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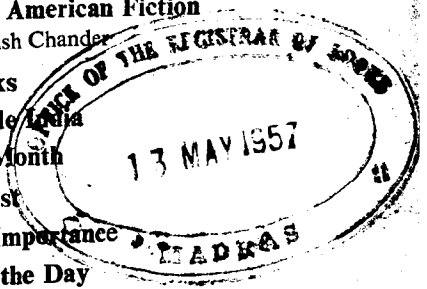
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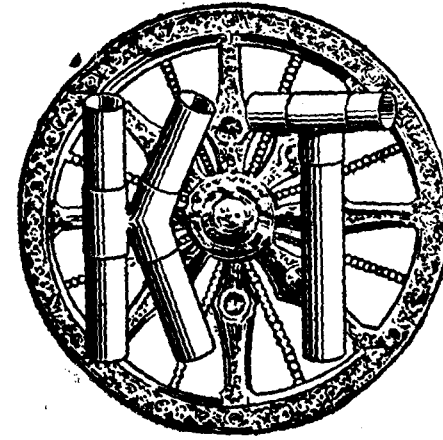
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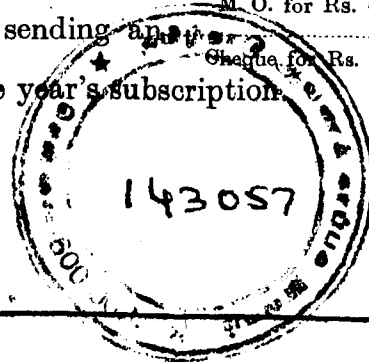
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Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

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[No. 5

The Legal Problems of Twentieth Century

By

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

TWO problems will be of cardinal importance in the field of law during the second half of the Twentieth Century.

The first is the molding of democratic constitution to fit the needs of subjugated peoples emerging from colonialism and developing within these countries democratic habits and institutions.

Formulating democratic constitutions for nations newly emerging into independence is not a difficult task. Creating democratic institutions and instilling democratic habits is much more difficult. Most of these new nations have little or no democratic traditions.

People of different cultures, religions, and languages must often be unified under a single government. Preservation of liberty and equality for diverse groups and minorities is no easy matter. It is one thing to write concepts of freedom into a constitution; it is another thing to make the constitution a living creed. But it can be done as proved by the experience of India.

Consider the magnitude of the obstacles facing the new Indian democracy at the time of its birth in 1947. Nine Governors' Provinces had been under a modified form of democratic rule since 1937. By contrast, some 560 Indian states had been under the autocratic rule of hereditary princes. Moreover, India is

a nation of 17 different languages and several hundred different dialects. It has many different religious groups; and it was long saddled by a caste system that the new Constitution outlawed. Unification of such a nation was a real challenge to the political leadership of India.

Under Nehru, the leaders met the challenge. They fashioned the many states into a working federalism of 15 units. Local and national leaders united to make this new machinery work smoothly. An independent judiciary saw to it that individual rights were not sacrificed and that discrimination was outlawed. Education of the masses in their political responsibilities was vigorously undertaken. The general elections in 1951 showed that even illiterate people are intelligent and can act responsibly.

The Indian Constitution is a fountainhead of democratic freedoms. The dignity and worth of the individual are constitutional keystones. India adheres to the creed of democracy. The preamble states that the purpose of the Constitution is to secure to all India's citizens:

"JUSTICE, Social, economic and political;

"LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

"EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all;

"FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation."

The manner in which the Constitution is being applied and interpreted in India has made these noble goals powerful forces in the nation.

Burma, Ceylon, and Pakistan have made great strides forward under new constitutions that are fresh embodiments of the spirit of liberty. Indonesia, Morocco, and Vietnam are moving in the same direction. The spirit of freedom, so strongly demonstrated at Bandung, is now a powerful political force shaping the constitutions and political habits of peoples long subjugated. It will be a major force in world affairs during the balance of this century as other nations gain their independence.

Our second major problem in the field of law is an agreement by all nations on a body of principles for the control of nuclear power. The successful resolution of this problem is imperative to the survival of mankind.

This age of bombs with a destructive force measured in megatons presents man with the gravest problem in his history. The force that is capable of destroying all civilization must be subjected to a body of law applicable to all people in all nations.

Man, with all his ingenuity at work, has in the past ten years taken some pioneer steps toward meeting this challenge. A number of proposals for the international control of nuclear power have been advanced. In 1946 the

Acheson-Lilienthal plan was presented. It was adopted in substance by the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission and became known as the UN Majority Plan. It was a bold plan. It called for a single international commission which would have ownership of all dangerous nuclear facilities and materials—from the mines to electric power stations. There would be sweeping inspection arrangements designed to detect secret production facilities. This plan proved to be unacceptable to the Soviet Union, but it showed what man's inventive genius in the field of law can achieve.

After the Acheson-Lilienthal plan there followed a number of disarmament proposals. The United Nations Disarmament Commission was organized. And in 1953 President Eisenhower announced his Atoms for Peace plan. He called for an international pool of fissionable material for research and development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy. While not a program for control of nuclear power, the Atoms for Peace plan manifested a spirit of cooperation which is essential to an effective plan of international control. And at Geneva in 1955 the President advanced his "open skies" plan of aerial inspection and exchange of military blueprints. The plan would reduce the temptation of atomic or thermonuclear attack by eliminating the element of surprise. The "open skies" plan would be a preliminary step to disarmament and international control.

The international control of nuclear power is a difficult problem. But it must be solved. Confidence built by cooperation is a sound beginning.

The Great Revolt of 1857

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,

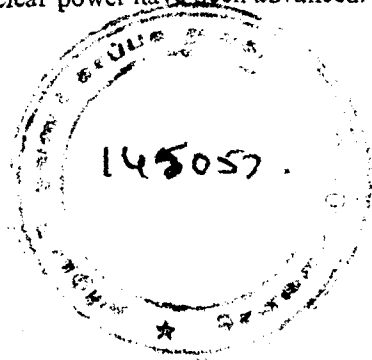
THE Revolt of 1857 is a most momentous, if tragic, event in the history of modern India. It has been looked at and described in various ways. English historians have called it a Sepoy Mutiny, while Indians would love to regard it as the First War of Indian Independence. A large quantity of historical literature has gathered round the Great Revolt. But, practically all of it has been written from the British point of view. There is little or no account available from the defeated side, which could clear up the objects and motives of the rebels. There is, therefore, a lot of speculation about the nature and significance of the Movement.

The Revolt has been viewed from different points of view. *Firstly*, it was a mutiny of the Company's sepoys, pure and simple. The sepoys were discontented on account of various reasons among which the alleged supply of greased cartridges was the principal one. *Secondly*, the Revolt marked a struggle between the civilization of the West and that of India. It has been suggested that the fast-approaching tide of the Western civilization caused a great alarm in the minds of the conservative sections, and made them combine against the British rule. *Thirdly*, the Revolt reflected the discontent of the expropriated feudal classes whose powers and privileges had been lately assailed by the British. *Fourthly*, the Great Revolt was viewed as a secret Muslim conspiracy to oust the British from India and restore the old Muslim sway. It has been asserted that the Mughal Court stirred up the Mutiny for selfish political reasons. This movement is also said to have been encouraged by the representatives of the dispossessed house of the Avadh monarchy. *Lastly*, the Indian Revolt has been regarded as the first Indian War of Independence. These different viewpoints amply indicate that the Mutiny was not a simple

movement but a complex one. It would be a mistake to treat it as a disconnected and sudden explosion.

The Revolt of 1857 symbolises a new political awakening in the land. This awakening was also cultural, even though the sepoys were one of its chief spearheads. The fact is that the impact of Western civilization had roused the average Indian from his usual self-complacency, and the attacks on religious beliefs and institutions coming from the Christian missionaries had convinced many people that unless India was freed from the British rule indigenous culture could not be rendered safe and secure. Thus the Revolt was ultimately and essentially a struggle between the past and the present, between the old and the new, and between the devout and the heretical. The onslaughts of Christianity and the Western forms and methods of administration roused the orthodox and the conservative. But this discontent would not have taken the shape of a widespread revolt, if the yearning for freedom had not stood out as the outward emblem of the decaying old political order of India. "Dharma" or "Din" was the slogan which powerfully appealed to all sections who were disaffected against the foreign rule. The outward expressions of this feeling varied in different regions according to local political, and economic conditions, but this was the same motive force which had brought to the West the new spirit of patriotism.

Confronted by the threat of being swallowed up by an alien culture and rule, the soul of the people, roused to a sense of danger, rebelled against the national menace. Religion and politics became mixed up in 1857 in a manner in which it cannot do so in any country other than India, for the people were by nature and instinct intensely religious and puritanical.



—*—

The real significance of the Mutiny lies, therefore, in an ideological conflict which took the shape of a patriotic outburst against foreign rule. But this struggle should not be interpreted in terms of a racial rising. If we view the matter dispassionately, we shall find that comparatively little race feeling was visible on the rebel side during the Mutiny. The rebels, however, precipitated the struggle because there was a widespread feeling against the Britishers as rulers. There was, however, no racial hatred. This is clear from repeated cases of assistance and loyalty to the British, were solely actuated by a feeling of pure liberality or of personal likes and dislikes. There is no doubt that the Mughal family at Delhi bitterly resented their lowly position under the Company's rule. Nana Saheb of Bithur likewise resented the stoppage of his pension. The protagonists of the Avadh monarchy were mostly disaffected on account of the unceremonious annexation of the country. The Rani of Jhansi nursed a grievance because her adopted son was deprived of his royal status. The Taluqdars of Avadh were hostile because their rights in the land had been attacked and curtailed. Other feudal chiefs had some grievance or the other. But how is it that such discordant elements managed to combine against the mighty British Empire? Could individual rancour and prejudice have led to countrywide revolt? The Revolt of 1857 was scarcely a revolt of disgruntled elements alone, as foreign writers are wont to hold. It is true that the outbreak was not a revolution of the Western type and it certainly lacked some of the known features which characterised the revolutionary movements of Europe or America. Still, it marks a real national upsurge for the first time in modern India. This upsurge was erratic, even isolated, sporadic and unforeseen. This does not detract from the great significance of this upsurge. No revolutionary movement on a large scale can take place only because the leaders are disgruntled. A widespread conflagration cannot

be artificially engineered by self-seekers and manipulators. Such people certainly will exploit the situation favourable to them, but they themselves cannot create the situation itself. If a national consciousness had not appeared in a vague form, the disgruntled leaders would not have been able to create a vast insurrectionary movement.

It is the arrogant and imperialist self-assertion of the Britisher which produced a country-wide discontent. People felt that under a foreign rule their "*Dharma*" could not be maintained, and so they desired that this foreign rule must be uprooted in the interests of "*Dharma*". The feeling was not one of pure political patriotism but of socio-religious nationalism. The cartridge affair may have hastened the outbreak but was not its cause. The very fact that the insurrection was not organised shows that it was vague sense of political discontent which caused it. Every party, including the sepoys, took a leap in the dark, conscious only of the fact that they wanted to destroy the British rule. The rebels did not have a precise idea of the use they would make of the leap they had taken, but they seem to have been agreed on the point that the rebellion was really welcome in many regions of Northern India. Essentially in the nature of a military outburst in various cantonment towns, the revolt assumed in many places, specially in Uttar Pradesh, the character of a popular rebellion of the country already disaffected by foreign conquest and British innovation. The first outbreak of the Revolt was necessarily in the more combustible quarters of the Bengal Army, but this need not make us regard it as mere military movement.

There are certain things which demand a careful consideration. *Firstly*, how is it that both Hindus and Muslims joined together against a common foe unless it may be that a common patriotic sentiment inspired them all? Hindu-Muslim unity during the Mutiny is a really memorable phenomenon which has so far been completely ignored by European his-

torians. In their common fight against the British the two communities fought shoulder to shoulder. It is a highly significant fact that cow-killing was completely stopped in Delhi during the Mutiny. Bahadur Shah's Chief Secretary during the brief period of his restoration was a Hindu, Mukand Ram, just as Nana Saheb's Chief Advisor was a Muslim, Azimullah. In Avadh both Hindu and Muslim Taluqdars and peasants fought for the cause of their dethroned King. The Taluqdar Beni Madho, when he realised that he could not hold his fort, surrendered it, but did not surrender personally on the ground that he himself belonged to the King. This feeling of unity is a symptom which cannot be explained away except in terms of political nationalism.

Secondly, the great sacrifices which the rebels cheerfully made have not been fully assessed so far. Hundreds and thousands lost their all and gave up their lives. Was it because some political adventurers misled them? The selfless spirit which is seen on a grand scale in different regions of India during the Mutiny is a proof of the fact that a vague feeling of patriotism must have been there.

Thirdly, if the rebels were inspired by the cultural ideology of "*Dharma*" or "*Din*", this was the foundation on which Indian national awakening rested in the last century. In the West the foundation of nationalism was a cultural and economic sense of oneness. In India it was different thing. As the country was under the economic exploitation of the British, the first stirring of nationalism came in the religious sphere rather than in the economic.

Fourthly how is it possible to explain that during the Mutiny different elements of society, high and low, baron and peasant, man and woman, and Brahmin and Untouchable all forgot their age-old differences and joined in a common cause? From contemporary sources plenty of evidence is available to show that a remarkable social brotherhood was seen at first in a number of centres. This sense of social brotherhood must be interpreted in terms of

political nationalism; otherwise this would be both strange and unintelligible.

Fifthly, the fact has not been explained by the English historians as to why village after village in parts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh shook off the British rule and declared independence. In many places the whole countryside was in open revolt. In some areas of the Doab even criminals and dacoits are known to have joined in the common rising against the British. In many places the houses and properties of those who were loyal to the British were attacked and plundered. The lives of the Indian subordinates of the Company were in danger in the midst of the mob fury which broke out in many parts. These facts which have not received the attention they deserve, lead us to think that a new-born feeling of patriotism must have been the cause of these.

Lastly, why was not the Mutiny a localised affair? Why did it become widespread in different regions of India? Even though there was no well-thought-out plan or any pre-conceived scheme on a fully national scale the insurrection occurred simultaneously at many places of the country. It was certainly not chance or accident which made it widespread, but the popular feeling that the foreign rule must be resisted. Had there not been a common feeling against foreign imperialism, the outbreak could not have been countrywide. It would have remained a local affair as in the previous cases of the Vellore Mutiny and the Barrackpore Mutiny.

The Revolt had its ups and downs, no less than temporary setbacks and ultimate failure. Incidents occurred at different places which only showed political immaturity or military short-sightedness on the part of the rebels. Misunderstandings soon appeared, when failure stared them in the face and setbacks and frustrations caused demoralisation, rivalry, and bickerings. Lack of careful planning and efficient organisation on a national scale weakened the movement. Their divided leadership was a standing source of weakness and it could

not control the mob violence which the Revolt necessarily produced. The patriotic and revolutionary urge could not be canalised in the face of helpless violence which came in the wake of the Mutiny. The vague sense of discontent which had gripped the masses and classes alike could not become all-pervasive for want of unity and control. The dispossessed and disgruntled groups of leaders who had suffered from British rule were there, but they failed to produce a leader of the character of a George Washington. The feudal or semifeudal leadership which controlled the revolt was at best an indifferent leadership, looking in contrary directions at one time, and lacking in high military skill and diplomatic finesse. While resources were lacking mere plunder could not provide the means with which the war of liberation could be managed. Princely allies were not forthcoming and rebel peasants and barons both were ill-led and ill-provided. The Company with its vast resources, military and economic, was able before long to stamp out the revolt in all parts of India. The Revolt ended almost as quickly and abruptly as it had come. The feudal classes who led the fight against the British could not throw up a bril-

liant high command. At Delhi there was scarcely any leadership. Bahadur Such himself was more a poet, musician and artist than a political leader. He was too old to formulate a scheme of rebellion of his own. Zinat Mahal, the ambitious Mughal queen, was more a schemer than a leader. The leaders whom the revolt threw up elsewhere were scattered and weak. Of them a few can be named: Nana Saheb, Azimullah, Lakshmi Bai, Tantia Tope, Vakt Khan Rohilla, Kunwar Singh, Amar Singh, Beni Madho, Maulvi Ahmud-ullah, and Hazrat Mahal. They all figured in different areas, without any concerted plan. There was no organisation and little or no means of communication among themselves. That they failed against the mighty British Empire in the end need cause no surprise.

The attempt of feudal India to throw off the foreign yoke failed not because it was not national or patriotic, but because it could not become fully democratic and well-organised. As such, the Indian Revolt of 1857 abounds in lessons and warnings. A war of national liberation against a powerful foreign State cannot succeed unless and until the masses are fully awakened and efficiently organised and led.

Superiority of Women over Men

By

PROF. K. C. PETER

NATURALLY, woman is superior to man.

Hearing it, you frown, your eye-brows getting together for a little gossip. Men laugh sarcastically; women alarm and panic. Bolder women rush to the rescue of men. Of course, men cannot survive without their help. For centuries on end, women put up with countless slurs and slights to fulfil their natural destiny—people the world. No wonder, the good wife, ignoring the coffee tap-dancing in the skyroom of the kettle for a moment,

switches on a smile at half-pressure and tells her husband in a voice like the centre of a chocolate cream: "Doubtless, the writer is wrong. Poor fool, he is bribed by reckless feminists to provide grist for their propaganda". "Are not all geniuses—great poets, painters, philosophers, scientists—all men? How many Whiteheads, Shakespeares, Kalidasa, Shaws, Darwins and Einsteins, the fair sex claims?" the he-man asks.

The Royal Society of London has at last opened its renowned women. The names of

Mme. Curie, Irene Joliet-Curie, Lisa Meitner, Gerty Cory, Selma Lagerlof, Pearl Buck and Gabriela Mistral—all, Nobel Prize winners—glow in our memory. In our own era, the achievements of Sarojini Naidu, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Amrit Kaur, Margaret Sanger and Helen Keller stare us in the face. Great triumph for women.

A flash-back into the purple patches of our past reveals man's crime against woman. And soon we realise how Time, the careless laundryman, shrinks most of our proud ideals.

In Athens, the cradle of democracy, women were denied education, freedom and vote. Plato classed "children, women and servants" together. Demosthenes shouts: "Hetairae (unattached free women) for our delight, concubines for the daily needs of our bodies, wives in order that we may get legitimate children and have faithful housekeepers." In Sparta, the Eugenist's paradise, women wrestled, boxed, ran races; their only duty was to mother Spartan soldier-supermen who fight and die. In Rome, women, tormented by male domination, lived under the control of their fathers and then of their husbands who owned "the person and property of their wives." Early Christianity was no better. Moses found women 'unclean.' The God of the Bible cursed women virtually into a beast of burden. The whole history of the church commands obedience from women. Tertullian tells them: "The sentence of God on this sex of yours lives in this age. You are the devil's gateway. You destroy God's image, Man." Prophet Mohammed, in a fit of divine inspiration, declared. "There is no calamity more harmful to man than woman." "The woman's lot" writes Doughty "is here (Arab countries) unequal concubinage and in this necessitous life a weary servitude". And woman's way to the mosque stands barred. In the middle ages, wife-beating was common; a baron didn't shrink back from taking the deceased knight's wife along with his fief. The witches were burned, the nuns cloistered and

ladies, though cultured and enlightened, accepted their husbands' tyranny. Bernard Shaw describes the patriarchal home as "girl's prison house and woman's work-house". In the first half of the 20th century itself, Hitler restricted woman's world to "her husband, her family, her children and her house", while Mussolini's slogan, was "Men to war, women to maternity". Thus society, church, morality, economic framework and male-domination conspired to degrade woman into a slave, tied down to Kaiser's KKK (Kinder, Kuche, Kirche) slogan. Even now, strict obedience is expected from women in the orient. India was no exception till recent times. "Woman is the first exploited class in history" concludes Thorsten Veblen.

Chewing cuds of reminiscences, perhaps the male may make a last quixotic attempt to make his dominion over woman intact—mostly through economic power. But man is learning fast from woman.

Every ancient civilisation worshipped the omnipotent feminine power personified as the supreme goddess of fertility. In Greece, the Delphic oracle was under priestesses. In the Jewish community, on the eve of Sabbath, the woman lights the sacred candles and says grace. Hindu ethics venerates woman as 'Mother'. Pallas Athene did come out of the head of Zeus, the God of Gods, in full armour. In the era of intellectual analysis, the French Revolution was busy erecting altars to the Goddess of Reason. Almost all the ancient civilisations have their own great women, noble spirits. Diotima taught Plato the art of love; foreign-born Aspasia helped Pericles govern, upholding 'natural justice' and even wrote the famous funeral oration. Cicero, Cato and Juvenal cheered the noble Roman matrons who took to arts, culture and politics. Middle ages had its lady abbesses and ladies of wit and learning. The crusades brought chivalry and chivalry "the adoration of the virgin in heaven and its counterpart the adoration of a particular lady on earth". 16th century

Neoplatonism—the cult of spiritual love between man and woman—gave the female considerable freedom. Despite the decline of woman's status in the 18th century, in the 19th woman became more articulate. Organisations like the Blue-stockings Clubs sparkplugged the feminist revolution for equality of sexes. Then came the Russian revolution and Lenin's open advocacy of rights to women "affording women equally with men the right to work, rest, social insurance and education, state protection of the interests of the mother and child, granting pregnancy leave with pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens." Soon the movement gathered momentum and spread to Europe, America and the orient. Still there are fifteen countries where women do not have the right to vote.

John Langdon-Davies argues that woman need not pride over her capacity to bear children, for if Nature wanted, children can be had by the asexual process as in the case of Copromonas, Bodos etc. But he admits reluctantly that "sex is increased ability for variation whereby the offspring has a greater reservoir of characteristics upon which to draw and in consequence an exalted chance of success in the struggle for existence." If so, women have a double function—that of individuals (like men) and that of maternity.

Nature provides more girls than boys. Though about 108 boys are born to 100 girls, more boys die off, leaving an excess of female children. Organically, the female sex is stronger. A survey of 30 important countries shows that at all ages the expectation of life for woman is invariably greater. In size and strength, the male is superior. That shows nothing but the male assuming greater responsibility for the female and children from the dawn of humanity onwards. In proportion to body-weight, women have larger brains than men. In physical skills, men displayed more vigour and took risks, because men were trained that way from childhood, while women were

asks to avoid risks. In verbal ability of a scholastic nature, artistic turn out of imaginative words, freedom from colour-blindness, musical qualities, artistic abilities such as dress-making and interior decoration, women stood out.

In the First World War, women were called upon to replace men in diverse occupations. They turned out to be excellent busdrivers, conductors, factory hands, farm labourers, supervisors and executives. Writes Ashley Montague: "At first it was said that they didn't do as well as men, then it was grudgingly admitted that they weren't so bad, and by the time the war was over many employers were reluctant to exchange their women employees for men." In the Second World War, women were a better success. In USSR, women fought side by side with men and performed the singularly heroic task of carrying the wounded on their backs from the battle-field. All these point to one fact. As Alfred Alder asserts: "Masculine dominance is not a natural thing...Certain characteristics count as masculine, others as feminine, albeit there is no basis to justify these valuations...Characteristic which seem to prove this fallacious contention of the inferiority of women prove themselves on closer observation as nothing more than the manifestation of an inhibited psychic development."

The chromosomal structure of the sexes makes interesting study. In the sex-cells, there are 24 chromosomes. Only one of these is a sex-chromosome. Half the sperm-cells carry X-chromosomes and half carry Y-chromosomes. The female 'ova' are made up of X-chromosomes. When X-bearing sperm fertilises an ovum, the female offspring results. And Y-bearing sperm fertilises an ovum to create the male offspring. The Y-chromosome is but the merest bit of a remnant of a X-chromosome, a crippled X-chromosome. The X-chromosome is a developed structure. The Y-chromosome is not. So the creature called the male is an incomplete female.

What of it? It means a lot. The male's chromosomal deficiency determines his incapacity to have babies. This self-same deficiency causes in males bark-like skin (ichthyosis hystrix gravior), dense hairy growth on the ears (hypertrichosis), hard lesions of the hand and feet (Keratoma dissipatum) and a kind of webbing on the toes. Hemophilia (Bleeder's disease) is linked with X-chromosome; but males alone are the victims, because Y-chromosome cannot suppress this noxious gene. 8% of males are colour-blind; but the incidence on females is half of 1%. The explanation is the same. Need we go further?

The two great World Wars pricked the bubble of woman's over-emotional nature. Women withstood the worst of rigours better—blockade, bombardment, concentration camps. War's psychic casualties are mostly males. There are more men in mental hospitals than women. From fertilisation onwards, more males die than females. Death from almost all causes carry to the grave more men. Women are frequently ill; but they get over it quickly and easily. In the United States, women expect to live 71 years, men 65.5. Women are better shock-absorbers. Today males reveal more of hysteric and hysteriform conditions than women; the proportion is 7 to 1. Epilepsy claims more males. On the average 'stuttering' affects 8 males while only one female falls victim. Thus women, obviously enough, shall be saluted both for their looks and their natural superiority over men. Perhaps a wave of hot fury may rise in your (male's) throat. And you may think of tightening the screws on women in vain.

Biologically, the female seems to be the genuine article; the male is only a derivative. Vaertings says that the ruling sex is always masculine and the ruled feminine. Margaret Mead finds 'feminine' and 'masculine' interchangeable terms from society to society.

Broadly speaking, man has a brain; woman has a brain plus a womb. Man's life has only one functional centre; woman has two. For

woman, the sexual function is essential; for man, it is accidental. American biologist Loeb shows that eggs of sea-urchins can be fertilised by putting them in a special salt solution. So, if necessary, the male-urchin's function can be dispensed with. The woman's sexual function is 'receiving, conserving and creating'. Woman is instinct with matter. Aristotle finds in her 'arch-matter', Swiss ethnologist Bachofen 'materiality' and Frobenius 'a culture of realism and anti-spirituality'. Like matter, she is 'static, solid, fecund'. Hence, her personality expands, not develops, enriching the world materially. The woman 'knows' as if by intuition, a faculty that made her priestess, witch and sorceress. The best example is Joan of Arc. Prof. Marjorie Nicholson explains woman's greatness thus: "Women have no wives". For her, everything is part of an all-embracing whole.

Woman's logic is material logic, the intrinsic law of things. Her morality and sense of duty are self-chosen, natural. The woman initiates the creative process by exciting the desire of man; the final outcome depends on her choice. Compelled otherwise, she freezes into frigidity. Man's emotions cool off after sex-act, woman's are left behind. Unlike man, she is more child-like. In approach to reality, man is a do-er, woman a be-er. Her being, master and creator of the art of living, is to live life fully and intensely. With man, sex-act is an end in itself; with woman, it is the start of a rapturous love-Odyssey. And she is anchored to her substance. Between 11 and 15, 90% of males ejaculate for the first time, while women hardly indulge in masturbation. Teen-age males are more capable of sexual performance than men over 30; women's ability of sexual performance develops gradually, becomes more capable around 30. The essence of feminine sexuality, is permanence. Each time a woman loves, a bit of her dies. Woman feels with the full force of her sexual awareness, to which her whole being responds. Man's approach is individualised, intentional, analytical. Woman repre-

sents continuity, man 'the fleeting moment'. In woman, knowing and being coincide.

Biologically, castration, removing the ovaries, has no appreciable effect on woman. Remove man's testicles, he is unman-ed. Recent experiments show that female could be more easily transformed into male than male into female. Therefore, is not man a higher evolved being than woman? No. Higher degree of differentiation and greater sensitiveness can be signs of degeneration. Havelock Ellis believes that human race is developing towards the 'female' type. Biology refuses to claim the male as the masterpiece of creation. "The woman is the solid ground of reality from which the man can start his flight into the realm of spirit and to which he returns as the giant Antaeus in the Greek myth had to lie down from time to time and kiss Mother Earth in order to suck new strength from her inexhaustible store" says Oswald Schwarz. Otherwise, every time he climbs, he slips and falls. No wonder, as V. Klein holds, woman forms "the social nucleus of primitive organisation, that fixed point to which men returned from their exploits". For woman, pleasure arrives more through suffering. Man is at home where he works; woman is at home where she expresses herself uninhibited. Man's love is personal, women's more sweeping and impersonal. Man's progress is towards specialisation, woman's towards the all-round human being. While man anchors on to ideals, difficult to realise, woman longs to live and live fully.

If woman can be saved from the inhibitions of this male-dominated civilisation, her natural qualitative superiority can catapult human civilisation to a juster, higher and nobler plane.

Observes Ashley Montague: "The maternalising influences of being a mother in addition to the fact of being a woman has from the very beginning of human species—about a million years ago—made the female the more humane of the sexes". The mother-child relationship, the model for all human relationships, something men can't share in full, makes the female "more considerate, more self-sacrificing, more co-operative and more altruistic" than the male. This adds to her natural biological advantage: "a competence in social understanding which is usually denied the male". Often men keep a single-track mind. Women make ready adjustments and adapt themselves to changing circumstances. Women love the whole human race, while men are 'almost hostile to it'. Doubtless, women have the duty of teaching men how to be human, a duty that laughs at rest.

What use is intellect alone without humanity? "Without adequate mothers, life becomes inadequate, nasty unsatisfactory and Mother Earth becomes battlefield on which fathers slay their young and are slain themselves", adds Ashley Montague. The sooner we give the right place to woman, the better for our civilisation. Not in vain did Bertrand Russell say: "The less you know, the hotter you get".



The Upanisads

By

Prof. G. C. JHALA.

OUR tradition holds that the Vedas are inspired or 'made' by God and are eternal. Unlike the *Ramayana*, which was composed by the sage Valmiki, or the *Manusmṛiti*, which was composed by Manu, the Vedas have no author who might have created them. It is true individual hymns or, sometimes mantras, have their Rsis whose names are known to us; yet those Rsis are not the authors, but only 'Visioners'—'Seers', by the grace of God, of those hymns or Mantras. Broadly speaking, Vedic literature is generally believed to comprise the Samhitas of the Rgveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda and Atharva-Veda. However, as any one with a superficial acquaintance with Vedic literature knows, the Veda comprises the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanisads also. The Samhitas are anthologies of Mantras. Every one of the Vedas has its own Brahmana, Aranyaka and Upanisad literature; what is more, even different sakhas or branches of each one of the four Vedas have their respective Brahmana, Aranyaka and Upanisad literatures. Although the entire Vedic literature is believed to be eternal, yet it has been found necessary to place—not merely by implication—the Brahmanas after the Samhitas and the Aranyakas and Upanisads after the Brahmanas. The reason is that the Brahmanas presuppose the existence of the Samhitas and many Aranyakas and Upanisads form part of the Brahmana texts. Thus from the point of view of logical and chronological order, the Upanisads represent the 'end' of the Vedic literature and thus well deserve the designation 'Vedanta' applied to them. From another stand-point, too, the application of the term 'Vedanta' to the Upanisads is justifiable. The Veda deals with action (karma), devotion (Upasana), and knowledge (Jnana). The Brahmana texts deal

with sacrificial and other ceremonial activities, thereby confining themselves to the treatment of Karma (action); while the Upanisads principally deal with jnana (Knowledge). And as knowledge is the only road to salvation, it is only natural that the quintessence of the Vedic literature that is preserved in the Upanisads should be recognised as the essence—the 'end'—of the Vedas, Vedanta.

Now, what does the word Upanisad signify? In the introduction to his Bhasya on the *Bṛhadaranyaka-Upanisad* Shri Sanakracharya derives the word from upa-ni-sad meaning "to destroy." Hence any lore that can put an end to worldly existence can be called *Upanisad*. He has repeated the derivation of the word in his commentary on the *Kathopanisad* also. Thus the derivative meaning of the word Upanisad would refer to Brahma - Vidya, the knowledge of Brahma. But Sankaracharya himself adds that any work in which such lore is contained can also be called *Upanisad*. Thus, texts dealing with Brahma - Vidya came to be called Upanisad.

In modern times, however, the world it sought to be derived and explained differently. The pursuit of 'action'—sacrifice *par excellence*—had reached its high, watermark during the Brahman period. The Brahmana texts are so chock—full of complex and complicated details of sacrificial ritual that thoughtful people cannot help developing an aversion to them and finding them to be very limited and narrow in their vision. The highest aim to be achieved by means of sacrificial offerings to Gods like Indra, Agni, Varuna, Prajapati, was heaven. The theory of action could hardly solve the problem of existence and life. The result was that philosophically-minded persons retired into the solitude of the forests and there pondered over the problems of God,

man and the world. These enquirers laid stress on the realization of the nature of Self and the Highest Self as the means to extricate oneself from the vortex of phenomenal existence. They considered action as of secondary importance in regard to the attainment of this goal. This uncommon lore (Vidya) could naturally not be imparted to any and every one. The teacher would call a worthy pupil by his side, make him 'sit' near by (up-ni-'sad'), and initiate him into the mysteries that himself had realized; these secret lores, therefore, come to be called *Up-ni-sad* and later on the name was extended even to other works teaching such *Vidyas*. Even for ordinary studies the student had (ceremonially) to sit near (Upa-sad) the Guru; for the study of such secret knowledge, Upa-ni-sadna was necessary. The addition of the proposition 'ni' indicates the mysterious and uncommon character of the knowledge as well as the reliability or worthiness of the pupil to whom it was imparted.

To-day, the Upanisads number nearly two hundred. Many of these, obviously, are produced under inspiration from, or in imitation of, ancient Upanisads and they betray a religious or sectional colouring. There are Saiva, Vaisnava and Sakta Upanisads; there are Upanisads dealing with yoga; as there are others dealing with Vedanta. The older Upanisads are mainly in prose but often in verse also; and it is generally on internal evidence that metrical Upanisads came into being gradually in course of time. Among the older Upanisads the following are generally included: Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya, Taittiriya, Aitareya, Chandogya, Brhadaranyaka and Svetasvatara. On the foundation of this Upanisad literature has been raised the grand superstructure of Indian philosophy, religion and ethics.

One of the many questions that are frequently asked to-day regarding the Hindu religion, sometimes out of genuine curiosity and sometimes in an attitude of insinuation, is

the following: each of the other religions prevailing in the world has its founder as well as its foundation-text; Christian religion has its founder in Christ and its foundation-text is the Bible; Islam was founded by Mohamed, Buddhism by Gautam Buddha and Jainism by Mahavira; and in each one of these, the teachings or sayings of the founder are looked upon as foundation-texts; now, it is asked, (1) who is the founder of the Hindu religion? and (2) what its foundation-text? A traditional reply to these questions is of course easily available: वेदोऽखिलो धर्मसूत्रम् (The entire Veda is the source of religion). To-day, however, we point at the Upanisads and the Gita by way of a reply to the second question and derive what satisfaction we can from having been in this respect able to be in a line with others. Such an answer is not unfair; and these texts would surely the correct guidance to anyone eager to know the nature and character of our religion. Yet, it should not be forgotten that we look upon the Gita only as a Smṛti text, despite the fact that it embodies the words of the Lord. We hardly assign to the Bhagavadgita the place which the Christian assigns to the Bible or the Muslim to the Koran. And in holding that the Upanisads are not man-made, we lose sight of the crux of the question altogether. The answers to these questions can best be given by the analogy of science. Science has no single individual as its founder and no single work as its foundation-text; it carries on a search for Truth in the 'physical' field and the contributions of many scientific workers have led to so much discovery and progress of research, some working in chemistry, others in biology or mechanics or electricity, microbiology, or geology—all, in fact, pursuing their search of Truth in its multifarious aspects. The results achieved in individual fields of scientific knowledge are naturally to be co-ordinated and integrated into a system of Truth that is all-embracing. In the same way, if 'Dharma' concerns itself with truth only, if

it inherently tends to facilitate the realization of truth and if it does not culminate in mere dogmatic beliefs and practices, then 'Dharma', too, is a search for Truth. How many sages or seers of the Vedic times have endeavoured to understand the dynamic (Rta) and static (satya) principles which are at work in the mechanism of phenomenal existence: As early as the Rgvedic times it was realized by the seers of the Mantras that there is a Unity behind the multiplicity of Indra and other gods. This realization is no small achievements of their intelligence. The same idea of an ultimate Unity runs through the Brahmanas in the conception of Prajapati as the highest deity. The Upanisad period witnessed the springtime of the efforts to investigate the nature of the ultimate Truth. Some enquirers proceeded with this enquiry from the physical macrocosmic side; others from the psychological—microcosmic—side. In the *Chandogya Upanisad*, we are told about Pracinasala Aupamanyava and five other seekers approaching Asvapati Kaikeya and learning the Vaisvanara Vidya from him, which taught that looking upon the Sun, wind, sky, etc. as the highest principle is a partial view of the ultimate Reality, which transcends them all. In the *Taittiriya Upanisad*, the nature of the soul is sought to be indicated by means of the theory of the Five Sheaths. The Samvarga—Vidya in the *Chandogya Upanisad* attempts to establish the unity of the ultimate Truth by inter-relating the macrocosmic and microcosmic spheres. In the same way, the Udgitha Vidya or five-fold *sama* theory attempts to postulate the "One without a second" transcending all phenomena.

How curious and eager we are in the matter of scientific investigation to-day. Scientific workers in one part of the world are deeply interested in the work being carried on in their chosen fields by scholars in another part. We hold conferences for the advancement and interpretation of scientific knowledge. We encourage scientists to visit centres of scientific

research in other countries. A similar ardent curiosity and seriousness is seen to characterize the seekers after Truth in the Upanisad times. The Upanisads are replete with stories of Balaki, Satyakama Jabala, Narada, Uddalaka Aruni, Indra and Virocana, Bhṛgu, Janasruti and scores of others, making journeys to learned masters for initiation into the higher knowledge which the latter possessed. The assembly-halls of Janak's court were resounding with discussions and disputation of learned men. The earnestness and sincerity of these and a host of other philosophic seekers command our respect even to-day.

It is on the foundation of the achievements of these seekers of Truth that our social conduct, religious practice, law, morality—in one word, our "Dharma"—has been based. That is why our Hindu Dharma tolerates diversity arising from differences of quality, ability, approach, and purpose; that is why it has accepted diverse 'paths'—of action (karma), devotion (Bhakti) and knowledge (Jnana); that is why a diversity of deities and symbols has been accepted; and that is why the narrow view which holds 'my religion alone is the right one, all others are false' has found no place in our Dharma; and that is why the idea of conversion has never been dreamt of by us.

The Hindu religion views all religions as equals. To a question of Kahola Kausitaka regarding the nature of the ancient "immanent soul", Yajnavalkya replied, "The soul is beyond sorrow, confusion, hunger, thirst, old age and death. When this realization dawns, one gets disgusted with learning, strength and silence and ultimately becomes a Brahma-Knower". Thereupon, Kahola further asked, "How can one become such a Brahmana (Brahma-Knower)?" Yajnavalkya replied; "येन स्यात् तेन ईदृश एव स्यात्"। ("In whatever way he becomes a Brahmana, he would be surely such a one".)

Our religion, cherishing the catholicity of Yajnavalkya's attitude, does not insist upon one or the other dogmatic belief or practice. If asked, "By which religion, can one become a truly religious man?" our religion, like Yajnavalkya, replies: "येन स्यात् तेन ईदृश एव स्यात्"।

What People Eat and Why

By

DR. W. R. AYKROYD

THE question "Why do we eat what we do in the way we do?" seems a simple one, but a moment's thought shows that there is no simple answer. In fact, human food habits depend on a variety of factors, historical, geographical, cultural, economic and so forth.

Foods can be divided into a number of main groups such as cereals, starchy roots (potatoes, yams), pulses (peas, beans, etc.), sugar, fats and oils, fruits, vegetables, meat, eggs, fish, milk. All human diets consist of these foods in varying—very varying—proportions.

The list reflects in the first place the way in which man has adapted himself to the environment presented to him by our planet at a particular stage in its existence. Given that environment, and the need for food created by the expansion of the human race from a few scattered groups into a population of 2,500 millions, it is difficult to imagine and very striking differences in the main human foods.

Man might have domesticated other grasses into cereals, surrounded himself with different domestic animals and birds, and hit on wild roots, tubers, vegetables and fruits which, after centuries of cultivation, would have rivalled or surpassed cassava, potatoes, cabbages and oranges. But this would mean differences within the food groups rather than entirely other sources of food.

The development of science may, of course, enable other sources to be tapped or created. Enthusiasts tell us that algae and grass, suitably processed, could provide human food in large quantities. There is also the prospect, somewhat remote, of "synthetic food." At the present time, however, we must make do with the foods source we have inherited.

"Food technology," in a broad sense of this term, has been as important a factor in the

development of food sources as domestication, selection and careful husbandry and cultivation. Beginning with the use of fire for roasting meat, man has learnt to 'process' most of his foods in various ways, the invention of bread being a striking example. Out of domestic and local processing have grown the food industries which turn the raw material from fields and plantations into the elegant products familiar in our shops and on our tables today.

Large-scale food industry is not new; for example, sugar has been a factory product for centuries and in ancient Rome there were great bakeries which made the bread for the proletariat. But within the last century or so the food industry has expanded to such a degree that it now exercises a profound and, on the whole, beneficial influence on human food patterns.

This was not always the case before the modern science of nutrition was born and its main findings became fairly common knowledge. The transformation of oil seeds into the widely-consumed, cheap, palatable and easily stored and transported product we call margarine is among the remarkable achievements of food technology.

Margarine as such is inferior in nutritive value to butter only because it lacks fat-soluble vitamins, but another development in food technology has made enrichment with the missing vitamins possible and qualified it to compete with butter—all too successfully from the standpoint of the dairy industry—not only in price but also in nutrient content.

Geography or locality naturally influences food patterns. Since rice, but not wheat, flourishes in South-East Asia, the inhabitants of that region are in general rice eaters rather than wheat eaters. But during recent centuries

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the effect of geography has been steadily reduced. In the first place, the useful food plants and food-producing animals originating in one region have spread round the world. Maize is today so characteristic a crop in Egypt that one is almost surprised not to find maize cobs depicted in ancient Egypt tombs; the turkey of the Americas has become, by a curious sequence of events, a symbol of the English Christmas.

Secondly, the development of transport and technology has decreased dependence on local food supplies. Many countries such as, for example, Cuba, Israel and Venezuela, today rely heavily on imported foods, though few surpass in this respect that great food importer, the United Kingdom.

Through refrigeration and other technical devices, well-to-do people anywhere in the world have an almost unlimited choice of foods. On the other hand, the majority of people in what are nowadays called the under-developed countries still live on foods which they themselves produce locally. In such circumstances, food patterns are less flexible and the diet in general more monotonous than in modern urbanized civilization.

Although human food patterns are based on the main food groups I have listed, other elements in these patterns cannot be ignored. Scientifically speaking, a diet is satisfactory if it provides calories, proteins, vitamins and minerals in sufficient quantities. People in general do not hold that view.

There are certain 'extras' in most human diets—tea, coffee, alcoholic drinks, flavouring agents, etc.—which contribute little to dietary requirements but are in practice almost as essential commodities as staple foods. Their production influences agricultural economy in many parts of the world and they figure significantly in family food budgets. People will have their 'extras' even at the expense of more nutritious articles of diet.

Books could be written about the influence of custom and habit on food patterns. Every

cultural group has its strong preferences for certain kinds of foods and cooking and for a certain timing, size and sequence of meals, eaten according to a local ritual.

Taste and flavour have a physiological basis—about which surprisingly little is known—and hence we can assume a certain rough uniformity in human palates; sweet is sweet and sour is sour to all normal human beings. But we also know that taste can be educated or conditioned so that one man's meat is another man's poison.

Apart from the underlying factor of taste, preferences stem from an interplay between tradition, food supply and the necessities imposed by the material and social environment. Each group tends to regard its food patterns as the normal and natural ones; they are, in fact, set rather deeply in national or regional cultures.

A discussion of food superstitions and taboos—also cultural phenomena—would again require a volume to itself with illustrations drawn from all types of human society, civilized and primitive.

Dr. Cicely Williams, who introduced the work 'kwashiorkor' (a form of protein malnutrition) into medical literature, writes: * 'In East Africa, where kwashiorkor is alarmingly common, there are places where meat and milk are available but the women and children do not get them. The women are told that if they eat eggs they will become sterile, if they eat fowls they will grow, if they eat goat they will grow beards.'

These are extreme examples, but there would be no difficulty in finding less picturesque ones nearer home.

Food production, processing and transport, wage levels, food prices—all these are only one side of the picture; on the other are human beings and their incalculable behaviour. But, of course, economic factors do exert a fundamental influence on dietary patterns.

* *The Lancet*, 13 February 1954, page 523.

In return for a given sum of money, certain kinds of food yield more calories than others. In the first group are cereals, starchy roots and sugar, and in the second milk products, meat and eggs. Less land and agricultural effort are needed to produce a given number of cereal calories than the same number from foods of animal origin, which are richer in some essential nutrients.

'Enough food' is a primary human necessity. When people are poor they must, to obtain sufficient calories, rely mainly on the cheaper foods. Investigations in many countries have shown that in general family diets become more varied and nutritious with increasing income and what is true of families is also broadly true of countries and regions.

In poor agricultural countries, particularly those with a high density of population per unit of cultivated land, cereals usually provide 65 per cent, or more of total calories. But here again there are the inevitable provisos and complications. Thus, while the consumption of some valuable foods rises with increasing income, that of other valuable foods may fall. Again, some poor agricultural countries obtain a better diet than others from approximately equivalent and limited food production resources.

Many studies have been made to show what people eat and whether their diets are satisfactory in quantity and quality. On a national scale, what are called "food balance sheets" have been prepared for many countries in the

world. These show the average composition and value of national diets but, on the other hand, do not reveal variations in patterns of food consumption within countries due to locality, economic status and numerous other factors. They are often inaccurate because the food supply and population statistics on which they are based are faulty and incomplete.

The direct study of family food consumption by dietary surveys supplements the data provided by food balance sheets and gives a clearer picture of food habits. Techniques for making dietary surveys in both urban and rural areas have been devised. Unfortunately such surveys are expensive and time-consuming and in only a few countries have they been made on an adequate scale.

The main object of food consumption studies is to find out whether diets fulfil requirements and to apply this knowledge in practical efforts to raise nutritional levels. These should include programmes to educate people in better habits of diet. Successful measures to improve diet call not only for knowledge of what people eat — some understanding of why they eat what they do in the way they do is also essential.

Within population groups of similar composition there are often fairly similar food consumption patterns, influence in a fairly regular way by economic factors. But in the world as a whole, the diversity of food patterns is more striking than their uniformity, and the complexity of factors which influence them is abundantly apparent.

Buddhist Art and Architecture in India After 250 A.D.

By

Dr. NIHARRANJAN ROY

ART has no lessons to teach; it can only sharpen human sensibilities, and by doing so make man more and more conscious of the realities of life and nature.

Nor is there any art that can, strictly speaking, be called "Buddhist" art. Yet one readily recognises that this is a most convenient phrase to denote the art that was, for centuries, pressed to the service of Buddhism, and to bring out in visual form some of the specific contents of Buddhist spiritual ideology and way of life.

Buddhist art of India as much as that of China, Japan and Central Asia, of Nepal and Tibet, of Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, of Java, Sumatra and Cambodia is that chapter of each cultural region, which deals with Buddhist themes. In form and technique, Buddhist art conforms to the general principles of contemporary art of the respective cultural regions, but in certain phases and periods, specific Buddhist content of ideas and conceptions called for and conditioned correspondingly specific language of form. It is only such phases and periods of art that can legitimately be called Buddhist.

All forms of art, according to the teachings of the Master, the Lord Buddha, are expressions of and lead to *vasana*, desire and nostalgia; they are instruments of 'muhurta' *sukha*, pleasures of the moment, and are therefore, to be shunned by one who aspires *nirvana*. In its attitude to art, orthodox Buddhism is thus very close to Jainism, the Sankarite Vedanta and Islam.

Yet, paradoxically, as within the folds of the last three faiths mentioned, so within that of Buddhism, art did play a role, a great and significant role, one might say, not only in extending

the physical boundaries of the religion but also in expressing the subtlest and the most sublime ideas and thoughts of the faith and in the concretisation of the most elusive, abstract and subjective visions.

To prove this statement, one has only to refer to the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures of Sarnath, Mathura and Sanchi of the sixth and seventh century, some of the segments of the wide stretches of painted walls of Bagh and Ajanta, a number of *Vajrayana* and *Tantaryana* cult images in stone and metal of Eastern India of the ninth through to the eleventh century A. D. Needless to say, the list is not exhaustive nor does it include examples from outside India. Indeed, the achievements of art in Buddhism and the services it rendered to the faith are eloquent of the creative potentialities of the faith, its depth and refinement, its appeal and strength.

Early Buddhist sculpture in India is fundamentally narrative in character; its main purpose is to tell in continuous narration, edifying tales, simply and attractively, against the background of contemporary life, tales that were supposed to underline the main principles of the faith and its important historical episodes. Architecturally, the art consisted of solid, massive stupas with elaborate gateways and railings all richly carved in relief, and rock-cut caves-vihara and *chaityas*—with or without sunwindowed doorways and pillared halls. A somewhat primitive solidity and massiveness belonged as much to the spirit of the age as to the rock itself that was their receptacle.

But already by about the second century A.D. certain fundamental changes in attitude seem to have taken place, changes that were ulti-

mately responsible for a definite shift in the form and content of Buddhist art. Buddhism was no longer a simple way of life that the Lord Buddha spoke of, nor the Lord himself simply the mundane historical being that trod the dust of Rajagriha, Bodh Gaya and dozens of other cities and villages and ceaselessly strove his way to Supreme Wisdom. The message of the Master was no longer confined within the borders of India nor to sons of the soil. It has come into intimate contact with other peoples, places, cultures and religions including Judaism and Christianity.

Within Buddhism itself and out of its own seeds had grown up powerful sects, each with their own specific emphasis and way of life. The Saingha itself and its hold on the rich agricultural and commercial communities, sometimes also on the royalty and nobility, had increased in extension. Even from earlier times the Saingha had been drawing its material sustenance from the Sresthis and *Sarthyahas*, the rich banking and trading communities, and the relatively more substantial *Grihapatis*, the agricultural householders. As years rolled on, the Saingha came more and more to lean on these segments of society, and in the second and third centuries of the Christian era, one of its main source of material sustenance, the wherewithal of the elaborate monastic establishments, was the rich Indo-Roman trade of the times.

All this could not but have its inevitable impact on the contemporary Buddhist art of India, and nowhere is the impact so clearly marked than at Mathura and throughout the lower valleys of the Krishna and the Godavari, in the rich and elaborate monastic establishments of the two places the viharas and chaityas and the still more elaborately carved railings and gateways, a fraction only of which have yielded to the excavator's spade. This is true, to an extent, at any rate, of the contemporary Buddhist establishments of Western India as well.

With the creation of a real bourgeois society a change in the social taste and also in the attitude towards life was but inevitable. What this change was like is writ large on the sculptures of Mathura of the first and second centuries A.D., but more on the marbles of Amaravati and Nagarjuna Kunda, Goti and other places of the Krishna—Godavari Valley, and belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era.

In the meanwhile, the image of the Buddha had come to stay, the Buddha as understood either in terms of supra-human physical form and temporal power and dignity, or in terms of Hellenistic iconography, or in those of both. The inner meaning of the term 'Buddha,' the Illuminated one, in whom shone the effulgence of the light of supreme wisdom, whose body had shed all its earthly weight and had become like melting butter with *Karuna* or compassion, also aglow with spiritual light and energy, was yet to make itself felt in visual art.

Frankly, this was a matter of spiritual realisation, and that realisation becoming a common property of the people including the artists. But the story of India's inner life during the third and fourth centuries is not sufficiently known. Many things happened during these two centuries, and we can only somewhat vaguely feel that a tremendous inner turmoil and searching of hearts had been going on inside all the Indian religions and philosophies, Buddhism and Buddhist thought not excepted, as much as within the various cadres and orders of social and economic life. Out of the seeds of these two hundred years emerge such names as those of Vatsyana and Kalidasa, of Udyotakara and Dinnage, of Asanga and Vasubandhu, and such facts as the final reaction of India's two great epics, of the Puranas and perhaps also a large section of Pali Buddhist literature, as new Buddhist logic and a new Buddhist ideology.

The last, this Buddhist thought and ideology was crystallised into what is known as Yoga-

chara, very closely related to the evolved yoga system of contemporary Hinduism and Jainism. The fluid and luminous ideology of the *yogachara* coupled with the Mahayanist ideal of Karuna or compassion, imparted to the age old Theravada and Sarvastivada ideologies, a new vision and a new meaning, and brought out fully what was latent in the teachings and practices of the lord Buddha, himself. Indeed, the full connotation of the term Buddha, the great conqueror of the body and the mind, the supremely illuminated being, yet at the same time soft, tender and melting in compassion for all sentient beings, emerged at last and slowly but surely took shape and form under the hammer and chisel of the sculptor, and the brush and colour of painter.

And thus was born the supremely refined and sensitive and profoundly spiritual Gupta Buddhist sculptures of the Ganga-Yamuna valley, particularly of Sarnath, of Bengal and Bihar, of Sanchi, and the paintings of Bagh, Ajanta and Sigiriya, all belonging to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.

This is, indeed, the peak period of Buddhist art in India as anywhere in the world, and once and for all set the standard of vision and imagination, of form and technique, of conceptions of volume and plasticity, of later Buddhist art in India, of contemporary and later Buddhist art of Central Asia, China and Japan, of Nepal and Tibet, of Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, of Java, Sumatra and Cambodia.

All these local schools and periods drew their sustenance from this golden period of Buddhist art in India and sought to work on their specific local tastes, ideologies and atmospheres in terms of standard of achievement of these few centuries. Indeed, the measure of the aesthetic and spiritual value and significance of all later schools and periods of Buddhist art in India and outside, is the measure of the extent they reached towards the attainment of this ideal.

The first of this high peaks of Buddhist art is the human figure which is the receptacle of an inner dynamism lying latent almost in a state of rest and yet imparting to the body, its limbs and face, to its fingers and its gestures, a form that is vibrant with life and a meaning that suggests calm and contemplative joy. This is true not only of the Buddha figure but of those of the Bodhisattvas and of ordinary human beings, and in an extended manner, of plants and animals as well. Stories from old life of the Master and sometimes from the Jatakas, continued to be sculptured and painted but they had all but lost their narrative character, except in the paintings of Ajanta, and the emphasis centred more and more round the figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

The story of later Buddhist sculpture in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, as much as in Nepal and Tibet, where Buddhism came practically to be confined during the eighth and the following centuries, is the story of the consolidation of the values learnt and imbibed during the sixth and seventh centuries but with slow but sure lessening of the understanding of inner dynamism of the essential life process as well as of specific Buddhist content of inner spiritual illumination. This led inevitably to a hardening of the plasticity of volume, and increasing petrification of what was once fluid and luminous.

This somewhat stagnating process was, however, relieved to a great extent by the increasingly varied and complex pantheon reared up by the highly esoteric Vajrayana and other later forms of Buddhism. These later schools and sects of Buddhism, all saturated by Tantric ideas and ideologies, had a vigour and vitality of their own which imparted a quality of dynamic naturalism, of a somewhat sensuous character, to the rounded plasticity of volume and to the complexity of the vigorous compositional structure. In the expression of sheer vitality and strength, of external dynamism, and in craftsmanship, some of the strength, of

Vajrayana—Tantrayana images in stone and bronze, also in manuscript painting, reach the high tide of mediaeval art in India, and did largely influence the contemporary Buddhist art of South-East Asia.

Even in a short survey this purports to be, the paintings of Bagh and Ajanta, deserve more than a passing notice, not merely for the high, noble and dignified quality of the painter's art that Ajanta, and Bagh record for a continuous five or six centuries, a fact which has found recognition all the world over, but for the picture they afford of the specific Buddhist way of life as understood and lived by the contemporary Buddhist Saingha. Here is no negation, but only fullest acceptance of life in its variegated hues, in its mundane pains and pleasures as much as in its spiritual joys and bliss, all in the midst of a fresh and abundant nature, of life understood and lived in a chaste, elegant and contemplative atmosphere and accepted in calm and dignified repose. From out of this reposeful and contemplative life emerge the chaste and dignified, the luminously fluid and compassionate figures of Padmapani and Avalokitesvara, the personifications, as it were, of the quintessence of Mahayana Buddhism.

Buddhist architecture in India after the third century, has not much to show except in the sphere of structural viharas or monasteries, and in one or two instances of Chaityas and temples.

But contemporary Buddhism made the most significant contribution to Indian and Eastern architecture, in the sphere of vihara or monastic establishments. From primitive rockcut viharas to the elaborate structural viharas built of brick and intended for residence, worship, study and congregation, it is a long story of gradual evolution from simple and rudimentary to complex and elaborate establishments in different segments and in several pyramidically receding storeys. The ruins of the long and elaborate rows of viharas of the university city of Nalanda of early mediaeval times, the ruins of similar viharas at Paharpur and Lauriya Nandangarh, provide sufficient evidence of what these elaborate monastic establishments were like and what architectural grandeur and magnificence they had reached. They are the great pride of Buddhist architecture in India, these structural viharas, and served presumably as models of the storeyed temples of Pagan in Burma and of the group of Brahmanical temples of Prambanam in Java.



Frustration

Mr. AJIT KUMAR MUKERJI

WE dread the very name of Freud. He wrote a lot on Taboo. But he failed to foresee that Freud himself was destined to be the most marked Taboo of the 20th century. The world of ideas we live in is not that of a courageous materialist. We are used to the evasion of the realities of life. This attitude lies at the root of our distaste for Freud. If a respectable man is told that deep down his consciousness is hidden unsated desires and chaotic con-

flicts, he will avert his eyes in disgust. But that does not mend matters. Nature will have her revenge. Psychologists recognise that political upheavals too are related in a rather intimate way with violent conflicts in the mind of individuals who constitute the substance of political associations. Some regard wars as the expression of conscious human will. But those who believe in the scientific standpoint perceive in them chiefly the revenge of repressed human nature.

Professor Rexford Hersey of Pennsylvania University advanced a very interesting theory to explain violent moral conflicts resulting in suicidal sense of frustration. Before he came into the field the generally accepted notion was that elation or depression depended on success or failure in life. He was the first to hold that the notion was erroneous. His theory of Emotional Energy cycle was a revolutionary departure in approach. Every mind, as we all recognise, is subject to the emotional extremes of elation and depression. Hersey pointed out that these follow with regularity in a cyclic order. His theory was that the succession of these contrasted emotional states will follow at regular intervals irrespective of the changes in the world outside. Generally speaking, the period of the cycle is 4 to 5 weeks.

The findings on which the Energy cycle theory is based are capable of fruitful application in the common man's familiar problems of life. There are times when we get on in life; events seem to shape favourably more or less unexpectedly. Similarly there are contrary trends in life too. These ebbs and tides often evade explanation. Astrology is an outmoded approach to such mysteries. Professor Hersey put forward a scientific explanation. He held that everyone should try to discover the period of his Energy cycle. He should go slow during the ebb period and should be satisfied with the routine work of his occupation and avoid new burdens. Hersey held that our fortune depends on the state of our consciousness. The alternative astrological approach is that human fortune depends on the course of the stars. It is for modern man to choose between rival solutions.

Abraham Meyerson, Professor of Neurology in the Tufts College Medical School, writes in the symposium entitled 'why men fail!' edited by Dr. Morris Fishben and William White. "Our civilisation is so tense, so full of noise and bustle that the wonder is not that some of us become neurasthenic but that all of us do

not break down under the burden. We turn night into day and stimulate ourselves constantly when we should rest. When such worries become obsessive, the first question to ask yourself, is 'Am I on the verge of exhaustion? A fresh vigorous mind can throw off the disagreeable, a jaded mind becomes its prey.'

Cases of nervous breakdown abound in the West. It was the usual practice to treat nervous breakdown with medicine and diet regulation. But such treatment was seldom effective as the malaise was chiefly mental. Dr. E. J. Hepler, founder of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester discovered a way of treating such cases by the psychological method. Dr. Kepler found that sufferers from chronic fatigue felt better after physical exertion. The old method of treatment was to provide more nutrition through proper diet and medicine.

'But why should a man feel better after exertion if the ailment is debility?' thought Kepler. The natural conclusion was that the problem was chiefly one of maladjustment in the moral plane. He found confirmation of his slowly emerging theory in the closely parallel view first propounded by Richard Cabot, Harvard University in his important book 'What Men Live By.' It was published in 1914.

Dr. Cabot held that men's moral world is capable of division into four clearly marked provinces. They are Love, Work, Worship and Play. Love was used to mean a experience of moral interdependence which a normally happy married couple is familiar with. Work, means congenial occupation and not aimless activity. 'Worship' does not signify devotion to an imaginary divinity alone; it includes allegiance to a noble ideal calling for self-sacrifice and great moral effort. Similarly the import of 'play' is clearly defined. It excludes betting and gambling in a race.

The substance of the Kepler-Cabot system is that a harmonious blend of the four ele-

ments make for happiness; the excess of any one element led to boredom, fatigue and enertia. Dr. Kepler elicited from his patients elaborate details about their mode of living. The patient was made to give satisfactory answers to questions about the usual period of his work, the nature of his pastime, details about his love life, his religious outlook and various other significant details of his life and

conduct. The answers to the questionnaire gave the clue to the problem: which of the four elements love, work, worship and play was ignored and which overemphasised. The patient was told that he was free from physical ailment and that he would attain normal efficiency if he made the necessary change in his mode of living.

Sarvodaya and Communism

By

SHRIMAN NARAYAN

DURING the recent general elections there was no particular national issue which was brought to the fore. Except the problem of Kashmir which was suddenly thrown into prominence by the hasty resolution of the Security Council, the election campaigns of different political parties were not fought primarily on an ideological plan. Congressmen, in accordance with the Indore Resolution, generally carried on their election campaign on a high level without indulging in abuse or re-creminations. Congressmen explained to the electorate the outlines of the Second Five-year Plan and enumerated the achievements of the first Plan. They also placed before the electorate India's basic foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. The communal parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh, conducted their campaign mainly by exploiting the religious or communal sentiments of the masses and told all kinds of false stories about top most national leaders. The Hindu Code was placed before the electorate in a distorted manner and people specially women, were asked to take religious oaths for voting against the Congress. Apart from the illegality and corrupt practice involved in this campaign of communal parties, we are, indeed, sorry that

the level of public life was brought to a low level in these electioneering activities. The P.S.P. and the Socialist Party had no clear-cut policies to place before the electorate, except that they differed from the Congress on minor points and were not satisfied with the pace of legislation and economic reforms.

The Communist Party of India was in a confused state of mind because of de-Stalinization and recent events in Poland and Hungary. But they tried their best to exploit the weaknesses of other political parties including the Congress and took advantage of some of the inherent shortcomings of the Indian people including casteism, communalism and linguism. They used the well-known technique of forging United Fronts of Opposition candidates although these candidates had no common ideology or programme. Their sole purpose was to defeat the Congress candidates wherever it was possible, by any methods, fair or foul. It would, therefore, be wrong to think that the success of the Communist candidates in Kerala or elsewhere is due to the acceptance by the people of the Communist ideology or principles. In fact, the Communists told the people that they had no fundamental differences with the foreign policy of the Prime Minister or the

economic policy underlying the Second Five-year Plan. They spoke against the local leaders and appealed to the electorate to return atleast some Opposition candidates to preserve democracy in India. Internal indiscipline and dissensions amongst Congressmen in some places also helped the Communist Party to gain more seats in different areas. It cannot, therefore, be stated that the victory of the Communists in Kerala or in some other portions of a few states is due to the appreciation of Communists ideas by the Indian people.

It should however be realised by all of us that, besides removing our own weaknesses and shortcomings in the organisation and the administration, we will have to meet the challenge of Communism on the ideological front. Communism is a well-known philosophy of life which was formulated by Karl Marx and later on developed by Lenin, Engels and Stalin. The Communists essentially believe in the theory of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. They maintain that economic progress is possible only by accentuating class hatred and conflict and ultimately bringing about a violent revolution resulting in the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theory of dialectical materialism has been a basis of Communist programme in different countries like Russia, China and some of the Eastern European countries. In India too, the Communist Party, although always professing the principles of peace and democracy, has been trying its best to cement violent conflicts by exploiting all types of explosive situations either in connection with the re-organisation of States or labour strikes or land riots. Although they loudly talk of democratic procedures, the fact remains that no communist country allows other political parties to function in their areas. They neither believe in the freedom of the Press nor of expression. There is no reason to believe that the Communist Party in India would behave differently in these essential aspects of totalitarianism and violence if they get proper opportunities to consolidate their position in this country.

In Kerala, the Communist Party has been able to form the Government, although with a slender majority and with the help of some Independents. They have declared in very clear terms that they would try to function within the frame-work of democracy in accordance with the Indian Constitution. But we will have to closely watch their administrative actions from day to day in order to see whether they function in a democratic manner or try to use the administrative power for consolidating their party in accordance with their well-known techniques. It is nobody's intention to stand in the way of the progressive social and economic legislation which the Communist Government may like to enact in Kerala. Land reforms, reorientation of the educational system in terms of Basic Education, eradication of administrative inefficiency or corruption at low levels, establishment of a network of village and cottage industries for removing unemployment and under-employment are measures which should be welcomed by every body. But nowhere else except in Kerala, the Communists have been able to form the Government through a democratic process. The Communist Party, therefore, will have to take special precautions to demonstrate the truth of their profession that they would function within the Democratic Constitution of India.

Gandhiji always told us that the Communist doctrine of class conflict and violence was basically different from his own philosophy of Sarvodaya or non-violent Socialism. He was never tired of repeating that the end could never justify the means and if wrong methods were employed to attain right objectives, the purity of the objective was polluted by the use of impure means. That is why he condemned the Communist policies and programmes and always insisted on the democratic and non-violent approach to all social and economic problems. Even for the attainment of political freedom for India, he never tolerated the use of violence, secrecy or untruth. He was of the firm opinion that violence

and democracy are incompatible and, in fact, nullify each other. The curtailment of personal or individual freedom is a totalitarian set up was hostile to the very ideal of the Sarvodaya Society. Gandhiji visualized a non-violent society in which the individual as well as the community would have the fullest scope for self-expression and development. He planned in terms of Gram Raj or village self-government in which the rural communities could function, more or less, on a self-sufficiency basis without either exploiting others or allowing others to exploit them. He thought in terms of moral and spiritual values in addition to the material considerations. While Communism is essentially materialistic, Sarvodaya visualizes a healthy synthesis of physical and moral values of life. That is why Gandhiji always told us that Communism was not suited to the innate genius of the Indian nation. He was very categorical in his statement that Communism would not flourish on the Indian soil.

The Congress, during the next few years, will be required to face and fight communalism on the one hand and communism on the other. Needless to mention that communalism is a great evil which corrodes the very idea of nationalism and tends to disrupt India's unity and solidarity. It is as undesirable as communism, if not worse. It is essential to face the evils of communalism and casteism with frankness and boldness. In some areas, particularly in the South, Congress candidates took or, perhaps, connived at the support of communal parties. This is indeed, highly unbecoming of a great organisation like ours. Wherever any political organisation was weak, they tried to take full advantage of casteism and Communalism. But where the organisation was strong and the candidates had living contacts with the people, these evil forces could not raise their head. We are happy to find that on the whole, the Indian electorate has discarded the candidates of communal parties and has responded to the appeal of democracy and nationalism.

Congressmen will also be required to face the dangers of Communist ideology with firmness and understanding. It is no use condemning the Communist Party in general terms without fully understanding the implications of Communism and explaining these implications in some detail to the people. The Communist technique was expounded by Karl Marx more

than hundred years ago under different social and economic conditions of European countries at that time. It would be absurd to try to recreate similar conditions in India in the latter half of the twentieth century. The world has advanced towards the ideal of mutual co-operation and peaceful co-existence and the old methods of class war and violent upheavals have become out of date. Even in Russia where Communism first established itself, the Communist Party has now realised the futility of several of its programmes including compulsory collectivisation and excessive police or military repression. Although each country has every right to pursue its own economic or political modes of behaviour, and India has not the slightest intention of interfering with the economic ideology and programmes of other countries, we should on our own part, strain every nerve to explain to people the urgent need for understanding the background of our own ancient heritage and culture and develop our social, economic and political life in accordance with the ancient traditions. A deep study of Indian culture and civilization would make it abundantly clear that Communist philosophy is foreign to our national heritage and genius. Non-violent socialism or Sarvodaya or "Panch Parmeshwar" idea has been the very breadth of Indian culture. The Congress idea of a Socialist pattern, as has been made clear by our leaders from time to time, will necessarily have to progress in this direction. Sarvodaya is the very anti-thesis of Communism. There is hardly anything common between the two and there can be no compromise between them. As Vinobaji observes; similarity between Sarvodaya and Communism is the similarity of two persons who have considerable physical resemblance but one is living and the other is dead.

The Congress has to achieve the Socialist Pattern of Society as speedily as possible in this country by increasing agricultural and industrial production, providing gainful employment to the idle manpower, expeditiously reducing social and economic disparities and assuring minimum living standards to the poorest sections of the population. But all this will have to be done through the non-violent, peaceful and democratic methods and not through mutual hatred, violence and totalitarian measures. India, in our opinion, is destined to show the Sarvodaya or the Gandhian way and not imitate the Communist or the Marxian way.

Contemporary American Fiction

By

Prof. JAGDISH CHANDER, M.A.,

AMERICAN Literature is like a plant that has grown out of a hothouse. The conditions under which it began were most unfavourable to literary growth. It had to contend against the huge size of the country, lack of means of communication, dearth of publishers, international copyright and so on. But the American novel has had a greater share of difficulties. It had to fight against a still more formidable enemy, the moral taboo. Novels were looked upon as depraved compositions which a 'young girl could read only when the governess was away' and the novelists lived under a perpetual childhood of prescription. The pulpit was the first to attack the novels. They were condemned for their two-fold threat—to morality and to democracy. The novel was regarded as an engine in the hands of the fiends of darkness. Even a book like Tom Jones was considered as evil. Moral censure was therefore a powerful deterrent to the production of novels. So to say there was an informal censorship. Every novelist betrayed a nervous apprehension because of the atmosphere of disapproval that prevailed. There was no genius like Smollett or Fielding who could once for all place the novel in the hierarchy of American Literature. Because of these moral taboos the early American novelists began to look upon novel not as a mirror of life but as a vehicle for promoting morality. Consequently they tried to label vice and virtue by drawing a sharp line of demarcation between the elect and the damned. No novelist could dare to pronounce like Fielding, "Every man has something of a rogue and every woman something of a rake." On the other hand the early American novelists painted their villains as pitch black and their heroes without blemish. This naturally led to unreal characterization and a novel with characters ready-made and cut to the measure without any approximation to reality is anything but a

novel. It is surprising that before 1820 about ninety novels appeared in the American press but not even one of them has been able to survive the onslaught of time.

But thanks to the efforts of great masters like Mark Twain, Henry James and others, the contemporary American fiction is a well-groomed, full-grown plant fit to occupy an honourable niche in the orchard of American Literature. It has conquered moral taboos as well as the formlessness of technique. Both as an art, form and as a vehicle of propaganda, the American novel has overshadowed all other forms of literature and has been put to a variety of uses. It has become the representative of new urges of American society. It embodies the great reform movements that swept over the U.S.A. It has helped to build new institutions and deride old ones which had outlived their utility. It contains the reactions of a sensitive and intelligent American against the unprecedented expansion and multiplicity of wealth that occurred in America and swept the average American off his feet. Novelists, like Edith Wharton attacked the narrow culture, the rigid code and the lack of defensive vitality of the American Society. We Indians, particularly, have sometimes looked askance at American culture for its lack of spiritual content but usually our impressions are based on the accounts that we read of the feats of military adventurers and commercial magnates. But there have been some well-meaning and sensitive American writers who through their novels have again and again asked their people to recapture the spiritual values which they were losing in their mad rush for wealth and craze for skyscrapers. They have vehemently and persistently condemned the machine-made materialism and inspired its generation not to lose the spiritual force and the virility of its ancestors. The

American novelists have realized more and more the dictum of Cooper that a nation could not have literature without having manners. Writers like Ellen Glasgow have openly chastised American society as irresponsible and frivolous and have boldly pointed out that American society had nothing to recommend itself except its security and that too was uncertain. Above all the contemporary American novelist sees America in a national perspective and when he takes up the pen in hand, he feels with a feeling of elation that he is writing the history of a race of races, the history of a nation which has come to occupy a foremost place in the galaxy of nations. In short the contemporary American fiction is a powerful vehicle for the expression of new thoughts and urges. And the story does not end here. All these novelists take infinite care and inspired by great masters of the technique of fiction from every country, look upon perfect expression as the hardest and the most important task. Writers like Henry James have made a notable contribution in inspiring the artistic conscience of their fellow-writers.

In a land where man's enterprise and spirit of adventure has converted clay into gold, it was but natural that social justice and economic equality should come to the forefront as literary themes. The contemporary American novel, therefore, became a platform from where to reiterate the cry for social justice. Complexities of modern industry created entirely new conditions. Within a few years a relatively simple economy was replaced by an intricate and gigantic structure. Monopolies encroached upon individual enterprise. Formerly the struggle was between man and nature but now it became a struggle between man and man. The warrior of barbarism gave way to the priest and the noble of feudalism to the trader and the financier. Class-struggle was daily becoming more acute and the unequal distribution of wealth concentrated attention upon the lot of the worker. Haves and have-nots, therefore, were persistently exhibited in these

novels in class relationships. Have-nots have moved from the margin to the centre of the text. During the 19th century many economic crises took place in America and the novelists did express their reactions to them. But so far the American novelists were of the white-collar class. Their attitude was that of a high-brow moralist who pronounces judgment from his drawing-room. William Dean Howell displays this kind of attitude. But the contemporary writers belonged to the class of wage-earners. They had first hand acquaintance with the plight of the economically oppressed, the realities of sweat and filth on the farm and they expressed them in terms which the workers could understand and corroborate. Inspired by continental writers like Tolstoy, Turgnev and Dostovesky, they not only re-affirmed their own faith but also stirred the conscience of the reader to provide tolerable working conditions and equality of economic opportunity to all. Theodor Dreiser in his 'Sister Carrie' showed the conditions under which the factory workers lived and the moral effects of that situation. Upton Sinclair's 'Jungle' was par-excellence a proletarian novel. He described conditions in the packing industry of Chicago. Even Dos Passos in his novel 'One Man's Initiative' gave the same message. 'Tobacco Road' symbolised wide-spread poverty in the New South. With the passage of time the economic grievances of the labour have been removed to a great extent. The proletariat has almost disappeared from the scene. How this financial and economic prosperity will be reflected in fiction is for the future historian to tell. The novelists in twenties fought a battle that has been won.

American fiction a few years later is dominated by a note of pessimism almost similar to the one that came over the English people in the post-Victorian era. A period of unlimited expansion is usually followed by an era of depression and added to that is the psychological malaise that comes over the people as a result of the technological development. The

novelists began to view this expansion from a different angle now. The machine, no doubt aided man and made him the lord of nature; but at the same time it menaced him, crushed his soul and reduced him to an automaton. Besides the after-effects of this mechanical progress, other factors also encouraged pessimistic thinking. Science, philosophy and war altered the faiths that men lived by. Old standards were cast aside but the new were not found. A disturbing incertitude has, therefore, been a dominant note of modern American fiction.

The philosophy of Scientific determinism created a wave of pessimism in the intelligentsia. Darwinism, heredity and environment changed the very conceptions of individuality. Man was not the master of his will or the captain of his soul. The only thing that counted was the survival of the fittest. Man was only a plaything in the hands of certain invisible forces, much beyond his control. It was sheer chance, 'crass-casuality' as Hardy put it that intersected this life or that. Scientific determinism allowed for no villain—unless it were nature. Men were only instruments and the President of Immortals used them as puppets for a show. Zola exercised a deep influence over fiction writers. Under his influence men stopped indicting humanity. The novelist abdicated his office as a judge of humanity—instead he became an observer of the lugubrious human comedy, being enacted before him. Hemingway's novel 'Winner Take Nothing' reflects this pessimistic thinking so clearly.

Concurrently there was a spate of novels questioning the validity of conventional standards of morality. People talked about the right to live their own lives and popularised Freudian theories. Percy Mark's 'The Plastic Age' shows how psychological overtones crept into novels. Fitzgerald's 'This Side of Paradise' shows the revolt of the modern youth. Muley Graves in his 'Grapes of Wrath' represented characters who were as much a psychiatric case as a victim of economic dispossession. Dreiser's 'Sister Carrie' displays the conflict

between instinct and convention. It is the story of a girl who sought love and security in the city, free from moral inhibitions. Again his 'American Tragedy' is the story of a boy who refused to come to workable terms with American society. These novelists were more and more oppressed by a sense of psychological insecurity and disorientation. The reaction between the soul of man and his environments was represented in more and more novels. Almost all the stories of Willa Cather have been told against the land. She saw and felt a new land and its people being worked and wrought upon by migrants as much as migrants were humanizing the land. All novelists of this period, therefore, sought an emotional vitality that could break through stifling moral conventions and repel the ideas of materialistic success. Their novels became the representatives of a huge conflict the heart versus the success, the life of the spirit versus materialism—a case under trial for a century in prosperous America.

Neitchze's concepts of the superman attracted some novelists. The doctrine of the ethic of power overtook them. Dreiser through his Cowperwood in the 'Titan' showed his preference for glamorous big-time operators. Of course in his later works he showed tenderest solicitude for down-trodden humanity.

1920 was a period of tremendous expansion and prosperity for the American novel. It was a period of diverse and quixotic experiment. Just as a decade earlier free verse had proved a lure to amateur poets, similarly in these years scores of writers form novelty-mongers to genuine artists were anxious to approach the art of fiction. In such a period of freakish experimentation it is difficult to compartmentalise the works that appear but some critics have been able to demarcate categories. Writers like Sinclair Lewis followed the journalistic manner with their easy, chatty style. Hard-boiled manner in which the author was inaccessible to tender emotions was observable in the works of writers like Dos Passos and Heming-

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS published by International Commission of Jurists, 47 Buitenhof, The Hague, Netherlands.

This Bulletin contains an editorial on Poznan Trials, Hungary, Middle East and Vienna Conference. It also examines the "Rule of Law" in the U.S.S.R. subject to the supremacy of the State and Party, and Liberty and Security in the U.S.A.

BASIC EDUCATION by M. K. Gandhi, printed and published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Price: Rupee One.

Basic Education has been the subject of both praise and violent criticism. As Gandhiji in one of his rare moments of personal reminiscence said one of his few regrets in life was his neglect of his own children's education. With his bias towards the villages, Gandhiji concludes on 2-11-47 by saying "Our two-months old freedom is struggling to get itself shaped. We are hardly free from the subtle domination of the West. Judicious delay is necessary for founding new universities."

MAN AGAINST FLOOD by Rewi Alley, New World Press, Peking.

This is a Peking story of the great 1954 Flood on the Yangtse and the steps taken to reduce and control it. The ultimate lesson is that the Revolution has given the people their land and the means to live, and the flood control of 1954 has inspired them with confidence in the power of organisation and ability to lead them to still better days.

MY CHILDHOOD WITH GANDHIJI by Prabhudas Gandhi, printed and published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Price: Rs. 2-8-0.

Gandhiji's grand nephew wrote the original in Gujarati and it is a record of his childhood days with Gandhiji in South Africa. It is interesting to get another meaningful pet name of Gandhiji, namely, 'Manu.' 'Manu' means both 'attractive' and also 'the great Law Giver.' And the fascinating personality of Gandhiji and his great authority in regulating the lives of not only the country of his birth but of the whole world makes most fascinating reading.

BHARATHYA KAVITHA by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi: Rs. 5/-

As Prime Minister Jawaharlalji has said this Anthology prepared by the Sahitya Akademi brings out the golden links that connect the various languages of India. The languages represented are Siamese, Oriya, Urdu, Kannada,

Kashmiri, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Panjabi, Vangala, Mahrati, Malayalam, Samskrit and Hindi. It is a precious volume to study. It should dispel and soothe the unfortunate linguistic animosities which were born of the reorganisation of States.

BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR AND LADAKH by J. N. Ganhar, M.A., P. N. Ganhar, M.A. published by Shri Prem Nath Ganhar, 14A/71 W.E.A., Karol Bagh, New Delhi, Rs. 15/-

This is a historical account of Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh. Part II deals with Buddhism in Kashmir from prior to the days of Asoka. The impact of Devotionalism and Tantrism are particularly examined. When Kashmir threatens to become the battlefield of the East, this volume is most timely. Part III on Buddhism in Ladakh shows how Buddhism after disappearing in the land of Buddha's birth took a different form with Lamas and Gumpas.

This is an attempt to start a new religion called "Mahapurushyaism" based on eclectic culling from various sources.

THE SUEZ CANAL—Facts and Documents Selected Studies No. 5, published by The Selected Studies Committee, 22 Solimam Pasha St., Cairo;

This is the Egyptian account of the Suez Canal controversy. It calls De Lesseps 'The Notorious Adventurer' and says that the labourers who built the canal were worked to death without even adequate food. It is always a difficult problem of ethics and especially of international morality as to who is entitled to what as a result of research into "ancient facts." The one comment is that of Johnson who said "When rebellion succeeds, no one dares call it 'rebellion'; thereafter it is called 'revolution.' The revolutionary success of Egypt was due not a little to the enlightened self-interested support of India.

TRAINING OF ENGINEERS IN THE U.S.S.R. by D. A. Troitsky, published by G. Efimov for the Information Department of the USSR Embassy in India, New Delhi. This is a well illustrated account of the facilities available for higher technical education and training of engineers in the U.S.S.R.

THE FAITH OF A SUFI FAKIR by T. L. Vaswani — East and West Series No. 25, published by Gita Publishing House, 10 Connaught Road, Poona—1. Price: 6 annas.

Sage Vaswani has achieved a brilliant pamphlet on the Faith of a Sufi Fakir. He mainly quotes from Abu Hasan and Jalal al-Din Rumi.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

CITIZENSHIP OF CEYLON

Over 6,50,000 persons of Indian origin in Ceylon will be rendered Stateless after citizenship applications made on behalf of 8,27,000 persons are disposed of in a few months.

This is the estimate made by Mr. D. B. Ellapolla on 6th April, who was Secretary of the former United National Party Government's Advisory Committee on Indo-Ceylon affairs and now a member of the Government's Planning Council. The estimate was contained in a report to the Planning Council in which he raised the question as to whether or not the Stateless category of persons is to be reckoned with in the Government's overall employment programme.

Published reports quoted him as saying that "under the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Registration Act, the citizenship rights of no less than 8,27,000 persons are under the process of investigation and will terminate in a few months time.

"The number of those rejected already stands at about 4,00,000 and may well rise in due course to over 6,50,000. There are approximately a further 1,50,000 persons of Indian origin who are holders of Indo-Ceylon passes or of temporary residence permits."

According to Mr. Ellapolla these 1,50,000 persons together with 6,50,000 Stateless persons will raise the problem of unemployment of nearly 8,00,000 persons of non-national status.

He urged the Government to settle the question whether in the planning for full employment there was to be any distinction between nationals and non-nationals.

The former Advisory Committee, he said, had devised a scheme for encouraging persons of Indian origin to return to India which would have possibly cost Rs. 160,000 over a period of 25 to 30 years.

He asked the Planning Council to study this scheme and examine the economic implications of the problem of Statelessness before drawing up the framework of its employment programme.

MALAYA

COMMUNAL DISTRUST

Mr. T.V. Sambanthan, presiding over the 2 annual Malayan Indian Congress conference at Penang on April 20 referred to the present trend towards breaking up of large estates in

Malaya and said that there was no doubt that recent cases of fragmentation had resulted in a loss of livelihood for many labourers.

"It is making them ponder carefully", he said.

"There is now an eagerness on the part of workers to own land. We should encourage this."

Mr. Sambanthan said there were still a few obstacles ahead of Merdeka (freedom). "And some of these obstacles" he said, were being placed in "power-seeking individuals or groups in the hope they would ride on the ways of communal distrust."

Mr. Sambanthan warned that waves of communal distrust had the habit of ultimately engulfing the whole nation. "Public outcry on communal lines cannot accomplish anything good," he continued. "They only cause countercries."

MALAYA

CITIZENSHIP IN MALAYA

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of Malaya, said recently that inhabitants of Malaya could have only single and not dual citizenship when the country achieves independence next August.

EDUCATION IN MALAYA

The Minister for Education, told the Council that the educational policy implemented in the bill was "to establish a national system of education acceptable to the people as a whole." The bill was designed to "satisfy their needs and promote their cultural, social and economic development as a nation with the intention of making Malay the national language, while preserving and sustaining the growth of the languages and cultures of people other than Malays living in this country."

MAURITIUS

KEY POST FOR INDIAN

Mr. Ramparsad Neerunjun has been appointed Procurator-General of Mauritius. He is the first Indian to be appointed to this key post in the Government.

Mr. Neerunjun, who is 50, first joined Government service here in 1938 as a Magistrate. In 1955 he was appointed a Puisne Judge in the Supteme Court.

Another Indian, Mr. Harilal Vaghjee, an elected member of the State Legislature Council has been appointed Deputy Speaker.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 31. Mr. N. Chandrasekara Iyer former Judge of Supreme Court is dead in Madras.
- April 1. Congress Party re-nominates Dr. Rajendra Prasad for Presidentship of India for second term.
- Mr. MacMillan, reviews Bermuda talks in Parliament.
- April 2. Credentials of Hungary — U. N.'s refusal to recognise.
- Mr. Kamraj Nadar is unanimously elected Leader of the Congress Party in Madras.
- April 3. Political crisis in Jordan—King's differences with Premier.
- April 4. U.K. cuts Defence Expenditure.
- Stanvac Refinery surrenders duty concession.
- April 5. The first Eleven-member Communist Ministry is sworn in at Trivandrum (Kerala State) headed by Mr. E. M. S. Nambudripad.
- Dr. R. M. Alagappa Chettyar is dead.
- April 6. Computation of Death Penalty and release of Politicals is announced by Communist Government in Kerala.
- April 7. Mr. Gunnar Jarring, at New Delhi for discussions on Kashmir.
- Sriman Narayan, Congress Secretary objects to Kerala's Reds' Policy.
- April 8. President Sukarno of Indonesia announced an "Emergency Cabinet of Experts" headed by Dr. D. Juanda as Prime Minister.
- April 9. Suez Canal is completely cleared for traffic.
- Apartheid in S. A. Universities—New Education Bill introduced.
- Mr. Gunnar Jarring leaves Delhi for Karachi enroute to Geneva after talks with Pakistan and India Govt.
- April 10. Mr. N. Sanjeeva Reddi is elected unanimously leader of Congress Party in Andhra State Assembly.
- Two boats of 600 pilgrims in Godavari capsize resulting in several deaths.
- Archbishop Makarios demands termination of Emergency in Cyprus.
- April 11. Self-Govt. for Singapore—Agreement on New Constitution signed.
- Ail Eviction Proceedings in Kerala stayed.
- April 12. Troops cut off Roads to Jordan.
- April 13. A 8 Member New Madras Ministry is sworn in headed by Mr. Kamraj Nadar.
- Panama's President Erensto-de-la Guordia announces the taking over the Panama Canal.
- April 14. Gurukula system of Education is advocated by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh in his convocation address to the Gurukul University at Haridwar.
- April 15. Nineteen Vice-Chancellors and Principals of British Universities protest against apartheid in the Universities of S. Africa.
- April 16. Trade Talks conclude between India and West Germany at Delhi.
- President's Rule in W. Pakistan is extended.
- April 17. Dr. N. B. Khare resigns from Hindu Maha Sabha.
- New Union Cabinet sworn in, 12 Cabinet Ministers besides Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister, 14 Ministers of State and 12 Deputy Ministers.
- April 18. Acharya Vinoba Bhava in Kerala State re. 54 day Walking Tour of Kerala State is met by Chief Minister, Mr. Dhebar and others.
- Pandit Nehru inaugurates first session of Asian Legal Consultation Committee in New Delhi participated by Japan, India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Iraq and Syria.
- April 19. Mr. K. P. Madhava Nair submits resignation the Post and General Secretary of the Congress.
- April 20. The President of India promulgates an ordinance amending the Life Insurance Act 1956.
- April 21. Russo — Japanese call to end Nuclear Tests.
- April 22. The Kashmir Issue — Mr. Jarring meets U.N. Secretary at New York.
- April 23. Dr. Radhakrishnan declared elected unopposed as Vice-President of India.
- April 24. Bulganin's call for Ban on Tests: Letter to MacMillan.
- April 25. King of Jordan appoints Mr. Ibrahim Hasheem as a new Prime Minister of Jordan—The King proclaims Martial Law.
- April 26. The Indian Ambassador Mr. G. L. Mehta meets Mr. Dulles in Washington re "India's feeling on Kashmir."
- April 27. The Governor of Kerala, Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao addresses the newly elected Kerala Assembly.
- April 28. King Hussein of Jordan flies to Riyadh to meet King Saud.
- Apr. 29. The Ninth All Kerala Hindu Religious and Cultural Conference meets at Guruvayur.
- Jarring's Report on Kashmir is released.
- April 30. Mr. S. V. Pandit, High Commissioner for India, in U.N. leaves for London.
- Dr. U. Krishna Rao is elected speaker of Madras Assembly.

READERS' DIGEST

HYPOCRISY ABOUT KASHMIR

Sweden's Social Democratic journal, *Tiden* of Stockholm, has upheld what it called "the propriety of Mr. Nehru's stand" on Kashmir.

In an editorial, captioned "Hypocrisy about Kashmir" the paper said: Some Swedish papers have been writing in ironical and deprecatory terms this winter about Prime Minister Nehru. The pinpricks seem undue and ridiculous, when directed against a person whom recently, the *Economist* rightly characterised as one of the few remaining great statesmen of our time, a person to whom the West is indebted for India's association with the democratic world—who has set an example for the whole of Asia by trying to achieve economic revolution while conforming to the democratic pattern of society."

"Lately, certain amount of indignation has appeared in the Press regarding India's stand on Kashmir. Pointing to his sometimes moralising role as a mediator in world politics they wish to deny Mr. Nehru the right of considering elementary factors as practical politics at his own borders.

"Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union has been done in accordance with the legal conditions that applied to the accession of princely States. The conflict and the question of plebiscite arose through the military intervention from Pakistan. The failure of subsequent attempts at mediation is partly due to the increased tension between India and Pakistan which followed Pakistan's military alliance with the USA and partly complicated by the religious, ethical and political conditions which make plebiscite difficult. India's intervention in 1953 to prevent Abdullah's manoeuvres for independence has been described as naked power policy. But one glance at Kashmir's borders with Afghanistan, Russia and China is enough to make one realise that, may be in the long run, Mr. Nehru's initiative saved the Indian sub-continent from being exposed to a much more naked power policy.

"The present partition is an established fact. To rake up the question again would only entail suffering and unrest through the outbursts of religious passion. The propriety of Mr. Nehru's stand, therefore, seems undeniable."

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN ATLANTA

Negro opposition to Bus segregation in American States is spreading. What started in Montgomery and Alabama has now reached Mobile, Birmingham and Florida. But the Atlanta move was different from the tactics used in Alabama and Florida. Negro strategy in Georgia has, according to *The New Leader*, followed the Gandhian technique to perfection.

The *Atlanta Daily World*, the local Negro newspaper, laid the plan out for all to see in a set of instructions to all Negroes on how to proceed in the bus integration fight. The rules, drafted by the Reverend W. H. Borders, are pure Gandhism:

"1. Pray for guidance and commit yourself to complete non-violence in word and action, observing the ordinary rules of courtesy and good behavior.

"2. If any person is being molested, do not arise to go to his defense but pray for the oppressor and use moral and spiritual force to carry on the struggle for justice.

"3. The bus driver is in charge of the bus; ask his aid and report any serious incidents to him. Then report to one of our leaders immediately, giving date, time, place, and names of persons involved, if possible.

"4. You will be notified when we wish you to begin helping to desegregate the buses and trolleys; but until then be quiet, but friendly; proud, but not arrogant; happy, but not noisy.

"5. Be sure you are neat and clean at all times.

"6. Do not be drawn into an argument about segregation, desegregation, or integration; in case of an accident, talk as little as possible, and always in a quiet tone.

"7. If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed, do not push back. If struck, do not strike back, but show love and goodwill at all times.

"8. Remember always to pray, especially for those who would persecute anyone."

While the campaign has thus far remained entirely in the hands of the ministers who are leading it, these eight instructions, says the writer, have a relevance far greater than the bus controversy itself. "They hear directly on the whole Negro effort to undermine the tightly segregated Georgia social pattern. This is what makes the translation of Gandhi's doctrines to Atlanta so potentially important."

TRADITIONAL ARTS AND CRAFTS

The disintegration of traditional arts and crafts in West Bengal, under the impact of new economic, social and cultural forces is an undeniable sociological fact, says Mr. Benoy Ghose in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*. How far their reorientation and reintegration with the newly evolving culture—pattern of to-day is possible, or even in some cases desirable, is a difficult and debatable subject.

As we do not live by utility alone, some of these traditional arts and crafts may survive for a certain period of time; they may even become a cult as an art form, as an aesthetic and cultural expression, as a conscious revival of what is antiquated. They may serve the purpose of decoration, or satisfy the curiosity of collectors for some time. Some of these arts may acquire a new luxury use, as pottery and painting are acquiring today. Some may acquire a transferred use, as bedspreads, door-screens, table-cloths, and *saris*, and other women's clothes. But these are all inversions and distortions of the primary function of traditional arts and crafts, and they are certainly not adaptations to the new changing socio-cultural milieu. Some of the arts may be displaced by the novelty of a new substitute, as the traditional dolls and toys are being displaced. Some, like scroll-painting, card-painting, wooden manuscript-cover painting, may disappear for ever in the near future.

Now, the question is—If some arts do disappear and are lost for ever, how large a factor is, or could be, the actual loss? What is it that is being lost? Is it a specific culture? Is it a culture that is lost?

I would suggest that it is only an element, a trait, that is lost, certainly not the whole culture. Traditional arts and crafts constitute a cluster of traits in a total culture. As individual items, they are not equally important in relation to the whole. I am therefore inclined to conclude that, if we do actually lose some of these items of traditional art in West Bengal, and if all of them cannot be reintegrated with the changing socio-economic conditions of today, we do not thus lose the whole culture of Bengal and its total tradition.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Speaking at a meeting of the Senate of the Bombay University Dr. John Matthai remarked that from his experience of the working of the Universities throughout the country he had come to believe that the system of appointing Governors as Chancellors must come to an end. The Governor as constitutional head, Dr. Matthai observed, had to accept the Minister's advice in most matters. He therefore felt that the system in Indian universities, where the Governor functioned as Chancellor, provided a channel for political influences to be exercised.

Democracy to be real must have people possessing the capacity and boldness to think for themselves. Therefore in a democracy, says *Freedom First*, universities as torchbearers of the spirit of freedom, have to educate students in democracy by inculcating in them the spirit of free thinking. "But for this universities and educational institutions have to be free from the encroachment of the State and especially from the intrusion of political forces from outside. For the healthy growth of universities and educational institutions what is required is to promote an atmosphere of freedom in them and to preserve their dignity and honour. This can happen only if universities themselves assert their rights against such intrusions. Dr. Matthai's suggestion, therefore, should engage the serious attention of all thinking persons in the country."

ENGLISH IN INDIAN EDUCATION

Indian Unity owes much to the English language, and will suffer, says *The Aryan Path*, if its use in administration, trade, education, etc. were restricted.

"Yet another reason—the spirit of our genius has been expressing itself in recent times through English rather than in any other language, ever since the unifying role of Sanskrit declined. India's nation-builders from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Gandhiji have written more in the English language than in their own. And the same is true of Pandit Nehru, who has served India by writing his books in English. They have not only brought him deserved praise; they have helped foreigners in discovering the real India. If India is to fulfil her spiritual mission in the world, English must continue to occupy the honourable place which it has enjoyed."

HUNGARY AND POLAND

If the Hungarian revolution has driven any lesson home, writes "A.B." in *Problems of Communism*, it is that the main-spring of the revolutionary drive in Eastern Europe is the people - the most direct victims of Stalinism - and not their rulers, local or foreign.

Whatever had been the intentions of Nagy and those around him at the earliest stage of the Hungarian uprising, they were far more radical and sweeping by the time the revolution reached its nadir. Not that Nagy had not possibly been a potential Djilas from the very start. But it was only when the dams were broken and when the revolt had gathered momentum that his latent aspirations came to the fore. Similarly, it might even be immaterial to speculate whether Gomulka harbors parallel tendencies. The point is that once some of the essential features of the Stalinist system were removed, once the mystique went up in smoke and the people were given at least some opportunity to govern their destinies, the door was opened for not only an amelioration, but for a radical transformation of the Communist system.

In this respect, Poland offers perhaps a unique case within the Soviet orbit. In the USSR, decades of dictatorial rule have bred patterns of authoritarian control and behaviour which cannot easily be broken,

In most of the satellites, authoritarian rule—if not mentality—is still firmly in the saddle. But in Poland communism may very well have dug its own grave. It is certainly plausible to assume that sooner or later voices will be raised in favor of a genuine multi-party system, for an end to the one-party state in all its ramifications. When the forces that have been so dramatically released in the past few months will swell into a tide threatening to overturn the Communist order in Poland remains to be seen. There is little doubt that the countervailing factors mentioned above will operate—Soviet interests, as well as the innate tendencies of the Communist regime. But it is more than likely that the day will ultimately arrive when these forces will come to a head. At that time, whatever the immediate outcome, the Soviet empire will be dealt another, blow, even more severe and profound than those which have brought it to its present stage of disintegration.

GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO TOLSTOY

A hitherto unpublished letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to Count Leo Tolstoy, 47 years ago has been discovered hidden in one of the books in Tolstoy's library.

It was found at Tolstoy's residence "Yasnaya Polina", which has been turned into a museum. The letter, the second one written by Mahatma Gandhi to Tolstoy, was dated November 10, 1909, from London.

In the letter, which was published by the Soviet magazine, *Soviet Eastern Studies*, Mahatma Gandhi asked Tolstoy "to use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the passive resistance movement. If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred and falsehood, but it is highly likely to serve as an example to millions in India and to people in other parts of the world who may be downtrodden and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence, at least in India.

The letter continued: "If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I entertain not the slightest doubt as to our ultimate success, and your encouragement, in a way suggested by you, can only strengthen us in our resolve".

The museum staff also discovered later from Taraknath Das, Editor of *Free Hindustan*, dated May 24, 1908. The letter believed to have been lost, resulted in Tolstoy's well-known reply entitled "Letter addressed to a Hindu".

In an article on the two letters entitled "Leo Tolstoy, friend of India" A. I. Shifman wrote: "Tolstoy's constant interest in Indian culture, and his warm sympathy for the Indian people's struggle for national liberation were and remain the living incarnation of the feelings of sympathy and friendship which the Russian people have always felt and feel to-day for their Indian brothers".

JEWS AND ARABS

James T. Farrell, the well known American novelist records his impressions of a recent trip to the Middle East and Asia, in the course of an article in the Winter number of *Midstream*. The state of Israel is a fact, not a theory, he says, "at least this is the way it appeared to me, a non-Jewish visitor."

The right to existence which Israel has gallantly earned in the fundamental point of issue at stake. Once this is accepted, the other issues fall into perspective, and

there could then be the beginning of hope that these issues could be resolved. While these issues involve politics and economics, they are also moral and human. This is especially so concerning the Arab refugees. These victims of war deserve a new start. Their children do. Many of them live outside the surrounding Arab society in a world of squalor which they never made. If this problem is not solved it will become a poison which can kill the nerves of progress all through the Middle East. The continuance of this problem hurts and damages not only the Jews. It is a growing threat Arab society. It can poison the Arab future also.

But how can the refugee problem be solved singly and apart from the other problems which divide Israel and the Arab States? These cannot be solved by polemics of hatred.

They cannot be solved by Americans hacking away at each other over these issues. They can only be solved when there are direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries. The sound position to take here is, as I see it, to accept the fact that Israel is here to stay, and that peace by direct negotiations is the aim to be espoused.

THE ARYAN WAY

The Aryan, according to Buddha, is the ideal man, not because he belongs to a particular race, but because he strives for the inner peace and harmony, *nirvana*. Shri P. T. Raju, writing on "Passion for Peace" in *Vedanta Kesari*, says that Buddha wanted to make all men Aryans by preaching them the Aryan Way, which is the Way of Peace.

"For Buddhism a nation is Aryan, not because its people belong to a particular race, not because it possesses a huge army, navy and air force, but because it has realised peace within itself and works for the spread of peace outside. This is the lesson which Buddhist philosophy, religion and arts have for contemporary humanity; and let us hope that the world and the human situation will be favourable for reviving and receiving the lesson. Peace is the law of humanity; it is the law of man; enjoyment of peace is the highest aesthetic enjoyment; if humanity knows how to cherish this law and to enjoy it, it becomes divine; otherwise, humanity will be violating its very nature."

A PLEA FOR BRITISH NEUTRALISM

In a general consideration of the British situation in the light of the crisis brought about by the events in the Middle East and in Hungary, Prof. G.D.H. Cole writes in the *Review of International Affairs*:

The plain truth is that the traditional British policy, inherited from the days of British imperialist greatness and maintained despite the manifest decline in British world power, now lies in ruins, and that, whatever Government may hold office, a quite different policy will have to be worked out and applied. The real choice now lies between a complete acceptance of Great Britain's status as a satellite of the United States and a frank adoption of what I can only call "neutralism" in world affairs. By "neutralism," in this connection, I mean not picking a quarrel with the Americans, which Great Britain simply cannot afford to do, but, while remaining on friendly terms with them, making it clear that Great Britain cannot afford to expend its scanty resources on massive preparation for a possible world war that would be utterly disastrous to the British people were it allowed to occur, and that the British intend henceforward to work actively, together with the Indians and whoever else will join with them, for a real detente and to support any action that, by removing or lessening Soviet fears, will induce the Soviet Union to take up a less imperialistic attitude towards its neighbours in Eastern Europe and to be less active in fomenting trouble for the West wherever the chance offers. Such a policy can, I feel sure, be adopted only by a Labour Government; and even for the Labour Party it involves a very large modification of the policies followed up to the Suez crisis — for example, an entire repudiation of West German rearmament and a speedy withdrawal from Cyprus, and also, in the non-governmental field, a real attempt to reach a friendly understanding with the Communists of Yugoslavia and with the Nenni Socialists in Italy, and an abandonment of the intransigent anti-Communism that has hitherto robbed the existing Socialist International of all real influence as a force for Socialism. Despite the events in Hungary, he believes such a policy holds out good hopes of long-run success, because it rests on a realistic appreciation of the state of world affairs.

GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

In conformity with the spirit and temper of its contents what was originally *Independent India*, founded by M. N. Roy, assumed the more appropriate name of *The Radical Humanist* soon after India became independent. The double number of this well-known weekly published in commemoration of its twentieth anniversary contains some articles by Roy himself besides other articles of interest. Now that there is a tug-of-war between those who advocate *laissez-faire* and those sponsoring government absorption of industrial concerns Mr. Arun Kumar Ghosh's dispassionate study of the problem in this issue may be read with profit. The institutions, whether Government, private enterprise or even co-operatives, are not intrinsically desired in an economic system as the ends, he says, but they are recognised only to be of instrumental value to the economic order.

"The institutions of Government or private enterprise have been stressed very much in different approaches to economic planning of our times. But the same institutions work differently in different countries (For instance, the political institution of Parliamentarism can work in the "democratic and liberal" climate of Britain but not in the totalitarian atmosphere of Nazi Germany, or, the economic institution of the Co-operatives imbibe collectivistic attitude in Soviet Russia and private-capitalistic attitude in Britain, with the neglect of true co-operative ideal in both the cases), and we cannot solve the fundamental economic problems by generalisations in regard to institutions. In our complex economic life, no ready-made institutional system or pattern is applicable, because the necessary generalised support, both in theory and practice, is lacking in the case of particular institutions. But any institution can be incorporated with benefit so long as it serves a desirable purpose in the process of planning. While in "closed" philosophies of economic planning strait-jacket institutions are sanctioned, in countries where economic planning has been resorted to without any comprehensive and philosophic approach, institutions have been created here and there in the most unco-ordinated and lop-sided manner and without at the same time evolving an attitude or principles underlying the working of the institutions."

TWO-HEADED MONSTER

A huge two-headed research missile, the first of its kind, was fired from Wallops Island (Virginia) in April to an altitude of more than 30 miles. Its speed was almost 3,500 miles an hour.

The 5,500-lb device, more than 30 feet long, roared off its launching base at such speed that it was out of sight of watching reporters in two seconds.

It had been expected to climb 80,000 feet and then fall into the Atlantic 20 miles offshore. At top velocity, it would be moving at five times the speed of sound.

Conditions were so good that it rose instead to 110,000 feet and then disappeared off the radar charting table.

"It splashed about 38 miles out. It went higher and farther than we had planned. Its total flight from take-off to splash was 3½ minutes. It was a highly successful shot."

The purpose of the missile, nick-named the "two-headed monster," was to provide information on the heat which a space missile would encounter upon re-entering the earth's atmosphere.

BACK TO THE HUMANITIES

A study of the Greek and Roman classics in their original tongues or even in a good translation is a most rewarding venture in itself, says Dr. I. I. Rabi, Nobel Prizeman in the course of an article in *The Atlantic*, reproduced in *The American Review*.

The humanities preserve and create values; even more they express the symbolic, poetics and prophetic qualities of the human spirit. Without the humanities we would not be conscious of our history; we would lose many of our aspirations and the graces of expression that move men's hearts. Withal the humanities discern but a part of the life of man—true, a vital part but only a part.

It has often been claimed that the chief justification for the study of the humanities is that it teaches us values. In fact, some people go even further and claim that the humanities, in which literature, parts of philosophy, and the history and appreciation of the fine arts are included, are the *only* sources of values other than the more spiritual values of religion.

STRENGTH OF PAKISTAN ARMY

Pakistan has the second largest army among countries of the Middle East according to a survey of West Asian military alignment.

The survey was made in an article in the *New York Times* by its military correspondent Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin.

Mr. Baldwin said that though of all the West Asian States Turkey, Israel and Pakistan are the strongest in a military sense, Pakistan has "both political and economic problems."

Mr. Baldwin placed the strength of Pakistan at about 200,000 plus para-military forces, organised in seven to nine divisions, of which only five and half received United States Military aid.

Pakistan, he said, also had about 125 aircraft, a Navy of a few destroyers and frigates.

According to Mr. Baldwin, Turkey has the largest army in West Asia, namely 300,000 men organised in about 18 to 20 divisions. Turkey also had an Air Force of several hundred planes and a small Navy composed of a score of submarines and destroyers, plus mine-sweepers minelayers and various small craft.

THE LIFE CONTEMPLATIVE

We are a contemplative people, writes justice G.D. Khosla in *Yojana*, and above all else we cherish the joys of quiet meditation and the ecstasy which is induced by silence and solitude.

"A longing for the hush of the Himalayas and a desire to seek fulfilment in the remotenesses of the jungle are latent in every one of us. The sanest among us may one day take to the practice of Yoga or enter the state of Vanaprast."

For us the end of all effort is the peaceful release from the malignant snare of *maya* which lies all around us. And when the end comes it will not be announced with a blare of brasses or a fanfare of trumpets loud enough to waken the dead. On the contrary it will come with the cessation of all noise—the *shoonya* of the Buddhist philosophers, when the spheres will no longer rotate and revolve, and there will be nothing in the universe but peace eternal, immutable and immanent.

RED STAR OVER KERALA

Now that a Communist Government has started functioning in Kerala the two immediate questions that arise are (1) how stable it will be and (2) how far the communists will go in implementing the programmes promised in their election manifesto. According to the Trivandrum correspondent of *Thought*,

it is obvious that they are going to proceed carefully, taking care not to tread on the toes of the Central Government or overstep the Constitution. All indications are that they will steer a wary path between the Centre, the Constitution and the people whom they have promised a whole heap of things. As far as the latter are concerned they will try to seem radical without seeming to be too much so.

Right now what the CPI holds is a tough little baby called Kerala which, though under-nourished and covered with sores, can make a loud noise. Whether the Communists can sit out the night with it remains to be seen. If it brings the house down in one, two or even four years the Communists are done for in the country as a whole. If on the other hand they last out the five years and the baby grows up to be docile and obedient to their not-too-dialectical lullabies there may be another story to tell in other parts of the country.

"WINGED ENVOYS" FROM AMERICA

The United States Trade Mission now in India has brought four business reference libraries of some 1,100 titles each for the use of Indian businessmen.

One of the libraries is in New Delhi. Another is in Bombay and the other two will go to Calcutta and Madras.

Divided into two sections, the library consists of business reference material including catalogues, merchandising manuals, local directories, studies of statistical and market data on imports and exports, and classified telephone directories of the major American cities, and a large group of business and trade publications.

This latter section covers every conceivable type of product and business endeavour. There are trade magazines from the merchandising field, from heavy industry, from clothing manufacture, from building construction, etc. Seven hundred and fifty publications are on view in this section.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

What is the objective of Science and of religion? In the last analysis, says Jaiwant Ram in *Prabuddha Bharata*, science constitutes a search for the ultimate truth in the external world and religion is a search for the ultimate truth in the internal world.

The times when each party declared that they have found the whole truth and that the other party is floundering in fallacies are long past. This attitude betokens narrow-mindedness and weakness.

It is wrong to suppose that fanaticism flourishes in the sphere of religion alone. Fanatics are to be found in the domain of science also. When scientists refuse to take into consideration spiritual phenomena or spiritual experiences or condemn them outright they are far from exhibiting that open-mindedness which should be the hall-mark of a scientist. Religion should similarly endeavour to recast such of its tenets as are capable of modification in the light of scientific discoveries.

It should also not be forgotten that Sabbath was made for man and not man for Sabbath. Human life becomes richer, more meaningful and fuller to the extent that different sciences, arts, and religion contribute towards creating a beautiful mosaic, harmonious in all its parts. The ever-expanding human life was not made to be pinned down for ever to certain dogmas, whether of religion or of science, but like a bee it sucks nectar from various flowers and flies heavenward.

INDIA'S PLANS: A SUCCESS

Neal Stanford, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor's* regular column 'An Intimate Message from Washington,' says that India's first five-year plan "cost less, and its friends helped more than expected—something unusual if not unique in international affairs."

Writing on U.S. aid to India, Stanford explained to his readers the progress made by India during its first five-year plan and outlined what the country hopes to accomplish during second plan now under way. He also recounted the assistance given India by the United States.

Stanford said India's first plan turned out better than the government hoped, adding that the second plan should also "outrun its blueprints, if the recent unprecedented United States \$ 360 million food loan just consummated is any indication."

He recalled that India had anticipated large balance of payments deficits in operating the first plan, but they turned out to be not as great as anticipated. Likewise India had expected a certain amount of foreign help—but not to the extent received.

"The United States," Stanford writes, "was the greatest contributor of foreign aid to India during this period. It contributed a total of \$ 298 million in grants and loans—not to mention a \$ 190 million wheat loan that had been consummated just prior to the five year plan. Next largest contributor was the Colombo organisation, representing British Commonwealth countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom together contributed some \$ 100 million."

"The total of United States aid," Stanford concluded, is not large when considered in the light of India's total need and national programme but it exceeds anything expected and the total received from all other sources."

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE USSR

The *Institute for the Study of the USSR* is a body of emigre scholars from the Soviet Union, whose aim is to furnish reliable information regarding conditions and trends in the Soviet Union. Founded in 1950, its activities are centered in Munich, Germany. The official membership consists of about fifty emigre scholars, drawn from the various nationality groups making up the Soviet Union. Its studies cover the general field of the behavioral sciences, including various aspects of economics, law, government and Party, history, education, religion, literature and social organization and dynamics.

The results of Institute research are disseminated through publications, replies to requests for information, and conferences. The publications include a wide range of periodicals, monographs, conference reports, and miscellaneous materials such as library, acquisition lists. Publications are in various languages of the world. Best known of the Institute's periodical publications is the monthly *Bulletin*, published in English and providing brief authoritative articles on current developments in the USSR.

VIOLENCE IN SOCIETY

Violence in politics and exploitation in economics are well-known. The existence of violence in social relationships may not be easily recognised, yet such violence is basic to present day society and takes many forms, says John Banks in *Mankind*.

"Even in voluntary associations, social welfare groups, or churches, some people manage to become in their own small way as tyrannical as any dictator. In such cases individual victims of tyranny may have no alternative but to withdraw from that group and to forgo the benefits which they should have been able to enjoy from membership. In other cases such withdrawal may not be possible—from Trade Unions in Britain, for example, which profess to protect their members, but sometimes persecute them. When a worker in a particular industry is forced to join a trade union although he may not want to, or may wish to join another union, and is then forced as a member of that Union to take strike action he does not believe in, there is tyranny. Any attempt by a small dominating group to dictate to its members is a form of violence. Even the demands of majorities for conformity by minorities can in some circumstances be tyrannical—within small groups, as well as in nation-wide organisations. In a non-violent society people most affected by policies should not only be consulted about those policies, but they should have a part in shaping them."

Advice by those more experienced should be given when requested, he says, but without domination. There is nothing very original in all this. But people who ought to know better continually act contrary to those fine principles to which they are ready to subscribe.

WITHOUT A PASSPORT

Since December 15 citizens of France and Germany have been able to travel in each other's countries without a passport. Any identification card suffices, says *World Veteran*, Paris.

"This is the latest in a series of moves in Europe to abolish frontier formalities. For some time passports have been unnecessary for Dutch, French, German, Luxemburg and Swiss travelers in Belgium, and vice versa, while both France and Germany have had similar bilateral agreements with Luxemburg and Switzerland; and the four Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden—were the first to give up the passport requirement among themselves.

At the moment France is negotiating a similar agreement with Italy, and Germany with Austria, Italy and Switzerland. Great Britain hesitates for a technical reason: since British subjects have no official identity cards, a passport seems to be the most convenient document for them to carry abroad. It also seems the most convenient means of checking on the arrival of foreigners in the United Kingdom.

The passport is certainly not an evil in itself. But having it inspected and stamped is an obligation which has an important psychological effect, and doing away with it gives the traveller a feeling of freedom that he lacked before.

KERALA: THE COCKPIT

Now that Kerala has come under a communist government, Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao says in *Freedom First* that it is quite on the cards that the technique of *Fronts* will be used in a systematic manner to sweep all classes of the people into the net of communism.

Students, women, educators, lawyers, printers, journalists, peasants, cottage industry workers, weavers, coir workers, small tradesmen, will all be infiltrated successfully since Ministers will have something to give all of them.

Banks may be nationalised and transport already nationalised will obtain a great fillip under State auspices.

Thus the transition between current usages and laws and the new order of socialism (communism) will be greatly abridged.

If the CPI leaders are wise and can hold themselves to moderate measures, they may bring about an order in Kerala which will seem to fulfil the goals of Nehruist socialist pattern itself more logically and sincerely. Then will subversion be complete or in the alternative the process may import a keener realisation of the truly evil character of the regime imported by socialism and cause a great revulsion of feeling against it. This will offer a great opportunity to cure the country of the *malaise* of half-digested and extreme ideas which is leading it to disintegration.

The Red Government in Kerala thus brings into focus all the contradictions and dangers of the world crisis to the Indian scene constitutes a challenge to those able to influence the destiny of the country at the present juncture.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

JARRING'S REPORT ON KASHMIR

Mr. Gunnar Jarring reported on 29th April to the U.N. Security Council on the talks he recently had with India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question. He did not make any concrete proposals either for settlement of the dispute or as regards the next step with the Council should take, but in contrast to the ostrich-like attitude adopted by the majority of Council members during the last Kashmir debate, in his brief report, he told the Council in effect that the problem had become vastly more complex now than it was nine years ago and that the holding of a plebiscite had become more difficult because the political, economic and strategic situation surrounding the whole problem had changed.

Mr. Jarring appears to have been anxious not to say anything which might exacerbate the situation and he is also understood to have been impressed by the way both the Indian and Pakistan Governments had been keeping confidential the talks they have had with him. He has therefore contented himself with giving only a broad gist of the main points of his discussions in Delhi and Karachi and has eschewed verbose details of his talks, the publication of which might only lead to intensification of the controversy in the sub-continent: in fact, he has even omitted to give details of all the suggestions which he says he made to India and Pakistan for breaking the deadlock over the plebiscite "and which for different reasons did not prove to be mutually acceptable."

BOMB TESTS ABOLITION

Mr. Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister, has sent an interim reply to the personal letter sent to him by Soviet Prime Minister, Marshal Nikolai Bulganin recently; Mr. Macmillan said in the House of Commons on April 30.

Mr. Macmillan told a questioner in Parliament that his interim reply to Marshal Bulganin said "I wish to thank you for the message you sent to me through Mr. Malik (Mr. Jakob Malik, Soviet Ambassador in London) on April 20 and fully appreciate the care which you have given to the study of all these questions

and the interest you show in improving the relations between our two countries.

"Your letter raises a large number of important issues and I am sure you will agree that the point you make will require careful study. When I have had time to examine them more fully, I hope to send you a further reply."

SUEZ CANAL TOLLS

Cairo Radio broadcast on April 24 in its Arabic programme, an Egyptian Government statement to the U. N. pledging observance of "the letter and spirit" of the 1888 Convention on the operation of the Suez Canal.

The statement said the Egyptian Government undertook not to increase Canal tolls more than 1 per cent within a specified time without negotiations.

The Government statement accompanied a letter sent by Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, Foreign Minister, to U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjöld, the Radio said.

The letter officially announced that the Canal was now open for navigation.

Egypt welcomed co-operation between the Canal Authority and international navigation organisations, providing that Canal dues were paid to the Canal Authority through an appointed Egyptian bank, the statement said.

RUSSIA AND IKE DOCTRINE

"The basic obstacle at the present moment preventing the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts in the Near and Middle East is foreign interference in the affairs of the States of this area, which infringes their sovereignty and independence" according to the Soviet note delivered on April 19 to Britain, France and the United States.

The Soviet news agency, *Tass* issued a summary of the notes. The notes were published in Soviet Press, on 21 April.

According to *Tass*, the Soviet Government called in its notes "for the renunciation of the use of force by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France as a means of solving the unsettled problems of the Middle East, as this represents a gross violation of the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations Organisation."

Utterances of the Day

MR. DULLES ON U. N. PRINCIPLES

Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, said on April 22nd that when the United States invoked United Nations processes this was no abdication of foreign policy, but the exercise of foreign policy "in the way which represents the best hope for humanity."

In a major foreign policy speech approved by President Eisenhower, he said the Middle East crises had severely tested this country's devotion to United Nations principles. But the United States had decided to be loyal to the world organisation. "This was a hard decision, although to those directly affected it was not an unexpected decision", he said.

In his speech prepared for the annual luncheon of the Associated Press, Mr. Dulles said there was "no safe middle ground" for newly-independent nations in a world "one part of which is ruled by despotism and the other part of which stays free by accepting the concept of interdependence."

"International Communism is on the prowl to capture those nations whose leaders feel that newly acquired sovereign rights have to be displayed by flouting other independent nations", he said. "That kind of sovereignty", is suicidal sovereignty."

Mr. Dulles said the collective security system of the non-Communist world was "subject to assaults from without, and to infirmities within."

"The free world collective defence arrangements are not ideal" he said. "There is nothing automatic about them, and they require a continuing conscious effort by many nations to co-operate and to forgo the petty selfishness and the extremes of nationalism which could poison the relationships."

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS'S ADDRESS

Archbishop Makarios, the Greek-Cypriot Leader, in a message addressed on April 22, to "Cypriots and other Greeks" of Egypt said "the spirit of freedom and peace has finally prevailed to Egypt. We wish to believe the same spirit will prevail everywhere and especially in Cyprus," he said adding that his thoughts and prayers often turned towards the people of Cyprus in their "difficulties."

HUSSEIN AND SAUDI STATEMENT

King Hussein of Jordan and King Saud of Saudi Arabia said in a joint statement issued on April 29th that they would continue to adhere to policies laid down in Cairo talks with Egypt and Syria earlier this year.

The joint statement followed King Hussein's talks with King Saud at Riyadh:

They said they had agreed on five principles at these talks:

(1) To secure full independence and freedom from foreign rule, and sovereignty for all Arab nations:

(2) Strengthened military co-operation between the four Arab States represented at the Cairo conference as a defence against "the mutual enemy" and to regain stolen right in Palestine:

(3) Agreement not to join any foreign pact:

(4) Aid for Arabs now under imperial rule to achieve full life, liberty and self-determination in accordance with the U.N. Charter: and

(5) Support for the principles of the Arab League.

NEHRU ON NUCLEAR THREAT

The Prime Minister Mr. Nehru said at Mussorie on April 29th that it was of the utmost importance that all countries should live in peace and tolerate each other; otherwise the world was in danger of perishing.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing the Development Commissioners' Conference recently said that nuclear tests and explosions were a real and terrific danger to the world, although he did not know whether in India they had any intimate sensation of what tremendous harm these could bring.

The Prime Minister said that in the recent context of the world, there was no other way for the survival of humanity except co-operation. The principle of co-operation had to be applied both on the international and national scale.

Mr. Nehru regretted that in India, despite political unity there was no emotional unity—unity of minds and hearts. Emotional integration could only be developed by adopting the principle of co-operation.

The Prime Minister said that although the Indian people were the gentlest people with all virtues, yet there was a disruptive tendency in the country, which came out when something wrong happened somewhere, whether it was a question of language, caste or religion. It was of the utmost importance that they should try to get over this tendency and produce greater social harmony between the various castes, religions and languages. There was a basic harmony in the country, yet there was disharmony, he said.

Political

SELF GOVERNMENT FOR SINGAPORE

Britain agreed on 11th April to grant full internal self-Government to Singapore. The agreement on transfer of responsibility into the hands of elected representatives of the island was signed in London recently by the Colonial Office and the five-man Merdeka delegation led by Chief Minister, Lim Yew-hock.

Under the agreement Singapore will be known as "State of Singapore" and will have a new constitution with full say in internal matters of the island. External affairs, defence and the ultimate right to suspend the constitution will however remain in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. The success of Lim's mission to London marks the symbolical march of Singaporeans towards Merdeka after 130 years of complete British rule in this vital port of South-East Asia.

S. AFRICA RACIAL POLICY

The South African Institute of Race Relations on April 22 called upon South Africans to "take heed before it is too late" of the dangers of the Union Government's racial policies.

The Institute, a multi-racial society with many distinguished European members, issued the statement because it considered the South African Government's policies were destroying hopes of any advance towards an orderly multi-racial society.

Among the signatories were, "The Right Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, two Senators, and several well-known South African citizens.

The statement said that should the present tide of resentment continue, the outcome would be tragic. Present Government policies were inducing widespread uneasiness and distrust among Europeans in regard to South Africa's future and giving rise among non-Europeans to a mounting tide of resentment of the authority of the white man, it said.

"No people can be kept in the straight-jacket of control which the legislation of the past nine years, added to an already repressive legislative structure, has imposed, and which the bills at present before Parliament make even more intolerable," the statement said.

It foresaw racial groups being sealed off into entirely separate and hostile camps.

LAND REFORM IN KERALA

The Governor of Kerala, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao announced on April 27 that the question of land reforms would be given high priority in the programme to be fulfilled by his Government in the next few months.

Addressing the first session of the newly-elected Kerala Assembly, the Governor said his Government had, therefore, revised their original proposal to appoint a committee to study the land reform and had now decided to prepare straightway the draft Bills by the Government itself with a view to making the process of legislation far more expeditious.

In doing this, Dr. Ramakrishna Rao said, the Government would study all the material so far collected by the Land Reform Panel of the Planning Commission as well as by the Select Committee which studied the bills introduced in the former Travancore-Cochin Assembly.

INDIA AND COMMONWEALTH

"Using all the Celtic magic at his command, Bevan has revived India's respect for Britain and the Commonwealth," said the New Delhi correspondent of the *News Chronicle* in a despatch published prominently.

"Bevan, the wizard, kept India in Commonwealth," was the theme of this despatch.

Until Bevan arrived in India only two Indians—Nehru and Krishna Menon—were holding their nation within the Commonwealth—and that with difficulty," the despatch said. But after the dynamic British Labour leader had addressed Members of both Houses of the Indian Parliament "there is no more talk of quitting the Commonwealth.

"It has been a miracle," said the correspondent.

PRESIDENTS' RULE IN W- PAKISTAN

President's rule in West Pakistan was extended till September 23 next by the Pakistan National Assembly, on a Government motion passed by 44 votes to 23.

Four members of the Pakistan National Congress and one member of the United Progressive Party, who generally vote with the Government, abstained.

President's rule, promulgated on March 21 last, was approved by the Assembly by 47 votes to 21.

Trade and Finance

BRITAIN'S BUDGET FOR 1957

Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, Chancellor of the Exchequer presenting the 1957 budget to Parliament on 9th April, announced that the Government proposed to reduce taxation this year by £ 100 million.

Mr. Thorneycroft gave Income-tax relief to old people, the middle classes and families with teen-age children.

But, in spite of these and other tax concessions, the Chancellor left the main tax structure unchanged, pleading that Britain was still living above its income.

He abolished the tax on the living theatre and sporting events and reduced that on cinema seats, but increased the combined sound radio and television annual licence fee from three to four pounds.

COTTON FROM EGYPT

As a result of discussions on April 24, between the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry and a delegation of the Egyptian Government, the State Trading Corporation of India has on April 24, opened a rupee account for purchasing cotton and cement from Egypt and exporting a number of Indian products to Egypt.

The arrangement will mainly facilitate the import by India of much-needed long-staple cotton at a competitive price and without involving expenditure of foreign exchange. It is expected that in pursuance of this arrangement the Textile Commissioner will announce, in a day or two, a new import quota of 20,000 bales of cotton, of the specifications that Egypt will be able to meet. Egypt has agreed to sell this quantity at a discount on the ruling price in order to make the purchase competitive to Indian buyers.

LOAN ON COMPANY SHARES

The Reserve Bank of India is understood to have instructed banks in the country to desist from making advances to parties seeking loans for the purpose of cornering shares with a view to controlling companies.

The Banks have been asked to scrutinise applications for loans, so that bank finances may not be exploited for speculative purposes at a time when genuine requirements of trade and industry are, sometimes, not satisfied, it is learnt.

NEHRU'S APPEAL TO MANUFACTURERS

Prime Minister Nehru assured the private sector that it had necessarily to have "not only a very important place but a respected place in the context of the broad policies that we pursue."

Mr. Nehru, who was inaugurating the annual conference of the All-India Manufacturers' organisation at New Delhi in April 13 said that the public sector inevitably must expand in this country. "But I do not want people to think as if the public sector and the private sector are mutually contradictory or come in the way of each other pulling each other back."

Mr. Nehru said it was patent that the Second Plan "puts great burdens upon us—greater than we had imagined when we framed the plan." He had no doubt, however, that "our difficulties, in a sense, are temporary."

FUTURE OF INDIAN FILMS

Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, said recently that the time was not far away when Indian films would acquire international reputation.

He was speaking after giving away awards to films, actors and actresses and persons in film industry following a Film Week held to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of Indian Takies at London last year under the Suspices of the Asian film society.

Mr. Patil said that the Indian film industry popularised Indian films abroad and tried to obtain for their films a commercial market throughout the world. He asked them to maintain a high standard.

Earlier, Mr. S. N. Gaurishal, Chairman of the Asian Film Society of London, stated that the Society was formed with the object of promoting better understanding between the people of east and west through the medium of film and to popularise Indian films in London. He said the Society would shortly build a cinema house in London for screening Indian films there.

STANVAC REFINERY

An additional revenue to the tune of Rs. 1.2 crores per year for approximately eight years will accrue to the Government of India as a result of the decision of the Standard Vacuum Oil Refinery to surrender the duty concession enjoyed by it so far.

Women's Page

BLUEPRINT FOR A HAPPY MARRIAGE

A blueprint for happy marriages was issued on April 14 in London by the British Medical Association, organisation of more than 70,000 doctors all over the world. In a 36-page booklet entitled "Getting Married, 1957," it set out to explain how to get married and how to stay married.

Dr. E. Harvey Flack, Editor of the Association's journal, "Family Doctor," wrote in the introduction, "A honeymoon is but an apprenticeship in love-making and there are wise and foolish apprentices for all ages and both sexes."

"Staying married for a lifetime should rank among the fine arts."

He added: "Knowing what are still called the facts of life is better than not knowing them, but this knowledge alone is not enough. It needs to be applied with loving tenderness and gentle understanding."

"Sexual harmony is not simply an exercise in biological mechanics. It is the culmination of a love that for fulfilment requires the deepest undertones of emotional and spiritual and mental communion."

Another contributor, Dr. Ashley Montague, commended that "the increasing political, legal and social freedoms which women enjoy have affected the institution of marriage greatly and beneficially."

The need for "tenderness" was essential but "very few men in our time are actually capable of being adequately, let alone consistently, tender," he said.

Dr. G. K. Selbourne wrote: "A good double bed can do an incredible amount to safeguard marriage."

"If you don't share a bed, then you get out of the habit of showing the affection you feel until eventually you cease to feel it."

But Dr. Selborne found the contemporary double bed "a technological disgrace to our times." He said, "It is too narrow and it sags in the middle into a valley of contention."

WOMEN'S PROGRESS IN CHINA

To welcome Mrs. Sushamna Sen, M.P., from Bihar and a Member of the Parliamentary Delegation to China, a meeting of the Women's Indian Association was held at Madras recently.

Speaking of her experiences in China, Mrs. Sen said that the country was throbbing with a new life, new vigour and a rejuvenation of art and culture. She was struck by the way the women of China had achieved their progress.

The Chinese people realised, that without freedom for women, a nation could never prosper or progress. Women of China, she observed, held high positions; the first Vice-President of the National Peoples Congress, was a woman and there were four women Ministers.

Describing her own experience as a member of Parliament, Mrs. Sen said that the few women Members of the Parliament had a very difficult time in getting the Hindu Code Bill passed. She wished that in future many more women would enter the Parliament to serve the cause of women in the country.

NEHRU'S ADVICE

Prime Minister Nehru on April 13 appealed to the nation to avoid wastage of food. "I am not asking you to eat less. Do not waste," he said. He also requested people in the wheat-eating areas to spare as much rice as possible for the rice-eating regions.

In another appeal, he exhorted people who owned gold or jewellery to give it over to the Government and "take whatever is the equivalent of that."

"I am not asking for free gifts. I do not want to deprive every woman of all the jewellery she possesses" said Mr. Nehru. "Nevertheless, if this was done on a fairly wide scale, it would be very helpful. What is more, all these things generate a certain atmosphere of partnership in meeting difficulties, in working for big causes, which is more important than the actual thing done."

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing the annual conference of the All India Manufacturers' organisation, made these appeals against the background of the country's economic and foreign exchange difficulties.

FULL-TIME JOBS FOR WOMEN

Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board, said at New Delhi recently that more and more women all over the country wanted avenues of employment which would give them a full living wage.

The only solution to this problem, she thought, was for Government to give some initial financial assistance to start a large number of small production units and help in marketing whatever could be produced by those units.

Mrs. Deshmukh was speaking at a three-day meeting of Chairmen and representatives of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards.

General

VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was declared elected Vice-President of India for a second term without contest on 23rd April.

The declaration was made by the Returning Officer for the Vice-Presidential election, Mr. M. N. Kaul.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's was the only nomination received for election to this office.

Mr. M. GOPALA MENON

Mr. M. Gopala Menon, India's Consul-General in New York, was unanimously elected recently Chairman of the SUNFED (Special U.N. Fund for Economic Development) Ad Hoc Committee N.Y., Mr. Menon's name was proposed by the Pakistani delegate, Mr. Abdul Qadar, and the motion was seconded by the Yugoslav delegate. Last year, the Committee had elected Nawab Ali Yawar Jung, India's present Ambassador in Cairo, as its Chairman.

LATE Dr. RM. ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR

We record with deep regret the death of Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar, well-known educationist, industrialist and philanthropist, at his residence in Vepery, Madras. He was aged 48.

RAMANUJAM INSTITUTE

Arrangements are being made to take over the Ramanujam Institute of Mathematics by the University of Madras, and the matter is under correspondence with the Trust, the Registrar of the Madras University said in a communique on April 23.

In this connection, mathematicians may be interested that through the kind courtesy and co-operation of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research in Bombay and thanks particularly to its head, Dr. H. J. Bhabha, the unpublished works of the late Dr. Ramanujam have been published and copies can be had from the office of the Director, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Appollo Pier Road, Bombay-1.

APARTHEID IN S. AFRICA

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of independent West African State of Ghana said recently that if he had his way he would smash the South African system of *apartheid*.

He told newspapermen that the *apartheid* system of racial separation did not conform to principles of Christian ethics.

He was asked whether the critics of South African policy could look to Ghana for support of trade sanctions and boycotts against South Africa. He replied that Ghana would continue to trade with South Africa and receive technical assistance from that country.

"We cannot interfere in the internal affairs of another country and we shall have to be very careful of what we do," he said. "If public opinion throughout the world can bring pressure to bear on South Africa it would be a different matter."

SOVIET 'HISTORY OF INDIA'

A modern history of India, covering the period between the end of the First World War and to date, on which a group of scholars have been working for many years, will be published this year by the Orientology Institute U.S.S.R., reports 'Tass.'

The Institute has prepared a collection dedicated to Lokamanya Tilak. The book describes his political activity and attempts to analyse the economic and social factors which led to the first Indian liberation movement of 1905-08. Another collection dealing with India's history will be published on the occasion of the centenary of the 1857 war.

INDIAN MEDICINE IN ANCIENT RUSSIA

A book entitled "Indian Medicine in Ancient Russian Medical Treatment" has been published by State publishers of medical literature in Moscow.

The book, according to a *Tass* relate, gives in varying detail the ties between Indian and Russian medicine in the ancient past.

Several chapters of the book are devoted to Indian medicines used by doctors in ancient Russia and Indian medicine and hygiene as reflected in the ancient Russian manuscripts.

HIGH COURT OF CALCUTTA

The President has appointed Mr. Sushil Kumar Datta, Barrister-at-Law, to be a permanent Judge of the Calcutta High Court, with effect from the date he assumes charge of his office, says a Press note issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

JANATA POLICIES

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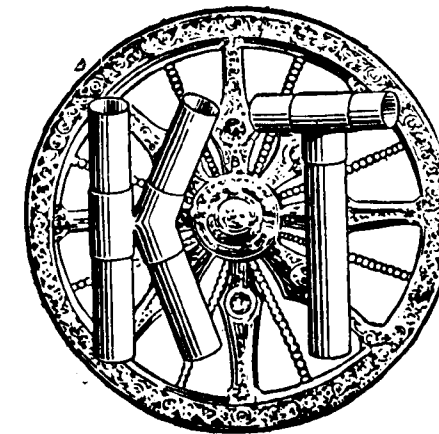
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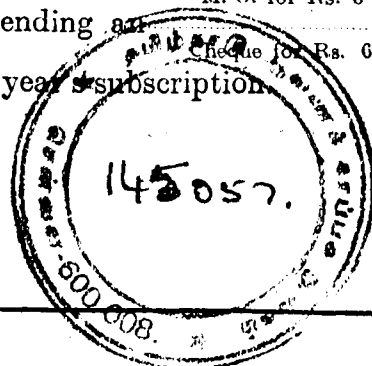
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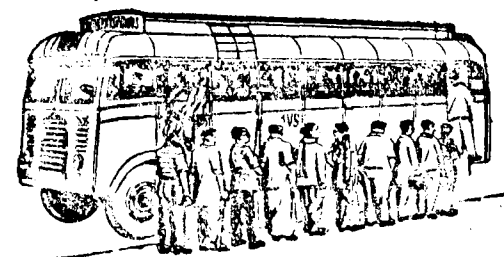
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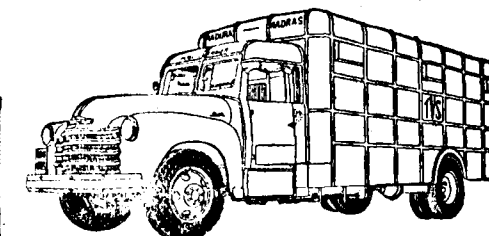
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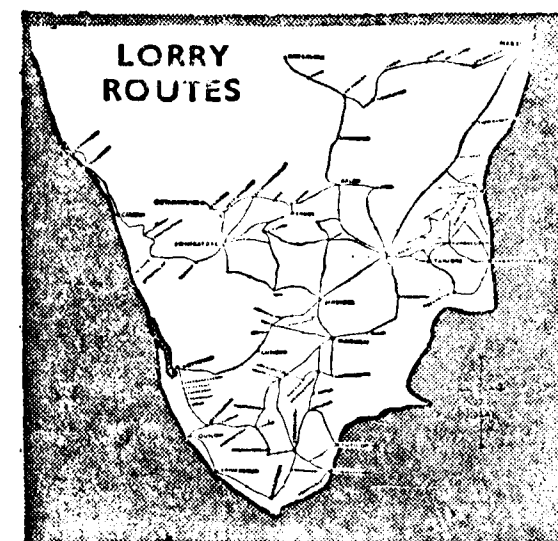
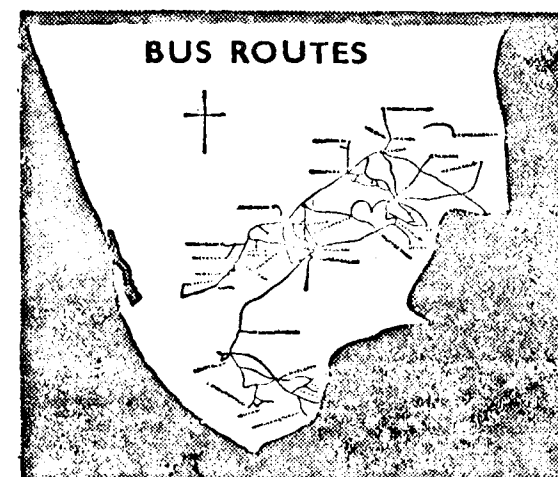
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JULY 1957

[No. 7

The Legacy of the British Rule in India

BY

Prof. SRI RAM SHARMA

THE British first acquired political power in India in 1765; India became an independent dominion in 1947. In their first half century in India, the British were only of the several political powers but after the disappearance of the Peshwa's authority in 1818, England became an imperial power in India and exercised paramount authority in the country. Thus for about 130 years the country was governed by the British.

A century and a half is not a very long period in the history of any country much less so in India where history of civilized existence extends back for more than five thousand years at least. But the British influence is the most recent foreign influence to which we have been subjected. As such it is still very much with us in many ways. Now that we are independent, it is possible for us to assess our debt to the British more accurately.

The first and the foremost legacy of the British is India's unity. Slowly but steadily the British extended the same system of administration to the entire British India. The same set of higher administrators shuttled to and from, various parts of the country imposing the same methods of administration everywhere. The codes of criminal and civil procedure are monuments of patience, industry and learning which few other countries can match today. Their effect in unifying the country can hardly be exaggerated. The same codes of civil and criminal procedure decided how citizens in various parts

of the country were to have their disputes decided in the same fashion throughout the country. The relations of the citizens with one another were mainly governed by the same civil law though different personal, religious, customary and tribal-laws were allowed to govern marriage and inheritance.

The development of the means of communication made travel easier and thus broke down the old barriers that had divided one region from another. The emigrants to other parts of the world—to Kenya, Trinidad, South Africa, British Guiana and elsewhere—discovered that Bengalis and Punjabis, Madrasis and Gujaratis, Hindus or Muslims, they were all Indians, Hindus in fact—in the eyes of the foreigners. The post, the telegraph and the telephone made it possible for people in one part of the country to correspond with another and thus to get to know them sometimes without meeting face to face for years. English education provided a common means for expression of ideas in Bengal and Punjab, Assam and Gujarat, Bombay and Travancore, in fact throughout the country. The newspapers made it possible for their readers to learn what was happening in various parts of the country so that a famine in Rajputana, an earthquake in Bihar or Baluchistan, the partition of Bengal or the martial law in the Punjab could be shared as harrowing experiences in all parts of the country almost equally. Gokhale, Lajpat Rai, Surendra Nath, Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Firoz Shah

Mehta, Ajmal Khan, Gandhi, Motilal could almost equally affect public opinion and course of events in their own provinces as elsewhere.

In the twentieth century national consciousness was promoted and a sense of unity produced by a rather strange factor, growing resentment against India's domination by the British. It brought several otherwise somewhat incompatible elements together, British India politicians and the princes—as at the Round Table Conferences—, Hindus and Muslims, frontier tribesmen and Indian citizens proper, industrialists and consumers, agriculturists and manufacturers. English education created an ever expanding class of citizens brought up in the liberal British traditions who believed that good government was no substitute for self-government.

The unity thus created was not however complete. The division of India into British India and non-British India—India not only of princes but of chiefs and estate-holders—retarded political progress in princely India and perpetuated medieval conditions. The recruitment to the army was confined to what were described as 'Martial races' but what in effect came to be classes 'loyal' to the idea of continuation of British rule in India. In public services preference was shown to Muslims, Anglo-Indians and Europeans and some specified castes or sub-castes among the Hindus in certain departments. Representation in the legislature was based on the principle of keeping Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Europeans separate from the rest and giving these classes—presumably on account of their 'loyal services'—more seats than they were entitled to.

This unity led to the emergence of a sense of national consciousness in India. The idea of a 'Nation State' has not a very long history either in the east or in the west. It came to fruition on the continental Europe about 1870; the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 extended it to states created out of the ruins of the German Empire and the Dual monarchy of Austria-

Hungary and Turkey. In India national consciousness arose as a direct result of the British connection. England is the cradle of the nation-state. Long before the rest of Europe was affected by it, she had adopted it as her own. Her literature and her political philosophy extolled it. When English education was introduced here, Indian students, brought up on her 'literature of revolt' could not but imbibe the principles which this literature advocated. The political unity which the British rule imposed on India naturally brought in its wake a sense of 'Indianness.' Following precedents set in England and the United States various types of societies were set up providing political education in the country and inculcating lessons in national consciousness. Some of the British rulers of India unconsciously—Lord Curzon for example—contributed to this awakening by their tall claim to the exclusive knowledge of what was good for India and imposing it on her.

When in 1917 the British abandoned their claim to govern India for all time as a part of divine dispensation, they declared the establishment of responsible government in India as the new goal of their policy in India. This brings us to the third important legacy of the British rule; democratic government. Though the adoption of this policy was announced in 1917, certain elements of British rule in India had been fostering the idea of democratic government for some time past. The setting up of municipalities and district boards under Ripon was officially advocated as a part of the political education of Indians in democratic government. The presence of representative Indians in the imperial and provincial legislature after 1894 familiarized them with 'forms' of democratic government. The British traditions of the rule of law and liberty of citizens further strengthened these democratic tendencies.

The British connection with India naturally decided that democratic government in India would take the form of Parliamentary govern-

ment, i.e., the executive being formed by the Political party having a majority in the popular house of the legislature and continuing in power only so long as it retains that majority. The servants of the crown and the East India Company who in 1853 had been set up as an organ for making laws for British India started playing at 'a petty Parliament.' In 1861 this was made impossible but in 1892 began this practice of asking questions and discussion of the financial statement by members of the legislatures. In 1909 members were permitted to move resolutions and ask supplementary questions. This naturally decided that Indian members of the legislature should ask for some more of all this and thus favour parliamentary form of government. Politically conscious classes in India became familiar with the English system of government and demanded its establishment in India to the exclusion of other forms of government.

One feature of the working of the Indian legislature might have threatened the setting up of French parliamentary practices in India. In the twentieth century committees of the legislatures came to be associated with certain departments in an advisory capacity. But independent authority was never lodged in these committees and their discontinuance in 1953 ensured that Indian parliamentary government was to take after English rather than the French practices.

Parliamentary procedure in India again is an English legacy. Legislatures do not perform the same functions nor do they perform them in the same way in all democratic governments. Luckily in India we have had more knowledge of English practices than what prevail elsewhere. There have been occasional appeals in India for adopting other than British Parliamentary practices whenever they have appeared inconvenient to individuals, parties or interests. But the British legacy in parliamentary procedure is safely entrenched in India in its broader principles; three readings of bills, examination of and the report on the bills by select

or standing committees of the legislature, the question hour, the impartial position of the Speakers and the grants of supplies on the motion of the ministers alone are some of the parliamentary practices for which we are indebted to the British.

Another British legacy is the rule of law in Indian government. All citizens are equal at law and public servants as such do not enjoy any special privileges likely to threaten the rights of the citizens. No invasion of personal rights can be justified as an act of state alone. All laws extend equally to all; high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims. Whenever an emergency or near emergency requires the curtailment of the rights of citizens, such curtailment can be ultimately authorised by the freely elected legislatures alone within the framework of the Constitution.

The British practices in India occasionally stopped short of British Political philosophy. Europeans were entitled to a special procedure even in criminal cases against them. Public servants could not be prosecuted without the permission of the government in certain cases, and the legislatures which authorized the invasion of personal rights were not entirely elected. But the British connection in India laid stress on British public philosophy. Indians treated shortcomings of British practices in India as aberrations which could be excused but were in no case to be treated as models to be followed. Thus British example rather British practice provided the model which India took for her own. That is why the judiciary in India to-day is as independent as in the United Kingdom. That also explains why some critics of the Indian government often strive to overlook the work of the judiciary in India when they attempt to prove that the government is in the hands of a single party.

The greatest spectacular proof of the prevalence of the rule of law was proved by the first general elections in India. Friends and foes in India were alike amazed at the success of this greatest democratic election in the

history of the world. The returning officers scrutinized the nomination forms of all parties with equal care and the presiding officer showed similar zeal in securing that the elections were both free and fair. When election tribunals heard cases they did not look at the party labels which the contestants wore but investigated the complaints of irregularities, corruptions and illegal practices presented to them.

This naturally brings us to public administration. Here the British provided at the top general public administrators capable of performing all task of government equally well. Indians had been all but excluded in the nineteenth century. When in the twentieth century they began to enter the imperial services, they soon learnt the traditions which their British predecessors had built up and which their British colleagues were maintaining. If higher administrators had developed traditions of aloofness they were also impartial. If they did not know all that had to be known about the vast Indian subcontinent they were willing to learn—though not in any humility and were capable of discovering necessary sources of knowledge and if all else failed, of providing answers to questions which brooked no delay. The civil servants had been trained to shoulder responsibility, not to shirk it. The greatly reduced Indian public servants, civil and military, gladly shouldered the responsibility of carrying on the administration of the country after partition. Under the leaders possessing keen insight and moved by selfless devotion to the cause of their country they carried the country through the horrors of post-partition crisis. They carried through the greatest exodus of population in history from one country to another under conditions of almost open war-fare; they have provided the country with an agency capable of converting the bureaucratic administration of yesterday into a welfare state to-day. But much more than that they proved their mettle by their success first in taking over princely India and

then assimilating the crude administration in major parts of princely India into modern forms of administration.

The British public servants combined the aloofness of the Olympians with the paternalism derived from Indian traditions. Paternalism started being challenged in 1921 and many of the British civil servants left. But a welfare state demands a new type of paternalism which derives its strength from the citizens' sharing governmental tasks with the administrators. The memories of their traditions of paternal administration may still prove a valuable British legacy in India.

Outside these fields the British have left many legacies in the industrial, commercial, educational, social and political fields. They set up through British agencies mainly—new industries in India, tea, petroleum, steel and iron among others. The industries were organized as 'factories' on a very large scale; some older industries were also converted from cottage industries into huge enterprises, cotton textiles, jute, salt, indigo and several other ancient industries were so converted. A network of railways was set up to serve the military and mercantile needs of the rulers. This 'industrial revolution' started about a hundred years ago was carried through mainly by British capital and British enterprise. As the British example proved catching, great Indian industrial houses like that of the Tata's arose and took their share in the industrialization of the country. The national awakening and the spirit of Swadeshi born of the partition of Bengal provided further impetus for the Indians taking a greater share in the trade and industry of their country than had been the case so far. The Indian demand for self-government in this, as in other spheres soon led to Indians claiming their due share. Indians at first aimed at breaking British monopoly in these fields. This naturally resulted in building Indian industries after the British model; Indian joint stock companies with boards of directors and managing agencies claimed their proper place along

with their British competitors. Plantation labour apart, British industrialists set up fair standards of employee welfare which Indian had to perforce to follow.

Trade unionism, though a universal movement, is a British legacy in the form which it has taken in India. It is associated with democratic and socialistic countries. The Indian Labour Code has its roots in the British factory laws both in its success and in its shortcomings.

Mainly owing to British policy in India, she has been now urbanized to a very large extent. Demands mainly by British capitalists in India resulted in the setting up of several industries in the same place. These factories, mills and workshops soon drew a large number of labourers from places far and near. Villages were some times denuded of all their able-bodied and adventurous young men and hence those left in them very often supplemented their income substantially from the money orders which they received from those employed abroad.

The educational system in India to-day is again a legacy of the British. Universities were set up in India in 1857 after the model of the University of London to provide examining and Degree granting agencies. Once set up in that mould they grew but always within the same old mould. Schools became cradles for young men intending to proceed to the University or to enter professional institutions where such existed outside the University organization. They remained mostly non-governmental agencies. Unlike the United States they owed their origins to public laws of the country enacted to include all types of institutions and not set up to fulfil the intentions of their donors.

The British have left some impression on the social life of India as well. They set up clubs wherever they could foregather. In course of time, some of these became, by their exclusiveness, grim reminders of foreign rule in India. Shut out of them, Indians saw some virtue in

these institutions and set up some similar institutions of their own. After partition even the more exclusive clubs have come to be composed of Indian members only. Racing, card playing and drinking acquired new values because the British rulers indulged in them. Betting on race results was new and seems to have set itself up as a popular pastime. To dress like Europeans became the height of fashion. As there was no one dress in use in the country, the European dress became a pass-port to 'good' society. The ceremonial and court dress were naturally British and hence it acquired a vogue which seems to be capable of living long after the departure of the British. Certain items of the dress seem to have got too popular to be easily thrown overboard.

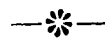
Indian literature has been greatly influenced both by British rule and English literature. The British first used Urdu prose for literature as well as in daily tasks of administration. Hindi followed suit. Spread of education and a desire for spreading political awakening led to the emergence of newspapers, dramas, novels and verse in the Indian language. New forms of literature were adopted from their English habitat; short stories, essays, satire, criticism, one-act plays came to be written after the English fashion. Literary criticism, though it often started with appealing to ancient Sanskrit texts, began to lean more and more on English principles of literary criticism. Emancipation and progressiveness often took the shape of shaking oneself free of ancient practices and adopting English models.

A very interesting legacy is India's discovery of her self, her ancient past. The centuries of political turmoil and political strife had left Indians unaware both of their ancient heritage and of its glory. 'The amazing discovery' that European languages were skin to Sanskrit led to an endless search for ancient texts which soon extended beyond Indian frontiers to central Asia. Many long lost texts were brought to light. Then began an attempt

first to survey and then to preserve them and lastly to unearth archaeological wealth of the country. Soon Indian scholars joined forces with the Europeans in this search so that Indians of the twentieth century know more of her ancient glories than their ancestors of three or four hundred years ago.

The British legacy in India to-day is very large. Independent India is a successor to British India. If India had wrested political

power from the hands of the British by force there might have been a deep anti-British movement after 1947. But the way in which Indians pressed their claims for independence and the method which the British employed for transferring power to Indian hands removed much of the earlier resentment against things British. Swadeshism of to-day takes pride not in burning British articles and institutions but in adopting them for its own purpose.



America in Transition

By

Mr. ALEXANDER BENTON MAPP

“THERE is a ‘Negro problem’ in the United States and most Americans are aware of it...” So wrote the Swedish Sociologist Gunner Myrdal in 1940 in his now famous study called “The American Dilemma.” Pointing out that the problem assumes varying forms and intensity in different regions of the country and among diverse groups of the American people, he added “Americans have reacted to it politically as citizens and, where there are Negroes present in the community, privately as neighbors.”

But how have the Americans reacted and what has been the progress towards racial integration in the years since the Myrdal study? All honest Americans today will admit that the problem still exists, but all Americans will with candor add that very real progress has been and is being made.

Any objective observer who carefully examines the recent record will see that during the last fifteen years there has been more progress towards racial integration than in the preceding seventy-five years since the Negro was freed from his slave status following the American Civil War. Progress made by the Negro has gone from the dim and undefined to

the clear, undeniable and even spectacular. Though complete integration has not yet been achieved, there are positive signs that it can and will be done.

The greatest evidence of the move toward integration is the decreasing concentration of the Negro population in certain sections of America. Years ago the great bulk of the Negro population was found in the agricultural areas of America’s South. In recent years there has been a massive Negro population movement away from the agricultural South to the newly developing industrial South and the already developed industrial North. Nearly 50% of American’s Negroes are now found in areas outside the South. Within the South there has been a Negro shift from farm to nonfarm areas. At the turn of the century Negroes formed two-thirds of the southern farm population. Today they are but one-sixth of this population. Fifty years ago few Negroes were found in the southern industrial community; today they make up nearly 50% of the southern nonfarm areas.

The words “urban” and “northern” in the mind of the American Negro are rough

synonyms for progress. The average Negro family in the urban areas of the North has approximately four to five times as much money to spend as the average Negro family in the farm areas of the South. The magnitude of this economic progress can be seen from the figures of Negro income. In 1940 the total combined income of the Negro population of America was slightly more than 34 crores of dollars (three billion, 450 million dollars). In 1956 the Negro cash income had soared to a figure of 154 crores of dollars (15 billion, 250 million dollars), an increase in 15 years of nearly 500%. The Negro income figure in 1956 was nearly equal to the value of all goods exported by the United States in 1955.*

Prior to World War II sociologists were asking if it would be possible for the Negro to make the transition from a farm economy to an industrial one. There were some who feared that the Negro was in danger of losing even the rather meagre economic stability which he had. Events proved that the transition could be made. Since 1940 the industrial centers of the Northern and Western states have absorbed more than a million new Negro workers.

The picture in the South is less bright. Too many Southern Negroes are still dependent on the agricultural economy. There is a great need for the Negro to be hired as an industrial production worker so that he will have the opportunity to acquire the training and experience necessary for him to move into the skilled and more highly paid occupations.

There is no student of race relations in America who would say that full integration can come without full economic stability for the Negro. Neither would any competent student say that economic progress alone is the solution to the difficulties the Negro faces. All, however would frankly state that with this

*In 1940 the total combined income of the Negro population was slightly more than \$3,450,000. Mr. Mapp reports that in 1956 the Negro cash income had soared to a figure of \$15,250,000 an increase in 15 years of nearly 500 percent.

economic advance there has been accompanying progress in other fields.

In the field of education there has been a tremendous advance, though sensational news stories of isolated cases in which individual Negroes have found difficulty entering certain universities might seem to indicate otherwise. Today, whether in schools of his own or in integrated schools where Negroes and whites study together, the Negro is achieving an ever improving educational standard. Even before the recent Supreme Court decision making segregation illegal, there were vast areas in America where no distinction was made between the educational opportunities offered to white and Negro children.

Since the Supreme Court decision there has been even more progress. The Southern Regional Council—a professional body concerned with education in the Southern part of America—recently completed an exhaustive study covering the two-year period since the Supreme Court ruling. Their findings showed that more than 350 school districts in nine different Southern states were either wholly integrated or in the process of integration. At the same time more than 160 accredited Southern colleges and universities had admitted Negro students at various levels. The brightest sign of all was that throughout the Southern states included in the study—an area generally considered to be the least progressive in the matter of school integration—there was a noticeable determination on the part of school officials and parents of both races to overcome past prejudices and to make every effort to remedy past deficiencies in the educational system. There is a will to ensure that every child, regardless of his color, be given an opportunity to progress educationally as fast and as far as his capacity permits.

A most thrilling demonstration of this basic good will comes from Clinton, Tennessee. In this small town troops were called out in September to guarantee the right of Negro children to attend integrated schools. Tension

was high, caused mainly by a rabid, white minority group. In December, however, when free elections were held, candidates pledged to equality of educational opportunity for Negroes and whites won decisively over opponents of integration.

The one area in which the most marked and most rapid integration can be observed is in the United States Armed Forces. President Eisenhower recently called to the attention of the American voting public the fact that he was among those who took the lead in breaking down the color barriers in the Army. Integration within the military has occurred quickly and has given astonishing evidence to all Americans of the speed with which racial discrimination can be eliminated.

In 1951 the Command of the American troops stationed in Europe issued instructions to its senior staff to get ready for integration. Some pessimists said that it would take fifty years to achieve. Even the optimists were amazed when the job was successfully completed by the summer of 1952. Racial integration among American troops at home and overseas demonstrated to the rest of the nation that integration is not only possible but desirable. It is the unanimous verdict of the military command that with integration America has a better army than in the days of segregation.

America, with its well-known emphasis on material success, lists home ownership as one of the badges of that success. Prior to World War II, housing was the one area in which the Negro found it most difficult to make headway. He had difficulty in competing on the open market when he wanted to obtain housing. He regularly found himself restricted to living in areas known as "the Negro section," districts in which the highest crime rates and highest incidence of communicable diseases were usually found.

The improvement in the economic status of the Negro has brought changes to the picture. His present ability to purchase more freely on the open housing market means that he is getting out of those areas to which he was previously restricted, and is getting away from the slum status that he knew. Progress in home ownership is well documented in the field of privately financed housing and also in the field

of government-aided home-building. As early as 1950 the record showed that the rate of Negro home ownership had so increased that one out of every three families living in cities owned its own home. The rate of increase among Negro home owners has surpassed that among white home owners. In the last fifteen years Negro home ownership in city areas has increased 137% while white home ownership in the same localities and the same period has had a normal increase of 84%.

Integration is not yet total. Prejudices have not been entirely removed. But, as the record shows, there has been marked and encouraging progress. It can be attributed to a number of causes, but probably to none more important than a basic characteristic of American society itself. Since the earliest days of their history, Americans have possessed a fundamental quality which has been a decided advantage in a changing world. It is the ability to adjust to rapid change. There has never been a day when you could not properly use the term "America in Transition."

America adapts itself to change because change usually means progress. It is not content with the *status quo*; it wants to go forward to something better. Once an improvement can be shown to contribute to the living standard of the average American, he will accept it wholeheartedly.

America recently has witnessed such demonstrations of improvement in the field of human relations. Its military forces are better for integration. Its sports teams are improved; there is no discrimination between white and black. The whole educational level of the country is improved when there is no denial of educational opportunities to some people because of color. The American economy is more sound when not endangered by soft spots caused by underprivileged groups.

America knows that if it is to hold or even deserve to hold a position of leadership in the world it cannot afford segregation. As practical people, Americans know the hard truth of the words of Abraham Lincoln. "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it."

India's Educational Problem

By

Prof. K. G. SAIYIDAIN

ONE reads so much about Education these days in papers and periodicals and hears so much about it from the public platform that it is difficult to say anything very new and original on this subject. It is a subject in which every one is directly or indirectly interested, because it deals with an everyday situation of general human interest. Unlike Physics or Medicine or Philosophy, it cannot put on a mantle of specialism which inspires respect in the layman.

Thus, there is a pardonable temptation on the part of every layman, however knowledgeable or ignorant, to pronounce ponderous *obiter dicta* on it and to sit in judgment on educational purposes, methods and standards. Curiously, the degree of authority with which this is done often varies in inverse proportion to the amount of knowledge and experience possessed by the individuals concerned.

While the teacher who practices this craft from day to day is often silent and the educationist, who is responsible for organising the educational system or particular institutions, may speak with some hesitation, the lay critic, who usually unburdens himself in the correspondence columns of newspapers, criticizes education and suggests changes with enviable assurance.

This is welcome in so far as it indicates the measure of public interest in the problem. Constructively, it is not very helpful, because it often fails to take note of the difficulties and complexity of the problem as well as of what has actually been done, or is being done, to repattern the educational system and bring it into harmony with new national needs, urges and aspirations.

For, there is no doubt that a good deal has been done since the attainment of independence to give education a new orientation and to

place it on a sounder basis. I do not propose to go into comparative facts and figures because they have been published in a number of publications including annual Reports, put out by the Ministry of Education and State Education Departments. Any one, who is really interested to study them will find that, during this period, there has been considerable expansion of educational facilities and activities have been initiated on a number of fronts. And this has been done in spite of many acute difficulties, financial and otherwise, and the irresistible pull of other urgent national needs.

If we compare the present situation to what it was even a decade earlier or to what is being done in many other countries of this region, there is room for reasonable satisfaction. If, on the other hand, we set it against our goal and our targets and the educational vision that inspires our efforts, we have a long, long way to go yet. I suppose this is what, to some extent, justifies both the rather complacent optimists and the professional pessimists and adverse critics. On a balance of considerations and taking all relevant factors into account, I am inclined to think that there is room for moderate and measured hopefulness.

On what do I base this conclusion? Not so much on the actual achievements—good enough though they are, at least in quantitative terms—as on the nature and direction of the changes that we are trying to bring about. In the repatterning of our educational system, we are trying consciously to work in harmony with concept of the socio-economic order that we wish to bring into being and the type of individual that we want to develop. A reference to the main changes that are underway will serve to clarify this point.

We are anxious to build a socialistic society to replace our more or less feudal order—a

society in which every citizen will be a willing and co-operatively minded worker—and social worthfulness will take the place of status in society. Our endeavour is that honest, efficient and socially useful work would become the criterion of goodness and respectability in society and social parasitism should be looked upon as a mark of disgrace.

Now, Basic Education, which we regard as the normal pattern of mass education, is inspired by precisely this purpose and Gandhiji envisaged it primarily as an instrument of social change. Purposeful work, in this scheme of education, becomes both the method and the end of education as well as the bridge that links up the school with life. If through our education, we can produce true workers, in the sense which I have indicated above, we shall have made a very significant contribution to the achievement of the national ideal.

Similarly, at the stage of Secondary Education, another not dissimilar and far-reaching change is under way. We are trying to replace the excessively academic, bookish schools by "multi-purpose" schools which will be more sensitively responsive to the varied interests and aptitudes of the students. They will seek to provide education, which will have both liberal and practical significance, through a broad-based curriculum in which not only the traditional 'academic' subjects practical and vocational subjects like Agriculture, Commerce, Technology, Domestic Science, Arts and Crafts will find an honoured place.

The idea is not merely to train young men and women, who will be good and efficient workers, able to find their place in the economy of life, but also to ensure that students with varied types of gifts and mental make-up will find in the new schools appropriate outlets for the expression of their interests and their talents.

In addition to this enrichment of content, there are attempts at "modernizing" teaching methods so that learning may become a shared

activity rather than a passive exercise of the memory. It is still an idea difficult to sell that culture can be "distilled" not only from the humanities and the pure sciences but also, under proper conditions, from other great constructive occupations and activities which men have carried on through the ages. Not only the conventional parent and the tradition-bound teacher but even the universities are often unable to view the problem afresh and unprejudiced angle and this tends to slow down the tempo of a healthy and necessary change. However, there are indications that the new idea is on a winning wicket.

In the case of higher education in the colleges and universities, handicaps partly stem from the conditions of work at the preceding stages, partly from the paucity of resources which hamper their work and partly from the excessive emphasis on examination which tend to obscure the deeper and broader purposes of education.

At this stage, too, various measures have been or are being initiated to improve matters—promotion of methods that will place a premium on thinking, development of post-graduate work and research, introduction of "general education" courses to cut across excessive specialism, improvement and expansion of libraries, laboratories and hostels, rationalizing pupil-teacher ratio and experimenting with the idea of making examinations more reasonable and reliable.

So far as Technical Education is concerned, the expansion of facilities and improvements of standards of instructions have been so obvious that there is no need to elaborate the point.

In addition to these well established educational stages, increasing attention has been given in recent years to Social Education for adults, to the development of many projects for social welfare, child welfare and youth welfare and to the creation of agencies for stimulating a cultural renaissance in the fields of literature, drama, dance, music and art.

These are fields which were considered beyond the purview of the Ministry of Education and Education Departments till comparatively recently.

Having said all this, I must in fairness face a rather difficult question which many persons are likely to raise. If we are doing all this, why is it that there is a loud and general complaint about the fall of standards? Why is it that the question of student's indiscipline has been assuming what looks like alarming proportions? Why is there a general feeling of dissatisfaction about the results of education and the criticism that it does not solve the problem of unemployment and other social and economic ills?

In a brief article like this, it is not possible to give fully satisfactory and exhaustive answers to these different questions. But there are several answers. Like all rather sweeping criticisms, some of these are relevant and some irrelevant; some are right while others are wrong. For instance, it is wrong to assume that Education, however good, can by itself solve the question of unemployment. It can certainly assist in the process but there are many other conditions which must be fulfilled and many issues that must be tackled before this problem can be satisfactorily solved.

In assessing the relevance of these criticisms, one basic factor that we have to remember is that of time. It is only for about a decade that we have been fully responsible for our national life and policies—a decade full of many trials and tribulations in the early years of which we were literally faced with the problem of ensuring national survival. During this brief period, it is simply *not* possible to make up the leeway of centuries, to establish a new educational system and to produce demonstrably new results like a magician bringing a whole rabbit out of a hat making a plant within minutes.

Education takes time; in fact, all kinds of movements whether religious or social or economic or political,—which seek to pro-

duce changes in human beings, require time. A man, who has no historic perspective or psychological insight and is in the happy position of not having to implement his own demands, is apt to show ill-informed impatience. Such changes can only come about slowly, very slowly—particularly when they are to be brought about through democratic processes.

Gandhiji was responsible for organizing one of the most remarkable movements of social, moral and political regeneration in the history of mankind and he was the leader and the inspiration of this movement in India for about 30 years—working in the cities and towns and villages and on many fronts. He had at his disposal a large group of devoted workers, some of them of the highest mental calibre, integrity and personality.

And yet it would be difficult to claim that the evils against which he fought so valiantly and imaginatively—casteism, communalism, intolerance, jobbery, corruption, self-seeking—have disappeared from the body-politic. He *did* make an impact but it will take much longer for that impact to travel all along the time. Is it not then somewhat unreasonable to blame the poor teacher—who has neither Gandhiji's personality nor his opportunities—if he has not been able to bring about an educational revolution in 10 or 15 years?

Again, there is a good deal of talk of student's indiscipline and no one can deplore it more sincerely than those of us who are actually engaged in educational work. But can it be honestly said by the loud voiced critics and by the community in general that this indiscipline in the wider and deeper sense of the word, is confined to youth and is not part of the social *malaise*? Are we, educated and responsible adults who have been wearing the mantle of full citizenship for years, free from the many ugly manifestations of this disease.

This is not to defend or condone youth indiscipline but partly to advise self-examination and looking for the deeper causes and

partly to counsel patience in passing judgment. The changes that have been introduced or are just being introduced in education will bear fruit but only in due course of time—like the seed that must pass through various stage of metamorphosis, before it can burst through the soil and become a visible object of joy to the eye.

The silent revolution is being wrought—in numerous little schools and other institutions and organisations—sometimes in remote and obscure villages, sometimes in more spectacular forms in cities and well-known institutions. There are also, no doubt, that many institutions whom the spreading light has not touched yet with its golden wand. But this, as I have said, will take time and the patient willing and unremitting labour of millions of teachers working with devotion and faith which will not accept defeat.

And this brings me to my last point. How are these teachers, who are the architects not

only of the New Education but also, by implication, of the New India, to be secured? On a salary of Rs. 25/- or 30/- p.m. with no social recognition or prestige? I doubt it. Unless public conscience revolts against the conditions under which a majority of our teachers have to work and public authorities go all out to improve them, we shall, as it were, be fighting this glorious war in the cause of the future without hands tied behind our backs.

It is, therefore, a basic condition for all abiding educational reform that our teachers should be re-instated in a position.....a position of high social respect and given the necessary facilities and amenities, both material and psychological to work with contentment. Of course, it is a two-way traffic—the teachers have to do their best to *deserve* a generous deal. But there are many other occasions and platforms, conferences and seminars and workshops where we are trying to instil this idea into their minds.

Kannada Fiction Today

By

Mr. A. N. KRISHNA RAO

FICTION, as we understand today, is a legacy of British rule in India. Bengal, which came under the impact of British civilization in the early part of the last century, paved the way. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's pioneer efforts added a new chapter to the history of Indian literature, and ushered in a renaissance in all the major languages of this country. Vireshalingam in Andhra, Harinarayan Apte in Maharashtra, and B. Venkatachar in Mysore followed the lead given by Bankim Babu.

The first two decades of this century were dominated by the translations of Venkatachar and Galaganath. At the end of the second decade, feeble efforts at indigenous production

were made by Gulavadi, Puttanna and Keru, Vasudevacharya. Puttanna's outstanding work "Madiddunno Maraya" (Tit for Tat) fulfilled a long-felt want and for the first time creative literature reached the hands of the people.

Though novel in the modern sense was new to the Kannada people, they were not totally unacquainted with the novel form. Some of the classical masters were born story-tellers and their works, if rendered into modern prose, will read like novels.

With this background, Kannada fiction could be classified as : Classical school, Renaissance school and Modern school.

The Classicists were deeply religious, and they adapted the novel form for a popular,

representation of their religious beliefs and tenets. The writers of the Renaissance period looked a round and made revolutionary departures. They subjected their creative genius to didactic moral teachings. Kempunarayana's "Mudra Manjusha" (1823) could be cited as an example.

It was left to the moderns to free literature from the tentacles of explicit sermonising and explore new avenues of life and its variegated pattern.

Classical Kannada literature had one other shortcoming. It laid little emphasis on the social aspect of life. Life to the Classicists was of secondary importance; religion held supreme sway. It became the task of the moderns to divest literature from the octopus claws of religion and religious belief.

Early writers like Puttanna and Kerur Vasudevacharya made valiant efforts to reflect life in their works. But their work was confined to a particular society, limiting their range. Their conservative upbringing also came in the way of a freer and fuller expression of life.

Two writers—Karanath and Anakru—took to novel writing in the early thirties and created for the Kannada novel a place of enduring importance. Both playwrights and experimentalists brought their wide experience and keen observation into their novels. Karanth's style reflects the spoken language and with its unpolished quality has the nerve and vigour befitting his motif.

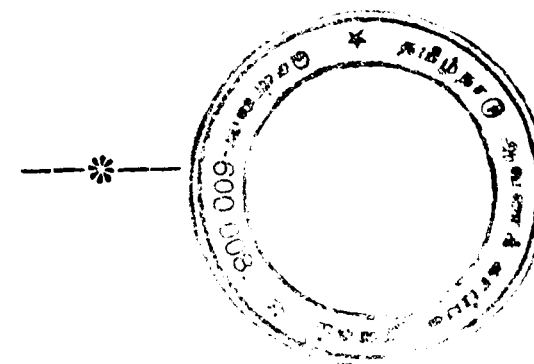
Anakru's range is much wider, and his prolific production has covered nearly all important aspects of our national and social life. Fine arts, cultural past, India's role in the shaping of a new world are some of the subjects covered by Anakru. Anakru writes a simple, racy style, vigorous, readable and arresting.

It is important to remember that before these two writers Kannada prose in fiction was still in its infancy. The writers had no models to follow. The severe challenge of creative writing had to be met, and new articulation found. Karanath and Anakru met this challenge and became the torchbearers for generations of writers to follow.

Mention must be made of Kuvempu, Gokak and Chennabasaveswara each contributing one novel of importance. Kuvempu's poetic novel "Kanur Subbamma," Gokak's "Ijjodu," and Chennabasaveswara's "Kala Prapurne" are rich studies of life and nature. Beechi's genius for laughter finds full expression in his "Sati Sooles," "Saraswathi Samhara" and "Khadi Seere." Niranjana is a prolific writer.

Among women writers mention must be made of Triveni, Anupama and Usha Devi, whose consistent efforts introduce the "Women's Point of View" on many of our social problems.

The Kannada people could justly be proud of their achievement in the field of novels. The range and quality have risen to heights and show promise of greater achievements.



Britain's Palaces and Castles

An age-old castle, a young queen: the historic past and the living present.

By A "BRITISHER".

THE ancestry of the Queen of Britain can be traced back for nearly 1,500 years—to the fifth century A.D., when the chieftain Cerdic founded the settlement which was to grow into the powerful kingdom of Wessex. In the course of time the rulers of Wessex, outstanding among whom was Alfred the Great, established their authority over the rest of England; and intermarriage with the royal house of Scotland led eventually to a Scottish king, James VI, succeeding to the English throne and thus consolidating the whole of Britain into a single royal realm.

The character and pattern of the monarchy was changing all the time, as each successive sovereign made his own contribution to the inheritance handed down from his predecessor. Traditions and customs crystallised into laws, castles and palaces were built or extended to proclaim the ever-increasing authority of the Crown, so that not only the government of the kingdom but its whole social structure came to depend upon the monarchy as a keystone. The Crown, the reservoir of the country's history, was now also the source of its everyday life.

We are constantly reminded of this, even in these democratic days. The pillar-boxes in which we post our mail, the bright red vans which carry it away, all bear a crown; so does every letter we receive from a Government department. A hundred other small instances could be quoted, leaving aside entirely the sphere of politics and great affairs of state. But—and here we become aware of the paradox—the mail-vans bear not only a crown, but the initials E.R.; besides the conventional symbol of authority, the official letters also carry the inscription "On Her Majesty's Service". Suddenly this rather impersonal institution this ancient treasury of history and tradition which we call the Crown, becomes very personal indeed. For we realise that it is

not merely "the Crown" which safeguards our mail, but *Elizabeth Regina*: the crown of her ancestors is now *her* crown: Windsor Castle, the home of the monarchy for centuries, is now *her* home: the realm in which we live is *her* realm. And, strange as it may seem, all the history of Britain and her sister - kingdoms in the Commonwealth lives for the time being in the person of a single individual—the young woman, Long may she reign!

Where does the Queen live? Most people would immediately answer "Buckingham Palace". But the Queen does not spend all her time in London, and she has several other homes in different parts of the country over which the royal standard can be seen denoting that Her Majesty is in residence. In addition, there are a number of royal palaces which, though not lived in by the Queen herself, are either occupied by other members of the Royal Family or are used for various official purposes.

Buckingham Palace, the Queen's London home, stands in the centre of the city, surrounded by parks, a few hundred yards from Piccadilly. Its site was once occupied by the residence of a former Duke of Buckingham, which was rebuilt in sumptuous style by King George IV (1820–30), the architect being John Nash. The exterior, restrained and dignified, gives little hint of the magnificence of the Throne Room, the Ball room, the Picture Gallery (containing what is undoubtedly the finest private collection in existence) and the other State Apartments. These, however, are never open to the public, but there is compensation in the music, colour and pageantry of the ceremony of Changing the Guard which takes place in the forecourt.

The first monarch to occupy Buckingham Palace was Queen Victoria, who took up residence there on her accession to the throne in 1837 and made further extensive additions to the building. In the matter of age, if not of

sumptuousness, it therefore does not compare with the *Tower of London* which was built in the eleventh century and was the London residence of the sovereign in early medieval times. Though the last king to occupy a room there was Charles II on the night before his coronation in 1661, it still ranks as a royal palace (though castle seems the more appropriate word), and it is there that the Crown Jewels are housed. The Tower of London was succeeded as a royal residence by the *Palace of Westminster*, now better known as the Houses of Parliament. In the thirteenth century, when Parliament began to assume its present form, the Lords and Commons, legislators for the nation, were permitted to hold their meetings in this riverside palace. When the building was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1834, the new Palace of Westminster was designed primarily as a home for the legislature, but the Queen is still on her own territory, as it were, when she goes there once a year to open the new session of Parliament.

A few hundred yards away stands all that remains of *Whitehall Palace*, which was the London home of our kings and queens for about 150 years before it too was engulfed by fire at the end of the seventeenth century. Fortunately the noble Banqueting House, designed by Inigo Jones, escaped the flames, and it is now the Royal United Services Museum. It is a building of both artistic and historic interest; its ceiling, in an excellent state of preservation, was painted by Rubens, and from one of its windows in 1649 King Charles I stepped on to the scaffold for his execution—having walked to Whitehall a few hours previously from St. James's Palace where he had said farewell to his family.

The last king to occupy *St. James's Palace*—whose battle-mented clock-tower, erected by King Henry VIII in the sixteenth century, provides a dignified termination to St. James's Street—was William IV (1830–37), but it is still to "the Court of St. James" that foreign ambassadors are accredited, and much of the

official business concerning the Royal Household is carried on within its mellow brick walls. Several members of the Royal Family live in the precincts of the palace, as also the heir to the Throne in recent times, though the present heir is not yet, by a long way, old enough to have his own establishment. The interior of the palace, resplendent in crimson and gold, is not open to visitors, but the public are free to wander through some of the courtyards of this rambling which is guarded, like Buckingham Palace by sentries in bearskins and scarlet.

Sentries are also on guard outside *Clarence House*, immediately adjacent to St. James's; for this dignified example of the Regency style of architecture is the residence of the Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, and was also the home of the Queen during the period between her marriage and her accession to the throne.

Serenely surveying the grass and trees (and the Round Pond) of Kensington Gardens stands *Kensington Palace*, designed by Sir Christopher Wren for King William III (1689–1702) who preferred its comparatively rural situation to that of St. James's. It is now the London residence of the Duchess of Kent and other members of the Royal Family, but the public are admitted to the State Apartments and also to some of the rooms occupied as a child by Queen Victoria, who was born in the palace in 1819. (Her toys are still there.) Kensington Palace, indeed, is unusually hospitable to visitors, as another section of the building now houses the fascinating London Museum, depicting the history of the city from earliest times.

But perhaps the most hospitable of all the royal palaces *Hampton Court Palace*, on the banks of the Thames about ten miles upstream from the centre of London. This enormous building was a royal residence from the reign of Henry VIII (1509–47), to that of George II (1727–60), and its architecture presents a curious mingling of the romantic towers and bat-

lements of Tudor times with the stately classical style of the late seventeenth century. The palace is closely associated with some of the most famous figures in our history, and not only are the public admitted to the spacious Tudor banqueting-hall and the State Apartments, containing a notable collection of pictures and furniture, but also to the beautiful and extensive gardens, in which is situated the famous and ever-baffling Maze.

Brief mention should be made of the charming little *Kew Palace*, in the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, once occupied by George III and other members of the Royal Family in the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth; and of *Greenwich Palace* rebuilt by Charles II in the seventeenth century as a hospital for aged seamen, on the site of the old palace in which Queen Elizabeth I was born in 1533. The palace now comprises the Royal Naval College, with its splendid Painted Hall (the largest painted hall in Europe), and the National Maritime Museum.

In London, as we have seen, a number of different palaces have been brought into use with the passing of the centuries as the residence of the sovereign in the capital. But, through all these, *Windsor Castle*, twenty miles from London, has been constantly occupied as one of the principal homes of our kings and queens. It was first established as a royal fortress by William the Conqueror nearly 900 years ago, and it has been altered and extended many times since, then, so that it is now the largest inhabited castle in the world. The most notable of these extensions was made by King Edward IV (1461-83) who added the beautiful St. George's Chapel, the chapel of the Knights of the Garter. The chapel, as well as many of the interesting precincts of the castle, which is more like a small town than a single building, is regularly open to visitors, as are also the State Apartments when the Court is not in residence.

The Queen's palace in Edinburgh, the *Palace of Holyroodhouse*, is older by far than her London home. It originated as the guest-house of the Abbey of Holyrood (Holy Cross), which was founded by King David I in 1128 and of which the ruins are adjacent to the palace. It was King James IV at the beginning of the sixteenth century who established Holy-

rood as a royal residence, and a great deal of the palace dates from the reign of King Charles II who began extensive rebuilding in 1672. When the Court is not in residence, visitors may inspect the Historic Apartments and the State Apartments, including the Throne Room, the Picture Gallery (containing one hundred and eleven portraits of Scottish kings), and the apartments associated with that tragic figure, Mary Queen of Scots.

Edinburgh Castle—like its southern counterpart, the Tower of London—is a military headquarters which was once a royal residence, and, like it, has much to show the present-day visitor, including the Scottish Regalia. Easily reached from Edinburgh are *Stirling Castle* and *Linlithgow Palace* (now a romantic ruin), both favourite residences of the Stuart dynasty in late medieval times. *Falkland Palace*, imposing and still intact, was rebuilt by James V in 1537; the last king to occupy it was Charles II.

Balmoral Castle and *Sandringham House*, being private homes of the Royal Family, are of course never open to the public—unlike the two seaside residences of former sovereigns with which we may well conclude this survey. Towards the end of the eighteenth century King George IV (then Prince of Wales) purchased a comfortable villa at Brighton, Sussex, within a few hundred yards of the sea. This he proceeded to transform into a fantastic palace, mingling the Indian and Chinese styles of architecture, to which was given the name of the *Royal Pavilion*. This astonishing yet graceful building is now the property of the Brighton Corporation, and its magnificent range of State Apartments—the scene of the annual Regency Exhibition in the summer months—is open to visitors. Queen Victoria, the last royal owner of the Pavilion, quickly disposed of it in favour of *Osborne House*, near Cowes, Isle of Wight, where in more seclusion than she could have enjoyed at Brighton she spent some of the happiest days of her life. The mansion, designed by the Prince Consort, is now a convalescent hospital for officers, but the State Apartments and Queen Victoria's own suite—preserved exactly as it was in her lifetime—may be visited in summer. Of all the royal homes, past and present, which we are permitted to enter, none has a more intimate appeal than this.

Judicial Review and Evolution of Socialism in India

BY

Sri D. SAMANTARAYA, M.A.

The purpose of this essay is to study how far evolution of socialism in India is possible and how far judicial review will be helpful or unhelpful in attaining it.

By evolution of socialism we mean that attainment of socialism should not be sudden or rapid. It would mainly rely on Parliamentary means, which means, to use the phrase of Sydney Webb, there would be 'inevitability of gradualness.' In order to understand what is Judicial Review, it would be better to quote Prof. Corwin who says: "Judicial Review is the power of Courts to pass upon the constitutionality of legislative acts which fall within their normal jurisdiction to enforce and the power to refuse to enforce such as they find to be unconstitutional and hence void." This means Judicial Review is a powerful weapon in the hands of Judiciary as they can declare Acts of Parliament void on the ground that they do not conform to the provisions of the constitution. And if these acts are meant for gradual attainment of socialism, then we see pace of socialism is thwarted by the Courts.

In our Constitution Arts. 31, 31A, and 31B deal with right to property. In this connection also we shall have to deal with the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act 1955, which has added Cl. (2A) to Art. 31. Cl. (1) is a limitation on the Executive but no limitation on the Legislature. Cl. (2) mentions that 'for public purposes' there can be 'acquisition' or 'taking possession of property' by the legislative acts and in such cases there would be provision for compensation. Though there is no mention of just compensation in the Constitution, the Patna High Court held² that the word compensation mentioned in Art. 31 (2) will mean Just

Compensation and so the amount of compensation whether just or unjust must be decided by the Courts. Commenting on the omission of the word 'just' Reuben J. quoted Nicholas, who said: "The adjective 'just' only emphasises what would be true if omitted. —namely, that the compensation should be equivalent of the property."³

Cl. (2) of course is limited by Cl. (2A) and Cls. (4-6) of Art. 31 and by Arts. 31A and 31B. According to Cl. (5) of Art. 31, no law passed for the purpose of taxation or penalty or for promotion of public health, or for prevention of danger to life or property can be challenged on the ground of violating Cl. (2) of the said article. There was the necessity of Cl. (4) and Cl. (6) as Govind Ballabh Pant wanted to validate abolition of zamindari. This fact was disclosed in the Council of States by Dr. Ambedkar during the debate on the constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill. But it was revealed by the Patna High Court in *Kameswar V. State of Bihar* that both Cl. (4), and Cl. (6) contain loop-holes. In the case of Cl. (4), the Court can challenge the validity of the law on the ground the acquisition is not for public purpose or that the law goes against equal protection guaranteed by Art. 14. In case of Cl. (6) the Court is to decide if there is public purpose or if there is legislative competence. Art. 31A and Art. 31B were necessary to be inserted in the constitution to ensure zamindari abolition. These were intended to over-ride the decision of the Patna High Court in *Kameswar V. State of Bihar*. The constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act has imposed further restrictions on Cl. (2) of Art. 31. This amendment was necessary for the decision of the *Sholapur Mill's case*⁴ by

1. E. S. Corwin: 'Judicial Review' in 'Encyclopedia of Social Sciences' P. 457.

2. *Kameswar V. State of Bihar*, A.I.R. 1951, Pat. 91.

3. Nicholas, *Eminent Domain*, Vol. III. P. 29.

4. *Chirnjit Lal. Vs. Union of India*—1950, S.C.R. 869.

the Supreme Court in May 1953. In case of the bus licenses in Uttar Pradesh, the Supreme Court opined⁵ that the legislature cannot deprive the citizens of means of livelihood lawfully pursued. Referring to Sholapur case, Nehru said in the House of the People that the State had to take over the Mill as the directors and managing agents of that mill were 'squandering away' public funds and were playing with share-holder's money. But for the decision of the Supreme Court an impossible situation arose. Because in Nehru's words 'Leave apart the question of punishing the evil-doers the Government in this case had to go and put the crown on the head of the very people who were running the mill.' For the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, it was possible for the State to act on the recommendations of the Company Law Reforms for a thorough change in the industrial organisations. The State now can fix a ceiling in case of land-holdings, can acquire property for relief and rehabilitation of the refugees and can acquire land for slum clearance. For all these above cases quantum of compensation fixed by a Legislature for acquisition of property cannot be questioned in the Courts.

The limitations to Cl. 2 of Art. 31 are not enough to exhaust the whole field. Still there would be cases, where there is acquisition that involves transference of ownership to the State and requisitioning and in these cases the Court will have to decide if there is provision for compensation that conforms to market value. It will be very unfortunate if acts meant for attaining a socialist goal are declared unconstitutional. In that case, attainment of socialism through Parliamentary way will be very difficult as all the time there would be the need of a special process for amending the constitution.

At Avadi, the Congress Party envisaged a Socialist pattern of society for India. Progress of society to achieve a society of socialist pattern must be gradual as it will depend on

5. Sagir Ahmad, Vs. State of U.P. (1955) S.C.R. 707.

Parliamentary way; but if there would be stumbling blocks in the Parliamentary way, the frustrated people may think in terms of revolution. The idea of society and the idea behind the conception of sanctity of property has changed. Wealth might be in the hands of different people but they can hold that only for social use. It is only the social law that defends their holding of property and when the State thinks that wealth of the society should be developed by collective enterprise or the present ownership of property should be changed, the State should be the sole judge and that judgment should be expressed by the Laws of the Parliament.

For this reason, the British system of Parliamentary supremacy seems to be the best. If the Legislature wants to take away any rights of property, with or without compensation or with partial compensation, the Courts have nothing to say about it. Of course, the Courts presume that no property will be expropriated by the State without compensation; but if such intention is expressed by the Parliament by plain words or by necessary implication, the Courts can not interfere. The Court observed 'An intention to take away the property of a subject without giving him a legal right to compensation for the loss of it is not to be imputed to the Legislature unless that intention is expressed in *Unequivocal Terms*.'⁶ For supremacy of Parliament in England, there could be a happy development towards a socialist goal without any question of revolution.

But the position of the U.S.A. in this matter is the worst. The constitutional provision is such that no person can be deprived of his property without 'due process of law.' 'Due process of Law' has two aspects of it procedural and substantive. Procedural due process guarantees that there must be 'settled usages and modes of procedure,' and substantive due process guarantees that there must be fairness,

6. Central Control Board V. Cannon Brewery (1919) A.C. 744 (752).

justness and reasonableness of law. The due process clauses give enormous powers to the judiciary. In the opinion of Prof. Willis "The guarantee of due process of law is so all-inclusive that all the constitutional guarantees could be abolished and there still would be sufficient protection to personal liberty."⁷ There is no wonder that the judiciary should be able to protect propertied classes being armed with such a deadly weapon. Provisions of the constitution and life tenure for the judges make the Supreme Court a bulwark of economic conservatism. To quote justice Jackson "The Court...is almost never a really contemporary institution. The operation of life tenure in the judicial department, as against at some intervals of the Congress, usually keeps the average view against of the two institutions a generation apart. The judiciary is thus a check of a preceding generation on the present one a check of conservative legal philosophy upon a dynamic people, and nearly always the check of a rejected regime on the one in being."⁸ When the Supreme Court represents the rejected generation and its ideas and the Congress represents the present generation, its ideas and aspirations, it is no sweeping statement, then we say, the most undemocratic aspect of American democracy is the Supreme Court. Life tenure would have no importance had there been no provision of due process clauses in case of right to property. There is now no doubt that right to property guaranteed in the constitution of the U.S.A. thwarts evolution of socialism in that country. In support of this conclusion, we may quote Justice Holmes who said: "When socialism first began to be talked about, the comfortable classes of the community were a good deal frightened. I suspect that this fear has influenced judicial action...I think that something similar had led people who no longer hope to control the Legislatures to look to the Courts...and in some courts, new principles have been discovered in which may be generalised into acceptance of the economic doctrines which prevailed about fifty years ago..."⁹

7. Willis : Constitutional Law P. 642.

8. Quoted by Robert Carr, Supreme Court and Judicial Review.

9. Quoted by Robert Carr. Supreme Court and Judicial Review.

If we really want evolution of socialism in India the idea contained in Art. 31 (1) should be a part of our constitution as Art. 31 (1) is a check on the Executive and not on the Legislature. There is no reason to be frightened about it because in England the Parliament has never been so radical to deprive people of property without compensation. What is necessary is that the present generation should not feel frustrated in achieving their aim regarding socialism. All the time we cannot expect parties, which may form Government, to have two-third majority in the Parliament to change the constitution according to the needs of the people. Here the constitution should be able to accommodate their ideas. If democratic institutions are not able to meet the demands of the people, people may lose faith in them and who knows, violence may be accepted as the last resort.

Both before and after the constitution (Fourth Amendment) Act was passed by the Parliament many leading men in the country talked about the sanctity of the constitution, which they said, was constantly violated by the amendments. It is difficult to understand their ideas. If the fundamental laws of the land are not considered to be fundamental with the passage of time, they ought to be changed. To talk in terms of the sanctity of the constitution means to sacrifice our ideas and aims and that again means constitution is an end in itself and not a means to an end. Of course, we can meet their problem successfully. If we amend the constitution in such a way that only the ideas contained in Art. 31 (1) remain, not only evolution of socialism in India will be possible without obstruction; but also there would be no necessity of changing the constitution further so that sanctity of the constitution would be violated.

Now we conclude : To ensure evolution of socialism in India, Parliamentary supremacy regarding the right to property is necessary like England where socialist tradition is much better than the U.S.A. It is most unfortunate that while according to our constitution, we will lose life and liberty by procedure prescribed by law, property is given a sacred basis. This sounds Machiavellian because Machiavelli advised the ruler to kill when necessary but not to confiscate property. It will be much better if only the ideas contained in Art. 31 (1) are a part of our constitution.



The Story of Suez Canal

By "A CHRONICLER"

THE idea of constructing a canal to join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea is not a new one. Ancient Egyptians had thought of it and actually they had joined the Nile with the Red Sea by a canal, but that canal used to be blocked by the natural forces which lead the Egyptians to renew its construction. It was renewed after Arab conquest of Egypt. Ancient Egyptian had thought of constructing the Suez Canal long ago, before Napoleon Bonaparte, but they did not attempt to construct it because they thought that this Canal might endanger the sovereignty of Egypt and lead to foreign intervention. This idea can be proved by the archaeological facts in Egypt. On one of the ancient monuments one can find a statement which indicates that the construction of Suez Canal is dangerous to the country.

When Napoleon was in Egypt he decided to dig the canal in order to take his way to India and defeat British troops in the East but the Egyptians did not allow him to avail this opportunity and he was obliged to evacuate Egypt and return to France. In the year 1884 during the rule of Mohammed Said, De Lesseps a French engineer who was in good relations with the Egyptian ruler asked to have the privilege of constructing the canal. The ruler accepted the offer. The British Government objected to it very bitterly at that time. Lord Clarendon, the Under Secretary of the States in Great Britain gave an idea of the British attitude. He said, "The traditions of the cabinet of St. James were always against digging the Suez Canal." The British press, specially the *Times* were against the French and the Egyptians and tried to influence Egypt and the Ottoman Empire to prevent the construction of the canal." The Viceroy of Egypt was under the influence of his French friends so he signed the agreement on January 5, 1856. The agreement was sent to Constantinople for sanction. So French Government with the help and advice of Napoleon the III asked the British

Government to help, but Britain still protested against this idea. Lord Palmerstone on January 7, 1856 said, Her Majesty's Government could not use its influence to make Turkey to accept the agreement for digging the canal." At another place he said, "The construction of this canal is dangerous not only to The British Empire but to the entire Middle East." However after a great controversy a company for the Suez Canal was established. There were four lakhs shares. The value of each share was only 500 Francs. Egypt purchased 44% of these shares and they gave the Ottoman Caliph 181506 gratitude. British people did not buy any share and used to call the company "The Association of Young Boys."

It is necessary to state here some of the terms of the company.

(1) The Company has the privilege of the canal benefit for 99 years after which it will be handed over to the Egyptian Government.

(2) The Egyptian Government is to provide $\frac{1}{3}$ of the labourers for the construction of the canal.

(3) No duties will be imposed on anything imported for the company.

(4) The company has the right to exploit all the mines and natural resources in Egypt useful to the company.

(5) The company's dividend profit will be fifteen per cent for the Egyptian Government, 10% for the establishers of the company and 75% for the share holders and the board of employees.

(6) The company is subdued to the Egyptian law.

The measurement of the canal was to be 56 meters width, 6 meters depth and 1.0 kilometers length. On April 25, 1859 they began to dig the canal but the two houses of English Parliament began severe attack and Lord Woodhouse confirmed that the policy of the British Government is not changed towards

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Suez Canal. Lord Ellenbrough said to his colleagues that it will be another Bosphore in the hands of the French company, that a French fleet can occupy India very easily through Suez in a shorter time than an English fleet through the Cape. All the manifestations against the scheme made the Egyptian Governor hesitate but two meters depth was actually constructed. In 1863 the new ruler of Egypt, Ismail, who was extravagant and somewhat idiot was under the pressure of the British Empire. He asked to change the items of the Suez Canal company. The company complained against him to Napoleon the III who declared that all the terms of the Egyptian ruler were to be accepted but he must pay a compensation of three million Francs. The ruler accepted it inspite of the bad financial situations of the Egyptian Government during his rule. The British Government interfered officially in his financial questions and sent supervisors to control the financial policy of Egypt and seized this opportunity and ordered him to sell the Egyptian shares of Suez Canal. The British Government purchased these shares for one-third of its actual price. Since then and by the tricks of imperialism, Egyptians were away from the company and were not allowed by force to interfere in the matters of the company. Through Suez Canal British troops entered Egypt after their defeat in three battles in North Egypt, but only by the tricks of the company board they colonized Egypt.

Suez Canal company registered itself from the very beginning as an Egyptian Company under Egyptian law. The issue of concession granted by the Ruler said, to the French engi-

neer De Lesseps, laid down that the Director of the company shall always be appointed by Egyptian Government.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 recognised the Suez Canal as an integral part of Egypt.

But during the last great war there was an order to the British army in the year 1940 to destroy the canal if the allies were defeated. On June 30, 1942 a message came to General Marshall saying, "an effective blocking of the canal is essential." So the second World War had been very revealing as to the attitude of the three great powers towards the canal although the convention of 1888 guaranteed freedom of navigation and the canal shall never be subject to the exercise of the right of blockade.

Article 10 of the Firman concession of the company stated "at the expiry of the concession, the Egyptian Government will take the place of the company and enjoy all its rights without reservation, the said Government will enter into full possessions of the canal of the two seas and all the establishments connected therewith."

President Nasser announced on July 26, 1956 the nationalization of this Egyptian company. He declared the freedom of navigation and fair payment of compensation to the share holders.

It is only now, after 87 years that the canal company was set up as an Egyptian Company under Egyptian Sovereignty.

The canal is an Egyptian canal passing through the Egyptian land and subdued to the Egyptian sovereignty and it will be so for ever.



Walt Whitman : American Poet and Democratic Seer

By
Mr. STEPNEY CORTEZ KIBBLE

WALT Whitman was born in 1819 at West Hills, Long Island, of poorly educated parents of Dutch and English ancestry. Many members of his family were Quakers and this influence found its way into his poems in his call for universal brotherhood and peace and in his stress upon individualism. There is a great mixture of nationalities and languages in West Hills and this encouraged in him a spirit of mutual toleration and respect which later developed into a sense of universal brotherhood.

When Whitman was four, his father moved to Brooklyn, hoping to make a fortune as a building contractor. He did not make a fortune but his son did build up in his mind a vast and rich store-house of memories and impression of the big city which he later conveyed in his works.

Young Whitman's education was indifferently handled and one may say that he was self-educated, since his formal education stopped at the age of eleven. He then began to work as an errand boy in the legal firm. Fortunately, his employers were interested in his intellectual development and took out for him a subscription in the local public library. Whitman soaked himself in the *Arabian Nights* and the novels of Sir Walter Scott and in every other kind of romantic fiction available, developing in the process a bold and sweeping imagination which was to find full play later in *Leaves of Grass*.

At twelve, he became an apprentice with a printer and learned to set type. As a natural consequence, he tried his hand at writing and was successful in getting some of his pieces published. Now began that concern with words which was to remain with him all his life.

After sorties into the printing and teaching professions, Whitman returned again and again to journalism, and at the age of nineteen he became the founder-owner-publisher and editor of a weekly newspaper, *The Long Islander*, at West Hills, Long Island.

Here a point essential to the complete understanding of Whitman should be emphasized—namely, that he felt himself destined to write. From the age of twelve the urge to write drove him on, and whatever else he was doing temporarily, he always came back to writing.

The Long Islander had lasted a year when Whitman abandoned it and moved to New York to become a free lance journalist. He held a succession of jobs and in his twenty-seventh year he became the editor of the *Eagle* from which position he was dismissed because of political differences with the proprietor. He then went to New Orleans to work in a newspaper office there but returned to Brooklyn four months later for further journalistic employment. The next seven years he spent in making notes and experimenting with verse forms and generally preparing for the great American poems which appeared in 1855.

From the publication of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, the book became Whitman's sole interest and he threw himself whole-heartedly into the process of constant revision and augmentation. In 1861 there occurred an event which affected him, profoundly, the outbreak of the Civil War. The following year he went to Washington to look after his brother George, who had been wounded in battle, and stayed on for two years working in his spare time as a male nurse in several hospitals. Out of this experience was born the series of poems called "Drum Taps"

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which form some of the most moving and powerful verse he ever did. His great hero, Abraham Lincoln, had been recently assassinated and "Drum Taps" included Whitman's tribute to him in the magnificent elegy, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed" which is considered by many to be Whitman's greatest poem.

Whitman spent several more years in Washington holding clerkships in various government departments until his health broke down in 1873. He then moved to Camden, New Jersey, which was to be his home until his death in 1892.

Such was the life of the man who produced *Leaves of Grass*—undoubtedly one of the most singularly unique American contributions to world literature.

Whitman was both the prophet and seer of American democracy. No other poet and no other prose writer but Lincoln made its ideals entirely articulate. He was a seer with one of the most perceptive and prophetic minds in modern history and he dealt in dreams and faiths with a realism which shocked and an egotism that repelled his contemporaries.

Whitman made articulate and gave an enduring life in the imagination to the American dream of a continent where the people could find refuge from the injustices of the past and establish a new and better life in which everyone would share. He made articulate and best defined for the imagination the democratic faith which was and is the only binding national force in the United States. He established an ideal for international democracy which proved to be as prophetic of danger as it is shrewd and noble in its ideas. In speaking for hearty physical men, workers, lovers, eaters, and drinkers, he broke through the inhibitions of the genteel age and put sex back into literature as a partner with spirit. Also, he broke with the timidities of the intellectuals of the Eastern seaboard, who were still colonial and imitative of England in their culture, and tried to speak for a new and inarticulate America. Furthermore, he is the pivot in American history on which we swing from the sectional and the provincial to the national and continental in our literature. And he did what only really great writers have done, he

made a great style to express himself and his country in poetry—although, unfortunately, he by no means always used it.

Self-educated, though more widely educated than is commonly supposed, a poet certainly from the beginning, but curiously inarticulate, imitative, or vacuous in the usual literary forms of his youth, Walt Whitman made himself a skilful and influential political journalist, conventional and conformist except in a strong bent toward liberal humanitarianism. At the beginning of what could have been great editorial success, the controversies preceding the Civil War left him without a party. But before that had happened an intense perceptiveness, working like yeast in his inner life, had reached his consciousness and powerfully stirred the imagination. His interest shifted from the respectable bourgeois reader of his editorials to the plain unreading man, the toiler, the pioneer, the common person, man or woman, set free to rise in a new continent of unexampled freedom and richness. His emotions warmed with ideas of the common gift to all mankind of physical and spiritual passion.

Guessing rightly that from these plain people and from this common ground the new America, and perhaps the new world would, be made, he believed with all his strength that a fresh culture must be made for democracy based, of course, upon the past, but rich and broad and simple and hearty enough to civilise the American breed. This culture was already present, but inarticulate except for its crudest wants, and inarticulate particularly in its loves, its faiths, and its dreams. He determined to learn how to speak for it, and painfully, crudely set to work, with too little taste to know when, or even how, he failed and too great a passion to be discouraged by what, for years, was an almost complete unsucccess with the general reader. Yet he did make himself the mouthpiece of a new language about, if not for, the common man, finding subject matter new to literature in the full-blooded, largely illiterate, yet intensely ambitious masses of America.

And it was his good fortune that the attempt was made in precisely the period in which the unprivileged man of the masses was given his widest opportunities in history, and socially and politically came of age.

Animal Husbandry in India

By

Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M. Com., LL. B.

INDIA is predominantly an agricultural country. The efficiency of the agriculturist depends as much upon his economic and legal status as upon the type of cattle-implementation he possesses. "Without them", says Darling, "the fields remain unploughed, store and bin stand empty, and food and drink lose half their savour, for in a vegetarian country what can be worse than to have no milk, butter or ghee?" The contribution from this source to the national income is equally significant. In 1935 Dr. N. C. Wright, the dairy expert from U. K. had estimated the income from cattle at Rs. 1,000 crores which would amount to atleast Rs. 3,000 crores in terms of prices obtaining now. Dr. N. D. Kehar, Head of the Animal Nutrition in all-India Veterinary Institute, Izatnagar, has also estimated the income from this source at Rs. 2,000 crores.*

It is this importance of animal husbandry in India which has been enshrined in Article 48 of the Constitution as a directive principle of the State Policy thus :

"The State shall endeavour to organise agriculture and animal husbandry on modern scientific lines, and shall in particular, take steps for preserving and improving the breeds and prohibiting the slaughter of cows, calves and other milch cattle."

Animal husbandry programmes, however, encounter serious practical difficulties. In the first place, India is supporting too many cattle to be economical. According to the livestock census of 1951 the numbers of cattle in India were as follows :—

*However, in amazing contrast to the above estimates the draft Second Five-year Plan puts this figure at Rs. 664 crores only in 1950-51.

COW	(In millions)
Breeding cows	46.34
Breeding bulls	0.65
Work stock :	
Males	58.41
Females	2.31
Young stock	43.49
Useless cattle	3.89
	155.09
BUFFALO	(In millions)
Breeding buffaloes	29.09
Breeding bulls	0.31
Work stock :	
Males	6.01
Females	0.53
Young stock	14.73
Useless buffaloes	0.78
	43.35

Roughly we have about 100 cattle for every 100 acres sown with crops. Holland has only 38 cattle and Egypt 25, and yet we have no pasture lands as other countries have. Thus India possesses a very large number of superfluous cattle. Large numbers lead to poor feeding and poor feeding comes in the way of attempts to raise productivity. The attempt made during the first plan through the gosadan scheme to find a solution for the problem of surplus cattle has not so far yielded promising results. Only 22 gosadans for 8,000 cattle have been organised and many of them have found it difficult to secure the grazing areas which were needed. During the second Plan period it is proposed to set up only 60 gosadans for 30,000.

In the second place, Indian cattle are progressively deteriorating in their breed. To improve quality, breeding should be selective. Only good quality cows should be allowed to breed and they should be covered by selected pedigree bulls. This involves castration of all

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the rest. In this connection 'key village' scheme is important. The scheme envisages concentrated breeding operations in key villages which are controlled mostly by artificial insemination centres, each centre serving about 5,000 cows of breeding age. In this programme a comprehensive approach is made to cattle improvement, besides steps taken to castrate scrub bulls, fodder resources are to be developed, breeding of calves subsidised and cattle improvement organised on co-operative basis. During the First Five Year Plan 600 key villages and 150 artificial insemination centres were established. For the Second Plan these targets are to be doubled, and 1,200 key villages and 300 artificial insemination centres established. These key villages are expected to produce 3,000 improved bulls, 936,000 improved bullocks, and 10,000 cows. For certain well-known breeds with high milking qualities, breeding farms are proposed to be established.

In the third place, Indian cattle are underfed because area available for growing fodder is not enough. In wet regions, the excessive rain drains the soil of some of its mineral contents and fertility. The grasses of the region are thus deficient in minerals, coarse and less nutritious. In the tract having an assured water supply, pressure of population has grown considerably resulting in sub-division of holdings and reliance on 'cash crops' for a living. Thus cattle feed resources are highly deficient both in nutrition and supply. A new mineral mixture to meet the food requirements of milch cattle has been developed as a result of investigations carried out at three research institutes in India. The result has now been patented. The institutes that carried out the investigations are the Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi and National Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore. The mixture contains common salt, bone meal, di-calcium phosphate, chalk, yellow oxide of iron, potassium iodide, sodium carbonate, sodium thiosulphate, cobalt chloride, copper sulphate and manganese sulphate in requisite proportions.

Lastly, Indian cattle are subject to periodic epidemics like rinderpest and foot and mouth

disease, rinderpest alone accounting for about 60 per cent of the mortality. Wet conditions combined with high temperatures cause parasitic infections and diseases.

The unfavourable economic circumstances under which husbandry is carried on, account for the low yield of milk. As compared to the yields of cows in other countries, which frequently average from 3,000 to 4,000 lbs. per lactation, the better Indian breeds yield about 1,500 pounds per lactation. The general average is, however, only one-half of this figure. The per capita consumption of milk has been estimated as being a little over 5 ounces as against the consumption of 10 ounces per head which has been recommended as a suitable minimum for balanced nutrition. It is, therefore, important to have a programme for doubling milk production over the next 10 to 15 years. Such a target is clearly within the bounds of practical possibility if the following steps are taken :—

(a) Adequate feeding.

(b) Improved method of cattle management. Studies have shown that for the country as a whole the efficiency of bullocks could be raised by one-half and in the eastern parts of the country to an even greater extent. With increased efficiency agricultural operations are likely to require one-fourth to one-fifth fewer draught animals than at present, thus making it possible for the milch types to develop.

(c) Efficient marketing and processing of surplus milk. This aspect of development is being emphasised in the Second Five-year Plan, which contemplates the establishment of 36 milk supply unions, co-operative creameries and 7 milk drying plants. In addition to large colonies on the lines of the Aarey scheme in Bombay, experience suggests that valuable results can be obtained by organising milk producers' co-operatives on a village basis. However, meagre resources of the agriculturists lead to the maintenance of a few mediocre type cattle. They should therefore, be given loans for purchase of animals and for other purposes. If a milking shed is provided at a central place in the village, the milk can be sealed and transported to the processing centre from where distribution can be arranged.

Red Government in Kerala

By
Mr. P. N. SAMPATH

A Communist Ministry in a parliamentary democratic set-up may, *prima facie*, sound paradoxical, but the problem State of Kerala has actually voted such a Ministry into power. Behind this fact lies a tale of corruption, intrigue, inefficiency and internal bickering which characterised the Congress administration which ruled in Kerala on the one part and of public apathy, exasperation and agony on the other. Apart from these basic factors, the elimination of the Congress-minded Tamil Taluks from, and the inclusion of the Communist-dominated Malabar District in the re-organised Kerala State and the Communist Party's uniform support to the Aikya Kerala movement which coincided with the sentiments and urges of the people, have swelled the Communist vote. Even so, the fact which should not be lost sight of is that while the Congress in Kerala has polled 22,56,712 votes (*i.e.*, 38.2%) and won 43 seats the Communists and the Communist supported Independents secured only 21,56,012 votes (*i.e.*, 36.4 %) even though they bagged as many as 65 seats. It will therefore be seen that the Communists have come to power on a minority vote. But, the extent to which they have increased their influence in the State during the last five years will be evident from the fact that during the previous elections while the Congress got more or less the same number of votes as they got now, (22,27,025—42.3 %), the Communists polled only 9,22,539 votes (*i.e.*, 17.5 %). Thus, there has been an increase in the Communist votes by about 130%.

The electoral success of the Communists in Kerala has another significance. Kerala leads the rest of the country in literacy, and naturally, the voters there are the most informed. They have given the Communists a working majority in the Legislature quite deliberately, with full knowledge of the pros and cons and in spite of

factors like the surprising Communist fade out in the mid-term elections in Andhra in 1955, the unfortunate happenings in Poland and Hungary and the good chits given by visiting foreign dignitaries to the Nehru Government. The Congress propaganda has been that Government by any of the Opposition parties will be much worse than its own. But, the people of Kerala have refused to tolerate anymore the view that bad must be endured because worse was round the corner. Experience has shown that the common people as a collective entity are endowed with a rugged common sense. Talleyrand's dictum that 'the only thing wiser than anybody is everybody' is a truth which every democratic State must respect. The Kerala Congress have learnt a bitter lesson which they can never afford to forget. But, it is an oversimplification to attribute the Communist success entirely to the failings of the State Congress and thus seek to minimise the strength of the Reds. Such an attitude tantamounts to a false sense of security. The carving of a Red-controlled Government in India when the outside world was proclaiming the decline of Communist influence in the country is like St. John Long's death through consumption in the midst of his propaganda that it was not a fatal disease.

While the Communists should of course be thankful to the voters who backed them up, it must be acknowledged that but for Pandit Nehru, the Communist Party would not have had the opportunity to function as a democratic party and experiment on the virtues of the ballot-box. Nehru believes in rapid change but wants the revolution to be brought about democratically with all the forms of law—a revolution by consent. He believes with Bernstein that "in our time we can achieve by the ballot-box reforms which a century ago needed bloody revolution." For him, the push is vulgar, not the destination.

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The ballot-box has been the *bete noir* of the Communists ever since 1917 when the Bolsheviks in Russia under the intrepid leadership of Lenin held general elections on the basis of direct, secret, equal and universal suffrage and were shocked when they secured only a minority of the votes. Lenin discovered on an analysis of the results, that counter-revolutionary elements in the garb of social democrats had succeeded in hoodwinking the people by means of their wild promises and limitless money power. The Constituent Assembly which held its first meeting in Petrograd on January 18, 1918, was accordingly dissolved on the following day. Lenin decided finally that the parliamentary system of democracy would softpedal any revolutionary programme of action and only encourage the habits of a debating society. Lenin's alternative theory of the superiority of the Soviets over parliamentary forms of Government has remained official Communist doctrine. The Communists have generally been disdainful of parliamentary democracy as a bourgeois device to dupe the people.

The traditional Communist view of parliaments has been that they are useful forum for propaganda. Communist deputies and legislators, where they are elected by the ballot system, regarded themselves not as legislators merely but as emissaries of the proletariat and the peasantry within the citadel of the bourgeoisie, their duty to unmask the hollow sham of bourgeois democracy. They acted as gadflies goading the party in power into action.

The Indian Communists have not abandoned their faith in the revolutionary transformation of society when they decided to explore the parliamentary path. The strategic goals of Marxism do not change; only the tactics change. The Communists have a Messianic faith in the redeeming virtues of revolution but they are also aware that revolutions cannot be made to order. Marx has warned against the consequences of untimely and precipitate

upheavals, when the country is not prepared for them. But Marxism does not recognise any immutable deductions and formulas applicable to all epochs and periods; it is an enemy of all dogmatism. Alternative methods conforming to the peculiar conditions prevailing in different countries are not ruled out. Thus, while the goals are constant, the means leading to them may vary. Therefore, no one need suspect the genuineness of the Indian Communist Party's adherence to the parliamentary line. They may very probably abandon their faith in the parliamentary method after a period of trial and disappointment but while functioning within the confines of the democratic Constitution, there is no reason to question their bonafides. For example, it is unfair to say that they have donned the toga of democracy only to torpedo it eventually. As a matter of fact, the communist governments in Europe and elsewhere are called Peoples' democracies, to distinguish them from parliamentary democracies. It is perhaps more correct to say that the Indian Communists will follow the fortunes of the ballot-box so long as it suits them.

At a time when parties of the Left from full-blooded red to faint pink have to combine and present a united front to the Congress Party, it is sad to observe the P.S.P. spurning the Communists' invitation to share power with them in Kerala. Consequently, the Communists have a very slender majority in that State. They have also to work within the Procrustean limitations of the Constitution. They have to clean up the conglomerated impurities of the popular ministries that preceded them. The task of implementing at least some of the major programmes in their election Manifesto faces them. It may be stiff going but they have got to go right ahead with it. The path of the Government will not be a rectilinear avenue; there will be blind alleys, zigzags, awkward corners and perplexing crossroads. What all they can accomplish with such overwhelming limitations presents a festoon of question marks which time alone can answer. There

are already indications to show that they have made a good beginning.

The Communist Party throughout the world has built up a remarkable reputation for enthusiasm, industry and plain-living. Communism has the capacity to evoke a total response from all those who are devoted to its service. There has been opposition to communism ever since the time of the Bolshevik revolution. Nevertheless, within a period of relatively few years the Marxists have conquered over half the peoples of the world honeycombed the remainder with Marxist cells. The Kerala situation is therefore a portent.

E. M. S. Namboodripad, who heads the Ministry, has an enviable record of public service. He has an able band of workers under him, with the mobility, cohesion and discipline of a standing army. E. M. S. has selected as his colleagues in the Government people with the sovereign quality of throwing their minds into joint stock in the hour of deliberation. They will not be simple feeders at the public trough. E. M. S. considers himself to be charmed with a political mission far transcending the claims of party. There are risks of going too far and too fast in certain matters of administration, but the risks of not moving fast enough are no less serious. But, enthusiasm has its rules, and mere confusion of overzeal will be a fatal error. It is plain enough that the present Government in Kerala cannot do anything spectacular in the existing context, but they can at least give the long-suffering people a good and honest administration, responsive to the woes and wishes of the people. It can transform the workers from mere wage-slaves into proud co-owners of socialised industry, abolish special privileges, corruption and other cognate evils. The cabinet is capable of judging the directions in which efforts have to be exerted if the desired results are to ensue.

All power is a trust and wielders of power are accountable for its exercise. In the words of Whitehead: "A government elected by un-

iversal suffrage is not thereby a democratic instrument and it only becomes this to the extent to which it is implementing an instructed and coherent public opinion." Mass support can eventually be obtained only when the masses see the economic and other benefits of the new government. The people must feel the difference before they can see it.

The functioning of the Government in Kerala is bound to be different from the Governments elsewhere in the country. Its brand of democracy will be easily distinguishable from the brand of socialism practised in other States, even though people like Anuerin Bevan have sought to gain psychological satisfaction by making a finespun distinction that it will in effect be only a socialist regime with a Communist label. In Marx's time, socialism and Communism were interchangeable terms, and Marx deliberately named his creed as Communism to distinguish it from the multifarious other varieties of socialism.

It is feared that the Communists will abuse their power in Kerala to serve their long-term ends. But power has to be first exercised before its abuse can from the theme of comment. Let the fair-minded give the Reds a chance to prove their mettle. If they fail, the people themselves will reject them.

The Kerala Government's professed allegiance to the Constitution does not mean that it will not fight for its legitimate rights as a component unit of the Centre. It may demand as upward revision in the quantum of Centre's aid to the State. It may recommend new schemes for inclusion in the Plan. As Nehru is at the helm, the Central Government may not precipitate a crisis for the Kerala Government. If it does, it will certainly disillusion the Reds and undermine their faith in the ballot-box, even as a temporary expedient. That may in turn mean a revulsion for parliamentary techniques and a reversion to the path of revolution and violence.

The Law of Copyright*

By

Mr. C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN, M. P.

The Act that was in force was the 1914 Indian Copyright Act, which was more or less linked to the Copyright Act of 1911 of England. Under the then law the Indian Copyright Act was related to the English Copyright Act, as could be seen from the number of expressions like 'His Majesty's Dominion', 'Executive Committee of the Council', 'the Crown' and all that. And finally the reference to His Majesty, under section 29 of the U.K. Act, providing for all the proclamations, made it incumbent on our having a separate Act. And we had to ratify the Berne Convention and the revised Brussels and Universal Copyright Conventions. Hence the necessity for the Copyright Bill.

The Copyright Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on the 27th May 1957 will replace the Indian Copyright Act of 1914. The Joint Committee of the members of the Rajya and Lok Sabhas presided over by Sri K. C. Shirmali presented its report on the 19th November 1956. The existing enactment was found to be inadequate to deal with the situation arising out of modern developments in technology, education, science and art. We will now be having a self-contained law on the subject, governing the rights and obligations of authors. We will hereafter have a Copyright office (Section 9) under the control of the Registrar of Copyrights, acting under the supervision of the Government of India. The Registrar will be assisted by some deputies. There will also be set up a Copyright Board (Section 11), consisting of a Chairman and three other persons having knowledge of literature or art. The Chairman will be a person who is or has been a judge of a High Court or is qualified for appointment as such judge.

The term of Copyright has been defined (Section 14) and has been enlarged so as to include the exclusive right to communicate works by radio-diffusion within the definition of the term, copyright. It also includes the making of any contrivance or mechanical contrivance in respect of the work. In the case of a novel or other non-dramatic work, copyright will include the exclusive right to convert it into a dramatic by way of performance in public or otherwise. The right to copyright will not subsist (Section 15) in any design which has been registered under the Indian

Patents and Designs Act 1911.

The ownership of a copyright (Chapter IV Sections 17 to 21) has been defined and where a work has been made for valuable consideration at the instance of another person, the transferee will become the first owner unless there is an agreement to the contrary.

While giving the right to assignment either wholly or partially to an author, the new Act gives also a right to reacquire to the author within a reasonable period. This provision is to protect the rights of authors who on account of poverty or other reasons are forced to part with their copyright for a meagre amount.

The term of "Copyright" has now been fixed at a period of 50 years after the death of the author. In the case of translation, under the old Act, the term was ten years from the first publication of the work. Thereafter the right to translate fell within the public domain. Clause 20 of the Copyright Bill 15 of 1955, as introduced in the Rajya Sabha, proposed to fix the limit of 25 years for republication and production as well as for translation, after the death of the author. The Joint Committee after hearing representations from the affected public extended the term to 50 years for reproduction and 10 years for translation. However when the Bill came up before the Rajya Sabha the Government agreed to raise the term to 50 years for translation after the first period of 10 years. There is however, the Section 31 which provides for issue of compulsory license for works withheld from public.

In the new Act, the activities of the performing right Societies are also sought to be regulated. A special right called the Broadcast Reproduction Right has come into being and provision has been made for optional registration with the Registrar of Copyrights.

The remaining sections deal with international copyrights, the registration of copyright and the infringement of copyright. From Section 54 onwards we have the provision for civil remedies and thereafter we have the sections dealing with offences. Aggrieved persons are given rights to appeal.

We have now a comprehensive legislation dealing with the copyright law, protecting the rights for all concerned.

* The author is the son of Dr. S. R. C. P. Ramasamy Iyer. He took a keen interest in the copyright Bill which was passed by the Lok Sabha.

WORLD OF BOOKS

GREAT DIALOGUES OF PLATO, New translation by W. H. D. Rouse, published by the New American Library,—A Mentor Classic. Price: 50c.

This Mentor edition of Dr. Rouse's translation of Plato's great dialogues shows that the great classics of antiquity can always bear a new and a refreshing translation without any disparagement of previous translations. How the home truths repeat themselves from age to age, as in Book IV, Page 219, it is pointed out that a potter who becomes wealthy will become idle and careless about his craft.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: PHILOSOPHER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: By Henry Butler Allen—Published by The Indian Institute of Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore.

This reprint by Henry Butler Allen, Executive Vice-President of the Franklin Institute, emphasizes that real philosophy is research to discover truths and endeavour to make the truths help to reduce human misery and discord.

PROHIBITION: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, published by The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India.

These are what are called points for speakers in answering questions. You may expel nature with a pitch fork but she will return unless she has ceased to be your nature. As the U.S.A. found out external compulsion will only drive the evil underground as it has already done. But this does not mean that Prohibition has not done a lot of good to 80 per cent of the population.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN YUGOSLAV PRACTICE: By Edward Kardelj, published by Yugoslav Embassy, New Delhi.

Vice-President Kardelj shows how with the commune as the basic social-economic unit of society, a system of socialistic administration through people's committees have been evolved in Yugoslavia. Where to draw the line in evolving a Socialist Pattern of Democracy has been stated in this book and so it will be instructive and helpful in the administration of the Second Five-Year Plan.

THE WELFARE OF THE CHILD IN THE HOME: By Lalitha Subbaratnam, B.A., published by The Indian Institute of Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore. Price: 12 annas.

Shrimati Lalitha Subbaratnam, the Treasurer of the Child Study Association, Bangalore, has achieved a masterpiece of compression in emphasizing the importance of parental attitudes in the bringing up of children.

DULLES PRESS CONFERENCE IN INDIA—Printed and Distributed by the United States Information Service, Asia Press, Delhi-7.

This account of the Press Conference by Mr. Dulles in which he skilfully managed to leave the impression that in spite of apparent support of Pakistan, the U.S.A. was really interested only in international fellowship, partnership and co-operation, is well worth perusal.

HEAVEN AND HELL FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH: By H.H. Price, published by The Indian Institute of Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore.

This thought-provoking article by Professor Wykeham concludes by saying that the psychical researcher has ultimately nothing to say about Heaven or Hell as the mystics conceive, as, in his opinion, they are neither material nor mental, but intermediate between the two.

SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION: By Major-General S. L. Bhatia, M.D (Cantab.) I.M.S. (Retd.), published by the Indian Institute of Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore.

It is refreshing to read a statement of faith by a medical Major-General that science and religious life and belief are complementary and not antagonistic.

I. ROBOT: By Isaac Asimov, published by the New American Library Price: 35c—A Signet Book.

This is the modern version on the type of imagined writing which started with Shelly's 'Frankenstein' and Jules Verne's 'Romances' the hair-raising tales are about the year 2058 when Robots will rule the world. Hurry, Hurry seems to be the motto of the Robot age which, let us hope, will not hurry to come into this world.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

UNITED KINGDOM

INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.K.

India sent 1,500 full-time students to the United Kingdom in 1956-57, by far the largest contingent from any country.

Next to India was the U.S., with 90 students followed by Nigeria with 896. In all, students went from 46 Commonwealth territories in addition to those from non-Commonwealth countries.

This is revealed in the latest edition of the Commonwealth Universities, Year Book, which states that there were 459 full-time students from Pakistan and 233 from Ceylon in the same period. The number of overseas students going to Britain for full-time or part-time studies continues to increase, says the report.

S. AFRICA

INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

The Nationalist Party had given the Indian population in South Africa the ultimatum, "go back or starve here" through its Group Areas Act, declared Mr. Hymie Davidoff, Labour Member of the South African Parliament recently.

Speaking during a debate on the Group Areas Amendment Bill, Mr. Davidoff said the Act meant "absolute ruin" for the 400,000 Indians in South Africa.

In Transvaal particularly Indians, he explained, were a commercial class who traded with whites, Africans and others. But the Government planned to group them into segregated areas and they would not be allowed to trade outside those areas.

The Labour Member said, "The Group Areas Act shows savage indifference to the rights of Asians in this country. It denies them the prospect of a future. The Act has brought about suffering and insecurity."

EAST GERMANY

INDIAN AUTHORS IN EAST GERMANY

A group of Indian authors said in East Berlin recently they hoped for "new contacts between East Germany and India."

The East German news agency, ADN, said the group headed by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, had made a study tour of East Germany

at the invitation of the East Germany Academy of Arts. The group visited Dresden, Weimar, Leipzig and Karl-Marx-Stadt (formerly Chemnitz).

The group which includes the poet and critic, Mr. C. B. Rao, the authors, Manoj Basu and Sajjad Zaheer, and authoress Uma Rao.

MALAYA

INDIAN DOCTORS FOR MALAYA

The Minister for Health, Mr. Leong Yew-kow, is to head a mission to India to seek Indian doctors for service in Malaya, a Government source said.

He said the mission would leave for India and would select 120 Indian doctors to work for the Malayan Government.

He said 34 of the doctors would be specialists and that the Indian Government had agreed to them working on three-year contracts for the Malayan Government.

Malaya is experiencing a grave shortage of medical practitioners, especially as some Europeans in the Health and Social Welfare Departments have left or have announced their intention of leaving the country.

CEYLON

INDIANS IN CEYLON

During the 18 months ending December last year, 15,889 Indian nationals were compulsorily repatriated to India and thereby the problem of unemployment should have been ceased to some extent with nearly 16,000 "openings" created for the Ceylonese in the various sectors of employment, says Mr. H. E. Tennekoon, Controller of Immigration in his administration report for 1956 just released.

The Controller goes on to say that during the year under review 18,000 Indians had been served with quit notice to leave the island within three months and about 17,000 given time from six months to a year to leave Ceylon for good. About 28,000 had left Ceylon of their own accord.

PAKISTAN

INDIANS IN PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Government have made it obligatory on Indians living in Pakistan to take out residential permits, thereby withdrawing certain privileges enjoyed by them as Commonwealth citizens.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- June 1. A.I.C.C meets in New Delhi.
—K.P.S. Menon meets Mr. Bulganin in Moscow.
- June 2. Train accident near Bombay—several persons killed and many injured.
- June 3. U. S. joins Baghdad Pact Military Committee of discussions in Karachi.
- June 4. Mr. Kishi, Japan's Prime Minister returns to Tokyo after tour of Burma, India, Pakistan and Ceylon.
- June 5. Sir Richard Aluwihore is appointed High Commissioner of Ceylon to India.
- June 6. Russia pledges not to use Atomic weapons and requests Britain and U. S. to follow suit.
—President of India prorogues both Houses of Parliament.
- June 7. U. K. Bases in Ceylon—Agreement reached to handover bases to Ceylon on November 1st.
—Surplus Budget of Rs. 7.33 lakhs is presented by Finance Minister of Kerala State.
- June 8. France decides to use Suez Canal.
- June 9. Mr. W.A.B. Iliff arrives in New Delhi to discuss canal water dispute between India and Pakistan.
- June 10. Mr. V. V. Giri sworn in as Governor in Lucknow.
—The World Peace Conference meets in Colombo.
- June 11. Canada's Conservative Party gains in election by ousting Liberal Party.
- June 12. West rejects Soviet call for Big Power Pledge on Middle East.
- June 13. Central Ministers agree to 10 per cent cut in salaries as measure of economy.
- June 14. Mr. H. V. Pataskar sworn in as Governor of Madhya Pradesh.
—Pt. Nehru leaves for Commonwealth Conference and reaches Damascus where a public reception is accorded.
- June 15. Mr. Nehru in Damascus—conferment of citizenship.
- June 16. Lebanese goes to Polls.
—Morarji Deasai's appeal to industrialists.
- June 17. New Govt. for Iraq—Mr. Ali Jaw-dot forms cabinet.
—New German Envoy presents credentials to President of India.
- June 18. Mr. Nehru in Helsinki.
—Mr. Mao's speech delivered in February is released for publication.
- June 19. Mr. S. L. Silam is elected speaker of Bombay Assembly.
—Mr. Kishi, Premier of Japan arrives for talks at Washington.
- June 20. Pt. Nehru arrives at Oslo.
- June 21. The Hungarian Govt. describes the "Report of U.N. as a "collection of lies."
—The Cambodian Premier resigns.
—Mr. John Diefenbaker is sworn in as Prime Minister of Canada as head of Progressive Conservative Cabinet.
- June 22. Nehru in Stockholm.
- June 23. Red Guns pound Quemoy in Formosa Straits.
—Mr. V. K. K. Menon meets Mr. Nasser in Cairo.
- June 24. Control over Kashmir Govt. Accounts is increased by President of India.
—Govt. of India appoints a committee to inquire into price trend of food stuffs under the chairmanship of Mr. Asoka Mehta.
- June 25. Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa is dead at Delhi.
—Pt. Nehru arrives in London after tour of Scandinavia to attend the Commonwealth Conference.
- June 26. Prime Ministers of Commonwealth meet in conference at London under the chairmanship of Mr. Harold Macmillan.
- June 27. Commonwealth Premiers' discussion on Middle East situation.
- June 28. Mr. P. C. Bhattacharya is appointed as chairman of the reconstituted State Bank of India.
—Mr. Nehru's plea at London Conference re. China's admission to U. N.
- June 29. Govt. of India decides not to issue licences to established importers during the quarter July to Sept. '57.
—China reduces her defence Budget.
—U. S. A. supplies Jordanian Army with Military equipment.
- June 30. Giant Study of the Globe commences—the International Geo-physical Year begins.

READERS' DIGEST

PANDIT NEHRU'S SOCIALISM

Under the above heading Odysseus contributes his last article in the series "Indian Socialism" to the *Eastern Economist*. He says that one reason why foreign observers find it difficult to understand Indian Socialism and easy to fear India as a field for investment, is that India speaks about Socialism with two voices. The voice that emanates from the government, and from the ministries in New Delhi, is the voice of, so to speak, India's head and is all sweet reasonableness and light, from Pandit Nehru downwards. Downwards, that is, to a certain level when you begin to hear the voice of India's heart. This is loud among the Congress party's parliamentary supporters and often in the popular press. This voice rarely speaks any good of Private Enterprise, and the mere mention of 'Socialism' sends it off into transports of uncritical applause.

"Socialistic" or "Socialist"? Which is which? What is the difference?

A "Socialistic" person is pragmatic, evolutionary, and, while insisting on a certain minimum pace of centrally planned economic development, is not faddy about doctrines but is ready to live and let live. His test as to whether to accept any proposal is whether it seems likely to add to the national income or not, e.g. to nationalise the existing steel companies would cost the taxpayer money and add nothing to wealth; on the other hand, Private Enterprise has not the resources to build up three great new steel plants with a capacity of 6,000,000 tons; so Government action is justified. Pandit Nehru is "Socialistic."

The writer says that it is one of the strongest "selling points" about India's socialistic pattern that it keeps a place for free enterprise. "Undoubtedly private enterprise is useful" told the Nehru to the National Development Council. The Government wished to encourage it although the dominance once exercised by private enterprise throughout the world is no more, why foreign investors are nervous is explained by the writer as follows!

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India needs, and would welcome, substantial foreign investment, but there can be no doubt that publicity given abroad to such events as the amendment to the Constitution passed to remove compensation for nationalisation from the jurisdiction of the courts, the nationalisation of the airlines, of the Imperial Bank of India, and of life insurance, was largely ensured by what Stephen Garvin describes as "the chorus of dogmatic approval with which these acts were greeted by legislators," so that the special "reasons which existed in each of these cases could hardly be heard in India itself and never made any impact abroad." For example, the Indian airlines were nationalised not because they were being inefficiently run by private enterprise but because they would have required government support for the replacement of aircraft on such a scale that they would have remained private in name only. In other words, the development of civil aviation in India does not differ from the experience of many other countries, and if it had not been for the howl of Socialist triumph with which nationalisation was greeted, nationalisation of the airlines would have attracted no more attending among foreign investors than a re-organisation in British Overseas Airways or Air-France.

If India wants foreign investment, concludes the writer, it is important that the Socialists in New Delhi should keep calm and let the Government get on with its socialist pattern of industrial policy which lays down perfectly clear and not in the least frightening, aims. The writer quotes Mr. Garvin who points out "that ministers are wisely reluctant to indulge in glosses upon it in public, and well-meaning persons who often urge this course on them in the interests of the "investment climate" do not always realise that common sense and pragmatism in individual cases, of which the Indian Government has shown itself well capable, are of far more benefit to private industry than vague reassurances which invite controversy."

REPORT ON HUNGARY

The *Hindu* in the course of its editorial on the U.N. Report on Hungary says:

The investigating Committee set up by the General Assembly of the United Nations has produced a report on the Hungarian revolt against Russian domination. Though the Hungarians were practically united against the Soviet, the Russians were able to suppress them ruthlessly and set up a docile Government which could be expected to toe the Moscow line all the time. The revolt was spontaneous though, like other enthusiasts, the students, soldiers, workers and intellectuals seem to have believed that the outside world was more interested in their movement than it really was. Certain broadcasts from West Europe seem to have convinced these people that assistance would be forthcoming. No such assistance could be made available: nor was there ever any intention that such actual assistance should be provided. The people were thoroughly dissatisfied with their satellite Government and they had watched events in the other Communist country, Poland, which had led to Poland successfully obtaining more independence from Russian control. The secret police in Hungary, the A.V.H., was detested by the people and the attack against them was carried out with particular bitterness and beatings and lynchings of members of this force and those who had collaborated with them occurred. The Committee's Report says: "The numerous accounts of inhuman treatment and torture by the A.V.H. must be accepted as true."

Though the Kadar regime refused to co-operate with the U.N. Committee and would not even permit its members to enter Hungarian territory, great care has been taken by the Committee in collecting evidence from as many sources as possible and in assessing the evidence. At the time of the rebellion the news was inclined to be confusing but now we have a more cogent picture of the events. Russian determination to crush the rebellion is evident. The Soviet was even guilty of bad faith and, on one occasion, it arrested a Hungarian delegation with which it was carrying on some negotiations. The Committee has also recalled the fact of the Soviet abduction of Mr. Nagy after he and some of his group of friends had taken refuge in the Yugoslav embassy in Belgrade.

Mr. Nagy had decided to throw in his lot with his people when once he found that they were all more or less united against Russia. But it should not be concluded from this development that the Hungarian people had grown tired of Communism. Mr. Keith Shann, the Australian *reporter* of the Committee, has specifically rejected the idea that the Hungarian people wanted to go back to the pre-war form of Government. They were quite friendly towards the Russians: but wanted to be free of their domination. Unfortunately, as may be remembered, the Communist Party in Hungary, unlike the Communist Party in Poland, failed to remain fully in control of the anti-Russian movement which spontaneously gathered momentum. Russian ruthlessness consequently was much in evidence: and a genuine popular, national uprising was put down brutally.

The number of people killed during the revolt ran into thousands. One estimate was that 25,000 Hungarian and 7,000 Russians had died. The Hungarian Central Statistical office has given the figure of the killed as "some 1,800-2,000 in Budapest and 2,500-3,000 in the whole country". The Committee has not been able to establish any reliable casualty figures. The former estimate may "well be too high" and the latter is certainly likely to be below the actual figures. In any case, it is evident that so many have died that there can be no doubt about the national nature of the uprising. The Committee has come to the conclusion that the figures for those deported by force to Russian territory certainly runs into thousands. Some of these unfortunates have returned home: but considerable numbers are still in harsh exile. It is very unlikely that the Kadar regime will try hard to secure their return. This regime, according to Mr. Shann, "did not at the time of its installation, and did not now, have popular support in Hungary." But the regime is likely to continue in power as long as the Russians support it with their armed might. The U.N. Committee's conclusions have been reached unanimously and it consisted of a Dane, a Ceylonese, a Tunisian, an Uruguayan and an Australian. Though efforts will no doubt be made to whittle down the importance of its findings, the careful and conscientious work it has done cannot be gainsaid. In addition to concluding that the Kadar regime has no popular support the Committee has

held that the uprising was spontaneous, national and brutally suppressed by superior force. Hungary has shown that even in Communist countries nationalism is a potent force. The Hungarian people have a right to choose their own Government but it looks as if they will have to wait long before they are again able to assert this right.

THE ART OF AVANINDRANATH TAGORE

Dr. Sudhir Kumar Nandi who won the Griffith Memorial Research Prize of the Calcutta University in 1949 writes an interesting essay on Avanindranath Tagore's Conception of Art in *The Aryan Path*. According to Tagore, he says, the artist's business is the creation of a different world of values, which is far away from the world of mundane existence.

"His mind's eye far surpasses the capacities of the most powerful telescope; and discovers fairy lands which we common people could never possibly see. This artist is everywhere. He might live here as an Avanindranath and there as a Bacon in a different perspective. It was a Bacon who could discover his New Atlantis far away from the din and bustle of this world of ours. Bacon was sure of his place there.

He knew that when he put out to sea there would await him, undisturbed by the tides of time, a great Island of Utopia, his own *New Atlantis*—one of the dreams of his philosophical system—glittering in the sunlight of Eternity.

His pen immortalized his dream. The visionaries testify to the veracity of Tagore's observation that the business of art is creation of a different set of values and not mere mimicry."

INDIA'S II PLAN

The *financial Times* said recently that it was in the interest of the West that the India's second Five Year Plan should succeed.

This London daily said that the United States Government may step up its assistance to India "if, as is likely, the President's proposed £500 million Development Fund is ratified by Congress."

The paper said in an editorial that, "Mr. Nehru's journey to London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference coincides with the worst financial crisis that India has suffered since Independence.

"The country has only last week drawn the final £72 million instalment of the £200 million made available by the I.M.F., while its sterling balances have dropped to £340 million, only £40 million above the minimum reserve required for currency backing."

"The agreement with the U.K. requiring India to maintain a £300 million currency reserve in sterling assets expires at the end of this month, but the Indian authorities have reasons of their own for wanting to prevent the reserves from falling below this figure. In little more than a year, the country's sterling balances have halved and, if the present rate of foreign spending continues, the reserves will have gone, with nearly three years of the Five-Year Plan still to run. If the Government is to maintain confidence in the rupee—and it is not too late to do this—an early halt to this drain will be needed.

"Some of India's difficulties are internal in origin. Over the last year, inflation has been allowed to get out of control and wholesale prices rose by 20 per cent. Mr. Krishnamachari's budget, presented recently which increased taxation by some £80 million, should go a long way towards cutting the excessive internal spending, and import licensing has also been tightened.

"But the other main cause of India's problems is more difficult to treat, as it lies in the very nature of the country's ambitious development programme. The 1956-60 plan requires foreign assistance from abroad to the extent of some £900 million. The present gap has emerged because the foreign currency requirements of the Plan were originally underestimated and also because it has proved far more difficult to raise capital abroad than had been anticipated.

"The immediate requirement is for a loan or loans of up to £200 million. There is no prospect of raising a sum of the size from the U.K. The chances with the World Bank are brighter, although even there India is handicapped by the inability to offer terms of repayment as prompt as those normally offered by Bank customers. The World Bank is now to a large extent dependent on the support of private bond-holders, especially in the U.S. and India's greatest handicap is her unattractiveness to private investors. The U.S. Government, if, as is likely, the President's proposed \$500 million development Fund is ratified by Congress."

WAR AND SATYAGRAHA

After a study of the civil disobedience movement launched by the Socialist Party of Bihar against the actions of the State Government and the Police firing by a Socialist Government in Travancore-Cochin, Mr. Vijayaram Raju offers his observations on the relative conditions effectiveness of Satyagraha and the method of violence, in the columns of *Mankind*. Civil disobedience or Satyagraha, he says is a consciously forged weapon of the people.

"The weapon of the hand destroys both the good and the evil in the enemy, but a peaceful resister effects only the evil allowing the good to live on without let or hindrance. Socialism when it forges the weapons of ahimsa does well, for it accepts the cardinal principle of life being superior to death. However, certain errors or fallacies creep in because of the newness of the method. War to be successful must be absolute. If the enemy wins, we die, and if we are to live, then the enemy must be incapacitated totally and irrevocably. This is the genesis of history. Life in battle is surrender of arms and principles, or withdrawal to fight another day. In the earlier case incapacitated slavery is the future in the latter case the certainty of life or death. In satyagraha, as physical annihilation is not a factor of reckoning, the total interpretation or concept of struggle has to be changed. Cowardice in war is either slavery or death. Cowardice in satyagraha is only slavery. The soldier of peace must win to live in manhood, otherwise he languishes in frustration and jealousy, a man-made neurosis. Thus the worst of war is death, and the worst of satyagraha is life.

In violent war, strategy and tactics are two separate and distinct features; the strategic plan envisaging a total objective, the tactical being the battle plan. The limited action can always be sacrificed to the greater objective.

"But in satyagraha the armoury of ahimsa does not allow for such a clear line of demarcation. For the lines of battle are not clearly defined in time. In total war, the casualties of battle haunt the memory of the living, but in satyagraha, they would participate also in victory. The merger of strategy and tactics as identical must be postulated, if a full grasp of the technique of satyagraha is to be had. Planning the preparation and course of battle become technically different. In war, if in the

ultimate a single soldier is alive on the battlefield, victory is assured. This being the objective, the palm of battle has always gone to the bigger battalions and the noisiest cannon. The issue of battle is often over in the mapping room, and little pins arbitrate the life and destiny of millions. With satyagraha the calculation is different. The General is soldier and planner, and expansion and survival is a question of inner measurement, not external accountability."

Have the ranks of the army expanded? Physical expansion, he says, is not merely an increase in numbers, but is more fully an estimate of faith, "an increasing collective ego."

"In war the big battalion creates confidence, it heightens the morale or will of the fighting army. In satyagraha morale or will alone finally determines the creation and extension of the army of non-violence."

The objective and method of war is thus different from that of satyagraha. But there is a common factor, and that is the human agency of direction. Leadership is essential and where it lacks understanding, defeat is imminent.

GANDHI AND THE GITA

The second number of *Gandhi Marg* is rich in Gandhian thought. Apart from the memorial to B. G. Kher the late Chairman of the Board by Mr. V. L. Mehta there are a number of articles on different aspects of Gandhi's life and teachings. Prof. Yamunacharya of the Mysore University, in his article, shows how Gandhi was a living embodiment of the Gita.

In his first reading the English translation of the Gita by Sir Edwin Arnold, Gandhi was introduced to a new and unsuspected world of inner life of which formerly he was only divinely aware.

"The Gita ideal of the *sthita prajna* gripped his imagination. The Gita became to him 'a spiritual reference book.' He became so fond of the *sthita prajna* ideal in the Gita that he made its recital part of his daily prayer. 'May I aspire to be one myself?' was the question which Gandhi asked himself and strove his utmost to be one. Similarly the portrayal of the *bhakta* in the Gita inspired. The *bhakta's* qualities of friendliness, meekness, compassion and unperturbable equanimity, patience and forbearance, and contentment fascinated him. About the *bhakti* required by the Gita, Gandhi wrote 'it certainly is not blind faith'.

INDIA TO-DAY

John Scott, special assistant to the publisher of *Time*, who recently made an extended tour of India, offers his views and impressions of the country and its people in the course of a critical appraisal of the situation in the columns of the *New Leader*. After a rapid survey of the religious and social forces working behind the new plans for political and industrial progress Mr. Scott goes on to add.

"The peoples of Asia and Africa are rising in indignation against colonialism. More than half a billion of them, in China, North Vietnam and North Korea, have been engulfed by Communism. With ferocious tyranny and coercion, Communist governments in these countries are trying to solve economic and social problems like those faced by hundreds of other millions in still uncommitted Asia and Africa."

India is the only nation, he says, in Asia or Africa of a size and importance comparable to China.

"The Indians are trying resolutely to solve their problems democratically, with a free press and a multi-party system. True, the Indians and Mr. Nehru personally are often illogical, unpredictable, hostile to the West; but they are basically on our side.

If India succeeds in her efforts, I believe that the flood of Communism can be stemmed, and perhaps even rolled back over the frontiers of China. If India fails and is overcome by Communism, bankruptcy or chaos, I fear that there is nothing we or anyone else can do to prevent the rest of Asia from being engulfed by Communism."

The United States can exercise great influence over India—and indeed it has made a good start on such a course.

"We can and must develop a climate of understanding with India in our diplomatic relationship."

"A firm and patient policy toward India, backed up by continued economic aid and resourceful U.S. Information Agency activities, can put up the United States into the ring as an effective competitor with the Soviet Union and China in the three-cornered battle for *Bharat Mata*—and make a major contribution to the ultimate victory of freedom and law in Asia and throughout the world."

Gandhi looked upon life as the battle-ground between good and evil. 'The human body is the battle-field where the eternal dual between right and wrong goes on.'

"To him Kurukshetra had a far greater significance than the mere historicity of it. Kurukshetra was to him the *dharma-kshetra*, the field of battle in the heart of man, torn in conflict between the forces of Evil and the forces of Good. The Mahabharata was an allegory to Gandhi."

THE PURPOSE OF ART

In the course of a talk published in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture* Srimati Rukmini Devi discusses the spiritual significance of art. This is the purpose of art, she says: "To make human beings divine, to elevate humanity to a higher world, to bring God, so to speak into the world."

"All the songs we dance to are of gods and goddesses. You may ask, 'Why so many gods and goddesses?' The only reply that I can give is, 'Why not so many gods and goddesses?' If we believe in the divinity of life, then we are all gods and goddesses. This is the principle that makes art so elevating. In art, we can make something most exquisite out of something so ordinary. In the same way, when great musicians sing the stories of Rama and Sita, simple ordinary stories, how divine, how full, and how rich they become. So, it is the mind of man and its attitude that give art its character, not only the subject."

INDIAN INFLUENCE ABROAD

Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, writing in *Vedanta Kesari* on the growing influence of India and Oriental thought abroad says that "With the dawn of the present century the pace of India's march westward was accelerated. The poems of Tagore, the teachings of Gandhi, and the writings of Radhakrishnan have brought to Europe and America a widening knowledge of Indian thought. The personality and policies of our Prime Minister have made it possible for India to take her legitimate place in the comity of nations. He has been primarily responsible for the substitution of the term 'Asian' for the usual expression 'Asiatic'. Many of the leaders of the West are beginning to realize that there can be and is what may be called an 'Asian' point of view. This consummation would not have taken place but for the patient and persistent labours of the Orientalist."

LAND REFORM—TRUE AND FALSE

There is a genuine justification, says Mr. M. A. Venkata Rau, in the *Indian Libertarian* for the emergence and continued recognition of the class of land owners.

They may be middle men between the cultivator and the State. But they perform a genuine economic and social function.

"One such function is that of enabling cultivators to have the use of land that they cannot purchase on terms of crop sharing. The class of tenants is enabled to have the use of land with a share in the agricultural product without the responsibility of paying land revenue. There is here a partnership between capital and labour with the proceeds of farming divided between them in accordance with custom. It may be that the proportion of the share accruing to each of the partners needs revision.

There is another social function that is performed by landownership.

"It is to provide an avenue to secure investment yielding a certain average level of income, particularly in food grains. Stability of property rights in land has historically provided an incentive to countless small businessmen, officials and others to save and invest in land. The hope of assuring for themselves and their children and dependents a form of income chiefly in food grains has helped many generations of people to plan their lives from a long term point of view. The possibility of having food assured for oneself and family has been a great moulder of character. It has helped people to subordinate the allurements of current consumption in the future. It has created a sober, self-reliant class of householders who achieve *freedom from hunger* by their own efforts and savings without leave of bureaucrat, dictator or capitalist. Land investment has been an avenue of real freedom in the basic factors of food and has combined with investment in houses to produce a class of thrifty, self-reliant, self-controlled class of citizens. This is surely the main aim of a republican society and if landownership secured through savings from genuine earnings over a life-time can assure this result, surely it is a consummation to be devoutly wished for and retained, as the basic policy of republican society and constitution."

The word republican in the name of communist States is a misnomer and travesty of the truth says the writer,

"Real republicanism lives in independent or self-dependent citizens who plan their own lives and carry them out without fear or favour. It is the duty of republican State to create stable conditions of property and taxation to encourage such citizens to fulfil their own plans of life without interfering with each other unduly."

From this point of view, the preservation of the class of landowners is indispensable.

"The slogan 'land to the tiller' should not blind us to the need for the preservation of the class of peasant proprietors and landowners, with facilities for successful tenants to acquire land through fair purchase. The right way to build a free economy and free society is to relate property to function. Such function includes individual self-fulfilment as well as social contribution."

REVOLUTION OF LIFE

There is nothing more dynamic observes the President in his Watch-Tower notes in *The Theosophist* than the life flows through the tree. "There is a constant change all the time, 'an unwilling current flowing through its cells.'"

"The tree which looks so peaceful, under which we may repose and shelter, is capable of achieving a revolution when the time comes, not a revolution of force, but a revolution of life which in a very short time transforms the earth and all that is there from the barrenness of winter to the manifold activities and richness of spring. Is there any revolution more wonderful than that which takes place in Nature by the shedding of that which has become old and the mantling of a renovated earth with fresh life and beauty?"

If there can be such a revolution in a tree, cannot something similar on a higher scale and even more profound and radical take place in that tree of life and knowledge which is ourselves? asks Mr. Sri Ram.

"We are more evolved than the trees of the earth though more removed in our minds from the natural soil of our being. There can be a revolution in us too, and it will take place by itself, through forces innate in ourselves, when it is not hindered by our wrong thoughts and actions."

IN DEFENCE OF THE COMMON-WEALTH

The *Round Table* draws attention to the firmness and zeal with which leaders of Asian countries — Nehru, Suhrawardy and Bandaranaike — defended their policy of remaining in the Commonwealth not with standing their acute differences with Britain and her friends over the Suez question. Mr. Nehru, it will be remembered, had to repel a particularly strong demand for India's resignation from so "colonialist" and aggressive an association.

On the other hand, says the writer the question has been raised in Britain whether though India may want the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth wants India.

"It is enough to say at the present stage that the issue is very real, and will continue to rear its head. If there is no community of outlook or approach whatever, if all the meetings and exchanges of information at various levels can produce no effect in a mutual moderation of policies, then the Commonwealth, it is felt, must become a mockery; would it not be better to face this fact before it expires miserably in some unforeseeable but inevitable circumstances?"

The argument from fundamental differences of international outlook could obviously be extended to fundamental differences over the problems of race and colour.

Those people in Britain (not to mention the non-white countries of the Commonwealth) who demand the expulsion of South Africa, because her racial policies are incompatible with the ideal of human equality and non-discrimination by race on which the modern Commonwealth is founded, are far from being the same people as those who would like to exclude India: but both argue in effect from the proposition that a minimum assent to certain common principles ought to be the condition of membership of a club or community of this sort.

Both groups of critics, however, would probably admit the force, from their different points of view, of a counter-argument based, not on the Commonwealth's immediate past, but on its immediate future: not looking back in anger, but forward in hope.

"The period that saw the Commonwealth riven by the Suez crisis saw also the bringing to birth of its first African autonomous member, Ghana. To be born into this established international and multi-racial community is a benefit of enormous value to this new nation,

as it will be for others that will follow. A split of the Commonwealth on ground either of racial policy, or of international policy which in the circumstances would be given the hue of racial bias, would shatter and destroy much of this value. If the Commonwealth has no other mission, it has at least this for the next decade or more, to be progenitor, sponsor and helper for new nations in Africa, the West Indies and Eastern Asia. They are the unborn infants in the womb whom parental divorce, as in the domestic home, could turn into problem children. For their sake at least it may be counted a blessing that the Commonwealth survived the Suez crisis without irreparable damage."

HAZARDS OF RADIATION

A couple of years ago, when British opinion became deeply concerned about the government's declared intention of entering the thermonuclear race, the Prime Minister gave a pledge to the House of Commons that an expert report on the possible hazards of hydrogen bomb tests would be prepared for its information. A few weeks later a special committee was set up by the British Medical Research Council and after a dozen sessions, covering more than a year, the committee drafted its report for presentation to Parliament.

"It is already apparent" the report says, "that the future development of our civilization is closely bound up with the exploitation of nuclear energy. At present, the potential hazards from its possible military uses overshadow in many people's minds the vast potentialities for good of this new source of power. The hazards to health are qualitatively the same, however, whether they arise from nuclear weapons or from the use of ionizing radiation (so called because it transforms atoms and molecules into "ions", or electrified particles) for peaceful purposes. The difference is one of degree and intensity only."

In discussing the relative hazards of radiation the authors drew a sharp distinction between its pathological effects on individuals and its genetic effect on populations as a whole. In the former case, says *World Veteran* especially if the dose is small or spread over a long time, a healing or replacements process of the affected cells may result in relatively slight injury, whereas in the genetic effect the injury to the reproductive cells is cumulative and cannot be repaired."

THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER

The elections are over and the Congress is returned to power for another term of five years at the Centre as well as in all States but one. On the whole, says Mr. V. B. Karnik in *Freedom First* "the Congress can be said to have retained its hold over the country. It has succeeded in securing a big majority in Parliament and a fairly strong position in all States where it has been able to form Ministries."

The Congress cannot, however, be happy with the results of the elections. It has received some severe jolts which should make it sit up and think. "The most severe jolt is the defeat in Kerala where the communists have succeeded in winning a majority of seats and form a government of their own. In Orissa also the Congress was on the brink of defeat and has now succeeded in forming a Ministry only with the help of some members of other parties. In U.P., it has lost its old predominant position, though it still continues to enjoy a comfortable majority in the Legislative Assembly. In Bengal, it lost in urban areas a number of seats to communists and other leftists, while in some areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat it lost heavily to the advocates of the linguistic reorganisation of the Bombay State. These reverses in various States should prove a matter of serious concern to the leaders of the Congress."

In a democracy it is desirable that one single party should not always hold the monopoly of success at the polls. "It is desirable that there should be other competing parties and that they should be able to win a fairly good number of seats. It should be possible for some of them to win a number of seats in some of the States and to form their own Ministries. Democracy will not be harmed only because the Government at the Centre and the Governments in the States owe allegiance to two or more different parties. Considered in this light, the success of non-Congress candidates will be welcomed by democrats as a step in the direction of a healthier democratic life, where power is not monopolised by a single political party."

U. S. S. I.

The United States runs a generally thoughtful and balanced propaganda program in India but it staggers under enormous political weights says the Delhi correspondent of the *New York Times*.

"As long as the United States arms Pakistan, United States Information Service men here will be regarded as representatives of a country that is acting against India's security interest. No propagandist can persuade the Indians to like the arming of their neighbour or even get them to appreciate the reasons for it."

That is the political handicap when it comes to presenting the case for the United States. When it comes to presenting the case against the Communists there are other handicaps.

One is that the Russians and Chinese have their own propaganda machine, the Communist party of India, which does not have the "foreign" label attached. Another is that the Indian Government keeps a tight rein on anti-Communist propaganda of the U. S. I. A.

1857

The revolt of 1857, generally known as the Sepoy Mutiny, has been the subject of a good deal of controversy. Historians have interpreted it in different ways. While some people consider it to be our First War of Independence, some of our own historians are of the opinion that the revolt was no more than the rebellion of a small section of Indian soldiery against the alien rulers. Again, some believe that Muslims joined the revolt with the sole purpose of reviving the Mughal rule.

Whatever might have been the cause and the nature of the revolt, one thing is certain says Mr. Bhandarkar in *Thought*, "the Indian society of the time was faction-ridden and people were interested primarily in putting down their neighbours: they went even to the extent of inviting the foreigners to help them do it. Not that we should not have any historical perspective. But stress on past events and happenings should not be so excessive as to make us neglect our present and future. What is more important in 1957 is economic and social progress, and not what happened in 1857 and celebration of those events."

Besides, if the 1857 revolt does have any lesson for us it is the danger of lack of unity in the country. "Except for a few centres in U.P. and Central India, all other parts of the country were unaffected by the revolt. Besides, the British were able to put down the revolt because of help given to them by our own people. Hence, if at all the revolt shows anything, it is the weakness in our society; and these call not for celebration but quiet reflection."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

CANAL WATER DISPUTE

India agreed in principle to a proposal made by the leader of the World Bank delegation, Mr. W. A. B. Iliff, to refer the Canal waters dispute to arbitration within the framework of the Bank's plan of 1954 dividing the whole river system between India and Pakistan.

The acceptance was expressed at a meeting held at New Delhi on June 10, between the World Bank team and the Indian delegation led by the Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, Mr. S. K. Patil.

Details of the arbitration proposal were not discussed at the meeting, but it was understood that within the scope of the proposal would be included the question of the link canal proposed to be constructed in Pakistan to replace from the western rivers, namely the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab, the supplies now received by some Pakistan canals from the eastern rivers, namely the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. The cost of constructing the link canals and other related matters would also be subjects of arbitration.

U. S. FORCES IN JAPAN

President Eisenhower announced in a joint communique with Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, the Japanese Prime Minister, that the United States would substantially reduce the numbers of its security forces in Japan within the next year, including a prompt withdrawal of all the ground combat forces.

The communique said the U.S. found it necessary to continue its full control over Okinawa but pledged the U.S. to continue its policy of improving the welfare of the Island's inhabitants.

The communique also said the President told Mr. Kishi that Japan's views opposing the testing of nuclear weapons were being taken into account in the disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union in London.

President Eisenhower and Mr. Kishi agreed to establish an inter-governmental committee to study problems arising from the security treaty governing the presence of U.S. troops in Japan.

The communique said that the President and Mr. Kishi confirmed their desire for a high level of trade between the two nations. The

President told him that the U.S. would maintain its traditional policy of a high level of trade without unnecessary and arbitrary restrictions.

He also expressed his hope for the removal of local restrictions on the sale of Japanese goods in some areas of the Southern U.S.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

One result of the total blackout that has officially covered the proceedings of the commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference is the free circulation of alleged reports, which cannot even be dignified as "leaks" because in most cases they are only remotely related, if at all, to the real facts. Put out by interested parties their aim often seems to be to cause mischief as for example the quite baseless story that Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, violently disagreed with Mr. Nehru in his analysis of the Middle East situation. After making the most of such tidbits of more or less reliable information as available, the Press in London has ceased to take much notice of the conference—of necessity rather than through inclination—and the event is disposed of in an inconspicuous paragraph or two mixed up with other news.

THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING

Prime Minister Nehru said at Oslo on June 22, that the revolution in Hungary last autumn was in general a national uprising and there was no doubt it was suppressed by Soviet troops.

Mr. Nehru was addressing a Press conference before leaving Oslo. He said the Hungarian revolution was one of the greatest tragedies of our time and added there were other elements involved.

The Hungarian tragedy was the concern of others but primarily it was the concern of Hungary and one should consider it with a view to the betterment of the people of Hungary and not merely as a pawn in an international game in which poor Hungary suffered, Mr. Nehru said.

India's broad approach, Mr. Nehru explained, was "quite apart from the question of Hungary, we are of the opinion that no foreign troops should remain in any country whatever that country may be. The presence of foreign troops is itself a sign of control by a foreign power. That applies to Hungary as also to other countries."

Utterances of the Day

STEVENSON ON COLOUR BAR

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, Former Democratic candidate for the U.S. Presidency, told a press conference at Johannesburg on June 12, that the policy of total racial separation did not seem to him either practical or realistic in a modern industrial State where Whites and non-Whites were inter dependent.

Mr. Stevenson, who is on a business trip to South Africa, said no country could live in isolation or prosper at the expense of others or of any group of people for very long.

"In an inter-dependent and multiracial society, peaceful co-operation is, I think, our only hope," he declared.

In an interview with the reporter of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Mr. Stevenson said that the South African Government was going the wrong way about trying to solve the country's problems by disregarding the dignity of man. These problems could never be solved by the Nationalist Party leaders while they persisted in their present approach.

"Their psychological approach is wrong," he said.

"While they deliberately omit to take into consideration that one fundamental essential shared by all men, whatever their race, their colour, their culture or their creed—the human dignity of man—they cannot hope for success."

Mr. Stevenson urged that a more realistic approach to the Union's racial and other problems be taken if there were to be any hope for a permanent solution.

CONGRESS AND D.M.K.

The emergence of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam as a force against which the Congress has to guard itself in Tamil Nad is highlighted in a note by the Congress President, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, to the conference of Congress P. C. C. Chiefs which met at New Delhi last month.

The Note, which reviewed the political situation in the country from the point of view of steps to be taken to "revitalise" the Congress organisation, has been treated as a secret document, and copies distributed to members at the conference were collected back before it dispersed.

Referring to the position of the Congress in Tamil Nad, Mr. Dhebar is understood to have said that although in the recent elections the Congress Party has come out with greater success than in the last elections, the organisation in Madras State has to be vigilant against

influences such as that of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam which Mr. Dhebar is understood to have characterised as dangerous to the nation's "unity and stability."

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN ON SPIRITUAL VALUES

"It is time that we inaugurate a new way of life, by which people can live without hatred, without greed and without false ambitions. It is a challenge of our times and it is a challenge we have to take up. We must not allow our conscience to be dreadened by false reasons of security," declared Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Union Vice-President, while presiding over a function to felicitate the 76-year-old blind author philosopher, Pandit Shuklatji at the Bombay University Convocation Hall before a distinguished gathering on June 15.

Dr. Radhakrishnan stated that for the sake of preserving material existence people were prepared to throw away their spiritual heritage. Material survival alone was not the greatest thing in the world. The Christian gospel, for instance, preached otherwise. The cross symbolised material defeat and spiritual victory.

Even Pancha-Shila would not carry any conviction if human nature did not undergo the necessary change and its quality also did not improve. Dr. Radhakrishnan said, "It is essential" "for us to change ourselves. In our country we are passing through phase of pain and agony. We are feeling that new ideas are penetrating—which are proclaimed with religious fervour—that the ends justify the means. We are having economic balances altered at a time like this. We require integrity whether we are working in village panchayats, municipal corporations, legislative assemblies or foreign missions. We should develop a conscience about the use of public funds. We must not abuse them."

C. R. ON ATOMIC EXPLOSIONS

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari appealed to Britain to retire from the cold war and "take a noble part in saving mankind from being poisoned and civilisation from being destroyed."

He made this appeal in a message to the World Peace Council which was in session at Colombo recently.

Mr. Rajagopalachari urged the conference to concentrate on the immediate first step of securing stoppage of nuclear test explosions instead of getting "tempted and deceived into working for large aims and in the process letting the present poisonous programme to go unabated."

Political

BRITISH BASES FOR CEYLON

Letters exchanged between Ceylon and the United Kingdom Government relating to the transfer of British naval and air bases in Ceylon were tabled in the House of Representatives at Colombo on June 19 by the Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike.

The letters do not specify in detail the nature of the facilities to be given to Britain during the period of withdrawal which may extend up to five years but they state: "The use of facilities will be subject to the general control of the Ceylon Government and the Ceylon Government reserves to itself the right to deny such use to the United Kingdom Government if any situation arises, where, in pursuance of its general international policy, the Ceylon Government finds it necessary to do so."

"Subject to this condition the Ceylon Government will grant the United Kingdom Government free and uninterrupted use and operation of these facilities and the right to administer their establishments as at present."

"The United Kingdom Government, for its part, will not, in the use of the facilities, interfere with such plans of development as the Ceylon Government might undertake in the areas concerned. If any difficulties should arise in this connection the two Governments will consult together in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution."

The detailed arrangements regarding facilities which it is intended the United Kingdom may continue to use will be made later.

COST OF ARMS RACE

What is the cost of the arms race among the Big Powers in terms of money?

Attempting to answer this question, Mr. Nehru said in the Lok Sabha recently, "I was told that the whole cost of our Five-Year Plan represents just 80 days' military expenditure of a great Power. This is in peace-time. In war it would be much more."

Mr. Nehru remarked, "Here is this world hungering for development and here are these vast sums of money being spent not on building up anything but on weapons of destruction."

THE NEW CANADIAN CABINET

Canada's Progressive Conservative Party in a surprise election victory has swept the Liberals from power after 22 years and has formed the new Canadian Government.

Mr. John Diefenbaker the Conservative leader was elected as Prime Minister of Canada.

CHINA'S BUDGET

China will reduce her defence expenditure from 20 to 18.85 per cent of her total State expenditure in 1957 compared with last year, it was announced from Peking on June 29.

In 1956 China spent nearly six per cent less on defence compared with 1955.

Mr. Li Hsien-nien, the Finance Minister, disclosed the figures in presenting final account for 1956 and the 1957 State budget to some 1,000 deputies of the National People's Congress, China's legislative body, meeting here in plenary session.

Mr. Li, who is also a Vice-Premier of China, said that defence 6,116,69,000 yuan (about expenditure in 1956 totalled 6,116,569,000 yuan (about £373,795,000 sterling at the official exchange rate)—5.9 per cent less than in 1955.

China's total State revenue for 1956 was 29,754,444,000 yuan (about £4,250 million sterling), of which 1,011,038,000 yuan (about £145 million sterling) was the previous year's surplus.

Total expenditure was 30,574,138,000 yuan (about £4,367 million sterling).

THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Mr. Wladyslaw Gomulka, Polish Communist leader, said sometime back that the road to Socialism in other countries could be different from that of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gomulka told the ninth plenum of the United Workers' Party that in becoming a great socialist Power with a decisive influence on mankind, the Soviet Union had passed through great difficulties. But these difficulties were not a necessity for other nations building Socialism, though each had its own.

A number of countries had begun their path to Socialism on a stronger basis than that of Tsarist Russia before the revolution.

Mr. Gomulka said other countries could expand production more slowly, particularly, in the countryside.

No country was any longer limited to its own forces as was the case with the Soviet Union. It could, and did, avail itself of the assistance of other socialist countries.

Every country had its own specific features of development, its own history, its own historically determined national characteristics. This fact could be overlooked only with impunity. These different characteristics were reflected in the methods of socialist construction and constitute an element of the road to socialism different for each country.

Educational

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In order to accelerate the pace of expansion of elementary education and to fulfil the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution the Government of India have decided that an All-India Council of Elementary Education should be established with effect from July 1, 1957. It will serve as an advisory body.

A Government of India resolution to this effect has been published in the Gazette of India recently.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS

To promote cultural relations between India and foreign countries, the Government of India have decided to award 140 scholarships to non-Indian students and students of Indian origin permanently domiciled in 50 foreign countries. The scholarships will be available for higher studies in India under the general cultural scholarships scheme 1958-59.

The scholarships, according to a press note issued by the External Affairs Ministry, will be awarded for studies in the arts and humanities, sciences, agriculture, medicine, technology, education, law, commerce, forestry, veterinary science, engineering, etc., subject to availability of seats in the various institutions in India. Preference will be given to students desirous to take up post-graduate courses.

Foreign students will be encouraged to learn at least one of the Indian languages, particularly Hindi.

The value of scholarship has been fixed at Rs. 200 per month exclusive of capitation, tuition and examination fees. These will be paid by Government direct to the institutions concerned.

Applications for these scholarships are being invited by the Government of India's representatives abroad and scholarships will be awarded on their recommendations.

S.A. UNIVERSITIES BILL

About 2,500 gowned professors, lecturers, graduates and undergraduates of Capetown University marched in a solemn procession through the streets of the city recently to protest against the Strydom Government's University Apartheid Bill.

The Chancellor of the University of Capetown and former Chief Justice of the Union, Mr. Albert Van Dersandt Centlivres led the procession, the biggest demonstration so far by educationists and students.

The Government's Bill now before the South African Parliament provides for the setting up of four Universities for non-Europeans and the closing of all existing Universities to non-whites.

PAY OF SECONDARY GRADE TEACHERS

The steps taken by the Madras Government to remove the disparity in scales of pay of Secondary Grade teachers employed in the different types of schools were outlined by Education Minister C. Subramaniam, during question time in the Madras Legislative Council on July 2.

Replying to a question by Mr. T. Purushotham, the Minister said the Government had ordered that with effect from Nov. 1, 1955, secondary grade teachers in elementary schools and in middle schools employed by local bodies and aided managements should be given a uniform scale of pay of Rs. 45-2-85.

The Minister informed Mr. G. Krishnamurthy that certain proposals for the revision of the Grants-in-Aid Code had been suggested by the Legislature Committee on the White Paper on Education. The question of implementing the recommendation of the Committee was still under consideration of Government, he said.

EDUCATION IN THE 2ND PLAN

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman, University Grants Commission, said at the Mysore convocation that though the provision in the Second Five-Year Plan for education had increased, it was still proportionately less than the provision made in the First Plan, and circumstances seemed to call for something more and entirely different.

He said it should be recognised that there should be no progress in the industrial or other fields unless the advance was matched up by progress in the field of education. So far there were no indications that this principle had been realised in our country.

Mr. A. A. FYZEE

Mr. Asaf Ali Asghar Fyzee, member of the Union Public Service Commission has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, and assumed charge of his duties.

PUNJAB VARSITY

Dr. A. C. Joshi, Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University to succeed Dewan Anand Kumar.

Legal

DISPENSATION OF JUSTICE

The Home Minister, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, is understood to have made an appeal to the Chief Ministers of States while they were in the Capital in the second week of June to devote attention to this. He has also stressed the need to speed up dispensation of justice by the High Courts.

Drawing attention to long periods of delay occurring in several States—in some of the States as many as ten years—between the time a petition is filed and the time judgment is given, the Home Minister is understood to have urged the States to make a determined effort to see that all the cases filed in High Courts before January 1, this year (1957) are disposed of by January 1, 1959.

The Chief Ministers are understood to have agreed to this in principle although several of them pointed out the causes which led to this delay. The concern felt by the Home Ministry at the delay is expected to be conveyed to the Chief Justices in the country by the Chief Ministers.

The Home Minister is understood to have said that "unconscionable delays in the dispensation of justice would bring the judicial administration into ridicule" and said that although efforts had been made during the past two years, these had produced only negligible results.

FUNDS FOR PARTIES

The Chief Justice, Mr. M. C. Chagla and Mr. Justice S. T. Desai, of Bombay High Court on June 21 permitted the Tata Iron and Steel Company to alter its Memorandum of Association to enable it to make contributions to political parties with one condition that the Company publish, at the end of every financial year, in two leading newspapers, one of which should be from Bombay, a complete statement of all contributions and donations made to any political party or institution.

The two Judges, at the same time, drew attention of Parliament to the "great danger" inherent in permitting companies to make contributions to the funds of political parties, particularly in a nascent democracy like that of India.

The Judges said that the least Parliament could do was to require such companies to get sanction of a court before any large amount was paid to the funds of political parties. A

remedial measure to this effect should be passed by Parliament, the Judges suggested.

Mr. Chagla and Mr. Desai were giving their judgment on an appeal filed by three shareholders of the company.

SOVIET LEGAL SYSTEM

The Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* said recently that serious mistakes were contained in some of the works of law by Andrei Vyshinsky, Russia's top legal mind until his death three years ago. The newspaper quoted by Moscow Radio said the Soviet Communist Party and Government were making consistent efforts to develop social democracy and strengthen Soviet law.

During recent years a number of steps, had been taken to increase the protection of citizens' rights.

The Radio added: "*Izvestia* discusses the role of lawyers in strengthening Soviet law and in this connection raises the question of revising some of the works of law by the late academician Vyshinsky which contain serious mistakes."

"Vyshinsky was chief prosecutor at the great Soviet purge trials of the thirties.

A year ago the leading Soviet legal magazine condemned his "mistaken theories," particularly which "denies the need for a court to establish the absolute truth in each case and permits the possibility of conviction of a person on the basis only of probability of some facts or others which are undergoing legal examination." It was a "glaring violation" of Soviet law to condemn people on the basis of self-confession.

During the purge trials, Mr. Vyshinsky was credited in the West with having secured more than 6,000 death sentences in open court, many against former friends and associates.

After the Second World War he became Russia's Chief United Nations delegate.

ADVOCATE GENERAL OF BOMBAY

Mr. H. M. Seervai has been appointed Advocate-General of Bombay with effect from July 1, 1957, in place of Mr. M. P. Amin, who has retired.

Mr. Seervai, who is 51, was enrolled as an Advocate on the Original Side of the Bombay High Court in 1932. He has appeared in several important constitutional and other cases in the Bombay High Court and the Supreme Court. He was a member of the Bombay Bar Council for some years.

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GOVT'S IMPORT POLICY

The pressure on the country's "meagre" foreign exchange resources was not likely to ease off in the immediate future, Mr. Morarji Desai, Union Commerce and Industry Minister, told the first meeting of the reconstituted Import Advisory Council which met at New Delhi on June 6.

In considering the import policy for the rest of this year, Mr. Desai said, a very careful account had to be taken of the outstanding licences that were likely to mature in the ensuing months.

The Minister hinted at a tighter import programme for the next half year when he said, "we can do without a number of items we have hitherto been regarding as essential."

Mr. Desai said that no general relaxation of the terms of deferred payments was possible in regard to import of capital goods. The Government was, however, prepared to consider somewhat more favourably the requirements of those industries which had already installed a good proportion of the plant and machinery and whose product was considered to be of special importance to the economy.

INDIAN TRADE MISSION TO U.S.

A 15-man trade delegation to the United States, headed by Mr. G. D. Birla, will leave by the first week of August. The members of the delegation will assemble in London on August 27 from where they will proceed to the United States by "Queen Mary" on August 29, it is learnt here.

During their two months' stay in the U.S. they will meet various industrial bodies and also Government agencies and will spend six days in Canada where they will meet the different Chambers of Commerce and exchange views. On their return to England, they will spend about ten days there and will later tour France, West Germany, Belgium and also Poland.

The delegation will consist of Messrs. G. D. Birla (leader), Babubhai Chinai, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Madan Mohan Ruia, Ramanath Podar, S. P. Jain, Madanmohan Mangaldas, S. L. Kirloskar, Bharat Ram, K. P. Goenka, S. S. Kanoria, G. D. Naidu, D. C. Kothari, G. D. Garware and G. L. Bansal.

The delegation is sponsored by the Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

RED GOVT. BUDGET

The Finance Minister of Kerala, Mr. C. Achutha Menon, presented to the State Assembly on June 7, the budget for 1957-58 showing a net surplus of Rs. 7.3 lakhs.

The budget showed a revenue income and expenditure of Rs. 2,790.32 lakhs and Rs. 3,015.56 lakhs respectively with a revenue deficit of Rs. 225.24 lakhs.

The Finance Minister proposed new taxations yielding in all Rs. 232.57 lakhs per year, thus converting the deficit into a nominal surplus of Rs. 7.33 lakhs.

O. G. L. SYSTEM ABOLISHED

The Government of India in a press note issued on June 29 said the Govt. have decided not to issue licences to established importers during the quarter July to September, 1957.

In an effort to slow down the persisting high rate of drawals from India's foreign exchange reserves, the Government of India have dropped, except for very limited purposes, the familiar Open General Licence, for the period July to September 1957, the import licensing policy for which was announced. Quota licensing for several important and essential items will also be put in abeyance for the period.

The new policy is probably the most drastic in the history of import control in recent years, and amounts practically to a "holiday from new imports" in the next three months. It is designed to eliminate Rs. 40 crores worth of imports that might otherwise have been expected to flow in. The new policy will be in force for three months, instead of six months as hitherto, as it is proposed to vary the licensing periods from two halves of the calendar year to two halves of the financial year i.e. April-September and October-March.

DEPOSITS BY COMPANIES

The time for making deposits by companies of the prescribed amount out of their undistributed current profits and reserves with the Central Government has been extended from June 30 to August 31, 1957, or any date within six months of the relevant accounting year whichever is later.

A Press Note issued by the Finance Ministry explains that this extension has been made as the Finance Bill has yet to be passed and the completion of assessments has to be deferred till then.

WOMEN'S WELFARE

Financial assistance is being given by the Centre to two social welfare institutions in Madras for the setting up of production-cum-training centres for women in the lower income groups.

Under the schemes, two units for the manufacture of leather goods and two more units for the manufacture of envelopes and paper bags are being set up by the Women's Indian Association. The Tamil Nad branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj is setting up two centres, one for the manufacture of holdalls and another for the manufacture of chalk crayons.

A major part of the expenditure on the schemes will be met by grants and the balance by loans.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 26,850 and a loan of Rs. 8,850 for the two production-cum-training centres for leather goods. For the manufacture of envelopes and paper bags, a grant of Rs. 94,500 and loan of Rs. 49,500 have been sanctioned.

The Tamilnad branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj has been sanctioned a total amount of Rs. 1,74,465 as grant and Rs. 1,25,115 as loan for the two schemes for the manufacture of holdalls and chalk crayons.

QUEEN'S MESSAGE TO YOUTH

Queen Elizabeth told the youth of the Commonwealth recently that they were growing up in an age as full of possibilities of adventure as the age of Queen Elizabeth I.

She said its people were "a congregation differing in colour, race and creed and yet as united as members of our British family of nations."

"Indeed, in the world of to-morrow, the opportunities of adventurous service will be far more widespread than they were three or four centuries ago. For modern science has both endowed us with vastly greater material power and has brought the most distant parts of the world into far closer contact and far greater interdependence upon each other."

"For these reasons you are likely to need greater knowledge and perhaps even greater wisdom, than did the men of the seventeenth century. But you will certainly need the courage, the enterprise and the trust in God which they so conspicuously displayed." Her Majesty concluded.

GIRL GUIDE CAMP IN U. K.

Some 45 Indian girls, together with two from Pakistan and six from Ceylon, will be among the 4,000 Girl Guide campers at Windsor Great Park, Berkshire from July 26 to August 8, celebrating the centenary of the birth of the founder of the Girl Guides Association, Lord Baden-Powell. Queen Elizabeth II is the patron of the Association.

Guides from 60 nations will be at the camp, preparations for which are well in hand.

ELECTORAL RIGHTS FOR PAKISTAN WOMEN

A Division Bench of the West Pakistan High Court sitting in Lahore has admitted a writ petition filed by seven women of Lyallpur district challenging the Government Order debarring women from contesting or voting in Men's constituencies in the Lyallpur District Board Elections.

Smt. M. C. PADMA

Smt. M. C. Padma, M.Sc. in Zoology of the University of Mysore and Research Assistant in the Grain Storage Division of the Central Food Technological Research Institute was awarded a Fellowship by the University of Minnesota for advanced research in the field of Insect Physiology. She left for U.S.A. by air recently.

BRITISH WOMEN'S APPEAL

An illustrated leaflet explaining the dangers of fall-out from hydrogen bomb tests and urging women to protest against them is meeting with success in Britain.

Thirty five thousand copies of the leaflet, published by the National Assembly of Women, have been requested by women in many parts of the country, the Assembly announced to-day.

The leaflet asks: "Dare we standby silently while such danger threatens?" It urges women to write to their Members of Parliament or to visit them, to write to the Press, to join in local protests and to write to the Prime Minister.

"We have never had such a swift response to any leaflet we have produced," Mrs. Mollie Mandell, the national organiser of the Assembly, stated recently.

General

ORGANIC LIFE ON MARS

The international Committee for the planet Mars on June 27 conceded the possibility of some kind of organic life on Mars, but said that it would be unlike life on earth.

The committee, grouping astronomers of 12 nations ended a three-day conference recently. It examined nearly 100,000 photographs of Mars taken from observation posts in India, Japan, the United States, Java, South Africa, France and Argentina last year, when the planet was exceptionally close to the earth.

The committee's Chairman, Dr. F. Slipher, said, it emerged from reports submitted by member-countries, that (1) Atmospheric conditions on Mars use similar to those on earth but with grater extremes of temperature. (2) apparently it rains on Mars. (3) A mysterious blue light periodically illumines part of the planet, but is not always visible at the same time from different observation points on earth and (4) The Mars polar cap is apparently composed of three layers the first of minerals, such as are found on earth, the second of ice and the third, of white cloud.

MAN POWER MOBILISATION

As part of the drive to mobilise manpower resources, the committee of the Union Cabinet on manpower is understood to have decided that trained Indian personnel who are working abroad should be made offers of employment in the home country on an individual basis.

Information with regard to such Indians is to be made available to the various Central Ministries, State Governments, and other likely employers.

Special attention is also to be paid to Indians who may return from abroad after receiving training.

LEVY OF EXPENDITURE TAX

The total number of persons, individuals and families, affected by the Expenditure Tax announced by the Finance Minister in his Budget proposals is not likely to exceed 6,000 according to an official Press release.

The press release says that persons who spend less than Rs. 24,000 a year are not affected by this tax in any circumstance.

Late. MR. K. M. JHAVERI

Dewan K. M. Jhaveri, a well-known educationist and scholar died at Bombay on June 15. He was 89.

He was connected with many social, educational and charitable institutions in and outside Bombay.

DR. GILBERT MURRAY

Dr. Gilbert Murray, distinguished Greek scholar, died at his home at Oxford on May 20. He was 91.

The Australian-born scholar's works for world peace earned him almost as much fame as his translations of Euripides and other classical dramatists.

He was for many years president of the League of Nations Union.

DR. RAMBHAU RANADE

Dr. Rambhau Ranade, the wellknown Sanskrit scholar, died at Sholapur on June 7 in his ashram at Nimbai.

Dr. Ranade was formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University and lecturer in the Ferguson College, Poona.

STATUS OF TAMIL IN CEYLON

Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, Ceylon's Governor-General, declared that his Government would take early steps to give concrete shape to Prime Minister Bandaranaike's proposals to ensure the reasonable use of the Tamil Language.

He gave this assurance in his opening speech on June 13, to the second session of Ceylon's new Parliament elected last year.

Coming as it did in the wake of the tension caused by the passage of the Official Language Act which made Sinhalese the sole State language ending the status of Tamil as an official language, the assurance was greeted with applause by members of both the Houses of Parliament.

The Governor-General said, "My Government is firmly convinced that this is the only wise and practicable method by which this vexed question (of language rights) can be solved satisfactorily in the paramount interest of harmony and co-operation so necessary for the effective handling of our urgent and pressing economic problems."

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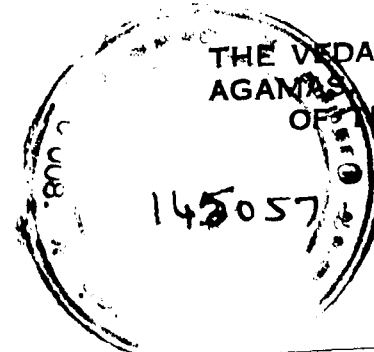
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