown.

In this context Geeta's philosophy loses its intrinsic value, but appears just as a means, or rather the last means when others failed by which Arjun was to be made to act. That becomes all the more evident when the deeper background is brought into view. Sri Krishna's incarnation has been said to have been for a certain definite purpose, namely to reduce the population pressure on the earth. The purpose was to be accomplished on the vast battlefield of Kurukshetra, the causes leading to which were all well worked. This background vitally bottom-holes the sublime merits of Geeta's philosophy. If Geeta could be torn out of its introductory context and if it could be lifted clear out of this background it would be a profound philosophy. But as it is it barely appears anymore than an artful means to involve a person, who feels disinclined, in the revolving wheel of action and reaction, hit and hit back, all at the behest of a zealous, over-conscious self.

Thus I am left painfully dispirited. Is there no escape; no out-of-the-wheel nook where I can rest? When should I look up to for it if an Incarnate himself were, instead of steadying me there, to turn me back by his winning argument, and by playing on my flesh-and-bone-born-weakness?



How Purple Became The Colour of Kings

By

Mr. JAGAT NARAIN

IT is about B.C. 1000. A young and most beautiful damsel, known as Helen, sitting on the indented shores of Attica, in Greece. She has been in captivity and only recently permitted to wander along the beach. As she watches the sunset, engrossed with her own thoughts, and thinking of her native city Sparta from where she had been abducted, her small dog, feeling hungry and restless, picks up a murex shell-fish and begins to chew it. To her wonder, as Helen looks towards her dog, she notes that its mouth has become purple in colour. She snatches the shell-fish out of its mouth and dips it in water. She dyes the hem of her dress with the colour. Incidentally, she has discovered the purple dye, which was to become the most coveted colour in the ancient world, the costliest and one which was to introduce a new chapter in the history of mankind. Helen became famous as the Helen of Troy, and purple became the colour of kings.

How important the purple dye had become may be seen from the fact that the land of Canaan, as Palestine was known in the Bible, means the land of purple. The Hurrians called purple as *knaggi*, Akkadians called it *kinakhani*, Phoenicians *kena*, and in Hebrew it came to be known as *kenaan*, and, purple lent its name to the Canaanites. Likewise the term Phoenicia also comes from the Greek word *phoinix* which means purple.

By about B.C. 800, the Phoenicians had established a great industry of making purple dye in the ports of Tyre and Sidon in Syria. Archeologists have discovered a place in Tyre, one hundred and twenty yards long and eight yards high, covered with murex shells. Where, ever, the Phoenicians travelled from the Sea of Marmora to the Atlantic coast of Morocco, they searched for purple yielding shell-fish. And wherever they found it, in Carthage, on the shores of Greece in Athens and Pompeii, they established their dye industry. Near Tarentum, in Southern Italy, there is a hill, Monte Terrescotea, which consists of murex shells. The coins discovered in this place bear the shell-fish emblem of Tyre. To the seafaring Phoenicians, purple dye became the main prop of their livelihood. It made them

the first maritime nation in history. "They established an empire of trade and wealth, rather than of land and conquest.

The making of purple dye was a difficult process in which women played an important role. It entailed considerable painstaking labour. Each shell-fish (*purpura*) only gave a few drops of purple colour. It had to be extricated and distilled. First, the fish had to be taken alive; dead, it spat out its juice. Then a particular gland had to be broken which preserved the purple dye. Only women could do it with great dexterity. The fish had to be boiled with salt, and liquid skimmed from time to time. This process continued for ten days. Once the clotting blood had been collected, the best material, woollen or linen, had to be dipped at the same time to give it a purple colour. The best purple came to be known as Tyrian Purple which became famous throughout the world.

In the beginning, few families in Syria, held it as a monopoly. They became extremely rich with their own ships to collect fish, and women labour to manufacture the dye and colour the cloth. In course of time, it became a lucrative trade throughout Syria with Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Byblos as centres of purple industry with branch offices on the northern coast of Africa and the Mediterranean coast of Europe.

From the very beginning, the robes dyed with purple became the robes of the rich. Helen of Troy, who had discovered the dye, declared to her suitors that she would not marry without a purple dress as her bridal dowry. "Whosoever, will bring me a dress dyed with *porphyra* will be my husband."

For a thousand years the rulers of Babylonia and Assyria wore purple robes. As an indication of "pontifical dignity," the priest of Hieropolis in northern Syria, and of Jupiter in Asia Minor, and the high priest of the Jews wore purple dress. "In Homeric as well as Hellenistic days purple raiment was associated with royalty."

Cleopatra, like Helen of Troy, loved purple more than anything else. For days and months, she would wear purple dresses. When

going to meet Caesar, her lover, she ordered that her boat should have masts of purple, a luxury and an expense, which only royal Egypt could afford. It was at her instance, that Caesar as a dictator declared that only the Emperor had a right to wear purple robes. He ordered that Senators of Rome should wear dresses with only purple bands on their arms.

Moses decreed that the Holy of the Holies in Palestine should be separated from the rest of the temple by a curtain of purple, and only the high priest of the temple should wear the purple robes.

Purple became a passion with Alexander the Great. After every battle, he would ask for purple dress to celebrate his victory and to offer sacrifices. When his friend Haphaeston died, he ordered that his friend's funeral pyre should be shrouded in purple.

In the Bible, the phrase, "Clothed in purple and fine linen," gave rise to the phrase, "born to the purple." Wearing of purple dresses not only showed that the persons were holding highest offices in the State; it conferred a particular sign of distinction and honour on the person dressed in purple.

Emperor Alexander Severus (A. D. 222-235) declared purple dye and its manufacture as a state monopoly throughout the Roman Empire. "The wearing of purple became the exclusive privilege of the emperor."

Incidentally, black-marketing in cloth started with the purple colour. In spite of extensive industry, the purple dye was extremely expensive and cloth scarce as compared with its demand. It meant fancy prices. In a drama "The Feast" written by Petronius, a purple dress is stolen. The owner of the dress complains that the dress has been dipped once in purple, and the price he has paid amounted to "many dips." Thieves liked to steal purple dresses. It meant a fortune to them. Their market extended from Egypt, Palestine, and Greece to Rome.

The purple dye industry of the ancient world died with the fall of Rome. No country could patronize purple colour as the emperors of Rome had done. The industry shrank and became confined to a small group of merchants in Constantinople who supplied the needs of the Christendom. Middle East was overrun by the Arabs and the art of

making purple dye was completely lost to the East.

In the 13th century, there was a notable revival in the art of making purple dye. A Florentine, named Federigo, invented the method of making purple colour out of certain lichens and herbs found in Asia Minor. The city of Venice recognized his services and conferred on his family the name of Rucellia after the name of the lichen herb, "*rucella tinctora*" from which he had extracted the dye.

The industry again became confined to a few rich merchants in Venice who kept secret the process of its manufacture and sold purple cloth at a very high price. The purple again built up a tradition of its own. The Roman Catholic Church patronized it as the Roman emperors had done a thousand years ago. "The promotion to the purple became a promotion to the rank of the cardinal." The Kings of Europe followed the Roman tradition again and their regal robes became robes of the purple colour.

In 1453, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks and the subordination of whole of Asia Minor finally brought about the closure of purple factories in Venice. The raw material for the dye, lichen *rocella tinctora* became scarce and the Turks imposed a heavy cess on its export.

One thing to note about the purple is that the peoples of the Americas, long before it had been discovered by Columbus, were making purple colour too, and the process followed by them was the same as that of the Phoenicians. Bancroft in his "Native Races" writes: "The Nicarguans obtained a highly prized purple by pressing the valve of a shell fish found on the seashore. They take the material to the seaside, and after obtaining a quantity of the fresh colouring matter, dip each thread singly into it, and lay it aside to dry. From the aloe and pita, they obtain a very fine thread."

How the Phoenicians of the Palestine and Nicarguans of the Americas followed the same process of obtaining purple from the glands of the same shell-fish, will remain one of the enigmas of history. Was there some communication between the two worlds in those far off ancient days of first millennium B.C. or was the discovery of the same dye in two different continents, or the development of the same process of its manufacture simply accidental?

Internationalism of Indian Art

By

K. K. N.

A VAST cultural osmosis has been taking place between India and the other countries of the world throughout history. The earliest civilisation in this region of which we have abundant evidence is that of Mohenjo Daro. Though this site itself is no longer within the boundaries of India today, the recent discoveries of an identical culture in the Saraswati river bed in Bikaner, in Rupar in the Punjab and elsewhere that this culture was once native to India as much as to the region lying beyond the frontiers settled in 1947.

This culture had striking affinities with that of ancient Sumeria. Similar seals in the two cultures date from the earliest phase of Sumeria and the latest phase of Indian culture.

The fountainhead of the most important cultural radiations from India into the continental mass and also the sea-girt lands of the South is, however, the Buddha. Two thousand and five hundred years ago there was a great efflorescence of the human spirit all over the world. This was the period of Lao-tze and Confucius in China, Jeremiah and the Second Isaiah in Judea, the pre-Socratic philosophers in Greece and, perhaps, Zarathustra in Iran. In the emphasis on the spiritual destiny of man and social charity in his relations with others, all these great men, like their contemporary, Gautama Buddha in India, affirmed the same universal creed.

So, it was not in a spirit of narrow proselytisation that the Buddha said: "Go into all lands and preach this gospel. Tell them that the poor and the lowly, the rich and the high, are all one and that all castes unite in this religion as do the rivers in the sea." In obedience to this message, numerous dedicated spirits left for far off lands, men like Kasyapa Matanga, Amoghavajra, Bodhi Dharma and Gunavarman to China, Mahinda and Sangha-

mitta, members of Asoka's family, to Ceylon, Aryasena to Afghanistan. The chisel and the brush accompanied this message of peace and effected a tremendous radiation of Buddhist art.

Afghanistan is perhaps the earliest recipient of this art. Two colossal statues of the Buddha, one nearly 110 feet and the other over 160 feet in height, stand guard even today over the valley of Bamyan, enclosed in a crescent of cliffs in whose faces shrines and chapels have been excavated as at Ajanta and decorated with murals, whose idiom vividly recalls far-off Ajanta.

Transferred to canvas, gracious Ajantan figures fluttered in the Himalayan winds in the banner paintings of Nepal and Tibet. Aniko, a Nepalese Marco Polo, obtained a high position in the court of Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century and made a large number of images and painting. Yi Yuan, a favourite disciple of his, learnt from him the art of religious sculpture and the Buddhist figures he made were set up in all the celebrated sanctuaries of Shanghai and Peking. In the Tun-Huang caves of China, we find Ajantan figures, their affinity unmistakable even though the physiognomies have undergone a racial adaptation.

In Japan, Prince Regent Umayado, known to posterity by the posthumous title 'Shotoku' (sage virtue), wrote a commentary on the Sadharma Pundarika Sutra or the Sacred Lotus Scripture and built a temple at Horiyuj in Nara where frescoes in the Ajantan idiom were painted later.

In Burma, old Prome on the Irrawaddy and Thaton on the sea-coast rapidly became active centres of Buddhism. Buddhagosha visited Thaton in the fifth century. The frescoes in the numerous temples of Pagan, dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries,

seem to have been influenced by the gracious idiom of the manuscript paintings of Pala period Bengal in the initial phases and the angular style of Western Indian manuscript paintings in the later phase.

Gigantic carved figures of the Buddha still continue their reverie in the forests that have grown over the sites of the lost cities of Ceylon and, at Sigiriya, the Buddhist idiom has been taken over for the purpose of secular decoration. To the south east, across the sea, Indonesia had translations of Mahabharata, Ramayana and the Harivamsa available by the eleventh century and in the magnificent structure at Borobudur there are miles of frieze inspired by episodes in the life of the Buddha. The relation between Indo-China and the ruling dynasties of South India were intimate and the great Angkor Vat built in the eleventh century by Suryavarman II and designed by his teacher Divakara Pandit, is covered with low relief sculptures depicting episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

India's eagerness for receiving intimations of beauty or wisdom from abroad has matched her generosity in giving away the riches she possessed. Her contact with Europe is not a recent story. It is as old as Greece, the fountainhead of European civilisation.

The flood-tide of Alexander's conquest of Western Asia lift the rich silt of Hellenism, fertile to new growths. The inner serenity, which was the most fundamental teaching of the Buddha, was wedded to the perfect external expression which was the inspiring creed of Greek sculpture, in Gandhara art.

Central Asian architectural styles were introduced into India by the Moghuls and the monuments of those times have become a part of the Indian landscape today. The Jamuna waters the Republic's capital at Delhi and mirrors the Taj at Agra, flowing through an

intervening stretch hallowed by associations with Krishna, the episodes from whose life were sung in mellifluous poetry by Surdas and were limned in glowing colour and sinuous line in Rajasthani and Pahari painting. This painting itself is a product of a fine cultural synthesis.

Humayun's sojourn in Iran during his exile had introduced him to the masters of the Iranian school of painting, founded earlier by Behzad, and in the Moghul court, Iranian painters worked on the illustration of Hindu epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and Hindu painters similarly dedicated themselves to the decoration of Iranian classics.

The close of World War II found India with a re-awakened and conscious interest in making revitalising cultural contacts with the external world. Numerous organisations exist today in this country, dedicated to international cultural understanding.

It is significant that one such organisation in the capital started its work in a humble chapel which had served as the worshipping place where foreign soldiers of all denominations had prayed for the return of peace during the war. The All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society has subsequently held exhibitions of Indian art, with the help of the Government, in Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, China, Japan, Australia, U.K., France, West Germany, Poland and Russia. Over forty countries, representing all the five continents, sent the best of their contemporary work for the world art exhibition organised in 1954. A World Congress of Art and a World Art Exhibition will be held in the capital in the beginning of 1957.

With its ample resources, the UNESCO today is assisting in carrying further forward the international trend which has always been operative in the cultural life of India. The UNESCO has brought to India exhibitions of colour reproductions of masterpieces of European and Chinese paintings and Japanese woodcuts. The first in its series of publications on the world's heritage of art was a magnificent portfolio of Ajantan paintings with an introduction by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.



Fruit Preservation in India

By

Prop. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI M. Com, LL.B.

FRUIT, an important article of commerce, is grown all over the world. Formerly, the demand for fruit was confined to the outlying areas as it could not stand distance and time, and therefore, it was not an important item of foreign trade. But the invention of cold storage methods, and the introduction of fast transportation system have greatly helped the movement of fruits from place to place.

For commercial purposes, fruits of tropical and temperate regions are important. Banana, mango, date, guava, pineapple, cocoa-nut and melon are some of the chief fruits of the tropics. Grapes, oranges, lemons and apples are some of the important temperate fruits. In India were both temperate and tropical climates prevail, all these fruits are abundantly grown. The vast areas in the foothills of Himalayas, from Kashmir to Assam are not only suitable for temperate region fruits but also for varieties of fruits which are generally grown in lower altitudes. These regions afford an additional advantage in that the growers in these regions have no alternative to horticultural crops, for instance, farmers in the foothills of Assam, have either to take to cultivation of oranges, pine apples or other suitable horticultural crops or allow their land to turn into forest.

But the development of horticulture envisages the need for simultaneous development of the preservation industry. One is inseparable from the other. Larger production can only be profitable to the primary producer if he is relieved of the gluts during peak periods of production, saved from low prices below the economic return and ensured against hazards of loss through spoilage in transport of his produce. All this can be achieved if the preservation industry is developed on right lines.

The fruit and vegetable preservation industry can be moulded to suit any pattern of development—cottage, small-scale or large-scale. The scope of employment in this industry employs more men than machines.

At present only 0.12% of the production of fresh fruits and vegetables is utilised by the industry and nearly 15 to 20% of the production goes waste for lack of transport and pre-

servation facilities. The existing yearly production or preserved fruits and vegetable in India is estimated to be only 20,000 tons valued at Rs 2.73 crores which compares very poorly with 6 million tons in U.S.A., 4,18,000 tons in U.K., 3,60,000 tons in Canada and 1,58,000 tons in Australia. Even in a small country like Malaya, where the conditions cannot be said to be more favourable than those in India, the estimated production of canned fruits alone in 1952 was 14,000 tons against the world production of about 10 million tons in the same year. At the existing rate of production, the consumption of fruit and vegetable products in India is hardly 2 ozs. per head per year while the per capita consumption of canned fruits and vegetables in U.S.A. is 86 lb., in Canada 57 lb., in U.K. and Australia 20 lb., each per year.

Problems: Among some of the major problems which retard the growth of this industry are:—

- (1) Lack of credit facilities.
- (2) Want of adequate production.
- (3) High price of sugar and containers which is about double the price which fruit and vegetable preservation industries in the U.S.A. and Australia pay.
- (4) Several items of excise duty and taxes.
- (5) Lack of proper horticultural activities in big cities and towns where the town expansion schemes are gradually eating up the lands which were being used for fruit growing.

The plan allots Rs 9 crores for promoting fruit and vegetable cultivation against the provision of Rs. 1 crore in the first plan. It is proposed to advance long-term loans to farmers for bringing new land under orchards and also to provide short-term credit for rejuvenating existing orchards. The plans of states envisage the rejuvenation of about 500,000 acres of existing orchards and the growing of new orchards to the extent of 200,000 acres. Considerable emphasis will be placed on building up marketing cooperatives of fruit and vegetable growers. The plan also provides for the development of the fruit and vegetable preservation and canning industry through loans for establishing canneries and cold storage plants.



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FORCED LABOUR IN THE "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES." Richard K. Carlton, published for the Mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe Committee, Inc. by Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York,

This is the usual demographic survey photographically true but substantially biased against "Peoples Democracies" put in inverted to distinguish those on the one side of the iron curtain from those on the other side. It explains how under the cloak of Legality, a new slavery involving forced labour has begun to flourish in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland and Yugoslavia. The Madras Home Secretary's proposals for utilizing labour of convicted persons is also capable of being misinterpreted as trying to re-introduce old slavery by which a criminal was sold into slavery to a slave driver to escape the expenses of maintaining an erring citizen and to save the state the responsibility of rehabilitating him. The author has done a similar criticism in his Appendices in reproducing the Regulations on "Reform Through Labour of Criminals" and the Regulations for "Reform of Criminals on the Expiration of Their Sentences by placing them in Employment."

As John Milton said "The new Presbyter is only the Old Priest Writ Large. As the labour agitator said "Legal slavery has been replaced by wage slavery." I am reminded of the original donkey engine pump in Carisbroke Castle in the Isle of Wight in which King Charles I was imprisoned. There were no centrifugal pumps in 1648, three hundred years ago. The water is at a depth of over a 100 feet. A large circular-wheeled frame with an axle moving a windlass with a chain of buckets is fixed to the cross-bar of the well. A donkey gets in and tries to move horizontally induced by the sight of a carrot held in front and pricked into motion by a prick-rod behind. It does not succeed in going further horizontally in space but the kick-back wheel and axle make the buckets of water go up and down to feed the thirsty earth and the human beings living on it. Is the donkey a slave doing

forced labour is the question? It works under the hope of getting a carrot to eat and under the fear of a prick in its behind. All human beings have worked like this in Time Past, and are working like this in time present and will be working like this in Time Future as far as human eye and mind can see.

THE EASTERN ECONOMIST, Annual Number 1956, Published by Hindusthan Times Press for Eastern Economist, Queensway, New Delhi, Rs. 7-8.

This annual number issued by Hindusthan Times Press is a welcome edition. It has a number of articles by eminent writers. The subjects dealt are on Economics.—Agriculture, Industrial Growth, Insurance and various other aspects of other Industries like, Jute, Cotton, Sugar, Cement etc. It has a good number of statistics and Graphs for easy reference. This book is very well got up and printed in art paper. It will be indeed very useful for Business Organisation.

THE GLORY AND GOAL OF LIFE by Swami Rajeswarananda, published by S. Viswanathan at the Central Art Press, 11, McNichol Road, Chetput, Madras-21, Price Rs. 3.

Swami Rajeswarananda is one credited with having asked Ramana Bhagavan to travel all over India in a special train. Ramana, with his mixture of deep humility and quaint humour is said to have replied "Will not those who come to Tiruvannamalai to see me fixed there like the hill there be disappointed at not finding me there?" These editorials brought together now from "The Call Divine" represent the missionary and propagandist approach of Swami Rajeswarananda as contrasted with the Socratic method of Ramana Bhagavan. This is a very inspiring collection both to be read continuously and also to be dipped into again and again. When shall we realise, as he says, that religion is no commercial commodity and no bartering principle and that there is but one religion in the world for there is but one God.

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INDIAN AIR FORCE CAREERS FOR OFFICERS AND AIRMEN. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi.

This book gives all details about the Indian Air Force. The only wrong statement is that the requirement 'one must not wear glasses habitually' cannot be helped. Only in India slavishly following outworn British specifications we refuse to recognise that properly corrected lenticular myopia need not stand in the way of admission to any service. Least of all should it stand in the way of being an air pilot who watches instruments in a closed cabin. Japan would have no air force if this had been enforced and it has the best air force because it is not enforced.

THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI. Translated from the Gujarati by Mahadev Desai, Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad, Rs. 4/-

Innumerable editions of Bhagavad Gita with English translation commentary have been published ever since Edwin Arnold's book *Song Celestial* appeared. Notable amongst the latest and well-known are Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* and Aurobindo's translation of *Gita*. Gandhiji's translation of the *Gita*, to his Gujarati readers deserved publication for a wider public and the translation was made by his Secretary Mahadev Desai than whom a worthier man could not be found. We all know how *Gita*'s teachings profoundly affected Gandhiji's mode of life, as he very often quoted from this scripture, and hence his interpretation given in the English garb by his Boswell is a masterpiece which will serve as a beacon light not only to us but also to posterity. The price of the book is as moderate.

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI. Edited by Nirmal Kumar Bose Navajiven Publishing House Ahmedabad, Rs. 2/-

The House of Natesans Madras, published years ago a comprehensive selection of the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi. In fact it was an omnibus edition and several editions followed. The present collection covers a wide range of subjects and it may be said it is a record of Gandhiji's pronounced opinion on various subjects in the *Harijan* and *Young India*. The index at the end of the book is very useful and it has been prepared with great care.

DHAMMAPADA. Pali Text in Roman with English Translation. Dr. C. Kunham Raja. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras 20, India. Price Re. 1 as. 8. Same English Translation only. Price Re. 1 As. 4.

These timely publications keep up the high standard of printing and get up for which the Theosophical Publishing House is famous. Doctor Raja has appropriately emphasised the statement of Mahatma Gandhi that what Hinduism did not assimilate and retain of what passes as Buddhism to-day was not an essential part of Buddha's Life and Teachings. The translation of the final chapter on the Brahmins should be read over and over again both by the Brahmins who have fallen from their high estate of character and by Doctor Ambedkar and Periyar Ramaswami who think Buddhism is Anti.—Brahminism.

CO-OPERATIVE BANKING IN INDIA by G. M. Laud, published by V. V. Bapat, The Co-operators Book Depot, 9, Bakehouse Lane, Bombay-1; Price Rs. 27 8-0.

Mr. Laud, the Financial Editor of the Times of India, has been actively associated for several years with the management of co-operative banks. Starting with the genesis of such banks, he deals with the Indian Structure including Farm Credit, Village Banks, Financing Agencies, People's Banks, Industrial Banks, and Mortgage Banks. He is clear in his definitions and well-documented in respect of authorities. As he concludes, the pace of expansion must be regulated by co-operative philosophy, quality of leadership and general improvement of socio-economic conditions. As these are bound to develop and improve with the Five Year Plans, we can agree with him "Co-operation must succeed."

PRACTICAL NATURE CURE. By K. Lakshman Sarma, Nature Cure Publishing House, Ganeshnagar, Pudukottai, S. India. Rs. 12-8.

The author who had practical 'Nature Cure' for several decades, has dealt with in great detail the usual adjuncts of Nature Cure such as baths, Massages, Fasting, Dietery etc. The book covers 570 pages of which, unfortunately the first 150 pages or more are devoted to fanatical condemnation of not only the Allopathy system of treatment, but also of the Doctors who practice it. He considers no language too strong in dealing with this and this has probably marred to some extent, the

otherwise useful addition to the various systems in vogue for treatment of ailments, acute or chronic.

This however does not detract the merit of the book under review. The author, generally recognised in South India, as an authority on Nature Cure has done a great service to the general public by bringing out this book, dealing with every aspect of nature cure, with reliable histories of almost incurable cases that have yielded to methods described at great length in the book and which can be practical at home or in the sanatorium run by the author.

It is hoped that the book will be generally well received and the author deserves congratulation for the enormous amount of labour he has put in to publish the book.

STUDIES ON THE PLAN FRAME. Re. One: Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, Army and Navy Bldg. 148 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1

These are reprints of papers read before a Group selected by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. Doctor B. V. Krishna Murthi analysed the Malhanobis Plan, Mr. Y. S. Pandit considered its Financial Resources, Professor Hannan Kzekiel considered the Pattern Development, Messrs. Desai and R. V. Murthy examined Private Sector and Targets in Public Sector and Professor Parikh concluded on Oct. 20th 1955 with examining modifications and the alternative. As was inevitable, no common point of view emerged in the Group except to authorise the publication of these useful papers.

A SHORT HISTORY OF AKBAR THE GREAT by Dr. A. L. Sri Vastava, published by Radhey Mohan Agarwala, Managing Director, Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Private Ltd., Publishers, Hospital Road, Agra Price Rs. 3-8-0;

The Emperor Akbar has suffered both from unbalanced praise and unbalanced criticism at the hands of the historians and others. I believe it was Professor Rushbrook Williams, who pointed out that there was grim intolerance in Akbar's divine faith. Certainly with a harem of five thousand women, he could not have applied for a post under the present Government of India. He was a benevolent autocrat and being a realist, who faced facts, was able to achieve a certain measure of orderly, civilised, organized government.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN MUGHAL AGE by Dr. P. N. Chopra with a Foreword by Dr. A. L. Srivastava, published by Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Ltd., Educational Publishers, Agra Price: Rs. 8/-

This is a thesis approved for the degree of Ph. D., in the Punjab University in 1951. Professor Chopra has dealt with every aspect of social life including Dress, Toilets, Ornaments, Diet, Games, Sports, Festivals and Fairs. A special chapter deals with 'Women in Society' and another with 'Education'. It is a comprehensive, interesting, well-arranged account of a by-gone age.

THE LIVING IDOL by Robert Switzer, published by The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., New York (A Signet Book), price 25c.; Original Publisher: NAL Original.

This is an example of the film-story-writing, which has become so popular, about ancient beliefs. As in the case of 'The Curve and the Tusk' by Cloete, Robert Switzer has made a story of the screen-play showing that primitives sacrificed the fleshy heart of a virgin on the same principles which became sublimated into the sacrifice of a humble and contrite heart by a genuine Christian.

THE STREAM. (A NOVEL) by M. V. Rama Sarma M.A., Ph. D. Triveni Publisher, Masulipatam, Price Rs. 3.

The learned author has certified that this work "has all the requisites of a novel-plot full of suspense, characters true to life, situations taken from the present middle class society of India "with an" approximation to real life expected of any creative work. "It traces the author's Doctor Pangloss theory of the Triple Force, standing for Beauty, Love and Justice, as worked out in the love affairs of Sri Gopalam, who chooses a wife, Suguna for her physical beauty, throws her over for his Love for one of his pupils, Swarna, forgets her also temporarily for an English Joan in London, and is brought to justice by Swarna being forced into marriage with a boor called Rao, and finally apparently returning to run a ménage a trio with Suguna and Gopalam at Delhi. As a tour de force written to compete for the Grove Press Award, the style and the descriptions and the action are rather jerky, and could certainly be improved if the author would read the work with a seminar of his students inviting frank criticism.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Indo-Ceylon agreement on the avoidance of double taxation of income has been notified in an extra-ordinary issue of the Gazette of India. With this notification, all legal formalities for giving the agreement the force of law in India and in Ceylon are complete.

It will be recalled that talks between official delegations of the two countries took place in India in January, 1956. The agreement which was signed in Colombo in September last was approved by both Houses of the Ceylon Parliament. The Ceylon Government notified the agreement in their Gazette on January 18, 1957.

Assessments for the years ending March 21, 1957, and for subsequent year will be governed by this new agreement. For the two previous assessment years, viz., the years ending March 31, 1952 and March 31, 1951, relief will be available in accordance with the Income-Tax (Double Taxation Relief) Rules, 1942, which held the field till January 26, 1950.

CITIZENSHIP OF CEYLON

Observing that the order made by the Commissioner for the Registration of Indian and Pakistani Residents in Ceylon, refusing the application made by one Mr. Annamalai of Casnawa Estate, was invalid as it had not been in accordance with the procedure laid down in Section 9 of the Act Mr. Justice H.N.G. Fernando agreeing set aside the Commissioner's order and directed him to consider and deal with the application under the provisions of sections 9 and 10 of the Act. He was also ordered to pay the applicants costs fixed at Rs. 262/50.

MALAYA

INDIANS IN MALAYA

Mr. Nehru informed Mr. D.C. Sharma in the Lok Sabha sometime ago that Indians who had gone to Malaya recently did not suffer from any disadvantages, either on account of their recent arrival or for being Indian nationals.

Under the Immigration (prohibition of entry) order 1953 which applied to all non-Malayans, the unrestricted entry of aliens in search of employment as clerical and shop workers and as petty traders was prohibited.

S. AFRICA

S. AFRICA LEADER'S DEMAND

White domination in South Africa is doomed, said Mr. Leo Marquard, President of the South Africa Institute of Race Relations, when he addressed the Institute's annual conference in Cape Town on February 9.

Opening just before the start of the 1957 Parliamentary session, the conference attracted considerable attention.

Mr. Marquard an Afrikaans-speaking South African, said that colonialism the world over was on the way out. But South Africa, as represented by Government, had not made the same response as other colonial Powers. Rather, the Union had tried to put on the evil day by even more stringent control.

"As a liberal South African, republican by birth," said Mr. Marquard, "I can only plead that you throw everything into this task of bringing White and Non-White together before it is too late."

BURMA

INDIAN'S DEPORTATION

The Burmese High Court on Feb. 16 confirmed deportation orders of the Burmese Government passed against two Indians, Sitaram and Ram Dewad Abir wanted by the Indian police for alleged murders committed in India, and dismissed their applications for writs of habeas corpus.

TRAVEL FACILITIES

The Malayan Indian Congress has decided to request the Government of the Federation of Malaya to abolish deck travelling on ships plying between Malaya and India.

A resolution containing this recommendation was passed at a meeting of the Congress sometime ago.

All persons resident in the Federation of Malaya on Indians in Singapore Merdeka Day should be entitled to become citizens if they have resided there for eight out of the previous 12 years. This is the recommendation contained in the majority report submitted by the independent Constitutional Commission headed by Lord Reid.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Feb. 1. U. K. agrees to Quit Jordan.
- Feb. 2. Over 5000 Students in New Delhi parade condemning anti-Indian demonstration in Pakistan.
- Feb. 3. U. N. Calls on Israel to Quit Egypt.
—Prime Minister rejects U.N. Force move in Indian soil.
- Feb. 4. Mr. Peri Sundaram, one of the Founders of Ceylon Indian Congress is dead.
- Feb. 5. Prime Ministers of China and Ceylon appeal to India and Kashmir for peaceful settlement of Kashmir Problem.
- Feb. 6. Chow En-lai returns to Peking after an extensive tour of European and Asian Countries.
- Feb. 7. China and Ceylon establish Diplomatic relations.
—Burma and Indonesia sign a trade agreement.
—King Saud of Saudi Arabia backs Ike's Middle East Plan.
- Feb. 8. Saud and Ike reaches agreement re. U.S. military aid to Saudi Arabia.
—East Pakistan Awami League Condemns Suhrawardy's Foreign policy.
- Feb. 9. Poland and Japan end state of war.
- Feb. 10. The Afrasian Group of U.N. calls for action against Israel's continued stay in Egypt.
- Feb. 11. Russia protests to West Germany re. the latter's programme of re-militarisation.
- Feb. 12. Russian Foreign Minister Shepilov announces new proposals for a joint "Hands off" policy in Middle East.
- Feb. 13. G. B. Pant, Union Home Minister is appointed chairman of Southern Zonal Council covering Andhra, Madras and Kerala.
- Feb. 14. U.N. Political Committee approves the Philippine, Thailand, Japan resolution urging peaceful negotiation of the Algerian issue.
- Feb. 15. Mr. W. Shepilov is relieved of his post as Foreign Minister; Mr. Andrei Gromyko becomes Soviet Foreign Minister.
- Anglo-U.S. resolution in U.N. in Security Council calling on Mr. G. V. Jarring of Sweden to mediate on the Kashmir dispute.
- Feb. 16. Russia supports Jarring Mission to India.
—India rejects Anglo-U. S. resolution on Kashmir.
- Feb. 17. Marshal Zukov leaves New Delhi for Moscow
—Israel again rejects U. S. plea to Quit Gaza.
- Feb. 18. Mau Mau leader Dedan Kimathi is hanged in Nairobi.
—China supports Soviet Middle East proposals.
- Feb. 19. Mr. Justice Awal Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta High Court is appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of India.
- Feb. 20. U.S. rejects Soviet and Colombian amendment to the Four-power draft resolution on Kashmir.
- Feb. 21. U. N. Security Council passes the resolution for sending Mr. Gumar Jarring to examine proposals for the Solution of Kashmir problem.
- Feb. 22. War preparations in Pakistan—Pandit Nehru warns.
- Feb. 23. Pandit Nehru opens High Tension Insulators Factory at Bangalore.
—U. N. Body adopts India's formula on Cyprus issue.
- Feb. 24. Government of Madras announce rise in D.A. for Madras N.G.O.
—India's Second Elections begins—Orissa and Punjab go to the Polls.
- Feb. 25. President Eisenhower's broadcast re. U.S. Help to Resist Red Aggression.
—Mr. N. Kishi is elected Premier of Japan.
- Feb. 26. Pandit Nehru's Plane force lands safely near Raichur owing to Engine catching fire.
- Feb. 27. Israel agrees to withdraw from Egypt.
- Feb. 28. Ike and Mollet issue joint declaration of peaceful solution of M-East Issues.
—Mr. U. Nu is elected Prime Minister of Burma.

READERS' DIGEST

THE WESTERN NATIONS AND KASHMIR

In an article entitled "The Kashmir Issue" for the special general election supplement of the Delhi weekly, *Thought*, Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "The present mood of America and perhaps of Britain too is that they might pull Pakistan back from the game against India. They feel they have given a shakeup to Mr. Nehru and that is enough. Their programme now is to restore him to their high friendship again. All reports and columnists' reviews lead to this inference as to the present climate of diplomacy in the West. So far good, although one may not like this kind of alternating patronage. The Western nations appear to believe that Kashmir is just a bone of contention and not a living population. Kashmir is a State with its own soul and its own aspirations to progress and grows strong in its own way. Kashmir is looked upon and treated as if it were just a vacuum for Western guardians to oversee, and that nothing done by the people themselves is entitled to recognition or respect.

"The ambition of the United Nations Organisation should be to foster peace, not to incite litigation or to plant discord in a terrain full of danger. It is desirable to give the benefit of a presumption to the people of any area, that they know their own minds and not to assume that the arbitrators know other people's minds better than they themselves do. The deliberate and solemn conclusions of a people that were arrived at through their elected representatives should in the interests of world peace be presumed to be genuine and respected and conserved, although there were no Western observers overseeing. It is not necessary that Eastern peoples should always work under the supervision of Western arbitrators. To disturb or nullify the decisions of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, not because of the revolt of any body of people in Kashmir but because either India or Pakistan dislike those decisions, would be so patently wrong, that it is surprising the United Nations even entertain such a proposal. A basic fallacy has resulted in an approach that endangers peace besides being inherently unjust."

THE CHINESE WAY

In the *Aryan Path* for February Mr. R. M. Fox of Dublin gives his first hand impressions of China under the Communist regime. Invited by the Chinese Society for Cultural Relations he travelled from Dublin to London and then flew to Peking across Russia, Siberia, the Ural mountains, the Gobi desert and over the Great Wall of China. And in China he journeyed thousands of miles from Peking to Shanghai, to Canton, to Hankow in Central China.

The most drastic measure of the Chinese Revolution, he says, is the Agrarian Reform Law which reads: "The land-ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landed class shall be abolished." This meant giving the land to the peasant and it is the one sharp change the Chinese have made. In industry and commerce, developments have been peaceful, and bitter social conflicts have been avoided.

Just as shopkeepers have become part of the State organization to serve the community, so industry also is run on the private-State partner ownership principle. Industrialists receive five per cent on their capital investment and are made managers of joint concerns where their knowledge and technical skill can be of service. The State ensures supplies of raw materials and finds markets. It controls investments and directs capital to where it is needed most. Although this is regarded as a transition stage to complete State ownership, I found private employers anxious to join in on the partnership basis. In the same way, small farms came together in a mutual-aid system, in co-operative activities and, finally, in the collective farms, which have yielded the most satisfactory results.

He visited a co-operative farm and discovered that each year their income had increased as a result of improved technique and better co-operation.

On the educational front the advances are in striking contrast to the illiteracy which characterized the old regime.

Everywhere are new schools and a crusade for learning. It is claimed that there are 60,000,000 school children in China and there would be more if schools were available.

I feel they have something we lack in the West, some Eastern quality of thought and philosophy that outstrips all the Western industrial technique. A welcome feature is the absence of social conflict. The Chinese way of life makes the conflicts of the West seem crude and childish.

U. K.'S BETRAYAL OF INDIA

Two British correspondents writing from New Delhi warned the British public on Feb 20. of India's "anger" at the role British is playing in the Kashmir issue.

Under the headings, "Indian anger with Britain," and "Hint on leaving Commonwealth," the London Times carried from its Delhi correspondent a despatch which said, "Large sections of by no means immoderate Indian opinion regard the Security Council resolutions (on Kashmir) as stemming from a desire on the part of the British Government to score off India for the part she played in the Suez crisis."

The correspondent quoted an Indian political columnist as saying that "unless the British people threw out the Tories in the near future and put Labour into office India will have to disassociate herself from the Commonwealth before long."

The correspondent also said, "It would be difficult to overestimate the gravity of the Indian reaction to the British initiative directed against what is regarded as her perfectly legal and moral position in Kashmir."

The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, reporting the intense diplomatic activity in New Delhi over Kashmir, said, "It is understood that India's strong criticism of the British Government's role in the Kashmir dispute has been conveyed to the foreign diplomats. The British attitude is described more as revenge for India's actions during the Suez crisis than based on realities or justice of the situation."

PLEA FOR A PATRIOTIC PARTY

Neetei, the new non-party Calcutta weekly, is very critical of Congress policy and administration. It accuses the Congress of having gone back on congress pledges and denounces its various acts of omission and commission. Where the promise, he asks, the pledge of the Congress that the ministers should live in simple houses and should not draw salary more than Rs. 500 per month has gone. The government's expenditure has gone up very high and public money, according to it, "is squandered and wasted on unproductive persons, schemes and programmes." Therefore there is every need and necessity to establish "a strong and genuinely patriotic party which could work sincerely and serve the welfare of all which could reduce the Government expenditure by half the present expenditure,

By cancelling the various allowances given to the officials, limiting the salary to Rs. 2000 and increasing the minimum to 100, fixing the salary of ministers to Rs. 500/- and stopping wastage of money in travelling on foreign trips, cultural delegations (unproductive) to foreign countries, in reducing unwanted publicity and propaganda (including film division) by 50% in, reducing expenditure in our embassies, reduction of embassies, ministers, deputy ministers, secretaries, experts, advisers, reduction of allowance and emoluments to M. 's & legislatures by 50% and utilising all the savings for development of industries, housing, food production, introducing free and compulsory education, free medical aid, old age pension add family allowance are such other welfare schemes. Sales tax (which is inhuman) must be abolished and relief must be given to indirect taxes and abolishing of excise duties, on the necessities of life."

THE ELECTIONS

Writing on the forthcoming elections Rajaji offers some startling suggestions in two articles in *Swarajya*. Answering the question "for whom shall I vote" Rajaji says, not party label but the character of the contesting candidate should be the deciding factor for every voter.

The only issue before any constituency in the present elections is therefore not any issue of policy but only this—is this candidate a trustworthy man of character? All other things said or written only serve to confuse the real issue. The only question before every voter is whether the man or woman asking for the vote is a person of reliable character. If he or she is a self-seeker, the person should be unhesitatingly rejected.

In my view it is very important that all voters should see this—that in this general election the issue is only character. The nation's work will be carried on well if we return men and women of character. It will be ruined if we return self-seeking persons or people of doubtful character.

This advice is in strange contrast to what is obtained in the democracies of the west however much the need for character and integrity in the candidate may be needed. For in the west parties count for more than persons. But Rajaji's other suggestion is even more sensational. He suggests a change in the any mechanics of election. As it is, the poor man of character and ability has no chance in an election which has become far too expensive for people of average means Rajaji goes to the length of suggesting nationalisation of elections.

Why should not a system like the decennial census operations replace the present polling booths as a means of periodically ascertaining men's minds? Why should not the State run the elections instead of

ASIAN UPSURGE

parties and candidates? The total expenditure incurred at present on elections, if we take the sums spent by all the candidates and parties, is a monstrous unproductive waste. Instead, if the Government could run an official non-party scheme of mobile units that go round in each constituency and collect ballot papers at each house as they collect census information once in ten years, the task of bringing voters to the booth—which in one way or another is the cause of all the expenditure now incurred by parties and individual candidates—would become a national function.

TO THE ELECTORS

Freedom First, commenting on the general elections, pleads for fair a presentation of all parties. The Congress party will no doubt, sweep the polls, and the political picture of the country, it assumes, is not likely to undergo any significant change. So it warns:

This continuation of the Congress in power for an unbroken period of over fifteen years is likely to strengthen totalitarian tendencies. Opposition will get demoralised and the Congress will come to believe that it is the only power in the country. The Government will become more and more intolerant and the will of the Congress leaders will become the law of the land. Parliament and State legislatures will become packed assemblies and there will be no scope for criticism and expression of divergent views. The institutions of democracy may continue, but they will lose their vitality owing to the absence of an interplay of divergent opinions, programmes and policies.

This danger to democracy can be minimised to some extent if at least a few disinterested and independent minded public men get elected to Parliament and State legislatures. *Freedom First* believes they may not be many but all the same, 'the influence they will be able of exercise will be considerable.

They will judge each issue on its merits and represent in the legislatures the enlightened conscience of the community as a whole. It is the duty of eminent public men of this type to offer themselves for election. An election is not a simple matter. It imposes a terrible strain on the mind, body and purse. Disinterested public men of talent and ability are not usually inclined to face the turmoils of an election. But public duty must weigh more with them than private comfort. The country needs at least a few such men in the legislatures. They must be found out and prevailed upon to offer themselves for election and the electorates must be persuaded to cast their votes in their favour. If a few at least of such men are elected they will be an effective check on the party in power and prevent it from sliding into totalitarian attitudes and outlook.

"Asian upsurge, Its Background and Importance" is the subject of an article in the *History and Political Science Journal* issued by The Agra College. Asian awakening is no surprise. The biggest of the continents containing more than half the world's population, resurgent Asia is now more active and somewhat rebellious and "there are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific." "The causes and the repercussions of this upsurge are discussed by Mahesh Krishan Agarwal in the current issue.

For a century and more European domination over Asia and Africa has remained unchallenged. First Portugal, then Spain and France and England and the Netherlands, everyone of these held sway over next territories and controlled the political and economic life of the East. Then the new imperialism following the industrial revolution in Europe led to further tightening of colonial conquest and administration. The poor, unorganised and backward people of vast regions were made subservient to the interests of the white people.

Thus from 1880 to 1910 these imperialist countries had direct or indirect control over the whole of Asia. With the exception of Japan there was no other country which exercised full control and enjoyed sovereign rights over its territories.

By 1914 the process of peaceful partitioning of the continents among western imperialist countries was practically completed. After this a "new epoch entered upon the phase of armed combat among the empire, for world supremacy," and the result was the emergence of two world wars. All this is a long and tragic tale of exploitation of backward countries of Asia and Africa. Whenever their national sentiments and racial pride demanded justice and freedom they were crushed mercilessly or at the most they received trifling concessions.

But change was inevitable and it came gradually. The process of sensing the chains of slavery set in everywhere and caused a period of five decades.

The beginning of the fight for national independence in Asia was influenced by the Russian Revolution of 1917 but more important was the part played by Japan for arousing its self-consciousness. Japan in fact was the first country to give the slogan: "Asia for Asians." National feelings were thus, widely awakened and this tide of nationalism came almost to all countries of Asia. It worked like fire and inspired every nationalist to fight for his motherland and to make her free and prosperous. In India, China, Egypt, Turkey and Indonesia and in other countries of Asia nationalism began to assert itself from the 20th century. The aim of these national movements in almost all the countries was complete independence from foreign domination. Between the two world wars these movements gathered strength. A few concessions

granted by their masters did not satisfy their aspirations. In India, Indonesia, Ceylon etc. these movements remained constitutional while in Malaya, Morocco, Algeria, Burma they became intense and aggressive. The national movement in India against the British regime constitutes one of the most fascinating chapters in contemporary history.

Another factor which led to the Asian renaissance was the western civilization and culture which made the people self conscious, active, and well informed and inspired them to fight for justice, democracy and better life. After all Burke and Bright and Mill and Gladstone had not lived and taught in vain; and Indians in particular drank deep of the milk of democratic liberation while modern means of communication brought Asians in contact with the western way of living, industrialization gave rise to labour unrest and exploitation by their masters gave rise to hatred against colonialism and imperialism.

A sense of unity and co-operation among the countries of Asia and Africa is also visible. Though this cannot be said to be perfect and complete, yet these feelings have manifested themselves in many ways. Dr. Hatta rightly says: "All of us in Asia are so closely linked together both politically and economically that any achievement in one part of the continent must be looked upon as a blessing for all Asians."²¹ This unity has strengthened Afro-Asian countries, they do not hesitate to act boldly and fearlessly.

THE UNIVERSITIES AND INDIA'S FREEDOM

"Libra" in *Swatantra* takes exception to the Universities' claim for any considerable share in the freedom struggle.

I was surprised to find the President himself giving currency to such an unfounded idea. It was then notorious and is now a matter of history that the Universities were the homes of reaction, that they were manned by a hand-picked corps of Quislings who vied with one another in promoting the war-efforts as the highest of academic objectives! What Dr. Rajendra Prasad must have meant was that many distinguished alumni of our Universities took part in the national struggle. This is an entirely different proposition. They fought the good fight, not as alumni, but as children of the soil after deliberately forswearing their academic career. But they had not the faintest notion of going forth under the banner of their Universities. Not one Vice-Chancellor qua Vice-Chancellor either closed the University or defied the government or went to jail after breaking the law. What is worse some of those who were most brazen in their collaboration have continued upto date to occupy key positions in the new set-up with consequences which are better imagined than described. A centenary address cannot ensure for the Universities a rehabilitation which they have forfeited by their own record; and it is a piece of hypocrisy to pretend they are better than they are.

PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY

The story of how President Wilson was out manoeuvred by Lloyd George and Clemenceau in settling the peace terms of the first World War is now part of the history of the times. His abortive attempts to engineer peace on American terms, says William Langer in *Confluence*, soon dispelled whatever illusions he may have had about the ultimate aims of the belligerents. "The fight," said Lloyd George in the autumn of 1916, "must be to the finish—to a knock-out." To this Sir Edward Grey, in a secret memorandum to the Cabinet at the same time, added: "As long as naval and military authorities believe that Germany can be defeated and satisfactory terms of peace can eventually be dictated to her, peace is premature, and to contemplate it is to betray the interests of this country and of the allies." In a word, the writer continues, not even the monstrous losses of human life suffered by both sides would bring them to yield. All the belligerents were set on a total victory that would permit them to impose their terms on their enemies. Those terms should not only ensure substantial territorial and economic gains, but should also leave the vanquished helpless to wage another major war in the foreseeable future.

Wilson was quick to see that "under these conditions the outlook for durable peace was dim indeed. His espousal of the program for a League of Nations (May 1916) no doubt reflected his realization that nations could be dissuaded from imposing Draconian terms on their vanquished enemy only if their security could be guaranteed through an international organization providing for collective action against aggression. At any rate when, on the eve of the American involvement in the conflict, the President addressed the Senate on Jan. 22, 1917, his thought had taken full form and he unflinchingly presented a program of "Peace without Victory." Though this program was anathema to the activists, the experience of the next generation, rightly adds Mr. Langer, were to be such as to make it well worthy of further reflection. "Victory would mean peace forced upon the vanquished in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would have a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand. How true, how prophetic!

A durable peace, according to the President, could not be based on a victor's terms, but could be only a peace without victory:

"Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance."

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

William J. Newman has a theory of East-West relations which he expounds in the *New Leader*. The Asian and Africans resent Western ideas because they need them so badly, resent Western power politics because they lack power of their own.

In the eyes of the East, he says, diplomacy is not a means of regulating the power relations of states but a means to justice.

Perhaps this is hypocrisy, but it is different from the hypocrisy of the West, which talks about power as means to an end. The East sees it as the means which destroys the end; Gandhi is still the purest symbol of the Eastern mind.

One should not be surprised at this "naive" reaction of the East to power; the West went through a phase much like it in the early 19th century when the utopian socialists also repudiated the whole idea of power and turned to persuasion or love as the principle of society. But Western liberalism with its free and competing individuals and Marxism with its bloody fist effectively wiped out such ideas.

Hence the confusion with which the West regards the East. What other basis is there for regularizing relations between the states of the East and West than that of power? Disagreements among Western nations are adjusted on the basis of power, and it works well, does it not? Surely one does not have to bomb the Egyptians to make them see the point, does one? But one does. For the East says there is another basis, and that is justice.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN SECURITY SYSTEM

The system of collective security in which the Security Council of the United Nations is the only upholder of all actions in case of danger to peace or breach of peace has proved defective in actual practice as its decisions should be unanimous. We know how by mere veto Soviet Russia was able to block any action. Recently Britain and France adopted the same tactics, and could have got away with it if it now not for the transfer of the Egyptian case of aggression from the Security Council to the General Assembly. As a result, besides the immediate result in regard to suspending aggression and establishing peace in

that area, this procedure will have in the future wider consequences for the whole system of collective security.

First of all, says L. Evven in the *Review of International Affairs*.

The General Assembly again confirmed the legality of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution (which might have been forgotten owing to disuse), and by its concrete implementation established its competence for taking into direct procedure every case of danger to peace or breach of peace, which the Security Council, in view of procedural limitations, is not in a position to tackle. During the debate in the General Assembly none of the delegations disputed the legality of that resolution, not even those which voted against it, in 1950.

After the unanimous adoption of the resolution of November 3, 1950, the veto in the Security Council no longer has that significance, as any dispute in which the veto has been applied, can be transferred to the General Assembly where the veto is not operative. This change in the essential significance of the veto institution in the Security Council may influence the attitude of those quarters in the United Nations who were against the institution of the veto as well as the attitude of those who defended this institution.

The resolutions of the General Assembly moved in the case of aggression on Egypt, also refer to the formation of contingents of international armed forces for supervising the implementation of resolutions on the suspension of aggression and withdrawal of troops.

These will be the first military forces of the United Nations in the history of this world organization and its efforts for the defence of peace and international security.

A PLAN FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Thought of Delhi publishes a condensed version of an article in the "*Swiss Review of World Affairs*" a plan for middle East security and economic development based on first hand knowledge of the area and its problems.

A United Nations zone and force along the Egyptian-Israeli border, and United Nations control of the Suez Canal, would go far to promote peace and confidence between Jews and Arabs and remove friction over vital international communications.

They would not, however, eliminate the equally dangerous friction between competitors for middle East oil and between the oil exploiters and the impoverished people who see the oil reserves of the area being taken at low prices for the benefit of the wealthier advanced countries. There is an obvious and practical means, it says, by which this problem might also be tackled so as to enable the use of pipelines across the desert to be assured to consumers throughout the world, while assuring to the people of the Middle East that their oil will be invested for their common good.

This approach would accept it as a fact that there can be no security from sabotage of pipelines controlled by individual oil companies, and that there can be no security from expropriation for commercially controlled oil installations—unless they are firmly backed by Middle Eastern public opinion and international law. It would call for the establishment of an international concern under the United Nations which would take over and operate all Middle East oil pipelines and would charge not only the economic cost (taking account also of transit payments already being received by Middle East countries) but a fixed levy to be paid into the funds of a Middle East Development Agency to be set up under the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations.

An equivalent levy would by international agreement be levied on all oil shipped from ports of Middle Eastern territories, and the combined proceeds (together with the receipts from other sources) would be applied to meet the cost of an approved programme of development and welfare plans for the areas.

By this means, it says, the oil companies and oil consumers would get a greatly increased and internationally guaranteed security of operation.

They would also be relieved of the necessity to become dependent on tankers too large to be handled at existing European terminals, by being able to pipe unlimited quantities of oil to Mediterranean ports. In return for this they would pay more for the oil than at present, but not as much as it will certainly cost them if Middle East conditions continue as anarchic as they otherwise must become.

The middle East countries, on the other hand, will have a sufficient collective stake in oil revenues to ensure.

That whatever interrupts the production and distribution of oil will threaten their plain and vital interests. Moreover, being channelled through a United Nations agency, the money will be equitably shared where it can best be applied, instead of being monopolized at those points where the oil happens to be produced.

DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT

A ten-point suggestion for the development and expansion of Sanskrit education has been made by the Bihar Government in the course of a memorandum to the Sanskrit Commission.

The Commission examined about two dozen Sanskrit scholars or those interested in the promotion of Sanskrit education.

The memorandum suggested.

(1) Sanskrit should be made a compulsory subject at least up to the higher secondary stage.

(2) Its grammar should be simplified.

(3) The study of Sanskrit should not be started with grammar.

(4) A graduated series of scientifically progressive readers of Sanskrit for the beginners should be prepared.

(5) Sanskrit education should be re-organized and modern subjects should be introduced.

(6) All that is available in Sanskrit should be co-related with the corresponding modern contributions.

(7) The Union and State Governments should recognize equivalent of Sanskrit examinations and degrees.

(8) All facilities available to school and college students should also be extended to Sanskrit students.

(9) A new vista of prospects and possibilities should be opened for Sanskrit products, and

(10) Lectures and seminars should be organized for the popularization of Sanskrit education.

SOCIALISM PREMATURE

Mysindia, which is refreshingly free and unbiased in its comments on current affairs, argues that the acceptance of Socialism is highly paradoxical on the Socialist's own premises. For it points out that according to Marxian doctrine India is not ripe for Socialism.

Marxism holds that every society passes through a series of defined stages, of which the last three are "feudalism," "capitalism" and "socialism". All would agree that India is only now emerging from feudalism, and is in the earlier period of capitalism. How then can a Marxist dare to apply socialist policies?

Engels, joint author of the doctrine with Marx, explicitly condemned attempts to put these policies into force prematurely, and painted a lurid picture of the impossible situation of a socialist party which had attained power "prematurely". His prediction was grimly fulfilled when Lenin tried prematurely to impose socialism on Russia—and Russia in 1917 was considerably "nearer economic maturity than India is now.

What maturity means, in specific terms, is that the productive system should be highly developed, the industrial working class should be a large proportion of the population, the workers should be sufficiently expert to undertake managerial functions (otherwise there will be two classes, and socialism, which is by definition "classless", will be impossible), and the workers should be willing to work hard out of public spirit (otherwise socialism will be spoiled by the intrusion of material incentives and wage differentials).

Plainly, these conditions are not fulfilled in India, it says. It follows therefore, according to the most authoritative socialist doctrine, "that for many years to come India ought to be developed by capitalism, and if the attempt is made to force the pace towards socialism the result will be disastrous."

RADIATION

Sidney Koretz, writing in *The New Leader*, refutes the complaisant remarks of President Eisenhower that "the continuance of the present rate of H-bomb testing—by the most sober and responsible scientific judgment—does not imperil the health of humankind." The President, it will be recalled, alleged that he was citing the "most authoritative judgment" of the National Academy of sciences. Facts however do not bear out the President's conclusions. Thus:

The *New York Times* of June 13 printed the report of the Genetics Committee of the National Academy of Sciences on the "Biological Effects of Atomic Radiation." These were the front-pages headlines it ran that day: "Scientist Term Radiation a Peril to Future of Man," "Even Small Dose Can Prove Harmful to Descendants of Victim, Report States," "A Safety Limit Is Urged," and "Medical and Dental X-Rays Called Excessive—Panel Urges Reduction in Use."

Here is an excerpt from the report:

"The concept of a safe rate of radiation simply does not make sense if one is concerned with the genetic damage to future generations. What counts from the point of view of genetic damage is not the rate; it is the total accumulated dose to the reproductive cells of the individual from the beginning of his life up to the time the child is conceived."

Speaking of the possibility that the effect of "increased and prolonged radiation might so raise the death rate and so lower the birth rate that the population considered as a whole would decline and perish," the report says:

"We are at present extremely uncertain as to the level of this fatal threshold for a human population. That is one reason why we must be cautious about increasing the total amount of radiation to which the entire population is exposed."

The report further states:

"Most of the harm would remain unnoticed for a shorter or longer time in the genetic constitution of the successive generations of offspring. But the harm would persist..... There is no minimum amount of radiation dose, that is, which must be exceeded before any harmful mutations occur..... Do not consider [that there] is an amount of radiation which is genetically harmless, for there is no such figure other than Zero."

Yet, the President says the "most sober and responsible scientific judgment" is that "the continuance of the present rate of H-bomb testing does not imperil the health of humanity."

This is not so, says Koretz. "The president is expressing the views of his own advisers, not those of the National Academy of sciences."

RELIGION IN POLITICS

The Indian High Commission in London said, "India can never agree to the principle that political allegiance should be changed on the basis of religion."

A 700-word statement on Kashmir by the High Commission published in the *News of the World* said.

The real issue (in Kashmir) is this:

"Do the people of Kashmir want equality of opportunity, economic and cultural progress and rights and privileges of democratic citizens?"

"Or, do they want to be associated merely by reason of the faith they profess with a State in which religious fanaticism and economic backwardness are outstanding features and where the strongest rallying point of its citizens is the cry of "Jehad" or holy war against those who follow a different faith?"

"India can never agree to the principle that political allegiance should be changed on the basis of religion."

COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP

The *News Chronicle* commenting on the relations between India and Britain and the Kashmir issue, declared: Even though the result of the Indian general election is beyond doubt—(the paper thought that the Congress Party would retain its majority)—Kashmir has become the central theme coupled with attacks on Britain. John Bull has been rushed on to the stage as the villain of the Kashmir drama. British criticism of India's attitude over Kashmir has been bitterly resented.

"There has been talk of India leaving the Commonwealth unless Britain stops supporting Pakistan. This may be speculative exaggeration or Indian bluff."

"In the first place this is election time. Election talk, in every country, is notoriously a little wild. But if India is really prepared to carry her resentment against Britain to such extremes, she has allowed sensitivity to overtake reason."

The paper said: "He (Mr. Nehru) is well aware of the Commonwealth's importance to India as he is of India's importance to the Commonwealth. After Suez he deliberately reaffirmed this point. At that time the British Government's action seemed a gross offence to Mr. Nehru, and he said so."

"This time the Pandit's (Mr. Nehru's) attitude to the Kashmir problem seems grossly hypocritical to Britain, and we have said so, too. But need either offence be mortal?"

"In any group of nations like the Commonwealth there are bound to be disagreements, sometime, violent. Britain and India have now each blotted their copy-books in the eye of the other; but neither mistake is sufficient cause for a break."

"As a link between West and East, India has played an invaluable part in the Commonwealth; as a symbol of that link. Mr. Nehru has in the past contributed wisdom and understanding."

"In this new crisis both Britain and India should recognise that frankness is better than fretting, that bringing Kashmir to the boiling point suits Russia alone, and that when friends are at logger-heads a sense of proportion on both sides essential before the relationship can be restored."

AFTER THE MIDEAST WAR

Denis Healey, a prominent Labour M. P. and regular contributor to *New Leader* claims that Labour Opposition has at least preserved the possibility of future British influence by fighting Eden's folly. It is not too soon, he says, to think about the principle which should govern the Middle Eastern policy of the next Labour Government.

It looks as if the millstone of the Baghdad Pact will be jettisoned in any case. There is certainly no basis left for British military ties with any Arab country—The most we can hope of the Arab countries themselves is that they will remain able and willing to defend their neutrality. There may still be a chance of reducing Arab hatred by contributions of economic aid through some third party like the United Nations. If so this should of course be done. Britain also has a clear moral duty to compensate Egypt for the material destruction wrought in Eden's war.

The one basic interest which Britain must protect is her access to Middle Eastern oil. The nationalization of British oil installations in the Arab world, now seems to him, inevitable.

The one fatal mistake would be to use the Arabs' need for British markets to force capitulation on this issue. As Abadan has already shown, there is no nationalist who will not prefer beggary to foreign domination.

In fact, the real question is whether the Western world should not itself nationalize its oil companies. It is highly dangerous to leave our vital interests in the Middle East in the hands of private companies whose operations are inaccessible to public control, and whose wealth is greater than that of any state in Asia. Talk of Anglo-American oil rivalry in the

Middle East disguises the true problem—that the international oil cartels work together as a force independent of the interests or desires of the governments which protect them. At the very least, a means must be found of exercising continuous public control over their operations.

This is of course an international problem in which Britain could not act effectively without cooperation from the U. S., Holland and France.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM

In the course of an article in *The Indian Journal of Social Work* for December Dr. S. D. Punekar of the Tata Institute of social sciences discusses the concept of the Labour problem and describes its implications. The problem, he says, depends on the angle from which a person looks at it. He points out that, among other factors, migration from village to town has contributed to the growth of the problem. The migration may be one to various factor.

In India it was due mainly to increase in population and decline in village crafts—both factors leading to increasing pressure on land. The per capita area of cultivated land has steadily declined from 111 cents in 1921, to 104 in 1931, to 94 in 1941 and lately to 84 in 1951. A new class of landless labourers is thus created and turns towards the cities and towns, mainly to get employment in industry. In India the proportion of urban to total population has steadily increased from 11.2 per cent in 1921, to 12.1 in 1931, to 13.9 in 1941 and to 17.3 in 1951. Most of these persons swell the unskilled sector of the industrial labour force and by increasing the supply bring down the demand for labour. They are at a disadvantage, economically, socially and psychologically.

The attitude of the state is another contributing factor. Till the end of the first world war the state in India treated the labour problem with a *laissez-faire* attitude and did not intervene except through the factory legislation. It allowed unscrupulous employers to earn profits by resorting to unfair means of exploitation of labour. Its policy is now to go to the other extreme.

Through legislation, adjudication and tripartite conferences, it strives to have control over labour. Through expansion of the public sector, it desires to have control over industry.

In a few cases it was observed that the problem became worse, because efficiency and quick disposal were substituted by more impersonal relations and routine Government methods. The State cannot be absolved from the charge of profit-motive also, because its major aim of industrial and agricultural policy appears to be to strive for maximisation of its revenue. In the agricultural field, for example, the interest of the State in recognising the land system has been throughout confined to the convenience in the collection of maximum land revenue and not to agricultural efficiency or welfare of agriculturists. The same policy was continued in the industrial field also.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE KASHMIR RESOLUTION IN U.N. COUNCIL

Britain, the United States, Australia and Cuba on February 15 tabled a resolution proposing that Mr. Gunnar V. Jarring, of Sweden, President of the U. N. Security Council, visit India and Pakistan to discuss the Kashmir question.

The operative paragraph of the resolution requests Mr. Jarring, who is a former Swedish Ambassador to both India and Pakistan, "to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan proposals which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to the achievement of demilitarisation or to the establishment of other conditions for progress towards the settlement of the dispute."

The following is the text of the resolution:

"The Security Council, recalling its resolution of Jan. 24, 1957, its previous resolutions, and the resolutions of the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan on the Indo-Pakistan question; having taken into consideration the statements of the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan; concerned at the lack of progress in setting the dispute:

Considering the importance which it has attached to the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as a step towards the settlement of the dispute; nothing that demilitarisation preparatory to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite under U.N. auspices has not been achieved in accordance with the resolutions of the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan;

"Noting the proposal of the representative of Pakistan for the use of a temporary U.N. force in connexion with demilitarisation; believing that, insofar as it might contribute towards the achievement of demilitarisation as envisaged in the resolutions of the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan, and towards the pacific settlement of the dispute, the use of such a force would deserve consideration;

1. Requests the President of the Security Council, the representative of Sweden, to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan proposals which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute to the achievement of demilitarisation or to the establishment of other conditions for progress towards the settlement of the dispute, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Security Council of the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan, and bearing in mind the statements of the representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan and the proposal for the use of temporary U.N. Force.

2. Authorises him to visit the sub-continent for this purpose.

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Mr. BEVAN ON FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Bevan, British Labour Party spokesman on foreign affairs, said at Venice recently that the NATO Nations and Warsaw Pact countries "have tried to build their forward positions in areas far to politically sensitive."

He added: "The result is that the prestige of the great nations and consequently world peace have been endangered by social and political disturbances in those areas—Eastern Europe, Germany itself and the Middle East."

Calling for a central European "mutual buffer zone" which would cover the whole of Germany, he said the Labour Party meant by "neutrality" not the withdrawal of a nation from all great military alliances or blocks.

"We mean the creation by agreement between the great powers of neutral zones where they are not themselves engaged," Mr. Bevan said, "We mean areas of disengagement where peace and demilitarisation are guaranteed by the power themselves."

SHEPILOV ON IKE'S DOCTRINE

Soviet Foreign Minister Shepilov, in his foreign policy statement in the Supreme Soviet recently described the so-called Eisenhower doctrine for West Asia as "a most flagrant violation of the U.N. principles."

Its implementation would be tantamount to the liquidation of the U.N. for the U.S. would seize limitless dictatorial powers in that part of the world and would, in effect, deprive of independence a whole number of U.N. member States," he added.

Mr. Shepilov, as quoted by the Tass said, "as a result of the collapse of Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt, America's supremacy over its rivals has further increased. Now relying on this new correlation of forces, the U.S. has set itself the task of completely ousting Britain and France from the Middle East. This is strikingly borne out by the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine whereby the U.S. intends to cover the area with a network of atomic bases, flood it with its troops and, at the first opportunity, start from the area a war of aggression."

KASHMIR'S ULTIMATUM TO PAKISTAN

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Kashmir Premier, said at Dehra Dun recently, "We propose to give a time-limit to Pakistan to vacate the occupied territory of Kashmir. If they fail we shall get our territory back."

The Kashmir Premier, who was addressing a public meeting in connection with the Congress election campaign, said there was no question of a plebiscite now in Kashmir.

"We made this offer (of plebiscite) ourselves in 1947 and waited upto 1951. We could not wait indefinitely and ratified our accession through the Constituent Assembly resolution in November 1956," Bakshi Ghulam added.

Referring to the four-power resolution now being debated in the Security Council, the Kashmir Premier said, "We cannot allow even a single foreign soldier on our soil."

Bakshi Ghulam Momammed said there was a big conspiracy behind the Security Council debate on Kashmir and it was so timed as to create disturbances in India during the elections and wreck India's internal unity and law and order. This, he said, had been done to wreak vengeance on India for her support to Egypt and Tunisia.

PAKISTAN PREMIER'S OUTBURST

Pakistan Prime Minister Suhrawardy said at Karachi on February 22, there were "important parties and personages in India who wanted to undo the partition of the sub-continent which considerably alarmed us. In fact India massed her troops on the borders of Pakistan once in March 1950 and again in July, 1951, to attack Pakistan, and we were caught unprepared."

He was speaking in the National Assembly, opening the foreign policy debate and demanding confidence of the House for his policy of seeking military alliances and pacts with foreign Powers.

PROPAGANDA AGAINST INDIA

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said some Powers were indulging in propaganda against India.

Addressing a public meeting at Lucknow recently he said: "I do not want to name any Power. But some are indulging in boisterous propaganda against India. But whatever may happen we are determined to follow our independent policy and at present we have no time to think of what others say, as we are engaged in implementing development plans."

BASIC UNITY OF INDIA

Prime Minister Nehru in an election speech at Kozhikode on February 25 stressed the fundamental unity of India and said we must have a sense of unity, whatever our religion, whatever our State and whatever our language is. "There is going to be no compromise on this issue and we shall not tolerate any person who challenges the conception of Indian freedom."

The main lesson, he said, was the unity of India—unity which must be unshakable, which nobody can break and nobody will be allowed to break. In the past, India had suffered from disunity and therefore it fell. "Now that we have built up a united India, we have to ensure that no walls of separateness should divide us again. India is a secular State which honours all religions and gives perfect freedom to all communities, whether Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Jews."

JARRING'S VIEW

Mr. Jarring, speaking as the Swedish representative, in the U.N. Council said he had studied the various aspects of the question and it was his sincere desire to try to assist in efforts to bring an end to a situation which had for so long troubled India and Pakistan.

"As we see it," he said, "there are two courses open to us along which progress may be made." Agreement between the parties on a political basis was the only way to ensure, lasting peace and one way would be to bring the parties together for negotiation. If this were impossible it might be possible to have some of the legal problems clarified to make possible a better agreement.

IKE'S BROADCAST

Mr. Eisenhower issued the call in a world-wide broadcast observing the 15th anniversary of the Voice of America, the United States official Government Radio, at Washington on February 25th.

The President was again explaining the purpose of his Middle East proposals now before Congress to resist Communist subversion and aggression in the Middle East by economic and military force if necessary.

The President divided United States foreign policy into two parts. The first part related to supporting the "vigorous independence" of the free world and the building up of individual nations and their peoples.

UPRISING IN HUNGARY

The United Nations Special Committee on Hungary on Feb. 22 quoted the unanimous evidence of all witnesses that the Hungarian uprising had been a spontaneous movement which initially was not directed against the Soviet Union.

The Committee comprising representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay was set by the General Assembly in a resolution passed on January. 10.

It issued an interim report passed on testimony from a number of leading Hungarian refugees including Miss Anna Kethly a member of the short-lived Nagy Government, Major-General Belk Kiraly, Military Commander of Budapest, who commanded the national guard during the uprising and Mr. Josef Kovago, former Mayor of Budapest.

Much of the report which was merely a statement of the course of Soviet intervention in Hungary was based on actual broadcasts by Radio Budapest.

THE CYPRUS ISSUE

The U.N. Political Committee on Feb. 22 approved, without opposition, an Indian compromise resolution on the Cyprus question expressing the "earnest desire" that a peaceful democratic and just solution will be found and that negotiations will be resumed and continued to this end.

Immediately after the vote, the other sponsors announced they would not press for a decision on their drafts.

The resolution just approved, said: The Assembly, "believing that the solution of this problem requires an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression."

"Expresses the earnest desire that a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found in accord with the principles of the charter of the United Nations, and hope that negotiations will be resumed and continued to this end."

The Committee wound up five days of debate by first giving priority to the Indian draft over four other resolutions and then approving it by 76 in favour, none against, and two abstentions.

BRITISH LABOUR LEADER'S WARNING

Mr. Denis Healey, Vice-Chairman of the British Labour Party's foreign affairs group in Parliament, said at Boston recently that the *Nato* was falling apart.

He also said he believed the Soviet Union was ready to negotiate with the West for the removal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe.

Mr. Healey, who was speaking here at a meeting of the Community Church of Boston, said the *Nato* situation was "dangerous." He urged that defence policy within that organisation be remodelled to give Britain's European allies "something to do and hope for" other than being the victims of atomic attacks.

Mr. Healey suggested that *Nato* should try to master the internal political and economic conflicts inside the alliance and encourage the than inside the Soviet Bloc.

Mr. Healey warned: "Within ten years, there will be at least a dozen countries in the world in possession of thermo-nuclear power capable of destroying life on this planet. If we do not create some sort of international order within two generations, Communism will cover the surface of the earth."

Another contention he made was that if ever a break occurred between Britain and the U.S., Canada, Australia and New Zealand would certainly follow the U.S. "out of necessity."

SOVIET PROPOSAL ON MID-EAST

Prime Minister Nehru made an earnest appeal to all the great and small Powers to give full consideration to the recent Soviet proposal to "free the middle Eastern region from all outside military interference."

Addressing over one lakh of people at Bangalore on 23rd February at an election meeting, Mr. Nehru said: "I do believe that this proposal is worthy of consideration. You may alter it here and there but to reject such a proposal would be unwise."

The Prime Minister made his first public reference to the Soviet proposal on the Middle East at the end of his 100 minute speech.

Mr. Nehru made an impassioned appeal to President Eisenhower to consider fully the fact that "military methods" in the Middle East and elsewhere had not succeeded in the past and they were not likely to succeed in the future.

The Prime Minister described Mr. Eisenhower as a "man of peace" who took a brave and courageous "action over the Suez crisis and said that America, the biggest country in the world, had a tremendous responsibility in preserving peace.

CHANCELLORS OF UNIVERSITIES

Dr. John Matthai, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University said at Bombay on Feb. 23 that the "system under which the Universities in this country are functioning, under which the Governors of States are Chancellors of Universities is one which provides a channel through which political influence has worked its way into the Universities."

He added that if the Universities had to preserve their academic freedom, maintain their dignity and honour, it was not necessary merely for the Bombay University but the rest of the Universities too, to be free from interference. The question before the House pertained to the status, dignity and autonomy of the House (Senate). He took the view, after having thought a great deal and observing the working of the Universities in Bombay and elsewhere, that the system under which the Governor of the State was the Chancellor of the Universities in it should come to an end. He stated that he was not casting any reflection by saying this.

COMPULSORY STUDY OF ENGLISH

The seventh All-India English Teachers' Conference which met at Dharwar recently and adopted a resolution reiterating its demand for making English a compulsory subject of study at the secondary and university stages, and for extending the course of its study to a period of not less than six years.

The conference welcomed the support and encouragement given to the study of English by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, the Education Minister, Maulana Azad, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, and the Vice-Chancellors of different universities.

It expressed the view that English should be made a compulsory subject of study in the three-year degree course.

The conference changed its name to "Indian Association of English Studies" throwing open its membership to all teachers and lovers of the English language. Hitherto the conference was open only to English teachers.

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

Among the grants announced by the Rockefeller Foundation N. Y. on Feb. 19 is \$10,000 for the Madras University for the continued preparation of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit texts by Dr. V. Raghavan.

TEACHERS SALARY

"I know, in Delhi teachers are paid less than chaprasia, and I am ashamed of it," said Mr. Nehru, speaking at the Congress Subjects Committee sometime ago on the Election Manifesto.

He reminded his audience that teachers were moulders of the nation and makers of the future generation and it was deplorable that they should get low salaries.

Mr. Nehru was speaking on an amendment intended to make education free. He said that however much they wished it, at the moment free education was impossible for lack of funds and inadequate number of teachers. We must remember that we could not even pay our present teachers enough. "I cannot produce money from my pocket to pay them."

INDIAN EDUCATIONISTS U.S. TOUR

Twentyfour university professors and administrators from India have begun ten days of orientation and visits to governmental and educational centres in U.S.A.

Their visits to campuses will be "more than casual ones," according to the delegation's senior member Mr. S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Vice-Chancellor of the Sri Venkateswara University.

Each member will spend eight weeks at an American school, learning details of its operation and picking up ideas for possible adaptation in India.

TATA RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIPS

The trustees of the Lady Tata Memorial Trust announced recently that the Trust would offer six scholarships for scientific research during the academic year 1957-58.

Each scholarship carries a cash payment of Rs. 250 per month and is available only to applicants of Indian nationality holding a degree in medicine or science of a recognised university.

The scholarships are tenable only in India and the holders must undertake to work whole-time under the direction of a scientist of standing in a recognised research institute or laboratory on a subject of scientific investigation on the alleviation of human suffering from disease.

INSURANCE CORPORATION

Mr. Justice Mehrotra, of the Allahabad High Court in February 19 held that the Life Insurance Corporation of India was a statutory body and not a department of the Central Government, and consequently the employees of the Corporation were not employees of the Central Government.

His Lordship gave this ruling while dismissing a writ petition filed by a member of the Municipal Board of Chandausi, in Moradabad district, against another member of the board, Om Prakash.

The petitioner, Madan Mohanlal, had challenged the membership of Om Prakash, on the ground that since September 1, 1956, when the Life Insurance Corporation came into existence he ceased to be a member of the board as he being an inspector of the Corporation became an employee of the Central Government.

Rejecting this contention, the Court said: "Having regard to the provisions of the Life Insurance (Emergency) Act of 1956, in my opinion, it cannot be said that employees of the insurer company became the employees of the Central Government. The Central Government does not become a substitute of the insurer company by the coming into force of this act. There is, therefore no force in this contention of the petitioner."

DEATH PENALTY IN U. K.

The Commons passed a Bill to restrict the death penalty in Britain to murder which clearly threatens law and order.

Government defeated a Labour amendment to reject the Bill by 217 votes to 131. The Bill now goes to the Lords.

The death penalty will be kept for these types of murder: (1) Murder committed in the course of theft; (2) in resisting, avoiding or escaping from arrest; (3) murder of policemen or prison officers; (4) murder by shooting or causing explosions; and (5) those who kill a second time.

The Bill is the Government's answer to a private "no hanging" Bill sponsored by Labour member Sydney Silverman, which with some Conservative support was passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court on February 10, unanimously held the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1952, to be constitutional and valid.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act, which was enacted by Parliament on July 28, 1952, provides for a more speedy trial of offences of bribery and corruption made punishable under Sections 161, 165 and 165-A, I. P. C. and Section 5 (2) of the Prevention of Corruption Act by Special Judges appointed under the Act.

The constitutional validity of the Act was challenged by Asgarali Nazarali Singaporewalla of Bombay in an appeal preferred against the judgment of the Bombay High Court which, holding the Act valid, directed the re-trial of the case in which he is accused by the Special Judge, appointed under the Act.

REGISTRATION ACT

The need for the early amendment of the Indian Registration Act by the authorities concerned in order to prevent the exploitation of that measure by parties entering into relations not of marriage but of concubinage, was voiced by Justice P. N. Ramaswami in the Madras High Court where he took up his question "suo motu" for determination in connection with the disposal of a civil appeal arising out of a petition for divorce on February 20th.

IMPEACHMENT OF SUPREME COURT JUDGES

The Georgia House of Representatives has approved a resolution calling for the impeachment of six of the nine justices of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The resolution drafted by State Attorney-General Cook, charges "high crimes and misdemeanours" to Chief Justice Earl Warren, and Associate Justices Hugo Black, William Douglas, Stanley Reed, Felix Frankfurter and Tom Clark, and makes a number of charges based mainly on Supreme Court rulings in sedition and segregation cases.

It would have the Georgia General Assembly declare that the six justices were "guilty of attempting to subvert the Constitution of the U. S." and of "giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the U. S."

It would also call upon the Georgia members of the Federal House of Representatives to initiate impeachment proceedings in Washington. The resolution now goes to the State Senate.

The House, meeting heard Mr. Colbert Hawkins, the Administration floor leader, say, "The Southern States have been abused by judge-made laws."

SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The *Baltimore Sun* in commenting on India's Second Five-year Plan, notes that the first plan worked better than its critics expected, and the second is even more ambitious with the possible rewards in higher standards of living and a steadier economy considerably larger.

In an editorial entitled "India's Second Plan," The *Sun* says:—

"The Indian officials and economists who have been drawing up a second plan of five year development were faced with a special problem. A plan well within the country's capabilities would have been too limited to solve, or to pretend to solve India's immense difficulties. A programme scaled fully to the difficulties would have been far too ambitious. The problem of the drafters was thus to map out a programme that promised enough but not the much and that might work.

"As now published in detail, the 2nd Five year Plan is such a programme. That is, it has a gap in it. Expenditure of \$ 15,120 million are projected—\$ 10,000 millions from government sources the rest from private enterprise—but the planners admit that they do not know where all the money will come from.

"The Government hopes to close the gap through wider taxation and greater aid from abroad, and is counting especially on increased investment in Government bonds.

"Essentially the plan is a gamble, India must take. And India has gambled before this. The first Five-year Plan, with principal emphasis on agriculture and hydro-electric development, was a gamble too. It worked better than its critics had expected that it would. The new plan which concentrates on industry, takes larger chances. The possible rewards, in higher standards of living and a steadier economy, are also larger."

MORE TECHNICAL INSTITUTES

The All-India Council for Technical Education approved a recommendation of its Coordinating Committee for the establishment of three more higher technological institutes during the Second Plan period.

INDIAN ENGINEERS

Provision for turning out more engineers and other technical personnel for implementing the Second 5 Year Plan is understood to have been made in the annual plans of the various States and the Centre for 1957-58, now finalised, or nearing finalisation, by the Planning Commission.

About Rs. 900 crores roughly Rs. 450 crores by the Union Government and Rs 450 crores by the various States, is proposed to be spent during 1957-58, the second year of the Second Plan.

To fulfil this outlay, the various States, it is learnt, will have to raise during the next financial year commencing from Apr. 1 additional resources to the extent of Rs. 145 crores.

This is expected to be achieved by the various States by raising the existing rates of taxes and imposing new ones, and other measures, when their newly elected legislatures meet some time in May next.

HIGH TENSION FACTORY

A significant step to attain self-sufficiency in high tension insulators so essential for the several electrification schemes which India had undertaken in the First and Second Five-Year Plans, was opened at Bangalore on Feb. 23 when Prime Minister Nehru inaugurated the high voltage insulator factory set up here with the collaboration and co-operation of the reputed Japanese firm, Messrs. Nippon Gaiishi Kaisha Ltd.

Inaugurating the factory, Mr. Nehru emphasised that there could be no conflict between small scale industries and large scale industries and since both had the common object of raising the standard of living of the common man, a proper balance between the two should be struck and maintained.

CAPITAL GAINS TAX

Mr. Manubhai M. Shah, Union Minister for Heavy Industries, said at Bombay recently that the gigantic task facing the country today was the eradication of poverty and the building up of the economic development of the country with the joint efforts of the public and private sectors. He added that, given a cool and dispassionate atmosphere and the pragmatic wisdom that was usually associated with businessmen, coupled with the harmonious co-operation of the corporate body, namely the State, the efforts of the country to produce more would be greater.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF WOMEN

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, said that while India was far ahead of many countries in raising the status of her women, it would be inadvisable to expect Indian women to come out of their families, and join men in all walks of life at this stage.

Mr. Deshmukh was presiding over the first annual day gathering of the B.D. College for Women at Ahmedabad recently.

Mr. Deshmukh was of the view that till such time as the State was able to undertake all responsibilities of educating and looking after children, women would have to devote much of their time in moulding the children and maintaining the family life. There was, however, scope for women to take up noble professions like medicine, in spite of their pre-occupation with family life.

SKIN REJUVENATION

"Why are Indian women so fond of bleaching cream? I think dark or brown skin is a lovely as fair skin," said Mademoiselle Pauley Massaz, the Paris beauty specialist, at New Delhi, in a chat with Pressmen recently.

She said make-up was not important for the face as it did not take care of the skin. "What is important is cleaning, toning and nourishing. A pimply skin will show up under any make-up. The first thing to do is to cure the pimples."

She said Indian woman did not clean their faces properly. When it was pointed out to her that Indian women had their own beauty treatment which had stood the test of centuries, she asked: "Then why do they have so many pimples? You do not find so many pimply faces in Europe as in India." She added that putting a mask on the face is not cleanliness.

Mademoiselle Massaz said young girls should not go in for skin rejuvenation. Skin rejuvenation for a girl of 20 could harm her, she said.

WOMAN ASSISTANT ENGINEER

A woman has been promoted as Assistant Engineer for the first time in the history of the Madras Electrical service. She is Miss Mary Mathew, Junior Engineer, who joined the service in 1950. Miss Mathew took her Degree in 1950, and hails from Cannanore, in Kerala State.

MRS. PANDIT'S APPEAL TO WOMEN

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, in Britain, told women at Liverpool on Feb. 26 that their role was to become links in a chain of understanding and friendship which must bind the peoples of the world together."

Speaking at the Soroptimists Club—a world organisation described as the feminine counterpart of the Rotarians—the Indian diplomat said that "India has perhaps suffered more physical conquests in the past than any other nation. But we also know that India ultimately conquered her conquerors, for she absorbed what they had to give and evolved a culture which was rich and wellblended. And now we are trying to create a new design which will have in it all the shades of the variety which is India."

NO RIVALS TO INDIAN WOMEN

Mr. Peter Townsend, the one man whose name was romantically connected for a couple of years with that of Princess Margaret, is of the view that there are no rivals to Indian women and Siamese women-in-European dress in the world of beauties.

Mr. Townsend, who is on a world tour, was asked by local Press men what beauties he appreciated most. He categorically stated that Indian women in glowing saris were incomparable.

Asked about Singapore and Malayan beauties, he shrugged his shoulders, and said they did not interest him.

HEALTH PERSONNEL

Over 1,400 trained lady health visitors will be available during the Second Plan period to man maternity and child welfare centres under the Community Development Programme.

An official Press release said that in order to meet the increasing demand for health personnel in connection with the various expansion schemes under the Community Development Programme, it is proposed to further expand the existing eight schools for health visitors during the Second Plan. It will then be possible to train 720 health visitors in the schools during the Second Plan period and 180 at the Lady Reading Health School in Delhi. Besides, it is also proposed to establish six new schools where another 540 health visitors will be trained during the Second Plan period.

General

EXPORT RISKS INSURANCE

The Government of India are understood to have decided to set up an Export Risks Insurance Corporation.

The objects of the Corporation are to remove exporters' fear about losses resulting from circumstances beyond their control and not ordinarily accepted insurance risks by insurance companies and to remove the importers' fear in regard to fulfilment of contractual obligations by Indian exporters.

The Corporation will establish links with similar organisations in other countries and its details are now being worked out.

The setting up of the Corporation is expected to help India in promoting her exports to earn foreign exchange for implementing her Second Plan.

CURE OF EYE DISEASES

The general body meeting of the All-India Ophthalmological Society held recently in Bangalore during the session of All-India Ophthalmological Conference passed two important resolutions.

The first requested the Government of India to upgrade the ophthalmological departments of various institutes in India by adding modern equipment and by employing technical and research staff on a whole time basis. The second one urged the Government of India to organise a central institute and ophthalmological research institutes in the various towns in the country under the Second Five Year Plan on the model already suggested by the Society.

VITAL ROLE OF ART IN LIFE

Prime Minister Nehru has sent the following message to the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society which organised the Third International Contemporary Art Exhibition at New Delhi on Feb. 24.

"I am glad to note that an International Exhibition of contemporary art is going to be held in New Delhi under the auspices of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society. In this age of science and technology it is well to remember that without art, life would lose something that is vital to it. It is necessary therefore, that while we advance in science and technology, we have to keep the flame of art and beauty alive. This may be a difficult balance but without it we stand in danger of losing part of the heritage of the ages which has taught us to value beauty and truth."

U.S. AMBASSADOR IN INDIA

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, American Ambassador-designate to India, arrived at New Delhi on Feb. 16 accompanied by his wife.

In a statement to Press at the airport Mr. Bunker said,

"India and the U.S.," Mr. Bunker said, "do more than just share democratic attitudes and ideals." There was a longstanding friendship between the two countries—a friendship which "I during my tenure as Ambassador here, will strive to nurture and maintain."

THE CONGRESS PARTY

The *Baltimore Sun* said that the Congress Party, the party of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, enjoyed the overwhelming confidence of the country.

It added in a leading article. "Is an election so strange in method, with the results a foregone conclusion, therefore less than a free election, wholly understandable in our own terms of democracy."

"The differences in method are dictated by Indian conditions, and the conclusion forgone only because the Congress party has the overwhelming confidence of the country. If it should in the future, forfeit that confidence, it would be swept from power exactly as a Western political party can be swept from power."

"India is not far from Indonesia, yet President Sukarno of Indonesia has just expressed his opinion that Indonesia cannot operate under democracy of the Western sort. The difference lies in the fact that India learned from the British, as Indonesia did not learn from the Dutch, what Western democracy is, and that India's leaders, unlike Indonesia's have, in turn, taught the lesson to their peoples."

Mr. NEHRU'S ESCAPE

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's plane, "Meghdoot," made an emergency forced landing at a deserted *kutch* airstrip near Raichur on Feb. 26 after the plane's port engine caught fire in mid-air. The pilot made a dexterous landing on one engine. The Prime Minister who left Mangalore after election tour of Kerala.

Mr. Nehru got off the plane smiling and congratulated the Captain of the plane, Squadron Leader Rufus.

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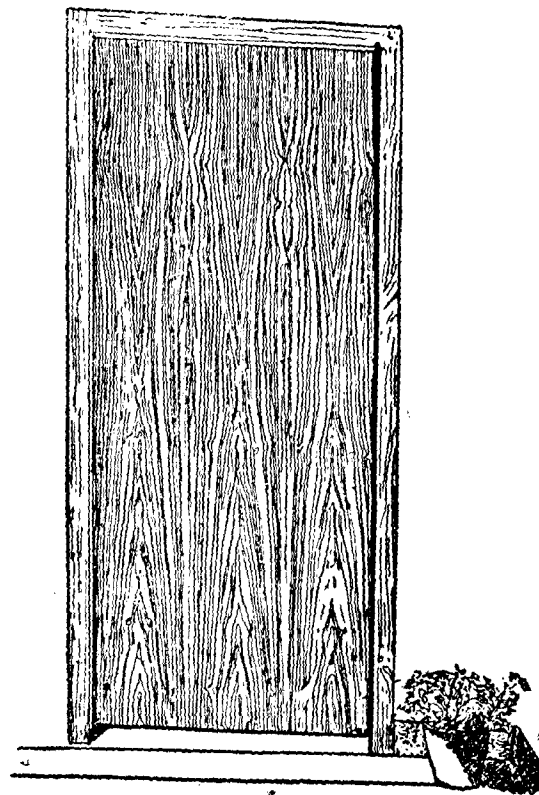
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