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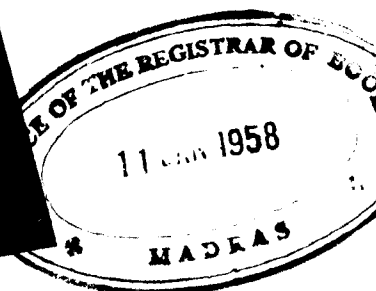
Vol NO 59, January 1958 -



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The INDIAN REVIEW

59th Year



Vol. 59. JANUARY 1958 No. 1.

CONTENTS

Editorial

The Food Front

- I. By Sri R. M. Sundaram, I.C.S.
- II. „ Shriman Narayan

Human Rights

By Sri Prem Kirpal

Buddhism and Christianity

By Prof. K. C. Chakravarti

A Romantic View of Flowers

By Sri Narasinga Patnaik

The Case Against Segregation

By Mr. William H. Hastie

Ancient Literature and Modern Thought

By "Krittika"

Experiment in Land Reform in other Countries

By Dr. R. N. Khusro

Over-specialised Graduates

By Mr. Arvind Malaviya

Dhruvapada and its Musical Structure

By Dr. D. G. Vyas

The Wayside Tragedienne—(A Short Story)

By Sri S. Y. Krishnaswami

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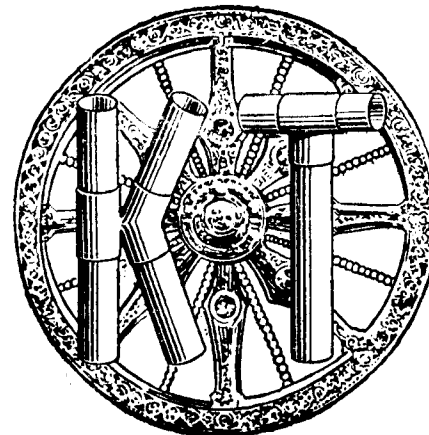
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JANUARY 1958 : DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 1

Editorial	...	1	Dhruvapada and its Musical Structure	...	2
The Food Front			By Dr. D. G. Vyas	...	2
I. By Sri R. M. Sundaram, I.C.S.	...	5	The Wayside Tragedienne (A short story)	...	1
II. By Shriman Narayan	...	7	By Sri S. Y. Krishnaswami	...	2
Human Rights					
By Sri Premkirpal	...	10	World of Books	...	29
Buddhism and Christianity			Indians Outside India	...	31
By Prof. K. C. Chakravarti	...	12	Diary of the Month	...	32
A Romantic View of Flowers			Readers' Digest	...	33
By Sri Narasinga Patnaik	...	15	Questions of Importance	...	41
The case against Segregation			Utterances of the Day	...	42
By William H. Hastic	...	16	Political	...	43
Ancient Literature and Modern Thought			Educational	...	44
By "Krittika"	...	18	Legal	...	45
Experiments in Land Reform			Trade and Finance	...	46
By Dr. A. N. Khusro	...	20	Women's Page	...	47
Over-specialised Graduates			General	...	48
By Arvind Malaviya	...	23			

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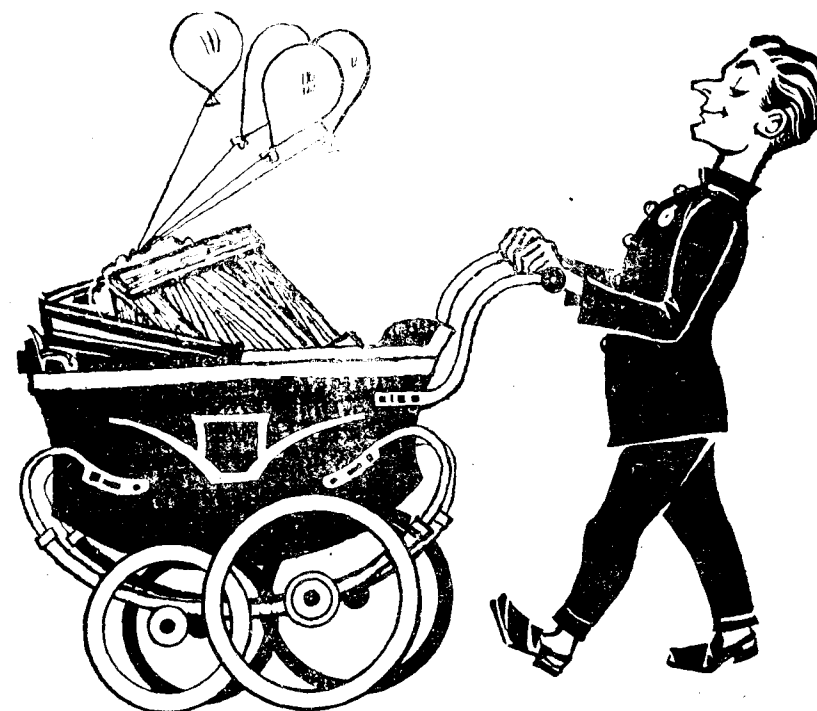
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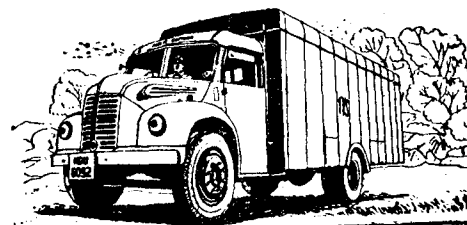
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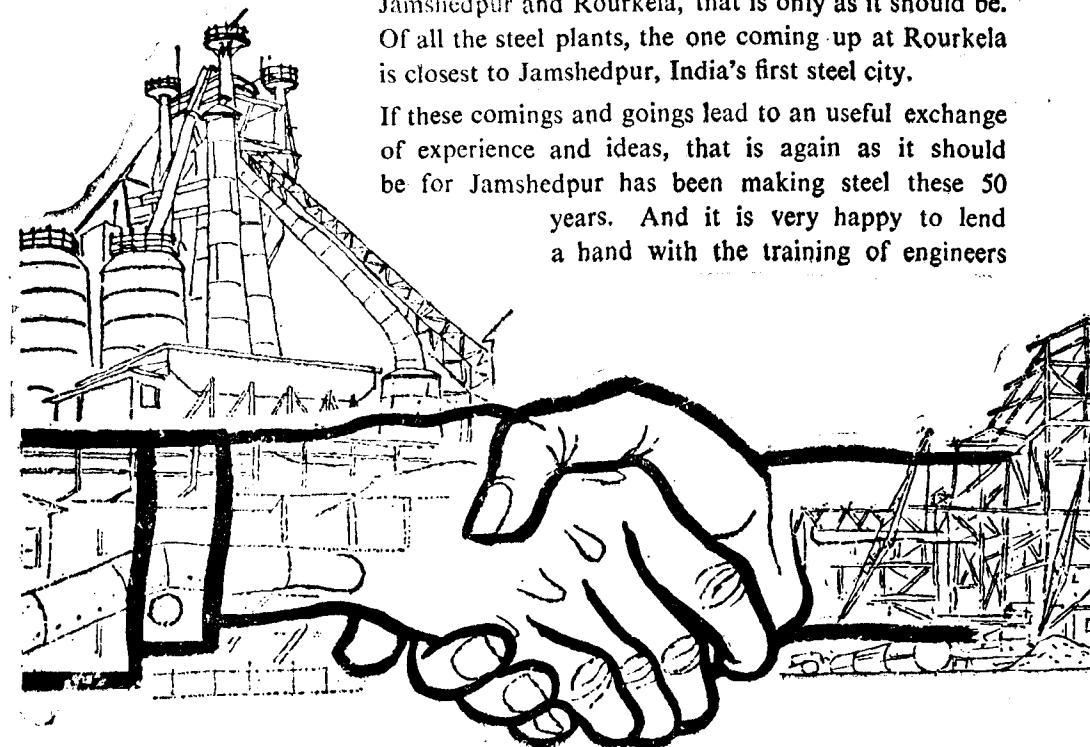
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Vol. 59]

JANUARY 1958

[No. 1]

THE SPUTNIK AND NATO

The new orientation of global offence-defence started with the Russian manufacture of the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile. It was underlined by Russia's release of the two Sputniks in quick succession. From an immediate military point of view the ICBM seems to be the greater menace, but the Sputnik has created the psychological climate of inferiority, which usually precedes the formulation of urgent, and very often, short-sighted policies. Even an intelligent awareness of inferior striking power is a correct prelude to a shift in strategy, but it is no solution to the problem of peace on earth. It may be readily conceded that the only immediate answer to the ICBM is the reduction of striking distance to enemy bases. So in a world which is filled with the fear of the domination of pernicious ideologies, the location of nuclear warheads in Western Europe seems to be unexceptionable strategy. Equally understandable is the Russian warning to European Nations who offer their land as unavoidable Russian targets.

All that has happened therefore is an adjustment to a new military situation by both sides, the intensity of mutual suspicion remaining in *status quo ante*.

A drama of Inter-Continental epistolary missiles and speech-making is being enacted in this background. Pundit Nehru made one of his periodic appeals to USA and Russia to

stop nuclear tests. Mac met Ike, and they decided to call Nato into session. Bulganin replied to Nehru, 'with profound satisfaction,' 'understanding his noble motives,' 'happy to record the coincidence of our views on the necessity of peaceful co-existence,' and offering to suspend nuclear tests. He also wrote to President Eisenhower, but here he gently referred to the war-germinating policies of the Nato. Russia wrote to the U.N. asking for East and West accord, and offering a non-aggression pact. Bulganin told the Western powers of Europe what exactly they were letting themselves in for by agreeing to store nuclear weapons on their soil. Then he sat back to watch the results. Eisenhower wrote to Nehru pointing out that 'any Government which declares its desire not to use nuclear weapons should, if they are sincere, be prepared to agree to bring an end to their production.'

Nato has met, and four conclusions emerge from its deliberations. Firstly, except U.K., the other Western European nations seem reluctant to offer their soil as bases for intermediate range missiles. Secondly, the free world is now willing to talk with Russia on disarmament without stipulating too many previous conditions but at this stage Russia is stiffening. Thirdly, the scope of Nato has been extended to cover areas other than Western Europe. This is an obvious concession to French policy in North Africa and Dutch safety in Indonesia. Fourthly, and

this appears to be the most serious decision of all, Nato is enlarging the functions of the alliance so as to include economic and social help. In other words, it has become a U.N. within the U.N., and the consequences for the parent are dismal.

By and large, Nato has shown a determination which is good strategy as an overture to any parley, but it has also shown up the conflicts within and the failure of the unquestioned leadership of the U.S. The promise of more and more is no antidote to fear and self-interest. One may seriously question the wisdom of even theoretically supporting the dying colonialisms of France and Holland, and militarily, the location of warheads on soil which is outside the circumference of its own sovereignty places the U.S. in a position of obligation and not command. A sweeping invasion will make them available to the enemy. Khrushchev has said that they make "most attractive targets." Why are the Western powers so sure of Germany? To the Germans the unification of their Fatherland is worth any sacrifice. Germany is conscious of her greatness and her fame and if the chances of a United Germany are linked with a better military position in Europe, German allegiance to Nato may well suffer a sea-change.

The basic problem of the eradication of fear looms as large as ever before. The U. S. press is full of "missile-bristling" Russia as against the "melancholy-fizzle" of their own Rocket-moon. There is a "Peace-War" that is being fought now, the Russians advancing with more and more offers and the U. S. retreating with more and more caution. The free world is not certain that communists are prepared to give up their plans for spreading their religion, and the communists are not certain that the free world is not out to kill their way of life. What is lacking is that "kernel of sincerity" about which Mr. Kennan spoke recently. Till that is granted, all else is

but sound and fury, food for fear, empty words to cloud the real intent, and a creeping accession of misfortune to the wayside nations who happen to inhabit this globe.

THE FOOD CRISIS

We are in the midst of a food crisis. It occurred in 1947, became worse in 1948, improved in 1950, disappeared in 1953, and has come back in 1957. The pronouncements of the Ministers have swung from satisfaction to sorrow in response to the incidence of the weather. The Government is again rushing to meet the crisis. We shall forget about the crisis if the rains are beneficial this year. How long is this crisis-cum-confidence policy to go on?

The fact of the matter is there is no crisis. It is a long-term problem that the country has to solve. And unless it is understood to be a long-term problem that calls for patient measures that take time to mature and yield results, there is every danger of the country spending its slender resources on "quick-results schemes," which are of doubtful value for the present and of certain uselessness in the long run. The overfertilisation of the rice crop is one instance. The plant requires many types of nourishment, nitrogen, phosphates, potash, other trace elements whose importance is just being recognised, and in several cases, an improvement of the soil texture so as to facilitate moisture-retention and easy drainage. This involves a study of the soil-crop economy in each region, and constant technical advice regarding the kind and dosage of manure by reference to the crop, the nature of the water supply and other factors of ecology. Instead of which we are going all out on nitrogen. Similarly, any agriculturist will testify to the need for summer fallowing after the harvest, when the land gets parched and broken up into fissures and the strong sunlight has the chance to penetrate the surface and help to fix atmospheric nitrogen. Indeed, it is usual for the farmers to bemoan the advent of rain

in summer; but the Government are interfering with the economy of nature by growing three crops instead of two, thereby encroaching into the summer. Even if the evil mentioned above is ignored, the land has a limited capacity which does not respond to over-exploitation and the chances are that the three crops will together yield as much as two crops did before.

On top of it all is the utter reluctance of any landholder to invest in improvement or even advance the usual monies for cultivation to the tenants. For this state of affairs Government must take the full blame. If they intend to introduce an "all-peasant" economy, they should go ahead and do so. It is the uncertainty that is killing. The longer this brooding apprehension lasts, the less will be the interest taken in agriculture.

The problem of increased production is essentially one of incentive at the social level, and of defeating the vagaries of the season by water supply and moisture conservation in the soil at the technical level. Other measures may follow, but they cannot act in substitution or as a temporary treatment, pending such long-term plans. The matter, 'to quote the late President Roosevelt' has to be envisioned in its entirety.

THE UNION LANGUAGE CONVENTION

There was a galaxy of talent in evidence at the Union Language Convention of South India, which met at the Srinivasa Sastry Hall, Madras, on the 22nd Dec. The case for the retention of English as the official language of the Union was presented by Rajaji with consummate skill, and convincing logic. Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar wandered over the field of his experiences. Sir Mirza Ismail was crisp and to the point. Sri P. T. Rajan was short and effective. Sri Kodanda Rao invented the slogan 'Hindi never; English ever.' Rajaji said that the preservation of Indian unity

depended on the recognition of regional cultures, and not in ignoring them by confusing unity with uniformity. Democracy did not mean one part of the country using a parliamentary majority to stifle another part. After the acceptance of each regional language as the medium of instruction as well as of administration at the state level, there was no question of the language of the people not being the language of Government. Dr. Ramaswamy Ayyar emphasised the advantages of English for research and international intercourse, and the impossibility of continuing to translate original source books of learning into another language. He also pointed out that in the constitution itself the introduction of Hindi was made conditional on its having developed sufficiently. It was a matter of practical convenience that had to be considered; just as in China they have now planned the change over to the Roman script. Sri P. T. Rajan reminded the audience of Rajaji's vision in regard to the Hindu-Moslem problem, and of how the same vision was in evidence today.

Notwithstanding these unassailable arguments, it seems as if the sponsors of the move to retain English have taken up the wrong side of the case. It has been decided that secondary education should be imparted in the regional language. It has also been accepted that the Secondary School Leaving Certificate should be a sufficient qualification for entry into Government service. We shall thus be soon having thousands of Central Government servants who know only Hindi, as the recruits from the Hindi areas will be in the majority. Those who are lent to the centre from the Hindi states will also know only Hindi. If there is no room for sentiment against English as the language of the Union Government, then there should be no sentiment against it as the medium of instruction at the secondary school level itself. Rajaji who was so vehement against the stupidity of compromise when dealing with the recommendation of the Madras Government that both Hindi and English should be official

languages, should surely see the absurdity of accepting instruction in the regional language in all subjects, with English as a limping second language being taught only as a language and not for any subject, and the simultaneous use of source books of instruction in English, being orally interpreted by teachers. This is a worse compromise than any that he is cavailing at. If Hindi is not to replace English, it should be strengthened at the level of secondary education and made the medium of University instruction. To ask for English as the language of the Central Government, and to leave education in the hands of patriotic experimentalists, is to light the fire and close the chimney. It will stifle academic knowledge and increase administrative inefficiency.

E. V. R. AND BRAHMINS

Sri Ramaswamy Naicker's call for fire and sword against the Brahmins is based on a curious logic. The Brahmin represents the spearhead of caste and the Aryan religion, and with his extermination the two evils will disappear and pave the way for a casteless society, with an abstract and optional God who scorns the rituals that have given primacy to the mumbo-jumbo of Brahmin chantings. But the constitution, which is the handiwork of this accursed race, gives freedom of worship, and is therefore perilous. Such freedom is wrong, but Naicker wants freedom to be able to deny this freedom. Hence the incendiary urge against the Brahmin and the constitution.

The question is not, however, one of logic. Here is a leader who inspires thousands of people to follow him to prison and burn the constitution. Can he do so unless he is able to appeal to something which, however incoherent,

is lying dormant within them and is waiting for the music of the snake-charmer to hood-raise it into a wicked emotion? Thus analysed, it is capable of one of two explanations. The first is that the non-Brahmins suffer from a genuine grievance against the Brahmins; the second is that there is no such grievance, and that Naicker is riding on the crest of a hate-wave of his own making.

It behoves both those who sit back and enjoy the sufferings of the once-arrogant Brahmin, and those who see in the movement an uncivilised exhibition of stone-age primitiveness, to ponder over the root causes, and to seriously think in terms of a solution. Surely Sri Naicker does not imagine that he will be able to burn all the Brahmins and set fire to all their abodes: nor do the Brahmins think that they can for ever shelter behind the law and the police (the Central Government and an imported police, that is, for the local Government and police are thinly disguised *kazhagamites*) and continue to live safely in the midst of a raging hostility? It is time that we brush aside the incidents of the moment and examine why such a movement has gained support amongst a large section of the people. This can be achieved only by a few good men and true from both camps getting together and giving a lead. One may agree that the present is not the time for the minority to show fear, and encourage the excesses of purblind hooligans. But ultimately, as long as it is agreed that the communities have to live together, and that the Brahmins cannot migrate wholesale and leave the others in charge of a threadless paradise, one sees no way out except to discover the points of accord, and implement an understanding.

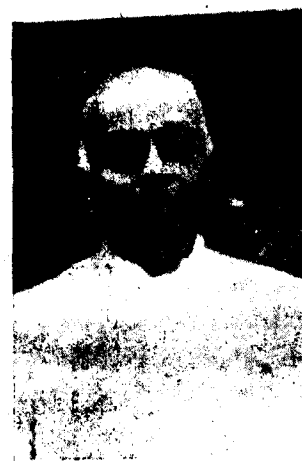
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The Food Front

By

SRI R. M. SUNDARAM, I.C.S.

IT is well-known that over 80% of the population in India live in villages and are mainly agriculturists, but it is an irony that India generally and the Madras State in particular has always been deficit in foodgrains.



Our population has been increasing at a very rapid rate and the country passed through a difficult situation during the second World War. In spite of a special "Grow more food campaign" undertaken during the War and

the First Five-year Plan period we are still far short of achieving self-sufficiency. This problem has received the earnest attention of Government after India attained independence. Agricultural production was, therefore, given the highest priority in the First Five-year Plan. Strenuous efforts were made by the Agricultural Department to increase food production through the use of improved irrigation facilities, improved seeds, intense manuring and reclamation of waste lands. In the Madras State, out of six million acres under paddy almost half the area has been covered by improved seeds. The consumption of chemical manures has gone up progressively to about 1 lakh of tons per year. New land has been brought under cultivation with the help of a large fleet of tractors. Hundreds of filter-point tube-wells were sunk and thousands of Pump-sets distributed to the ryots. Soil conservation measures were adopted on extensive tracts of land. Plant protection measures were undertaken on a large-scale and considerable saving has been effected to the

ryots by combating the ravages of pests and diseases. The production under all kinds of food crops showed an increase during this period. It is claimed that the production of rice had gone up from 23 lakhs of tons in 1951-52 to about 31 lakhs of tons in 1954-55.

We are now in the second year of the Second Five-year Plan. This plan aims at an increase in the national income so as to raise living standards and rapid industrialisation of the country which will provide employment for all. However, it is wrong to think that the Plan lays more emphasis on industries rather than agriculture. Actually, the Government of India have been emphasizing the need for stepping up the production of not only food crops but all kinds of crops, especially cash crops. A balanced development of agriculture on all crop sectors without in any way going back on the food front has been emphasized in the Second Five-year Plan. When 80% of the population are agriculturists it is clear that there can be no appreciable increase in the national income unless there is an increase in agricultural production. The standards of living of the common man cannot be improved unless the basic necessities of life are provided for. After all, what the common man needs most is better food and better clothing and shelter. The importance of increased production of all agricultural commodities cannot therefore be over-estimated. Agriculture has to provide raw materials for industries besides food for the people. Improved types of cotton for our mills, better types of sugar-cane for the sugar industry, superior tobacco for our tobacco factories etc., are urgently needed. Cash crops like coffee, tea, rubber, tobacco, oil-seeds, spices, cashewnuts etc., are all needed for export and in order to earn valuable foreign exchange. The Second Five-year Plan thus provides for bettering the economic condition of the agri-

culturist in general and for the increase in the supply of raw materials for various industries.

It has been recognised that during the Second Five-year Plan period enormous sums of money are to be spent on nation-building activities. There is bound to be a certain amount of inflation in the country and to fight inflation an increase in the supply of consumer goods is obviously necessary. The consumer goods that the average man wants in India is food and clothing and so an increase in agricultural production is quite necessary to combat inflation.

The opinion has been expressed that the original target of 15% of additional Agricultural production under the Second Five-year Plan should be stepped up to 40%. Important schemes for the distribution of improved seeds have been planned and it is proposed to open 400 State seed farms in Madras each about 25 acres in extent and fully equipped to serve as seed-store and seed-testing laboratory. Improved seeds of paddy, millet, ground-nut, cotton etc., on a large-scale will be available at the end of even the first three years of the Plan. The raising of paddy under Japanese method of cultivation has attracted considerable attention in the delta areas of the State. Intense manuring of the paddy crop is the most essential feature of this method apart from the use of good pedigree seeds and the planting of paddy seedlings in sufficiently spaced lines. Systematic interculture and top dressing with manure are also included in this method. It has been found that the yields in the deltas have considerably improved under the Japanese method. The most fundamental drawback in our paddy cultivation has been the lack of adequate manures. The use of Ammonium Sulphate has spread, but it has been found that green manuring gives excellent results under irrigated conditions. The Madras Agricultural Department have been doing intensive propaganda for popularising green manure from the forests to the cultivated areas

and there was also the problem of the absence of forests in the Delta areas. The Department, therefore, advocated the growing of "Sesbania" etc. along with paddy and quick-growing manure shrubs like "Glyricidia" on all the available spaces. This propaganda has had considerable success in the delta areas where there are no forests and where manure is not available in sufficient quantities. In fact there are many areas where after the harvest of paddy green manure (Sesbania, Kalingi etc.) is raised systematically on the entire fields and they are ploughed in at the subsequent paddy cultivation. The green manure plants become self-sown in subsequent years and provide adequate manure.

On the propaganda side, the Agricultural Department has made rapid strides, but the staff is still not adequate to cover the entire countryside, though valuable contacts have been established between the cultivators and the workers of the Agricultural Department. In the areas under Block Development and National Extension Service efforts have been made to remedy this defect but large numbers of trained personnel are still required. Agricultural Research stations in the State have done valuable work and the results of their efforts have to be put across to the cultivator so that he may profit by the results of research.

The aim of all agricultural research is to step up production by the evolution of better strains of plants, improved seeds, better irrigation facilities, intense manuring and satisfactory methods of plant protection. The Agricultural Department in Madras has been able to achieve a considerable amount of success in the State. More remains to be done.

Of late attention has been drawn to the Chinese methods of "collective farming" and food production. Different views have been expressed on the working of these "Agricultural Co-operatives" in China, but it is quite obvious that a certain measure of success has

been achieved by them. Whether this pattern is suitable for India conditions is a matter which is being actively discussed. It is alleged that compulsion had been used in the formation of these "co-operatives" in China and that there was regimentation of the Chinese ryots on a large-scale. It is undoubtedly true that no agriculturist will be willing to give up ownership of his land, however small it may be, in favour of collective ownership and cultivation. Even in the case of so-called "un-economic holdings" in our State, we see that by intensive cultivation the owner has been carrying on his avocation. The desire to enjoy the fruits of one's own labour is very strongly entrenched in the peasant. The opinion has been expressed that collective farming by itself cannot increase food production and there are other factors like an adequate return for the farmer by the fixation of remunerative prices. In China, the State is the sole buyer of agricultural produce at fixed prices.

It is, however, clear that to achieve better results co-operative organisations are invaluable and are necessary. We may very well

copy the Japanese methods of marketing, supply and distribution. Emphasis has been laid on provision of cheap credit to the farmer and ample facilities for the marketing of his produce by a net-work of multi-purpose co-operative societies. It should be our aim that at least one member of every family in a village should be a member of a co-operative society which caters to the agriculturist in some form or other. Compulsion is of course ruled out, but methods of persuasion are always available. It should be our aim to increase the various facilities which the co-operatives can render to the ryots so as to induce them to join these organisations on a voluntary basis. Even landless labourers could join such co-operative societies and better their prospects. The problem of food has to be attacked on various fronts and with the help and experience gained by other countries suitable schemes are being evolved. With the willing co-operation of the cultivators and the staff of various Government departments concerned it is to be expected that the targets under the Second Five-year Plan will be achieved successfully.

II

By Shri SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE food situation in India continues to cause anxiety. Heavy rainfall and floods in some parts of the country and in the mountain areas, very heavy fall of snow long before the normal time caused considerable harm to the crops this year. Subsequently, owing to lack of rain during the last two months, a drought resulted, more especially in Bihar, the Eastern Districts of Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and parts of West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay. On account of these calamities, the food situation deteriorated still further and partly imperilled even the next harvest. Although, there are at present adequate reserves

with Government to supplement the available foodgrains in the country, it is absolutely necessary to take special care from now in order to tide over the crisis next year. It is also essential to take special steps to conserve the existing stocks and avoid all kinds of waste in foodgrains. While there is no cause for alarm in the near future, we cannot afford to be complacent about the food situation. Adequate preparations will have to be made by the Union and State Governments as well as by the people in general to face the difficult period during 1958 with firm determination.

The All India Congress Committee, at its meeting on June 1, 1957 had passed a comprehensive resolution on the food situation, giving an 18-point programme for increasing agricultural production in the country. The Working Committee has again adopted a detailed resolution on the subject mentioning



various short-term and long-term steps which should be taken by the Government and the people in order to meet the difficult situation in a systematic and planned manner. Pointed attention has been drawn to the avoidance of all types of waste of foodgrains, particularly in the restaurants, hotels, feasts and banquets. It has also been pointed out that the consumption of rice in the wheat eating areas should be strictly restricted so that rice may be available in sufficient quantity in the rice eating areas. Organised attempts should be made to introduce substitute foods and to introduce balanced diets involving certain changes in the pattern of food consumption. The Working Committee has also suggested short-term crops like maize and some of the coarser grains should be cultivated wherever possible. Potatoes and bananas should be used as staple articles of diet. In order to ensure proper supply of water for these short-term crops, Kutch wells should be sunk through community labour or 'Shramdan' in different parts of the country. Usar and saline land should be used wherever possible for raising suitable crops in different areas.

The Working Committee has also suggested that various relief works which are started in drought areas should be specially related to agricultural production. Small schemes should

be encouraged and Village Panchayats should be put in charge of these schemes. The Community Development Blocks should take special interest in these small schemes for providing relief to the people. Instead of giving doles, every attempt should be made to undertake various schemes for providing employment to the people as also to increase agricultural production. Needless to point out that there should be the fullest coordination between official and non-official agencies. Targets should be set for short-term production in each village and wherever possible for each family. Attempts to hoard foodgrains should be effectively checked by the Government by educating public opinion. Lack of trees and the cutting down of forests has disturbed normal rainfall in different parts of India. It is, therefore, essential to preserve the forests and also to prepare schemes for large-scale afforestation.

In our anxiety to meet the difficult food situation in the country, we should not depend too much on imports of foodgrains from foreign countries. It is true that some imports will be necessary in order to tide over the crisis next year. But the import mentality must be discouraged; our main emphasis must be on self-reliance and achieving self-sufficiency in food within the country. To depend on the import of foodgrains at a time when the international situation is none too bright will not be an act of wisdom at all. That is why we have repeatedly been pointing out that self-sufficiency in food should be regarded as an integral part of national self-defence. A country which desires to preserve its political freedom can ill-afford to rely on foreign countries for its primary needs like food. We are sorry to find that, so far, too much attention has been paid to importing food from foreign countries whenever necessary. But, this approach must now be abandoned and the nation should be prepared psychologically to meet all contingencies by its own efforts for

increasing food production through various short-term and long-term methods.

It is unfortunate that the Agricultural Departments of various State Governments have not so far been able to achieve substantial results in the sphere of increasing food production in the country. The Community Projects and N.E.S. Blocks have, undoubtedly shown good results in the sphere. But the Agricultural Departments will have to be activated further in order to ensure better results in the future. The training imparted in agricultural schools and colleges also requires reorientation. More emphasis must be laid on imparting better practical training to the students so that they may set about their work in a more realistic manner. As has been suggested by the recent Asoka Mehta Committee Report, our aim should be that every Tehsil should have at least one Agricultural High School and that as far as possible, all ordinary secondary schools in rural areas should adopt the syllabus with agricultural bias prepared by the All India Council for Secondary Education. From this point of view, the spread of basic education in the rural areas would be of great practical value. The spread of ordinary schools in the countryside without any agricultural bias is, indeed, meaningless under the present circumstances.

The Asoka Mehta Committee Report has laid great emphasis on the need for standardising the price level by undertaking "buffer stock" operations, i.e., purchasing and selling foodgrains to keep prices at a reasonable level. The Committee has recommended the establishment of a Foodgrains Stabilisation Organisation for the purpose with an initial capital of about 100 crores. While the establishment of such an organisation will, undoubtedly, be beneficial for maintaining a reasonable price level, we should always remember that the main remedy lies in taking quicker and effective steps for increasing actual food production in the country. In areas which are very much affected by drought, it may be necessary to

meet the emergent situation. But such steps have only a temporary value; the real solution lies in planning for greater food production so that we are not only able to feed the growing population but also have an exportable surplus for importing capital goods.

The Asoka Mehta Committee Report has suggested that the increase of 10.3 million tons only during the Second Plan period would be feasible. But we agree with the Prime Minister that our target should continue to be 15.5 million ton fixed by the Planning Commission. If there is determined effort to raise food production both by the people and by the State Governments, we see no reason why India should not be able to register a substantial increase in her food production with the use of better techniques and with the more rational utilisation of the existing irrigational resources. It is necessary to develop a strong will for achieving self-sufficiency in food in India. A few years ago, the Prime Minister had categorically expressed the opinion that India must become self-sufficient in foodgrains. But, unfortunately, sufficient attention was not paid to this aspect of our economic planning. We must now regard this problem of greater food production as of crucial importance for the success of the Second Five-year Plan. We do hope that, with the concerted efforts of all concerned, success will be ours. If other countries have been able to succeed on the food front, there is no reason why India should lag behind.

THE PATRIOTS

Johnson and Savage were sometimes is such extreme indigence, that they could not pay for a lodging; so that they wandered together whole night in the streets He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that one might in particular, when Savage and he walked round St. James's square for want of lodging, they were not at all depressed by their situation; but in high spirits and brimful of patriotism, traversed the square for several hours, inveighed against the minister and "resolved they would stand by their country."

Human Rights

By

Sri PREM KIRPAL

THE idea of Human Rights has lived long as a dream of humanity. Down the course of centuries saints and poets, philosophers and statesmen, breaking away from the limitations of their narrow social environments, often felt and expressed the oneness of humanity in their thoughts and ideals. While living within the strict bounds of Tribal law and custom and caged in narrow parochial beliefs, the visionaries of all societies dreamt of humanity as one great family, whose freedom, dignity and worth needed to be recognised and protected by certain inalienable rights. It was more than 2500 years ago that the great Chinese Sage, Confucius predicted :

"When the Great Way prevails, all under heaven will become a Great Commonwealth."

This belief in a united mankind was reiterated by several others. In our own country the great Emperor Ashoka inscribed noble thoughts on rock and pillar to proclaim his vision of human rights. In the West these ideals found practical application in such famous constitutional documents as the Magna Carta and the American Bill of Rights.

With the signing of the United Nations Charter in 1945, for the first time in human history Human Rights became a matter of immediate practical concern to national governments as well as international organisations. In Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, the new World Organization was called upon to promote "universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms....." The Charter did not define the rights to be promoted.

It was left to a United Nations Commission, headed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to elaborate this resolve into a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted on

December 10, 1948, by the United Nations General Assembly meeting at the Plais Chaillot in Paris. The Declaration was a statement of principles and was not legally binding on member-states. It was to be followed by the formulation of an International Bill or Covenant of Human Rights.

The content of the Human Rights listed in the Universal Declaration is significant. There are thirty Articles covering civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Articles 1 and 2 state in very general terms that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and are entitled "to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language or religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

These general rights are followed by eighteen Articles embodying civil and political rights such as the right to life, liberty and security of person, freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence, freedom of movement, the right of asylum, the right to a nationality, rights relating to marriage, the right to own property, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, the right of association and of assembly, the right to take part in government and the right of equal access to public service.

The social and cultural rights defined in Articles 22 to 27 pertain to social security right to work, right to rest and leisure, right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being, the right to education and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. Article 28 recognises that every one is entitled to a social and international order

JANUARY 1958]

HUMAN RIGHTS

11

in which these rights and freedoms may be fully realised. The concluding Articles stress the duties and responsibilities which the individual owes to the community. This, in brief, is the content of the Declaration of Human Rights.

The General Assembly of the United Nations described the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms." The Assembly specially recommended that the governments of member-states use every means available to distribute and publicize the text of the Declaration and to have it explained in schools and other educational institutions.

This common standard of achievement for all peoples is being promoted not only by the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies, but by national governments and all the forces of culture and civilization which mould the life of man today. The General Assembly of the United Nations emphasized very rightly the overriding importance and value of teaching and education for promoting respect for the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Declaration. That is why Articles 26 and 27 concerning the right to education and participation in the cultural life of the community are of greatest importance.

Ultimately the sanction behind all rights must be the public opinion of the community which wishes to enjoy such rights. The Rights of Man will only be enforced universally and effectively when the public opinion of our times becomes more widely and more keenly conscious of the validity and integrity of an international community of peoples. The various organs of the United Nations, and especially the Commission on Human Rights can and do promote the acceptance of these rights, but the progress is necessarily slow and

on many questions of vital importance political and ideological obstacles sometimes become insuperable.

Among all the organs of the United Nations, UNESCO has to play a role of overriding importance in the promotion of Human Rights. Clause 2 of Article 26 says : "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."

Again, Clause 1 of Article 27 proclaims : "Every one has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits." It is this type of education which can promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all peoples and that broad and living culture which is not the monopoly of the few but the cherished right of all, that are the best means of spreading ideals enshrined in Human Rights and of guaranteeing their enforcement among all peoples of the world.

The signs of the times are, indeed, hopeful in spite of the deadly grip of an ideological conflict which continues to divide humanity. Already in the forum of the United Nations the conscience of mankind can and does assert itself whenever there is a flagrant violation of human right. At such moments even the influence of Great Powers wanes under the pressure of public opinion. This is the most heartening achievement of the United Nations and the strongest support of Human Rights.

In many ways India has contributed substantially to the development of Human Rights. The representatives of India in the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies have often been the foremost champions of Human Rights. The Constitution of India, with its

emphasis on justice, tolerance and equality which are the very basis of democracy, provides for the enforcement of almost all the Human Rights at the national level. The secular character of the State does not prevent the shaping of policies and measures deriving their inspiration from the spirit of true religion.

Much of the respect for Human Rights in our country today is, of course, due to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. In a letter written in May, 1947, to the Director-General of UNESCO, the Mahatma touched upon the very basis of Human Rights which is also the

ultimate condition of their successful enforcement.

He wrote: "I learnt from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved came from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement, perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of Man and Woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be a usurpation hardly worth fighting for."



Buddhism and Christianity

By

Prof. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

CHRISTIANITY arose out of one environment in Palestine and Buddhism arose out of another environment in India. The one inherited most of the leading ideas of the Jews, and the other inherited most of the leading ideas of the Hindus. In doctrinal matters, therefore, there is wide fundamental difference between the two religions. Yet curiously enough, in the ethical contents, in the rites and ceremonies, in the myths and legends that developed afterwards, in the organisation of the monastic order, there is striking similarity.

Christianity is based on the monotheistic Jewish conception of one God. It is born out of the Jews' belief in the coming of the Messiah; like the Jews it believes in the Soul theory, in the existence of heaven and hell, in Satan, in angels etc. Buddhism accepts the Hindu idea of the transmigration of the soul and *karma*, in the existence of numerous gods. It ignores the Soul theory, is silent on God, but preaches a new religion which is quite different from Hinduism. Christ also preaches a Gospel which is quite new. The personal

life and experience of the two prophets are also different. Christ was born of an humble family and had undergone hardship and persecution. Buddha was born a prince, was never persecuted and had lived long enough to see his faith flourishing.

In the course of the centuries following the birth of Buddha, legends began to grow. His religion began to change. The new religion had numerous adherents and it gave rise to an organised church. Buddha preached asceticism and the ascetic followers of Buddha formed monastic order. Rites and ceremonies, rules and regulations, formalities and superstitions began to grow. Christianity also developed in the same way and here in all these things we notice a striking similarity.

The myths connected with the birth of Buddha are similar to those relating to the birth of Jesus. In both the cases there was a divine annunciation, both to the father and to the mother of the child, and both the children were miraculously born, or virgin-born. "By

the consent of the king", says the *Lalita-Vistara*, "the Queen was permitted to lead the life of a maiden and not of a wife, for the space of thirty-two months."

Led by the star the Wisemen of the East went to Bethlehem and paid their homage to the infant Saviour. Led by the star, (identified by Colebrooke as Pushya) Asita went to Kapilavastu and paid his homage to the future Buddha. At Buddha's birth, "the blind received their sight as if from very longing to behold his glory; the deaf heard the noise; the dumb spake one with another; the crooked became straight; the lame walked; all prisoners were freed from bonds and chains." Similar unusual happenings took place at Jesus' birth. Both did miracles; both had twelve disciples. The temptation legends of both are similar. These, however, are stories which grew afterwards and we can possibly ignore them. Such events are told by the followers of all religions regarding their Masters.

The moral precepts taught by Gautama and Jesus are similar. To do good unto those who smite you, to love those who hate and persecute you, to relinquish the world for righteousness—these are the cardinal principles of Christianity and Buddhism. Both were impelled by the same missionary spirit. Both felt the same urge to preach the new truth amongst all without any restriction. Even the language is similar. Jesus said, "Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Gautama said, "Depart each man in a different direction, no two on the same road. Let each preach *Dharma* to all men without exception." Here also, it may be that great minds think alike and the similarity is accidental.

Jesus taught all moral precepts with the help of parables. Gautama in the *Jataka* stories tells parables, and teaches morality and wisdom to his disciples. There was nothing in Judaism which could have furnished Jesus with

a model for the parable-style but we find in the Buddhist books parables of exactly the same tone and the same character as the Gospel parables. We have evidence today that the *Jataka* stories had migrated to Syria, Arabia and to Europe and ultimately became the fable and folklore literature of Europe.

We, however, come to more sure and secure grounds when we reach Roman Catholicism as developed some one thousand years after Buddha. Most of their rites and ceremonies, the monastic order and the church organisation, even the cathedral building, indicate striking similarity.

The Christian baptism is similar to the Buddhist *abhisheka*. A Christian acknowledges the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost at baptism, while a Buddhist acknowledges Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

A Christian monk shaved his head (tonsure), put on the wide-sleeved loose and long vestment called the dalmatic, used a tall cap deeply cleft at top on the head (mitre), held a staff (crozier) on ceremonial occasions if he held an important position like that of a bishop, had his cope or pluvial. A Buddhist monk also had similar things. The Roman Catholics had the service in the church accompanied by singers, had processions chanting verses which the followers repeated (litanies), used to count prayers with beads in a string, sang psalms. The Buddhists also did the identical things. The Christian monks used to remain unmarried (celibacy), used to drive out evil spirit from persons by invocation of holy names (exorcism), made confessions, kept fasts, observed penance, worshipped saints, used flowers, lights and images before shrines and altars, had relic worship and lenten retirement from the world. The Buddhists also did the same thing. Against the background of the head of Jesus there is a round hallow called the aureole or nimbus. The Buddhists also have this round the head of Buddha. Corresponding to the Roman Catholic amulets, illuminated missal,

mass and requiems the Buddhists also had theirs.

The Roman Catholic church was highly organised. At the head was the Pope and there was a regular hierarchy. The Buddhist church was also equally well organised and it also had its counterparts in the Order. However, the Buddhist church was not as much centralised as the Roman Catholic church. The Roman Catholic church with its headquarters at Rome took the political organisation of the Roman Empire as the model. There is, however, no doubt that in structure and organisation both Buddhism and Christianity had strong resemblance.

Architecturally close resemblances exist between the Buddhist church and Roman Catholic cathedral. The Buddhist cave-temples built in the first century A.D. look almost like a Christian Church. One such cave-temple at Karle, near Poona, which stands even today in more or less good condition is described by Fergusson thus: "The building resembles to a great extent an early Christian Church in its arrangements, consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semidome, round which the aisle is carried...As a scale of comparison, it may be mentioned that its arrangements and dimensions are very similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, and of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, omitting the outer aisles in the latter building. Immediately under the semidome of the apse and nearly where the altar stands in Christian Churches is placed the Dagopa."

The first Roman Catholic Missionaries who went to Tibet and China were struck by the similarity and they had recorded their impressions. They thought that the Buddhist church had borrowed them from the Roman Catholic church. This, however, cannot be true. Unfortunately, historians had paid practically no attention to this question. At the present stage of our knowledge we do not really know

in which direction and through what channel, the ideas and institutions, common to both the religions, moved.

There is evidence that during the Maurya period regular intercourse between India and the West was maintained and the Buddhist missionaries sent by Asoka must have produced some effect. From European sources we know that there lived some peculiar sects like the Essenes in Palestine and the Therapeutics in Egypt whose ideas and customs betrayed strong Eastern influence. The Essenes observed celibacy, refused to participate in any sacrifice in the temple and lived like ascetics of the East. John the Baptist of whom little historically is known, is believed to have belonged to such a sect. Jesus was initiated by John and Jesus must have imbibed their ideas. One of the Wisemen of the East who paid homage to the infant Saviour at Bethlehem was an Indian prince, according to the Biblical tradition and one of the Apostles of Jesus came to India. The early Christians of India had regular intercourse with Palestine. They belonged to the Nestorian Church. From the writings of the early Church Fathers it appears that they knew more of Indian monasticism which must have influenced the early growth of Christian monasticism in Palestine and Egypt. We have mentioned that the *Jataka* stories had migrated to the West and influenced the fable literature of the West. Unfortunately, modern researchers have not gone very far into this question. The Christian church building was, it is believed, built on the basis of the old Roman basilica. This may be partly true, so far as the external side is concerned. Archaeologists, who have studied the Buddhist cave-temples of ancient India and also the early Christian cathedrals in the Middle East may be able to throw light on this question. It is also quite likely that Buddhism at a later stage was much influenced by Christianity. Not much, however, is known of this interesting subject.

A Romantic View of Flowers

By

SRI NARASINGA PATNAIK, B.A. B. Ed.

FLOWERS are pretty; nay, they are manifestations of spirit of beauty. Since beauty is truth, a gay flower is a symbol of purity and an emblem of freshness. He who creates it should have been marvellously beautiful. What is more enchanting than the malati creeper adorned with fair like blossoms? Who is more lovable than a flowering bower? Words cannot describe the joy of one who feasts his eyes gazing at the rose and breathing the perfume. Happy is he whose heart leaps with felicity when he sees the lily on a moonlit night. Who is not grieved to see the dying flowers?

All love the jasmine, irrespective of age and rank. All cherish flower scent. The lotus bestows inspiration on one who pursues poesy. Sprightly Champak blossoms add more beauty to the already beautiful hair of a maiden.

A bunch of Chrysanthemum is a more precious gift than any other thing. Though not valuable in terms of money, they are wealth. A smiling flower is a priceless gift which one can offer to Mahatma. This is the reason why flowers are regarded as the most sacred offerings on the altar of deity. In all holy functions and ceremonies they are profusely used, so chaste they look.

Shy buds and blooming flowers are woven into garlands for decoration, they are woven sometimes for admirations, and sometimes for transmitting messages of love. Children play with lovely flowers, priests worship with them, and lovers gather for their beauty and odour. The nocturnal winds woo the night-queen to ravish passion.

Wordsworth sees the daffodils by the side of a lake that stretch like a galaxy of stars in the sky. Charmed by their beauty, he gazes at the flowers. The memory of the daffodils

helps him to write the poem entitled "The Daffodils."

Robert Herrick is so sorry to see the short-life of the fair daffodils, that he desires that their life should be prolonged till the sun sets, and he compares human life to the daffodils. The comparison teaches us philosophy that human life is ephemeral. Life is shrouded in mystery. No one can tell where it goes after death.

An artist brushes flowers on a canvas. How does he succeed to depict the reality? He succeeds on account of his mystical approach to flowers: for the time being he sees nothing but the realm of flowers. His art reveals the link that connects all life, since all that exists springs from the same sources.

Flowers, are love. They are ever new. Outward petals fade and fall. But spirit of beauty ever manifests as flowers. Strange are its workings. He who has the vision can penetrate into the impenetrable. He who has heart can enjoy the jocund company of flowers. The flower beautiful is the true source of happiness. A mystic romance in a garden that is filled with sweet odours. He does understand the language in which flowers speak. It is sweet and sad. Perhaps they speak about weal and woe of the human life. He listens to it for a long time. When he comes away the words linger in his memory, long after they are heard no more. He who believes in the education of Nature believes that flowers are alive and he can hold communion with them. Thus you can learn much from them instead of always reading books.

All Nature is gay but all men are not happy, for some seek wealth that cannot give them true happiness. This makes life monotonous. Happy is he, who is a lover of lovable flowers and is guided by conscience and God!

The Case Against Segregation

By

Mr. WILLIAM H. HASTIE
(Judge Federal Court, U.S.A.)

IMPORTANT though we consider the rights of the individuals to fair procedure they are only part of the Government's obligation to respect civil liberties. There is another and distinct responsibility expressed in the constitutional mandate that the State shall afford all persons equal protection of the laws.

In one of its principal aspects this requirement is construed as prohibition against arbitrary distinctions in the Government's dealings with people on account of ancestry, or race or religion. The effective implementation of this general concept has been a continuing process. To a considerable extent this is because we have lived for a half century in the shadow of a disputed but persistent constitutional theory that, if a State has made physically equal provisions for various groups, it may at the same time require their separation in the enjoyment of those provisions.

Thus, it has long been argued that if equal seating facilities are provided for Caucasians (whites) and Negroes, for example, local Government may require that these groups occupy separate parts of a vehicle, or even separate coaches.

Similarly, in the use of public recreational areas it was thought constitutionally permissible to set aside separate times or places for use and enjoyment by different racial groups. The most pervasive application of this doctrine was in field of free public education. A minority of our States have long required that separate schools be provided for various population groups, White, Negro, American Indian, and occasionally others. The struggle to convince the courts that these various forms of State-enforced group segregation constituted denial or constitutionally guaranteed equal protection has covered half a century. It has been necessary to answer in many different situation the

persistent question: "Why cannot there be, in the legal view, both State-enforced group separation and equal treatment of the members of both groups?"

The course of that controversy over the years is itself a long and absorbing story. I shall not attempt to tell it now. However, the courts have finally come to certain rather definite conclusions. They have reasoned that our Constitution gives rights to people as individuals, not as groups or members of groups. Indeed, historically, the notion of dealing with and according rights of men as individuals rather than groups underlies our whole constitutionalism. It has also been established in social science that there are no inherent group characteristics or limitations or idiosyncrasies which warrant or justify State-imposed separation. At the same time it has come to be recognized that such State-enforced separation serves to stigmatize members of minority groups against whom it is enforced. Finally, particularly in the field of education we have found that the learning process itself and the preparation of the individual to live and compete in a multi-racial community are inhibited by segregated education. I state these conclusions as now established. However, it has taken more than formal legalism to make such assured statements possible.

Anthropologists, sociologists, professional educators and men in many fields of social science have contributed years of research and uncounted studies to the accumulation of persuasive and illuminating data which expose the fallacies of racial inferiority and inherent racial characteristics, which many have assumed ever since human slavery defaced our society. The end result of all this has been the recent clear pronouncement by our highest courts that the Government may not require persons to

JANUARY 1958]

THE CASE AGAINST SEGREGATION

17

be segregated by race in those activities which the Government itself sponsors.

Since this ruling is a matter of great current interest, it may be noted that the National Government has already complied with it fully. Segregation in public places and public institutions has been ended in the national capital and in the other areas which are under the control of the Central Government. The same is true with reference to the organization of the armed forces and other establishments under the Central Government. Most of the States have also complied with the constitutional mandate. But as this is written in 1956, a minority of the States have failed to comply.

The problem of proper and effective procedures to bring about compliance on the part of these recalcitrant local Governments is a matter for grave concern in America today. But even as we work through this difficult period of change, with its sensational episodes of inexcusable local defiance of law for the time being, it is noteworthy that people even in the centres of resistance are heard to concede privately that it is only a question of time before these local Governments will have to get in step with the rest of the country and abandon their rules of segregation. It is a tragedy that this struggle has been so long drawn out. It is notable that the fight is being won within the framework of our constitutional structure and political institutions.

The spectacle of the unseemly lag between the national pronouncement of what local Governments must do and State acceptance of the declared obligation in practice is indicative of one feature of our federalism in the United States which may deserve special comment.

We think of our individual and component States as sovereign to a far greater extent than local autonomy is recognized in most federated nations. In legal contemplation and in personal attachment each of us is a citizen of a State as well as a citizen of the United States. At times the local tie tends to be overemphasized at the expense of the national attachment. there is a historic reason for this.

Our nation came into existence as a voluntary confederation of 13 small independent States, each a nation in itself. The loyalties and adherences of people to the State had seniority in time as well as the intimacy of localism and provincialism in a frontier society. People were accustomed to thinking of themselves as loyal citizens of New York or Pennsylvania or Virginia long before they became accustomed to thinking of themselves as citizens of the United States. Moreover, the National Government exercises only such authority as the States have seen fit to give it, either by ratifying the original Constitution or by approving subsequent amendments to that basic law. True, the national authority is the supreme and paramount authority in its field. But it does not extend to many subjects over which the States have reserved control from our national beginnings. All of this makes people tend to emphasize, often to over-emphasize, State autonomy. And people accustomed to thinking in terms of States' rights, are likely to exaggerate them in time of controversy. This is, I believe, in large part the explanation, though certainly not a justification, of the resistance a minority our States have interposed to the national mandate that they discontinue traditional sanctions of racial segregation.

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Ancient Literature And Modern Thought

By
"KRITTIKA"

"THE child is father of the Man," wrote Wordsworth. The truth of this statement is revealed to us in our Vedas. Here we find the earliest thoughts in the mind of Man—the mind of Man while it was yet a child. If we desire to know how Man felt when he first became aware of this world, the Rig Veda should be our study. Here, we sense the first exultation of joy that filled the Aryan heart at the revelation of Nature's wonders. The sun, the moon, the stars, the very air he breathed, these thrilled him and he burst forth in praise of them. Later mythology grew, so did rituals, sacrifices and the Hindu pantheon. Yet, in the Rig Veda, an ancient chapter of the history of the human mind is preserved to us. For, as time passed, from mere adoration of the objective, the Vedas gave way to subjective, and contemplative thought on nature of the origin of Being. The Samhitas, the Brahmanas and later the Upanishads, reveal to us the Aryan struggle to reach the Oneness of the Universe. Thus the Vedas are all absorbing. The Aryan, amidst conditions that made man's life on earth a paradise, made poetry as well as philosophy. And such is the power of the Vedas, that even today, any scholar who wishes to make a serious study of our social, religious or philosophical problems, goes to the Vedas, the source of all Hindu thought.

The thinkers of the Indian Renaissance period (roughly the Gupta age) felt the same urge to investigate the beginning of thought. To the Vedas, therefore, they went, to seek advice on every kind of social, ethical or religious teaching. After centuries of preceding darkness India felt the need to seek for moral guidance at the original source. And what did they not draw from the Vedas? The Puranas, the Itihasas and the Epics are permeated with Vedic thought. The Dharma Sastras, sutras and treatises merely explained, paraphrased or analysed the Upanishads. These

accomplished the education of the whole Indian people, which has made them from the standpoint of character and culture, the most educated race in the world. The literature, prose and poetry of the Renaissance were by no means exempt from Vedic influences. Kalidasa, Dandin, Bana, Bhasa and Bhavabhuti took their original ideas from Vedic mythology as much as Panini, Patanjali, Vasishta, Baudhayana and Abastamba did their grammar, ethics and philosophy. It is beyond my scope here to comment on the Sutras. Nor can I say much about the lyrical beauty of the renaissance poetry. Of Kalidasa's imagery, Bana's rhetoric or Dandin's elegance, much cannot be said. Suffice it to say that the renaissance poets, with an expressive sweetness peculiarly their own, gave us a more comprehensive idea of the universal and human interest in the Vedas. Their poetry and philosophy give us a unique feeling of a fuller inner life than other civilised nations have today.

If we, Indians today, can learn something from the past, then the aeons of thought that have gone into the making of our human philosophy would not have been in vain. How should we look on all that has gone before us? How should we regard the great characters of our classical Puranas and Epics? How must we learn even as Nachiketa did from the lips of Yama himself? The well-known giants as well as the little known characters, that stride across our classical literature can be taken and reconstructed to suit our own imagination. We can take any character at random. Let us take Rama, a hero of gigantic stature, Nalayini, a little known Pathivratha and Harischandra the speaker of truth. Let us take them; let us lift them from their Pauranic setting and after embodying them into modern thought see how they act. We shall regard them as ordinary human beings

JANUARY 1958]

ANCIENT LITERATURE AND MODERN THOUGHT

19

even as Valmiki does. We shall also place them in circumstances of pain, peril and despair as our classical poets did, but endow them with that delicacy, that sensitivity which lends modern prose its limpid quality.

The necessity for creative individuals as well as societies to withdraw within themselves in order to reach a higher spiritual level has been well brought out by Professor Toynbee. Such a voluntary withdrawal was Rama's exile into the forest for fourteen years. Valmiki is like modern writers. Like them he dismisses Rama's birth, growth and marriage swiftly in a single book. He recognises that Rama has hardly begun to experience life and that his mental growth is still in an embryonic state. Like Shaw in his *Methuselah*, Valmiki gives his heroes a long period for growth. In the second book of this great epic, we can see that Rama's exile is voluntary, in spite of the old King and his promises. During the fourteen years that follow Rama meditates, withdrawing within himself and preparing himself for action on a newer and higher plane. At that stage Sita is introduced by Valmiki merely as a love interest, the old sage's main concern being the development of Man's inner psychic powers. Then Rama grew up. The reflective and passive period was over.

It was time to conquer, time to kill and rule. A brilliant battle follows, where the pent up energy of the prince hero is utilised. Then comes the throne, wealth and peace. The prince attained world-wide renown as Rama of Ramarajya. Into the society from which he sprang, he sought to impart his experiences during his period of growth and withdrawal. Thus Rama's character interpreted as an interlude in terms of growth in the mind of Man can flower anew to greater heights. His withdrawal and the consequent realisation of his own psychic powers can bring out afresh the progress of Man's life on earth.

Let us now look at, Harischandra, another Pauranic character. He is a scion of the same

solar dynasty as Rama. Like him he too has potential qualities of great inner strength. In modern literature, he could be depicted as a character that struggles hard to come to terms with truth. What is truth? It is older than all the opinions we have of it and therefore unshakeable. Still the inner aversion to truth is strong in Man. He does not face it easily; he is embarrassed by it and hence conceives a moral enmity towards it, for it reproves him for his faults. Man would therefore prefer to destroy it. Viswamitra tries his best to make Harischandra destroy it, by confronting him with ordinary human weaknesses—love for wife and child, and desire for human sympathy. How magnificently the King struggles! How courageous is his ultimate decision! For cling to truth he would. He acknowledged his unconquerable yearning for human love and happiness. Realising it, he decided to die rather than belie something which he had recognised as a true human failing. The crux of the argument in the story lies in this. Made out thus as a person who determines in the end to die, having faced the truth that he cannot live without the hope of happiness, Harischandra stands out as a character whom Fry, Eliot, Gide or Gabriel Marcel could use.

Lastly, I shall take Nalayini, a Pathivratha, whose story occurs in the Mahabharata. Let us see how the moderns can make use of her. It is usual to regard the women in Sanskrit literature as frail, loveable but essentially pale and insipid characters. Yet if we look at Nalayini with modern eyes, she appears to be a well-defined character and a passionate woman. Her idea of aesthetic enjoyment is as delicate as any of us could wish. Nalayini's loving service and patient waiting are at last rewarded and her husband pleased with her devotion grants her a boon. This Maudgalya is a famous Rishi and capable of fulfilling unusual requests. Nalayini begs him to live with her in great happiness for endless years. This he grants. But she is not content with that.

She specifies the mode and manner of living. She asks that her husband make love to her in five different forms or incarnations. Thus he is the mountain and she the nestling river winding round it; he is the tree and she the loving creeper entwined around him; and so on. One look at any Kangra painting and we

shall see reflected in it the deep passion, and the delicate love-making of these two forest dwellers. Nalayini, in her longing for love is an intense and as moving as any Greek heroine.

Thus in antiquity, one can discover the real, which however new it may seem is yet the oldest, being the eternal verity.

Experiments in Land Reform in other countries

By

Dr. A. N. KHUSRO

IF we use the term land reforms in the broad sense of agrarian reorganization we discover several important aspects of land reforms. There is first the question of eliminating from power and influence the intermediary, the absentee landlord, whose sole business is to collect rents or revenues from the tillers and who has hardly anything to do with the efficiency of farming.

Then there is the crucial matter of making the tenant a permanent occupant of the land and giving him rights of ownership, so that with security and the sense of possession he may have more incentive to adopt better methods, and undertake a large investment activity. Again, in countries where the population is large and land relatively small there is the question of putting a ceiling, an upper limit, to the individual holding of land so that the surplus land, thus obtained, may be given to the landless, land-hungry people or may be used to boost up the petty, miserably uneconomic holdings of small farmers.

Then, in many countries, there is a problem of consolidating the fragmented holding to avoid wastage, reduce costs and increase output. And on top of all this, there is a major

issue, namely, whether individual petty farmers may not be merged into a co-operative organization for the sake of better operational efficiency.

Now various countries of the world have blazed the path of land reforms and undertaken some or all of these programmes with different degrees of enthusiasm and achieved different amount of success with very different costs in terms of sweat and blood. We have time only to take a quick look at a few cases some of which we may emulate and some of which only show us how not to undertake land reforms.

The largest and the most sweeping programme of land reforms was undertaken by the Soviet Union during the 1920's and the 1930's, particularly during their first and second Five-year Plans. It was a programme which more or less completely repudiated the past, abolished private property in land and merged the farmers into collective farms.

Before the Russian Revolution of 1917, 41 per cent of total arable land was the property of the big landlords, nobles, the Church or the Crown and another 22 per cent was with large peasants called the Kulaks. The wrath of the

State was directed against these groups, their lands confiscated together with farm buildings, machines, tools and livestock, and distributed among humbler peasants.

These peasants, partly by persuasion, partly by coercion, were merged into Kolkhozy or collective farms. Such collectives the Russians thought, would get the advantages of large-scale farming. Moreover, it would be easier for the State to collect surplus grain from a few thousand collectives rather than from so many million small peasants.

But then the severity of Russian methods was such that in the period of transition from an individual-peasant-economy to a collective economy a great deal of damage was done. Those who enforced collectivization had ideology above every things, and, a Russian novelist thus interprets their ways of thinking: "We must beat the idea of property out of man, just as dust is beaten out of a mattress... we must talk to him (the Kulak) the language of guns and dynamite every farm together with its builder."

And if the peasant resists joining the Kolkhoze, "Hit him on the head and make him see too many stars to bother us overmuch. Have no pity, life hasn't any." To such severe methods the peasants, particularly the larger ones, offered tooth-and-nail resistance. They burnt their grain rather than deliver it to the Government; they reduced their sown areas, raised smaller crops than before, concealed the produce, slaughtered their livestock, thereby reducing surpluses and jeopardising the programme of national planning and construction.

And even after the period of transition was over, the rigidities of collective organization seem to have led to a situation where the Russians did not get all the results they had expected. Costs of cultivation have been very high, managerial and supervisory costs even higher, and the output has not risen proportionately to the intensification of capital and

effort. The Russian leadership itself is critical of the achievement, though it is not to be denied that agrarian reorganization has changed the face of the countryside and has brought vast benefits to rural populations.

So in Russia they had agrarian reorganization with tears. The Russian experience does not provide us in India a model which we might generally emulate. Rather, it highlights many a pitfall in any sweeping agrarian programme coupled with force. It shows us what we must avoid at home.

Unlike the Russians, we must enlist the active co-operation of the peasant and give him a sense of security and possession. Even when we ask him to merge his lands into a co-operative farm, persuasion rather than force should be our way. And after such a merger we must make sure that we do not destroy the incentive on the part of the peasant.

While the Russian experience teaches us many negative lessons, what happened in China recently is of more positive value. The Chinese, like us, had the problem of vast population, a relative shortage of land, tiny land-holdings scattered into fragments, and generally inefficient agriculture.

There was an obnoxious maldistribution of land a mere 3 per cent of families of absentee landlords owning some 26 per cent of the total acreage, charging their poor tenants high rents which varied between 50 and 80 per cent of the total produce, and some of them perpetrating unbelievable atrocities. At the other end of the scale some 68 per cent of the total Chinese families were of poor peasants groaning under the burden of debt and owning only 22 per cent of total land.

Mao Tse-Tung's Government set about correcting these deep-rooted evils in a thorough-going fashion. Those absentee landlords who maintained themselves exclusively by exploitation and rent-receiving, were completely dispossessed, their lands, their draught animals,

implements, surplus grain etc., were confiscated without any compensation and only a small bit of land was left with them to maintain themselves.

The land so obtained from the landlords was given to poor peasants. In general, every agricultural family in the village found itself in possession of land, although often a very tiny bit. The new Chinese law not only defined rigorously who a cultivator was but also took care that, by and large, no one in a village possessed land more than double the average holding. A virtual ceiling was thus imposed on land-holdings.

Here, obviously, there are quite a few lessons for us to learn. We in India may not agree with the Chinese way of unceremoniously putting down the absentee landlords. We may not regard all landlords as 'haves' and all tenants as 'have-nots' all landlords as members of the bourgeoisie and all tenants as proletarians. When we dispossess a landlord we might like to give compensation: we may even allow the landlord the right to resume the land from the tenant for personal cultivation.

But these concessions to the land-owners in the context of our country would not have done any harm had we followed the other more rational Chinese practices. Had we defined the agriculturist more rigorously and fixed a proper ceiling to landholdings, as they did in China, we would not have had the sorry spectacle of all kinds of queer absentees passing as genuine cultivators and resuming from their tenants vast tracts of lands thus causing large eviction of tenants and dodging the real spirit of land reform.

But the Chinese land reforms programme did not stop with land re-distribution. They went ahead to establish mutual aid teams of villagers to undertake jointly the activities necessary on the farms of later, so to speak, up-graded these teams into farming co-operatives. At first these were co-operatives of the 'elementary' type but later were converted into those of the 'advanced' type where there is payment only for work and no payment for the ownership of land. Together with the extension of the frontiers of co-operative farming, the Chinese Government carried on a programme of providing better seeds, manure, implements and other facilities to raise the yield of land.

In the Eastern European countries too extensive land reforms were undertaken after the Second World War. There also pattern of reforms was removing the absentee landlord from the picture, giving the land by legal decree to the tiller, fixing ceilings on land-holdings, and gradually persuading or squeezing the peasantry into joining the collectives or co-operative farms. Here too there have been frictions and increases in productivity do not appear to be consistent with efforts.

The organization of co-operative and collective farms still has many loose ends and hence often the yield of these farms, as the Polish Leader Gomulka officially announced last year, are lower than those of private farms. A lot of re-thinking and heart-searching has been going on on the question of reducing bureaucratic inefficiencies and lessening State interference, though the fundamental idea of co-operation does not seem to be in question.

Over-Specialised Graduates

By

Mr. ARVIND MALAVIYA

SOMETIME back, the late Dr. Amar Nath Jha, Chairman of Bihar Public Service Commission, remarked, in a speech, that the need of hour of University Education in India today was not so much specialisation but pluralisation. Our graduates, Dr. Jha said, were tempted towards specialisation at a very early stage when they are, more or less, immature mentally, so much so that very often they are sorely ignorant of even the most common thing or phenomenon happening around. The mad race towards technical courses today appears very often to be rather too lop-sided and imbalanced.

In the context of the present economic and political conditions obtaining in our country remark of Dr. Jha may appear to many to be rather paradoxical and odd. But it surely deserves attention and sympathetic consideration. The need for Technical education cannot, of course, be over-emphasised. It surely is the need of the hour; but to neglect General Education at its expense can also prove hazardous. General Education, undoubtedly, may be less fruitful today but it has its own place in modern life and its value cannot be denied on any ground.

The University Education Commission (1948-49) had recommended that "without unnecessary delay the principles and practice of General Education be introduced, so as to correct the extreme specialisation which now is common in our intermediate and degree programmes: that the relations of general and specialised education be worked out for each field, keeping in mind the general interests of the student as a personality and a citizen, and his special occupational interest." The Commission has further recommended that General Education should continue into the "more mature years of the student's life" and should "aim at making him familiar with his physical and social environments, and with human institutions, aspirations and ideals."

The Study Team on General Education of the Government of India, Ministry of Educa-

tion, also has recently made important observations and has suggested several measures to be taken to remove the imbalance in our present-day education. According to the Study Team the object of the General Education is to remedy the lack of balance and undue specialisation which characterise the courses in Colleges at present with the result that students who study natural science are usually ignorant of the broad issues and basic ideas pertaining to social, economic and cultural life; and those who study humanities or social sciences know little or nothing of natural sciences, or about their impact on present-day life and their contribution to techniques of modern thinking and living. It is, therefore, necessary that General Education should cover the basic elements in the three broad fields of humanities, social sciences and natural sciences.

Specialisation undoubtedly is a great need of the modern society, especially for us in India where much remains to be done to make us technically and industrially advanced. No country in this era of scientific domination can afford to remain technically or industrially backward. At the same time, in our zeal for specialisation we should remember that a balance and a background of broad understanding has to be maintained so that the quality of a specialist's work may be raised.

According to our scriptures education in its correct form is "*Jnanam Vijnana Sahitam*" (Art and Science together); its academic value is as important as its economic value—*Arthakari ka vidya?* (What an education without economic gains?) Due importance, therefore, should be given priority but Art cannot be neglected at any cost. Education should "not only train the intellect," as Dr. Radhakrishnan says, but also "bring grace into the heart of man." Wisdom—the supreme aim and the *sumum bonum* of life and education—is gained more easily through the study of literature, philosophy and religion, suggests Dr. Radhakrishnan. He is quite apt in predicting that "mental slums are more dangerous to mankind than material slums."

Dhruvapada and its Musical structure

BY

Dr. D. G. VYAS

DHRUVAPADA undoubtedly occupies the highest place in the field of Hindustani music. Even today, when it is not so much in vogue and the number of really eminent Dhruvapada singers is very small, it is in fact Dhruvapada which provides the basic structure for the growth and development of Classical music.

Dhruvapada is a mode of singing in conformity with its poetical composition and musical artistry. Composition and execution are two sides of Indian music, and the development of the music depends upon a balanced and parallel growth of both.

Composition is an important aspect of music. It means elaboration, out of the basic elements, of a music form and also construction of a song with wordings. Prabandha is the term, used for it in music treatises, and this conveys the full import of a composition. It is made up of a certain number of parts or divisions and of all the elements of music such as Swaras, Chanda, Tala, Laya, etc.

Prabandha (which might be called the fore-runner of Dhruvad) as described in Sharangdeva's "Sangeet Ratnakar" consists of four parts—"Udgraha", "Melapaka", "Dhruva" and "Abhoga." The definition also provides for the fifth "Antara" between "Dhruva" and "Abhoga." The sequential order and function of each part are clearly indicated.

The current Dhruvapada consists of four parts—"Sthayi", "Antara", "Sanchari" and "Abhoga." The affinity between the two is not a mere coincidence. It is suggestive of a link and of the continuity of a tradition.

The origin of the modern Dhruvapada has not yet been traced with certainty. Raja Mansingh of Gwalior-(15th Century A.D.) is credited with giving it great impetus.

A word about the role of the composer. In music treatises, the composer is named as Vaggeyakara and his role is also defined in detail. A century and a half after Gopal Nayak, starts the golden period of the Classical music. This was the memorable age of Vaggeykaras (composers).

Many Vaggeyakaras are known to have flourished within a period of over 300 years, since the beginning of the 15th century A.D. A few were princes. Several were attached to court. The court of Akbar was noted for the galaxy of Dhruvapada singers and Vaggeyakaras associated with it. Several others were connected with the temple of the Vaishnavite sects. The well-known names are referred to today as musicians, but it should be pointed out that most of them were Vaggeyakaras and not merely executants.

Gwalior, Brindban and other places in Brij and the Court of Akbar were strongholds of Dhruvapada. Swami Haridas, Tansen, Ramdas, Baiju, Bakshu, Soordas, Gowindswami and several others were composers of Dhruvapada. The songs of devotee—Vaggeyakaras like Ballabhacharya, Soordas and his contemporaries Ashtachhap poets of the Pushtimarga, are known as Keertanas. This is a misunderstanding. The Keertana denotes the content and not any different or inferior form of composition. Keertanas are Dhruvapadas in every respect—in the matter of composition—Raga, Chhanda, Kavita, Tala and the style of singing. The only difference is in the way of singing which was determined by the requirements of worship. If the arbitrary line of demarcation between the court and the temple is abolished, the available Dhruvapada-type compositions if pooled together from the two sources will form a very precious music heritage.

Alap is an integral part of a Dhruvapada recital. The rendering ranges from the analysis of the constituents and structural elements of Raga to the elaborate exposition of its form and composition, with a profusion of graces and ornamental phases. The order of the Dhruvapada singing, which is prevalent since early times, starts with Alap.

The shape of Dhruvapada, as a music composition, is moulded by the Tala to which it is set. The Talas of Dhruvapada are the Pakhawaj Talas such as Chautal, Jhap, Shulfak, Roopak, etc, and therefore, Dhruvapadas have to be sung to the accompaniment of the Pakhawaj. Dhamar should also be regarded as a variation of Dhruvapada.

Dhruvapada also becomes a poetic composition. The process is that the Kavita (poetic composition) is embedded in the frame-work

of music made up of the Chhand, Tala and Raga. The cardinal principle by which it is governed is that poetry should be in harmony with melody. The motif of poetry, in most cases, is devotion. The bhavas of Sringara in reference to the divine couple—Krishna and Radha and of the various types of Nayika are reflected in a large variety of Dhruvapadas.

And then Dhruvapada as a distinct mode of singing has certain characteristics. These are correct intonation and pronunciation, abundance of Gamakas, strict adherence to the Tala and initially to the original Laya followed by variegated rhythmic patterns within the frame of the same Tala. Dhruvapada is further distinguished by its four Banis: Gobhar, Khandhar, Dagur and Navarhar. These are peculiarities of singing and do not indicate any fundamental changes in the style or form of a composition.

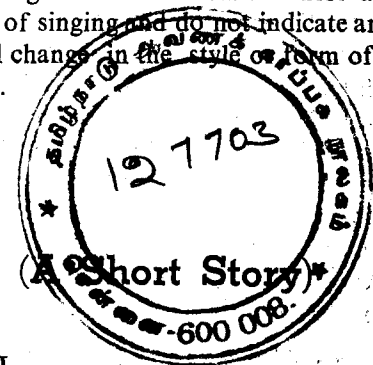
The Wayside Tragedienne (A Short Story)

By

Sri S. Y. KRISHNASWAMI

ONE evening as I was returning home from the college on my bicycle, I saw a sight that evoked my pity. An old lady was seated or rather sprawled near a grave and she was crying in deep long wails, like some animals do when they are consumed with the pain of separation. It is difficult for one person to enter the citadel of another's grief and it is awkward and rude to break into the flow of sorrow that swells in the heart and runs like a tortuous and turbid stream through an ever widening volume of painful consciousness. I almost left the old lady to the privacy of her grief but something held me back and I lingered. I was also panting from the exertion of pedalling against the wind and so I dismount-

ed and started to walk leisurely, leading the bicycle with one hand. The old lady was perhaps about sixty, but almost everyone looked incredibly old to me then, and I may have grossly misjudged her years. She was wearing a tattered cotton saree, and had sunken eyes and a dark brown skin that glistened in the sun. Her face was small and looked as if it was the repository of all the sorrows of the universe. She did not turn aside to look at me; one of her hands was extended towards the grave and she was looking nowhere, and was crying steadily, not even uttering words such as people usually do when they bemoan the loss of some particular person.



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I made a decision. I stopped and approached her. When I was quite near she turned her face but it appeared that she took no interest in me nor was curious about the strange young men standing nearby. I thus stood in an embarrassed silence for a few minutes and at length mustered sufficient courage to ask her why she was weeping by the grave. She did not answer at once, but my question had the effect of stemming the tide of her tears. She wiped her eyes with the hem of her saree and said "I am crying out my suffering. No one can cure it but tears come as a relief while they flow." I cannot say that I was greatly touched by all this, and I was more inquisitive than condolent, but having started to find out what it was about, something within me urged me to go on. I therefore continued my questions. "What is the cause of your sorrow! Have you lost someone?" Now she turned towards me and crossed her legs. She said "You are young and cannot know what it is to grieve over the loss of those whom you loved. But you are sympathetic and I shall tell you my story." And she began to unfold her tale in slow and broken words.

The narration had a dreamlike quality. The noise of the city came like a dim echo from afar. A faint salt breeze was blowing from the sea. The sun had slanted in the west but had not lost its sting, and whenever the breeze from the east was lulled, the sun hit hard and one flinched. The sad monotone of the old woman's story droned in relief against this background.

"We belonged" she said "to a village a day's walk from the city. We were poor but owned a small parcel of land and a house and lived a precarious life." Her husband died several years ago when her son was a child. She lived separately in her own house, but her husband's brother looked after the cultivation and helped in bringing up her son. The boy was sturdy and a worthy man behind the

plough. He took to cultivation as soon as he was able and she had no thought but that he should soon marry and that she should see her grandchildren playing at her feet in her old age. But for three years running the rains failed. There was no food for men, no fodder for cattle and no wages to be earned. At first they mortgaged their land for a small sum. Then they sold the bullocks. Things went from bad to worse. Interest on the mortgage mounted and the land was sold. One day her son came up to her and said that he was leaving for the city to seek employment. It was not easy for her to part from him or for him to part from the land, but there was no alternative. So he went to the city and left her behind. For a few months she heard nothing from him. Then one evening, as she was sitting idly in front of her cottage, the son of a neighbour, who had also gone to the city, brought her news. Her son was well. He had joined a team of people who transported heavy goods from the harbour to godowns. They hired carts, piled them up with goods, and four of them plied one cart—two pulling in front and two pushing from behind. Her son sent her money and promised to send more. She wept at this news, that her son, a good farmer and the son of generations of farmers should have become reduced to the level of an animal but consoled herself with the thought that he was not going hungry.

Several months passed by. She was anxious to leave the village and go and stay with her son in the city. She wanted to write to him but did not know his address. Then one day, when she was almost at the end of her tether, her neighbour turned up once again. He said that her son had gone to Burma with a contingent of workers. Burma was a land of plenty and he would come back with sufficient money to buy back the land and start farming again. He sent her money, much more than on the previous occasion and she did not know whether to laugh or to cry. She resigned herself

to a long period of waiting, dreamt of her son every now and then, and lived in hope.

A year or more passed in this way. One day seemed much like another. Occasionally it would occur to her that perhaps she would never see her son again. A spasm of pain would shoot through her at this thought, followed by an enveloping weakness, but the hope of seeing her son kept her alive. Then the blow fell, like thunder falls on a cocoanut tree. There was no post office in her village and letters came once a week from an office in another village which was bigger than hers, about five miles away. The sun had not yet reached meridian and she had not taken her day's meal when the postman came and asked her whether she had a son called by such and such a name. She was unnerved to the point of speechlessness and merely nodded at the postman. Her hopes revived somewhat when the postman said that there was a money order for her but they were again dashed to the ground when he took her thumb impression, tore off a strip of paper and read out to her the news that her son was back in the city, was very ill and was in the hospital. She was to go to him with the least possible delay.

"I think I ate a little food" said the old lady, "but I am not sure. I moved like a marionette. A number of villagers gathered round and expressed their sympathy but there was little that they could do. I had money enough for the bus fare to the city and a little over. Some one escorted me to the bus stand and the Karnam of the village gave me a piece of paper on which directions were written to enable me to proceed to the hospital from the bus terminus in the city. I showed the slip to the conductor of the bus and he promised to see that I reached the hospital safely. It seemed to me hours before I entered the hospital gates. After a great deal of trouble, and being driven from one place to another, I managed to discover the particular ward where my son was an in-patient. He was

unrecognizable, wasted to a dry stick. His eyes were sunk as if in a well and, clad in a red hospital cloth, he was lying on an iron cot. There were several other patients in that room. One look at him was sufficient for my old and experienced eyes. He was dying. I could not weep, but sat by his side and mechanically stroked his head. He was fully conscious and told me the story of his life in Burma.

It would appear that at first all went well. He found employment, along with a number of others, in an estate which contained forests and fields. During the early weeks of his stay they were busy harvesting rice and storing it. Later he worked as a lumberman. Pay was good, food was plentiful, and he commenced to save. One evening as he was returning from work he felt a curious shiver all over, and in a few minutes he was in bed with a raging fever. He was given a bitter white powder to swallow. The fever subsided after three days but left him weak, and he could not manage heavy manual work. From there on it was a continuous fall, stage by stage, fever and weakness, weakness and fever, one following the other in increasingly frequent succession. Finally he was paid a week's wages and dismissed. He came back with a little money but most of it was gone by the time I saw him.

"He did not know he was dying" she continued. No one had told him that there was no resistance left in his body. He talked to me of the village and of buying back the land even asked me if the price of bullocks had gone up. I kept up the pretence and we hatched plans for the future. And then he died." She made a noise as if she would choke and remained silent, staring, as before, at vacancy.

I was deeply touched. As the old lady had herself remarked, I had no experience of tragedy or sorrow except what I had read in books or heard from my parents, and her simple story of a perhaps all too common happening in life turned my knees to water and

brought out a burst of perspiration. I gave her what little money I had in my possession, and just as I had been eager to listen to her tale earlier, I was, at the end of her story, unaccountably anxious to run away and forget the experience. I left her and jumped on my bicycle and started pedalling furiously. The wind was on my face and the faster I pedalled, the more furiously it obstructed my pace. It practically butted me like a fighting ram. I did not mention the incident to any one. I felt that it was like a secret shared in guilt. Fortunately my age and my preoccupation with my lessons came to my rescue and the incident left no lasting impression.

Several months later, as I was pedalling along the same road from the college, avoiding as I often did, the beach road because the breeze was stronger there and cycling more difficult, I was startled to see the old lady talking to an old man. They were walking in front and she was doing all the talking. She said

"Nothing happened today. No one turned up except those whom we know. I must have cried on twelve separate occasions and every time I cry I cannot start crying but I have to be in midstream right from the beginning. It would be easier to beg in front of the temple or go along the streets asking for food at nights, but you won't listen."

I was startled but I was also ashamed to show myself as a witness to this revelation. I passed them by in a flash. She was made of the same stuff as Sarah Bernhardt, the great Duse, Sybil Thorndike, Ellen Terry and other tragediennes who have stimulated grief on the stage and softened the mind of man by the verisimilitude of their portrayal. How many more simple and moving tragedies did she have in her repertoire? I wish I knew what a perversity of fate had decreed that such a noble and rare gift should be wasted on a wayside grave on the edge of a cemetery?

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The Vice-President and the President of U.S.A.

WORLD OF BOOKS

TOWARDS PEACE AND BETTER UNDERSTANDING: Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi.

These reprints are statements and communiqués issued by Prime Minister Nehru from June 1954 to July 1955 and are intended to enunciate the *Panch Shila* and define the directive principles of India's foreign policy. They include joint statements made with the Prime Ministers of China, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Yugoslavia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, Egypt, Cambodia, Russia and Poland. As set out in one of them, the objective is international peace and understanding and the methods, close contacts and frequent consultations on important matters of international interest and of mutual concern. All, who have at heart world peace and security, must read and re-read these statements.

THE LIFE WE PRIZE: By Elton Trueblood, published by Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York.

This is really a magnificent piece of writing. Professor Trueblood, who has many books on current problems to his credit, has excelled himself in this profound study. His thesis is that material prosperity is good but it can be bought at too great a price, if it involves spiritual death. His aphorisms are full of meaning, as for example, "It is silly to suggest that money is unimportant, because it can be a means of untold good, but it is equally silly to suppose that the mere possession of money brings any person a good life" (page 48). The three possibilities of a Soviet victory, a Western victory and a stalemate are equally horrible, because a Soviet victory with the loss of all that one holds dear in liberal philosophy, and a stalemate with the decline of most of what we call civilization, in an atmosphere of permanent fear, hatred and poverty for all, spell only disaster. The third alternative of a Western victory may turn to ashes, if it is won at any cost of becoming totalitarian. 'The Demand for Meaning' and 'The Acceptance of Responsibility' are chapter heads requiring reading again and again. The achievement of freedom without respect for persons or individuality will be hollow. In the chapter on 'The Classless Society,' he criticizes the emphasis on diversion and distraction at the

cost of ownership and responsibility. The chapters on 'The Basis of integrity,' 'The Necessity of Boldness' and 'The Response to Suffering,' the last containing the pregnant words of Albert Schweitzer that "each man who suffers is the brother of all who suffer," are masterpiece of compressed writing. The book very properly concludes with the Pauline Credo that nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God.

ON THE NATURE OF MAN: An Essay in Primitive Philosophy. By Dagobert D. Runes, Published by Philosophical Library, New York.

The author is very properly named Runes as Runes are mystic symbols and sentences. The quest starts with saying that hesitance is the beginning of philosophy, and charity its end. The doubt whether the illiterate are not happier and even more moral than those who use the alphabet reminds one of Ananda Kumaraswamy's 'Bugbear of Literacy.' But he consoles himself as in his own words "The sages, from Moses to Spinoza, from Lao-Tse and Buddha to Jesus and Gandhi, brought it out: Man's love to man, and man's love to God are one and the same thing." The danger of one's fanciful ideologies being used by ambitious imperialists as camouflage is criticized mercilessly. I personally would call Mr. Runes 'A Modern Edward Carpenter' trying to recall mankind to its real spiritual heritage.

OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM: By M.P. Desai, Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

This is a timely publication on the language problem by Sri M.P. Desai. He is fiercely biased as seen by his saying that "English could establish a strong pernicious hold." The articles having been written during the course of controversy in the 'Harijan,' naturally exhibit the good points and bad points of such exposition. He also discusses the approaches from distinguishing Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu. He very correctly concludes that the language problem must be treated as a problem of practical policy, from a secular, national and pragmatic standpoint as distinguished from an axiomatic or fanatical or ideological standpoint.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI: By Gopinath Dhawan. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

This is the subject of the author's thesis for the Ph. D. degree of the Lucknow University written as far back as 1940, but revised and amplified in the light of subsequent events. The reason for the emergence of what are called the political philosophy of Gandhi is not far to seek. Two world wars within living memory have shortened men's belief in the efficacy of the old order. War and violence have not solved our problems; they have, if anything, worsened the conditions of life in a society racked by fear of insecurity. Something new must be tried; perhaps the political philosophy evolved by Gandhi which has had some measure of success in recent times may have the seeds of a consistent and wholesome plan for the betterment of Society in the future.

And so the writer discusses the basic ideas of Gandhi and their application to the conditions of life to-day. As far back of 1909 Gandhi in his "Indian Home Rule" had denounced modern civilization as a disease, and his views remained unchanged to the end though he held that the disease could be cured. If war and violence were no remedy to our ills then that remedy should be sought in pen and non-violence. If retaliation breeds hatred then we must take to self-suffering as the only alternative. To Gandhi the individual is the unit of society and the reform of society should start with the improvement of the individual. That means discipline and discipline implies the recognition of duty as superior to right. *Satyagraha* when applied to politics is the extension of this same principle to a under circle. And Gandhi used the technique of *Satyagraha* for effecting changes in society. All this is discussed in this book with appropriate extracts from the writings of Gandhi. This is a thoughtful contribution to the elucidation of Gandhi's political philosophy.

TIDES OF CRISIS: By A. A. Berle, Macmillan & Co. St. Martin Street London.

The subtitle of this book indicates that it is a primer of foreign relations. Being an American author naturally has the youth of American mind in preparing this book and he deals with world problems and the crises of overture from the standpoint of an intelligent America, conscious of his country's responsibilities for the peace and security of the world. This century has been a period of interminable

crosses, and crises do not happen suddenly but are the natural consequences of the mishandling of national affairs in the past. Similarly the future is dependent on the conduct of the present. Hence the writer's plea for a general awareness of present-day conditions among the growing generations of Americans, so that they may not repeat the same mistakes and sow the seeds of future crises.

Stressing the importance of long range principles in international dealings Mr. Berle observes that the United States, now dividing the leadership of the world with Soviet Russia, can no longer afford to be self-sufficient and isolated. Politically and economically the world is becoming one so much so that an incident in Morocco or a revolt in Algeria, a flare up in the Far East or in Mid-Asia, or a dispute over the possession of Formosa or Suez has world-wide repercussions and affects the lives and fortunes of distant lands. Without the Radar line in Canada and air bases in Ireland or Frankfurt, says Mr. Berle, the United States would be wide open to attack. Therefore to think in terms of narrow nationalism would be folly. To say that American money is wasted in giving help to other nations and that nothing would be gained by trying to prop up fallen peoples and governments in distant lands, would, in his opinion betray an ignorance of world conditions and of the role that America is destined to play in the immediate future. Intimate knowledge of world conditions and an understanding of the deeper problems of international relationship would go far to save the world from being involved in crises that may prove disastrous to the future of mankind. Mr. Berle's book is a praiseworthy attempt in this direction.

JATAKA TALES: Ed. by H. T. Francis and B. J. Thomas, Jaico Publishing House, 7, Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras. Rs. 3.

It is fitting that the publishers of *Panchatantra* should follow it up with a collection of *Jataka* tales. These are supposed to be incidents in the life of the Buddha in his previous incarnations as a *Bodhisatva* teaching the people in simple parables—as was the way of all property—lessons in the right way of living or the Noble Path which he was to expound later as the Enlightened One. 114 out of the 547 *Jatakas* in the original are here presented in English chosen mainly for their intrinsic interest.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

MALAYA

INDIANS IN SINGAPORE

The Singapore Chief Minister's announcement in the Island's Legislative Assembly that Indians will be eligible to Singapore citizenship in the same way as citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies is a welcome gesture which will be appreciated as much in India as by Indians in Singapore. The Indian population in Singapore forms hardly ten per cent of the total of a little over a million. Most of the Indians are engaged in business, but quite a large number are employed in the Island's civil services. In view of the fact that over eighty per cent of the Island's population consists of Chinese, there was considerable apprehension among Indians during the *Merdeka* agitation last year that once the British quit and the Government came under the democratic rule of the Island's population the Indians might come to be treated as an unwanted minority. It is heartening to note that Mr. Lim Yew-Hock has taken the earliest opportunity to allay these apprehensions by offering Indians in Singapore full citizenship rights on a reciprocal basis. Mr. Lim has further generously declared: "We are taking this step and making it easy for Indians to register in recognition of the Indian community's role as an integral part of our society." Many Indians, who in recent years have acquired properties in Singapore and have come to look upon the Island as their country of adoption, will doubtless acquire the Island's citizenship and remain there as an integral part of the population of the Island to whose prosperity and administration they have contributed so much.

SYRIA

INDIAN ENGINEERS FOR SYRIA

The Minister of Transport and Communications, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, told in the Lok Sabha that on the initiative of U. N. Technical Assistance Administration, Indian personnel will organise the wireless system in Syria.

Two engineers from the Posts and Telegraphs Department had already been selected for the purpose. To begin with, the engineers were likely to stay in Syria for about six months.

CEYLON

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Prime Minister of India and Ceylon, who met at New Delli last month for discussing the international situation, devoted some time for a broad review of the progress made towards the solution of the problem of Ceylonese of Indian origin in the Island.

There is no indication yet of any official communique being issued covering the talks. Official advisers joined the talks when the Indo-Ceylon problem was considered. The general impression is that, beyond a brief exchange of views, the Prime Ministers did not consider the present an appropriate occasion to go into a detailed analysis of the situation which would be necessary if a new agreement or some other measure is to be thought of. No date for a fuller discussion of the problem has been fixed.

BONUS SCHEME

Ceylon Minister of Posts and Broadcasting, Mr. C.A.S. Marikkar has proposed to the Cabinet a bonus scheme for non-Ceylonese who leave Ceylon, as an inducement to Indian workers on the Estate to leave the country.

The Minister's scheme is intended to ease the unemployment in estates areas where there is a large Ceylonese population. Mr. Marikkar suggested that the bonus should be paid at the port of embarkation to those leaving Ceylon.

BURMA

INDIAN SETTLERS IN BURMA

The Burmese Premier, U. Nu said at Bodh Gaya last month that the grievance of Indian settlers in Burma were of a "very mild nature" which would be settled quietly in consultation between the Governments of Burma and India.

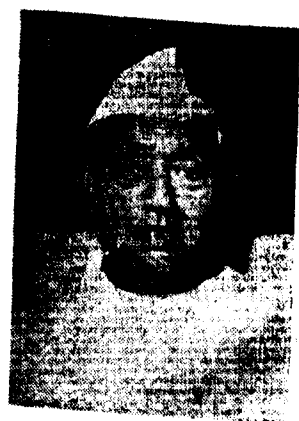
He told PTI that India and Burma were "friends for long and shall remain as such for ever." Any grievances of Indian settlers in Burma would be settled amicably, he said.

The Burmese Indian settlers had submitted a memorandum to the Indian Prime Minister during Mr. Nehru's visit to Rangoon in October last stating that the recent amendment to the Burmese Rehabilitation Law would result in large-scale exodus of Indian settlers.

It further said that due to nationalisation of lands in Burma, a large number of Indians who were cultivating lands, were likely to be evicted because they had not been recognised as citizens of Burma.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Nov. 27. The D. K. members of Madras State burn Indian Constitution and insult Brahmins in many places.
- Nov. 28. Mr. Gunnar Jarring moves amendments to the Five-Power Resolution on Kashmir.
- Nov. 29. Russia claims to possess the "absolute weapon"; Khrushchev offers to supply information on I.C.B.M. to U.S.A.
- Nov. 30. Mr. Nehru unveils the Sivaji Statue at Partabgarh.
- Dec. 1. Ceylon Prime Minister Bandarinaike and Mr. Nehru confer on Ceylon-Indian issue.
- Dec. 2. Commonwealth Legislators' Conference meets in New Delhi.
- India rejects the amended resolution on Kashmir.
- Dec. 3. Mr. Bishnuram Medhi till now Chief Minister of Assam is appointed Governor of Madras.
- Dec. 4. Japan successfully launches a four-foot rocket at an altitude of 60 miles.
- Dec. 5. America and India sign pact for eradicating malaria in 3 years.
- Indonesia asks Dutch to close down consulates.
- Dec. 6. Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld announces settlement of Israel-Jordan border dispute.
- Mr. Felix Gaillard, French Prime Minister wins vote of confidence in the National Assembly.
- Dec. 7. Pt. Nehru in Madras—Pt. Nehru opens Children's Theatre in Madras.
- Dec. 8. Pt. Nehru opens the Gandhigram exhibition near Dindigul.
- Dec. 9. France and Germany protest against U.K.—U.S. Rocket base pact.
- Dec. 10. The Preventive Detention Act is extended for another 3 years by the Lok Sabha.
- Dec. 11. Pakistan Cabinet resigns. Mr. Chundrikar agrees to form new Government.
- Dec. 12. Governors' Conference concludes at New Delhi.
- Dec. 13. Mr. Malik Feroze Khan Noon forms the New Cabinet of Pakistan.
- Earthquake in West Iran. Over 1000 reported dead.
- Dec. 14. U.N. Assembly adopts resolution, sponsored by India, on "Strengthening of International Peace."
- Dec. 15. Eisenhower's cable to Nehru saying that cessation of Atom tests should be linked with ban on weapons' production.
- Dec. 16. Malik Feroze Khan Noon is sworn in as Prime Minister of Pakistan.
- Dec. 17. U. S. offers Nato Allies Atom Weapons and I.R.B.Ms.
- Dec. 18. Canal Waters talks fail. World Bank team returns home.
- Dec. 19. Nato Summit Conference concludes at Paris.
- Dec. 20. U. N. Dhebar is re-elected President of the Congress for the next term of 2 years.
- Dec. 21. Mr. B. Medhi, Chief Minister of Assam resigns.
- Dec. 22. All-Parties Convention at Madras on Official language demands the retention of English as the official language.
- Dec. 23. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia is released.
- Dec. 24. Eisenhower broadcasts and asks for proof of Soviet sincerity re. easing of World tension.
- Dec. 25. Queen Elizabeth's television broadcast to the Commonwealth citizens for holding fast to basic principles.
- Dec. 26. Afro-Asian Conference meets at Cairo.
- Dec. 27. Severe gale and floods in Ceylon result in heavy losses of property and many lives.
- Dec. 28. Afro-Asian Conference supports India's claim on Goa.
- Dec. 29. All-India Educational Conference meets at Madras.
- Dec. 30. Mr. Raja Ram Naidu and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju are elected Presidents of Tamil Nad and Andhra Congress Committees respectively.
- Dec. 31. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari opens the Amaravathi Project Canal.



Mr. B. MEDHI
Governor-Designate of Madras

READERS' DIGEST

U.S.—SOVIET UNDERSTANDING

A powerful plea for Soviet-American understanding is made by Earl Bertrand Russell in an "open letter to Eisenhower and Khrushchev" published in the weekly *New Statesman* of November 22.

If these two leaders met in frank discussion of conditions of co-existence and composed their differences, Earl Russell says, "It would ensure for years to come a life of vigour and achievement and joy surpassing anything known in even the happiest eras of the past."

Although public attention has been focussed on the clash of interests between them, "I am convinced," writes Earl Russell, that

"you as far seeing and intelligent men, must be aware that the matters in which the interests of Russia and America coincide are much more important than matters in which they are thought to diverge."

For the sake of explicitness, Earl Russell proceeds to enumerate some of the points where the Soviet-American interests are identical:

1. The paramount need to ensure the continued existence of the human race.

"Some ignorant militarists, both in East and West, have apparently thought that the danger could be averted by a world war giving victory to their own side. The progress of science and technology has made this an idle dream. A world war would not result in a victory to either side but in extermination of both. Neither side can desire such a cataclysm."

What is new in the present situation, Earl Russell adds, is not that the hope of world domination, either military or ideological, is doomed to fail, as it has always failed in the past, but the magnitude of disaster which must result from the attempt.

"We must therefore, hope that each side will abandon the futile strife and agree to allow each a sphere proportionate to its present power."

2. The international anarchy which will inevitably result from unrestricted diffusion of nuclear weapons is not to the interest of either Russia or America.

"The manufacture of these engines of mass destruction will become cheaper and easier during the next few years and every sovereign

State will be in a position to say to the whole world "you must yield to my demands or you shall die." Insane rulers, as experience shows will not be restrained from such blackmail by the fear that their citizens would also perish. It is imperative therefore to stop diffusion of nuclear weapons and this can be easily done if Russia and America jointly refuse military or economic assistance to any country which persists in the manufacture of such weapons. This helter-skelter race towards ruin must be stopped if anything that anybody could desire is to be effected."

(3) The diversion of funds and human energy into channels of destruction benefits no one.

"Both America and Russia could save nine-tenths of their present expenditure if they concluded an alliance and devoted themselves jointly to the preservation of world peace. If they do not lessen their present hostility, reciprocal fear will drive them further and further, until, apart from immense armaments, nothing beyond a bare subsistence will be left to the populations of either country. Education will be distorted and stunted and everything in human achievement that is not inspired by hatred and fear will be squeezed out of the curriculum in schools and universities. This will be a deathblow to the aspirations which have inspired human progress since the dawn of history."

(4) Collective death as distinct from individual death has for the first time become a firm possibility.

"Both Russia and America must rejoice if the fear, frustration and sense of futility and despair which oppresses mankind can be removed."

One thing only is required for this: That East and West. "Should recognise their respective rights, admit that each must learn to live with the other and substitute argument for force in the attempt to spread their respective ideologies. It is not necessary that either side should abandon belief in its own creed. It is only necessary that it should abandon attempts to spread its own creed by force of arms."

If Eisenhower and Khrushchev would admit and proclaim their common interest, and bend their respective national policies to an agreement with such a proclamation.

THREAT OF THIRD WORLD WAR

Writing in the American magazine *Foreign Affairs* President Tito says that an atmosphere prevails in the world to-day which gives rise to anxiety for never has there been so much talk about war or peace as there is to-day.

At the same time such means of destruction are being intensively stockpiled as history has never known before.

"It cannot be understood" he says, "How it is that there are people in the world to-day, people occupying responsible positions, who advocate, and even persistently make preparations for the settlement of international disputes by force, that is to say by war, without even asking themselves what the consequences for the whole world would be."

Warning of the consequences of a possible third world war, in which means of the destruction which are threatened today would be used, President Tito says.

"The aggressor cannot be sure of being spared atomic and hydrogen weapons. This is a risky undertaking, for the people of the country concerned would not allow themselves to be destroyed because of the irresponsibility of its leaders, but would do everything to prevent them from doing so. Two world wars ended otherwise than was intended by those who prepared and launched them."

Having observed that scientific achievement have now reached such a high level that with their help mankind can be made either to prosper or to be destroyed, emphasizes that "the entire responsibility to-day lies with the leading men in the world, whose duty it is, before nations, before history, to take the first alternative."

Analysing the causes of present day international tension, President Tito says.

"They were born during the last war owing to the faulty views of the protagonists of the Teheran, Yalta and other Conferences towards certain international problems. According to their way of thinking, the whole world consisted of three big powers, while all the other countries and nations were regarded by them with patronizing eyes, or they ignored the strivings and interests of other nations."

To-day we see, that some states in the West very skilfully pay lip service to the principle of independence, while practising the opposite.

"Nevertheless, this does not keep them from accusing the other side of violating the principles of independence."

LIBERTARIAN TRINITY

Libertarian thought has a great function to fulfil today, according to the *Indian Libertarian*, in offsetting the present centralising totalitarian economies and politics that are exercising an unhealthy fascination on our leaders of thought owing to the example of Soviet countries.

"The Libertarian branch of Social Institute of India seeks to direct the minds of Indians to this alternative form of social thought. It seeks to study and disseminate the ideas inherent in free economy and free society. It holds that free economy is indispensable to support a free society. By free economy it means an economy as free as possible from coercion. It means an economy in which individual initiative and free choice will have adequate scope as little fettered as possible by the coercive apparatus of the State. Free economy is different from *laissez faire* and the sovereignty of capital and the business class. It only means an economic order which allows no monopoly of economic power to any class."

Free economy, free society and limited Government are the three correlated aspects of the social order, envisaged by libertarian.

"In regard to land ownership and land taxation, to industrial cartels and banking monopolies and the restrictive practices of Governments in the management of currency, libertarians have noted forces making for social injustice and the restriction of output."

Academic economic thought and official administration procedures have neglected this body of thought.

"Libertarians directed attention to these fields of thought with a view to extracting the elements of value they may contain for galvanising the notion of free economy."

INDIAN STUDIES IN MALAYA

Over Rs. 1,20,000 has been promised by members of the Indian community in Singapore for scholarships to the newly-established Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya.

The Tamil language scholarships will provide Rs. 3,000 a year for three or four years depending on whether the candidate is studying for a pass or an honours degree.

An association has been formed to promote the scholarships the first of their kind in Malaya, with the object of propagating Tamil language and literature.

DIVERGENCIES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

A whole series of declarations have been made regarding Western and Russian disarmament proposals. They were taken up again, as a whole in the Soviet Government's declaration of August 27 and that of the four Western powers a couple of days later. The difference between these proposals are summed up in *World Veteran* under the following eight readings.

(1) "Outlawing of Nuclear Weapons: The Russians want this provision to be absolute and unconditional; the Westerners maintain that there should be an exception in accordance with Article 51 of the U. N. Charter concerning aggression. "Absolute outlawing" they say, "would be putting a premium on aggression."

(2) Suspension of Nuclear Experiments: The Five Powers are in agreement on a first suspension for two years. But the Russians require that such a measure be adopted immediately, independently of any other agreement. For the Westerners, it should be part of an agreement providing, two years after suspension of experiments, for the following measure:

(3) Cessation of the Production of Fissionable material for Military Purposes: The Russians reject this, unless stocks are destroyed. The Westerners do not accept destruction of stocks so long as there is not a climate of international confidence.

(4) Zones of Aerial and land Inspection: The Westerners propose:

(a) either the United States, Canada and the U.S.S.R. or (the Arctic the zone north of the Polar Circle) plus Alaska and Kamchatka;

(b) if one of the above choices is accepted, then a choice between all of Europe from Ireland to the Urals, or a more limited zone in Europe, to be defined.

The Russians propose:

(a) large parts of Siberia, Alaska and the western part of the United States;

(b) plus a European zone stretching, approximately, from London to the western frontier of the U.S.S.R.

(5) Reduction of Armed Forces: The Five Powers are in agreement that this be done in three stages:

(a) U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.: 2,500,000 men each.

France and Great Britain: 750,000 each.

(b) respectively 2,100,00 and 700,000.

(c) respectively: 1,700,000 and 650,000.

Other countries, including China, should obviously be included in this agreement later.

The Russians want the transition from stage to stage to be automatic. The Westerners subordinate it to "progress in the solution of international political problems."

(6) Reduction of Military Budgets: The Russians want an outright reduction (for example, 15 per cent; the Westerners recommend reductions proportionate to military strength.

(7) Military Bases in Foreign Countries: The Russians would like NATO to be dismantled. The West will not agree to this before confidence is re-established.

(8) Disarmament Control: The Russians accept the general idea. The West has more sharply defined views. It regards disarmament control as a fundamental means of re-establishing confidence.

FOOD FACTS IN INDIA

Summing up a clear and detailed examination of the food problem in India Dr. P. C. Bansil says in *The Modern Review* that not only agriculture but the whole of the economic development of our country has been stifled and stunted for over a century.

Our yields at present, he says, bear no comparison with those of our neighbours like China, Japan and Egypt. Our experiment with the Japanese method of rice cultivation hardly for two years have astonished the whole world, and we have been able to wipe off the so-called chronic rice shortage for good. The First Five-year Plan has already exceeded its targets. Every villager is being acclimatised to the improved methods of cultivation under the Community Projects which are going to cover the whole of the country during the Second Five-year Plan. There is no reason why we may not be able to at least double our existing food supply as a result of normal efforts at intensive and extensive cultivation. All those prophets who predict a 'D-Day' for 1969 or a 'Dooms-Day' for 1981 are likely to go the way of their predecessors who have been raising Malthusian 'Scarecrows' for about a century. We can thus look to the future with confidence without fear of any such food problem cropping up.

LITTLE ROCK OF RACIALISM

History has once more repeated in the Free World of America, says *The Contemporary* monthly, organ of the Society for contemporary studies. The only difference, according to the writer is that the Big rock of the Lincoln age has been rolled back as the Little rock in the Eisenhower era, otherwise, incidents and their intensity are almost parallel over the two periods of the American History.

Arkansas and Albany are in open revolt against the Federal government. The latter has rushed federal troops for the enforcement of de-segregation programme in American schools in the face of the former's defiance. Replying to Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia who compared the President's action to Hitler's use of Nazi troops, President Eisenhower pointed out; "In one case military power was used to further the ambitions and purposes of a ruthless dictator, in the other to preserve the institutions of free government." Contrarily, bemoaning the federal interference over a nationwide television speech, Governor Faubus of Arkansas declared: The Federal authorities—including the federal troops—are in control. We are now in an occupied territory." Similarly a report from Los Angeles reads that Republican Senator, Mr. Knowland, has urged the Americans to support Ike in his actions over the racial integration crisis. Nobody is, however, as much interested in the present North versus South controversy over the racial integration policy as in the successful implementation of the same without repetition of the incidents of the Central High School at Little Rock in Arkansas state."

An analysis of the 'Little Rock' episode would clearly bring out the erring partner. As pointed out by Ike in defence of the federal action:

"Had the police powers of the state of Arkansas been utilised not to frustrate the orders of the US Supreme Court but to support them, the ensuing violence and open disrespect for the law and the federal judiciary would never have occurred."

PAKISTAN ON TRIAL

Mr. Daniel Bell of *Fortune* magazine giving his impressions of East Pakistan in the *New Leader* wonders whether Pakistan, despite the enormous American military and economic aid can last. The chaotic condition of the state due to perpetual party squabbles and the endless manoeuvring for power by political

groups makes him despair of any settled government.

On paper there is considerable planning, he says, much of it heartfully done by U.S. experts—who would not be allowed to plan an economy at home.

"No one, however, questions the need for planning. In a poor country, where waste can mean disaster, some priorities—cement for roads and dams, hydroelectric plants for power, etc.—are needed. But two things work against any implementation: First, there are no technical personnel among the Pakistanis who can carry through by themselves. (In one of the provinces, the Minister of Transport was asked by a university economist how many barges, trucks, etc. were available in the state; he looked perplexed and replied that he didn't know; his job was to provide cars for the other ministers.) And politics in Pakistan consists of full-time agitation on the part of the 'outs' to get in. There are no real ideological issues, so the opposition simply goes hunting for any issue at hand.

When one considers, finally, that the two wings of the country speak totally unrelated languages, are separated by a thousand miles, and are united only by the spurious facade of a common religion and the tough will of a President backed up by 50,000 guns, the future is black indeed."

MUSIC: THE UNIVERSAL MEDIUM

It has often been asked whether words are necessary in Indian Music or not. Discussing this question in a recent issue of *Thought*, Mr. Sunil K. Bose, Director of All India Radio, Nagpur points out that modern world tends to favour the adoption of a linguistic medium, because it has been found that such a medium is easy to use.

"I would mention in this connection that what words are to a language or literature, Swaras or notes are to music. Indian classical music, which includes vocal and instrumental music and also dancing, can undoubtedly retain its individuality and appeal without words; and successful cultural tours abroad by master instrumentalists and dancers like Ustad Allauddin Khan, Uday Shankar, Ustad Ali Akbar Khan, Ravi Shankar and others and the wide appreciation of their music and dancing by the foreign audience, will bear this out. I am happy to mention here that recently Mr. Yehudi Menuhin, the world famous violinist,

after listening to a series of Indian Instrumental music recitals by these artists, aptly remarked "Indian music seeks to release man from the baser emotions, so that his mind and spirit are free to rise to the spheres of meditation and liberation."

Nothing perhaps could be a better proof than such an appreciation by a noted Western musician of the fact.

"That Indian instrumental music, which has no language or words, so to say, can express its emotional content so vividly and effectively by means of the magical touches on the musical notes or Swaras. Besides, in spite of various language and dialects existing in our country, Indian music has also always been the guiding star and an unifying factor, so far as the expression of the diverse characteristics of the different regions of the country is concerned."

There is another aspect of music as the universal medium to be reckoned with. It is the question of notation.

"Just as the English language is considered to be the *lingua franca*, the staff notation or the European system of writing music, should I feel, be considered the *lingua franca* in the world of music. And in order to have a universal medium in the event of international music conferences or seminars, etc., it is necessary to evolve a common system of notation which will be acceptable to the whole world, to understand and appreciate the musics of the different parts of the world."

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

One of the laws of motion is that every action produces an equal and opposite reaction says the *New York Times*. A comparable law has operated in the struggle between East and West. Western policy in that struggle, it says, has been fashioned mainly in response to a succession of challenges from Moscow, chief among them these:

1947. The Communist action—guerilla war in Greece and pressure upon Turkey. The Western reaction—the pledge, embodied in the Truman Doctrine, of U. S. aid to friendly countries menaced by communism.

1948. The Communist action—the coup in Czechoslovakia. The Western reaction—the creation of the North Atlantic Alliance against Communist expansion.

1950. The Communist action—aggression in Korea. The Western reaction—resistance in Korea, the bolstering of NATO with a stand-

ing allied force and ultimately the further extension of the collective security perimeter from the Middle East to Japan.

1953. The Communist action—the first Soviet thermonuclear explosion, sharply cutting America's nuclear advantage. The Western reaction—increased reliance upon the deterrent of massive retaliation with nuclear weapons and air power."

Now has come the new Communist action—the proof of Soviet leadership in long-range rocketry. What shall the Western reaction be?

"The search for answers has set in motion an anxious and wide ranging reappraisal of policy. NATO is to pursue the search in a summit conference. The implications of the sputniks have focused American concern primarily on two problems. The first is the status of the U. S. missile arsenal and technology. The second is the position of NATO in the new situation.

HINDUS IN PAKISTAN

"Pakistan's failure to give its Hindu citizens a sense of security mars its case on Kashmir and seriously increases the general tension" between India and Pakistan says the *London Weekly Economist*.

In an editorial in which it pleads for settlement—necessarily by compromise—of Indo-Pakistani problems such as Kashmir, Indus Basin waters and the refugee influx from Pakistan, this influential journal is critical of Pakistan on the last-named issue.

It says, "Bengal refugee problem has been a one-way flow of frightened Hindus out of East Pakistan. Greatly to India's credit, there is no counter-flow of Muslims."

The *Economist* continues that Pakistanis may plead that against a background of cold war and communal bullying injustice in East Bengal is inevitable.

"But that argument scarcely suffices while Muslims of West Bengal stayput. Pakistan's failure to give its Hindu citizens a sense of security mars its case on Kashmir and seriously increases the general tension."

The theme of the *Economist's* article is that, "The feud between India and Pakistan envenoms the relations throughout non-Communist Asia and between Asia and the West; the more reason to settle—necessarily by compromise—quarrels that have already cost them dear."

HUNDRED YEARS HENCE

One hundred years from now, people will holiday on the moon in lavish hotels, the sick or the aged will be able to replace diseased or damaged organs from a "spare parts" bank and the world's 7,000,000,000 inhabitants will not work more than four to eight hours a week.

This forecast is made by eight leading scientists asked to sit as a "panel and take a look ahead to 2057." Among them was Dr. Werner von Braun, the creator of Hitler's V-1 and V-2 rockets and now "star" rocket scientist of the United States Army.

The conclusions reached by the eight were that, following the next 100 years, people will not move their lips when they open a conversation, they will talk with their minds.

Little worries such as slimming or fattening or growing taller will be banished. Men and women will be able to control the size and shape of their body. Food will be made out of sunshine and water, and raw materials will be drawn from the sea. And everyone will be a vegetarian.

Married couple will be able to pick the sex of their children and decide whether they want one at a time, twins or triplets.

Emotions and impulses will be controlled by pills and no one will become ill, mentally or emotionally.

Around the earth will be a whole string of artificial satellites which said Dr. Von Braun, will "receive messages radioed to them while over one city, country or continent, and play them back while over others." The satellites will also provide television relay stations, provide accurate weather reports every hour, and monitor the world for signs of war.

VEGETARIAN DIET

Vegetarianism has all along been an article of faith with most of the people of this country. It is as Gandhi said, are of the priceless gifts of Hinduism. But then, as Sir S. Swaminathan points out in *The Life Natural*, little thought is bestowed on what could be achieved through vegetarianism. There is a common notion that Vegetarianism has made us weak in mind or body or passive or rest in action. This is a great mistake. For the health seeker is advised to eschew all drugs, stimulants and sedatives.

"In the present day vegetarian diet, vegetables as such form a very minor part. Cereals, pulses and grams, etc., form as much as 90% of the diet. Even these cereals, etc., are refined

ones and the cooking is often done the wrong way. The little quantity of vegetables taken along with the diet is almost always fried, mixed with too much condiments and spices. The vegetables thus prepared lose most of their nutrition and what is taken is useless, from the standpoint of nutrition. If such a diet happens to be 'tasty,' it is mostly due to the condiments and spices and frying."

The health-seeker should avoid the consumption of devitalizing foods, e.g., polished rice, dehusked grams and pulses, maida, white sugar, etc., as also all manufactured foods.

"To the extent these are consumed, they will cancel the effect of positive foods. Consumption of hydrogenated oil would create very many complications, including hardening of arteries, visual defects, etc., in due course of time. As for white sugar, its destructive effect on health is immense. The biological effects of refined sugars on the system are much like those of a drug, and the sugar-addict actually craves for sweets just as a dipsomaniac yearns for alcohol. Refined sugar robs the blood of its calcium and the lack of this calcium starves the teeth, causing cavities. Arthritis is now recognised as a disease that owes its prevalence to a vitamin lost in sugar-refining, a factor known as the 'Wulzen factor,' or anti-stiffness vitamin.

THE RACE DILEMMA

The Little Rock incident has provoked a tearing controversy in the American press. The Negro struggle for equality and the White rejection of it are charged with emotion — which is not confined to the South. The *New Leader* carries an article on the Race Dilemma by Harry Ashmore who says that :

"Inside the South and out of it, the Negro has come by a long and tortuous road to the point reached before him by previous generations of immigrants. He is set apart as were the Jews, the Poles and the Irish before him — huddled into the worst housing, assigned to the most menial jobs, beset by his own inferior background. He is still in his time of horizontal migration from farm to city, and from south to north. But his vertical migration is beginning, and it will accelerate; he, too, will break out of his ghettos and gain greater acceptance as his improved opportunities enable him to earn it."

In many ways, his problems are special.

"The walls of prejudice are perhaps harder to scale than those that confronted any of the other minorities who found their place in this conglomerate nation of ours. But time is working on his side and the law — and the moral force which has made him a burden on every white American's conscience throughout our national history.

The dilemma is real. The horns are sharp. But its resolution is at least as certain as the survival of the democratic concept in a nation which has never attained its goal — but has never considered abandoning it."

BRITISH AID FOR INDIA

The *New Commonwealth*, pleading for increased aid to India, suggests that Britain should take a lead by creating a rupee stabilisation fund and that new "lines of credit" should be created which would ensure easy flow of consumer produce from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The article says :

"If the Commonwealth is to endure then there must be ready acceptance on the part of all its members to pull together and to help one another in bad times as well as good. It should be the proud privilege of the stronger members to help the weaker; it should be the instinct of each so to conduct its affairs as to advance the interests of all. That indeed, should be the key-note of next year's Conference."

Against the current background, however, the *New Commonwealth* considers that the "Commonwealth should be called together" even before the Conference to consider "what help its more fortunately placed members can provide."

"If India is to weather the storms ahead she must be helped. 'She needs aid now and, in our view, deserves to get it,' the journal says, 'For none of us can afford to be indifferent to the struggle which she is waging against poverty and hunger.'

"It is easy enough to argue that the Indian Government have brought their present difficulties upon themselves by launching their ambitious Five-year Plan without ensuring that sufficient foreign exchange would be available for essential imports. There were

other factors which influenced the situation adversely, such as the closing of the Suez Canal, which rocketed import prices, and a series of poor harvests which reduced export earnings and added still more to the import bill. The truth of the matter is that India faces a problem of such magnitude that her government simply had to take a chance — and who would say in the light of what is happening elsewhere in Asia that they were wrong?"

GOVERNORS IN THE REPUBLIC

The Governors functioning since Independence are tending to be the mere figure-heads in whose name the administration is carried on and laws and executive orders are promulgated. They do not seem to have much work. It is only when the normal powers of the Legislature are suspended or a new ministry is to be formed that the head of the State functions as an active entity. Should this office continue under such circumstances?

Triveni observes that the Governor as an elder statesman is in a position to advise and warn the Ministers and act as a representative of the President.

"To argue that, in Independent India, we ought to dispense with an officer of this type merely because he does not normally exercise political power, is to miss the meaning of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the governance of the States. The State, like the Union, must have a titular Head who will uphold the dignity of the State and represent it at important public functions. He must draw unto himself the affection and the respect of the citizens of the State, irrespective of their party affiliations. During his term of office, he ceases, like the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly or the Chairman of the Legislative Council, to be a party man, even though, like those dignitaries, he might owe his position to the chief of a party. The Governor is also the admitted leader of society, particularly in the Capital, and takes precedence of the Ministers and the Judges."

Something must also be said in favour of sentiment, as certain festivities cherished through the centuries have acquired a historic and cultural value. An occasional influx of poetry and colour cannot be altogether dispensed with.

WORLD CITIZENSHIP

The concept of world citizenship is not new; but it is only in recent times that organised attempts have been made to promote global thinking. The July issue of *Toward World Democracy* (Bulletin of the World Council for the Peoples World Convention, Paris) contains news about the efforts being made to adopt a "world view" and to think in terms of humanity. The opening article discusses the implications of world citizenship. World citizenship, it says, does not consist in more "benevolent sentiments."

"It implies a definitely positive attitude, an attitude embracing all men, irrespective of their race, colour or religious views. Democracy, in the fullest sense of the word, must be established on the world level before world citizenship can become meaningful."

There is increasing realization, we are told, that economic freedom is no less important than political freedom. Professor Josue de Castro, one of the founders of the World Association Against Hunger, claims that,

"For the major part of humanity, the most urgent problem is not war, nor communism, nor the cost of living or taxes: it is the problem of hunger."

Starvation breeds many ills. Food, which is one of "a trinity with air and water," must be provided for the hungry millions before we can expect them to exercise judgment regarding right and wrong and realize the vital need for "One World."

SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Commenting on the notorious Group Areas Act on 1950 in South Africa, Mr. R. S. Pandey observes in *Thought* that as a result of the Act one million non-Whites including 22,000 Indians have been ejected from cities like Johannesburg, Durban and Mafeking. Now another bill seeking to provide for separate universities for Whites and non-Whites is before the Select Committee and is expected to become law of the land soon. It is obvious that if the Bill is passed and enforced the educational standard of non-White students will be very low. It is obvious again that non-Whites in South Africa are to be deprived not only of their political and economic freedom, but also of their cultural and academic freedom.

"It is surprising, says Mr. Pandey, that while in the United States of America, as a result of the Federal Court, segregation between Negroes and Whites is being eliminated from educa-

tional institutions, it is being freshly introduced in the Union of South Africa. In other words while the rest of the world is looking ahead towards racial integration, towards the freedom of all mankind, the Union of South Africa is looking backwards towards darkness and unfreedom. The Little Rock incident in the U.S. and the mischief of the local Governor was firmly dealt with by the Federal troops on the orders of the President.

It is hightime the United Nations takes a serious view of the situation. The United Nations Charter of Human Rights guarantees complete, political, economic, cultural and academic freedom to all members of the human race without distinction of colour or race. The Charter must be implemented in every country. If the Union of South Africa does not heed it must be universally boycotted and forced to submit to the conscience of the World.

SOVIET IMPACT ON CENTRAL ASIA

Richard E. Pipes, discussing the nature of the Soviet Impact on Central Asia, observes in the course of an article in *The Problems of Communism* that in broad terms the social and cultural processes occurring in these regions do not differ fundamentally from those taking place in other colonial or ex-colonial areas of the world.

"In both instances native societies, under the impact of European culture, become secularized, westernized. They evolve a new way of life resulting from an amalgam of traditional and imported values. In both instances this movement is led by a native intelligentsia which is ambitious, self-assured and intensely nationalistic."

The peculiar feature of the Soviet experience lies in the tempo and in the ruthlessness with which this transformation is being accomplished.

"Phases of development which in other, freer societies take several generations, are compressed in the Soviet Union into one or two generations; processes which elsewhere are allowed to take their own course, are here imposed from above by a virtually omnipotent regime. It is not inconceivable that the very violence with which these processes are taking place will one day breed a proportionately violent reaction, as the further synthesis of native and "imported" values engenders new forms of nationalistic striving."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE

Four hundred delegates from 42 Afro-Asian Nations and Colonies met in conference at Cairo on the 26th December and the following days for outlining measures for the Political, Economic, and Social emancipation of the countries in these regions.

Inaugurating the conference, Col. Anwar Sadat, Egyptian Chairman of the conference said the people of Asia and Africa "are all partners, with one struggle and one future for we have all witnessed one history of imperialism and exploitation."

He declared in unequivocal terms that Egypt would follow a policy of neutrality. "Our neutrality does not mean entering any blocs. We should try to bring both the blocs together."

Col. Sadat said that the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung two years ago told the world Afro-Asia was no more a forest through which "alien beasts" could roam.

In a plea for moderation, Col. Sadat said, "We have to visualise the problems of the various nations in their true light avoiding exaggeration which makes solutions difficult."

He said each country had particular problems but all should strive at developing a "meeting point" on problems of general interest.

Answering on behalf of the guests, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru of India, called upon the people of the world to bring "popular pressure" to bear upon Governments to end the arms race.

"We believe," she said, "in the principles of 'Panch Shila' in national and international affairs. We stand for self-determination and non-interference in other people's affairs. We are against imperialism of all varieties—subtle or gross political or economic—racial discrimination, colonialism, military pacts and preparations and above all against nuclear weapons and armaments race."

She expressed a fear of "preparations under way for nuclear war." Even if war did not take place, "the fact that this sword of Democles hung over the heads of people in perpetual suspense strengthens the cold war

and retards progress towards world peace," she said.

"The problem of nuclear weapons and armaments is the most serious and frightening one of this age which concerns not only Asia and Africa but the whole world."

She denounced military pacts as not designed to promote peace and expressed the view that "the latest discussion in the NATO Council was fraught with danger." Placing of guided missiles all over the world, Mrs. Nehru said, would "bring the danger of war right to the door-steps of every people in the world."

"It is all the more dangerous to the people of Asia and Africa because of the clear indication of the design of imperialist Powers to interfere in our affairs in West Asia in North Africa, in Indonesia and elsewhere."

PAK RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Pakistan's Prime Minister, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, said at Dacca on December 29 Pakistan had no intention to declare war against India though he admitted relations between the two countries were not good.

He pleaded that Pakistan and India should live peacefully and on friendly terms. It was regrettable that these two Asian countries should quarrel, he said and added that others were taking advantage of it.

Speaking in Urdu at a public meeting organised by the Awami League to celebrate the "people's victory" over the electorate question, Malik Noon asked the Indian people to "disabuse their minds of the fear" that Pakistan wanted war with India. Pakistan had no intention to declare war against India, he said and added he had on several occasions given this assurance to the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

Malik Noon said that Kashmir was the chief cause of quarrel between India and Pakistan. He said that India should let a plebiscite be held there. If people there voted in favour of joining India, Pakistan would gladly accept that verdict. At the same time, India should also accept the verdict if the people voted for Pakistan, he said.

Utterances of the Day

MR. NEHRU ON UNITY OF INDIA

Prime Minister Nehru denounced at Gandhigram on Dec. 8, the 'new cry' raised in the South of "Northern imperialism, Hindi imperialism and Northern India trying to dominate over the South", as "another variation of the attempt to create trouble and to divide and disrupt India."

Mr. Nehru who was addressing a mammoth public meeting at Dindigul on his way from Gandhigram to Tiruchirappalli, pointed out how they had to achieve economic prosperity in the context of a fast progressing world. If they were not united and strong they would fail to advance, he said.

"In these days of 'sputniks and earth satellites', Mr. Nehru asked his audience who were listening to him in hushed silence, "is it not clear to a man of intelligence that if you talk of Northern imperialism or Southern imperialism, it will only mean Northern folly and Southern folly and nothing else? I am surprised that men of some intelligence indulged in this folly", he added.

MORARJI DESAI ON DEMOCRACY

Mr. Morarji Desai, Union Minister for Commerce and Industry declared at Trichur on Dec. 12, that if the Communist Party and its supporters changed their minds in favour of constitutional and democratic methods, then that would be a triumph for democracy.

Mr. Desai, who was addressing a public meeting said the Communists would be thrown out of power if they indulged in un-constitutional and violent methods.

BULGANIN'S WARNING

Marshall Bulganin in his reply to the British and American war preparations said: The doctrine of "interdependence" was announced and the Atlantic Pact Summit meeting was called to speed up these preparations would perhaps not be enough to catch up the delay of some countries and would not alter the fact that the development of intercontinental missiles had made the United States as vulnerable as Europe.

The installation of nuclear bases and (missile) launching ramps did not have a defensive aim. It was only a question of setting up a springboard for aggressions. Marshal Bulganin asked if Frenchmen could feel themselves secure if they had on their soil atomic depots controlled by foreign generals and which could be used to ends contrary to their national

interests. What did Frenchmen think of American bombers loaded with atomic bombs flying over their territory?

The speech suggested that in the spirit of the Franco-Soviet statement of 1956, France should try within NATO to bring about a detente and allow the development of peaceful co-operation between States. The Soviet Union would be ready to support France in this.

MR. DALIP SINGH SAUND ON INDIA

Speaking at Madras on 12th Dec. Mr. Dalip Singh Saund gave this advice to India: "Sell India to America in an intelligent and friendly way. You have to approach in a friendly spirit."

His tips, "send people to U. S. who will talk sweetly, intelligently, but firmly. Do not send people who talk irritatingly, for you never make friends, that way."

Mr. Saund at a Press conference at Madras averred the people and the Press in America were not hostile to India, "but you have to do a better job of selling."

MR. GAITSKELL ON KASHMIR

Addressing a Press Conference at Delhi on Dec. 10, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, British Labour leader said it was "unfortunate" that the British Government's attitude to the Kashmir issue has created an impression that they were partisan. His view was that the British Government should be impartial and appear to be impartial.

While declining to comment on the merits of the Kashmir dispute, Mr. Gaitskell said it would not help if any of them were to take sides or start lecturing. His own view was that "private discussions offer better prospects of settlement."

LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE'S ASSURANCE

Lord Pethick-Lawrence assured in Madras on Dec. 10, that the great bulk of the people in Britain had very friendly and affectionate feelings towards the people of India and were longing for their success in every way.

The British Labour Peer, who was addressing a dinner-meeting of the Madras Rotary Club, briefly referred to the various problems facing independent India and expressed the view that these problems were in their initial stages and it was only after another 10 or 15 years anyone would be able to judge how far and how well their "wonderful work" in handling them had come to fruition.

Political

LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE ON COMMONWEALTH

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India at the time of Indian Independence, said at Bombay on Dec. 7 that the British Commonwealth was a kind of a third force in the world of rival antagonism.

"It allowed more intimate friendship among its members than the United Nations."

He appealed to the Indian Press to support Commonwealth and all it stood for.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence was speaking at a dinner party given by the Press Guild of India in honour of the International Press delegation, now on a visit to this country.

The former Secretary of State paid glowing tributes to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. "I have great faith in your Prime Minister. In Mr. Nehru we have a statesman of world rank," he said.

ON CO-EXISTENCE

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, India's Defence Minister, said at New York on Dec. 13 that even if some measure of disarmament was agreed upon, it would not move the world towards peace, unless nations decided to live in peaceful co-existence.

Speaking in the U.N. Political Committee debate on this question, Mr. Menon said the U.N. was primarily concerned with the problem of world peace, and the Indian Government had already expressed the view that in the world forum they were not discussing programmes but the survival of the human race.

MR. NEHRU ON D. K. AGITATION

Prime Minister Nehru uttered a stern warning at Trichi on Dec. 9 to the Dravida Kazhagam and its leader that insults to the National Flag and the National Constitution were "unforgivable offences" and declared that "no man has a place in India who insults the Flag and the Constitution—he can pack up and go to any country, he likes."

Mr. Nehru who was addressing a mammoth public meeting at the Race Course Maidan in Tiruchi, wondered "if the Dravida Kazhagam in Madras is not more primitive than any primitive tribe in India." He said that no civilised society would tolerate the language of murder that they used.

The Prime Minister said that the biggest task facing the country today was to build up the new India and reiterated his plea for united effort in achieving that objective.

Mr. Nehru called upon the youth to prepare themselves for an adventurous life and prepare for it from now on by proper training. In this connection, the Prime Minister claimed that though pretty old, he was fit enough and he wanted young men to be fit likewise, tall and strong and capable of facing any difficulty without losing their composure of mind or nerve.

MALAYA ON SEATO

Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Federation's Prime Minister, said Malaya will not join the South East Asian Treaty Organisation. He said he would give no reasons for this but was positive about keeping Malaya out of this organisation. Meanwhile an agency message from Baguio City said that recommendations might be made to member-nations of the SEATO that Malaya, Nationalist China and Japan and possibly South Korea be invited to participate in the anti-Communist alliance. In this connection it may be recalled that the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Kishi, said in Singapore that Japan had no intention of joining the SEATO. Mr. Kishi explained that under the present constitution of Japan it would be difficult for her to enter "any blocs like the SEATO."

NEW NAGA HILLS UNIT

Mr. Fazl Ali, Governor of Assam, took over the administration of the new Naga Hills—Tuensang area on behalf of the President last month.

In a message on the occasion of the inauguration of the new administration, the Assam Governor sought the co-operation of all Naga people in discharging his new responsibility.

The Governor warned those who were still bent on creating trouble and declared "while we are determined to ensure the fullest opportunity to those who are prepared to abide by the law, we shall not hesitate to use whatever measures are necessary against those who persist in defying it"

THE PREVENTIVE DETENTION ACT

The need for continuing the Preventive Detention Act as a safeguard against threats to security of the State or serious menace to law and order, especially in respect of incidents like the sabotage activities in Kashmir, communal riots in Ramanathapuram, actions like the burning of the Constitution by the Dravida Kazhagam in the South and occurrences in the Punjab following the Hindi agitation, was stressed by the Union Home Minister, Pandit G. B. Pant, in the Lok Sabha on Dec. 9.

VITAL ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, said that Universities in India had to play a vital role in the ideological conflict that was in progress in the world "by ideas and values that can be tested and assessed."

Mr. Deshmukh, who was addressing the thirty-fifth Convocation of the Delhi University, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Chancellor of the University presiding, said that a "special task" was imposed on the Universities in the context of the pace at which the scientific and technological revolution was taking place in the world today. Astonishing as the achievements of mankind had been in technology, these paled into insignificance when compared with the scientific marvels of the present age—which could aptly be called "the threshold of atomic power, fuels of inconceivable potency and space travel for living beings."

During the last 50 years, he said while man's material advance had almost assumed a perpendicular direction, there had been world wars and destruction of life and property on a scale that could not be imagined by all the war and destruction of the past. It was against this background that the purposes and policies appropriate to a modern University had to be considered.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN MADRAS

The Madras Government have decided to introduce compulsory elementary education in every town and village in the State by 1965-66.

A press release dated December 6 embodying the Government's decisions on some recommendations of the Legislature Committee, says that the eleven-year school course will be introduced from 1958-59.

OBJECTIVE TESTS IN S.S.L.C.

EXAMINATIONS

Mr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu, Director of Public Instruction, said at Madras that the "so-called objective and intelligence tests" at the S.S.L.C. examination were "a gamble," and he would like the system to be changed so that the standards of S.S.L.C. students might be raised to a respectable level.

Inaugurating the Department of Extension Services in the Thiagaraja College of Preceptors at Madurai on December 9 the Director pointed out that the tests merely required students to pick out correct answers from the list of answers supplied by the examiner him-

self, and this could not measure the attainment of a student. By a mere chance the student could choose the correct answers. It encouraged the students merely to gamble with the result that their mental faculties remained undeveloped.

Mr. Sundaravadivelu said this system had been introduced in order to avoid cramming by students. If cramming was one extreme, the objective test seemed to be another and both were not desirable. He would call upon teachers and others interested in education to suggest methods to replace the objective test system.

While cramming of notes merely passing examinations should be discouraged, the Director felt that students should be encouraged to commit to memory classical verses. It was the Indian tradition to commit to memory classical poetry and this should not be neglected.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar Vice-Chancellor, of Madras University, warned against change-over from the existing medium of learning to a new one in the present educational set-up particularly in Universities.

A change in that direction, he said, should not be made merely on sentimental grounds. "The process must be logical and based on careful consideration. It should be evolutionary and not revolutionary."

Speaking at a reception given by the Calcutta Cosmopolitan Club, on December 8 Dr. A. L. Mudaliar referred to the attempt made in the past in the Osmania University to introduce Urdu as a medium of instruction and the huge amount of money spent to translate standard works in different subjects for the purpose. But by the time translations of certain books were over, they had become out of date.

THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The Government of India has decided to drop the proposal to take over the Osmania University to convert it into a Hindi University in view of the strong opposition of the former Hyderabad Government and the present Andhra Pradesh Government to the proposal, the Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. K. L. Srimali said in the Lok Sabha on December 12.

Answering supplementaries, the Deputy Minister said the Central Government did not propose to set up any Hindi University in the South at present.

Mr. E. V. R. NAICKER

Mr. S. Sivasubramania Nadar, Sessions Judge, Tiruchi, sentenced Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, leader of the Dravida Kazhagam, to undergo six months' simple imprisonment under Section 117 I.P.C. (abetting commission of offence by the public or by more than ten persons). The judge ordered the accused to be placed in "A" class. Mr. Naicker stood charged by the police with delivering three "objectionable speeches" in Kulitalai, Pasupathipalayam and Tiruchi Town instigating his followers to kick, assault and kill Brahmins and set fire to their houses. He was convicted on three counts and the sentences are to run concurrently.

In his judgment, Mr. Sivasubramania Nadar pointed out that the accused was aged 78 and was found shivering while answering questions in court, that he had undertaken in his counter-statement filed in connection with the application moved for cancelling his bail during the trial to the effect that he would not make any speeches in future advocating an attack on Brahmins. Under such circumstances the judge gave simple imprisonment as stated above.

EX-JUDGES FOR TRIBUNALS

The practice of appointing ex-judges of the High Courts and the Supreme Court to special tribunals and other official bodies was assailed by all sections of the Rajya Sabha on Dec. 11.

This, some members stressed, must be given up in the interest of purity of judicial administration.

It was suggested that a member of the bar who was qualified to be a judge could be entrusted with chairmanship of such bodies if at all men of a judicial bent of mind were indispensable.

The Bill makes certain changes in the constitution of the tribunal in pursuance of the recommendations of the Railway Freights Structure Enquiry Committee.

THE GOA CASE IN HAGUE COURT

The Hague International Court rejected India's four exceptions in the dispute over Portuguese rights of passage through the Indian territory.

The International Court of Justice announced that it had rejected exceptions, one, two, three, and four, in the dispute on rights of passage into Indian territory. The Court would examine exceptions five and six as part

of the substance of the problem, the announcement said.

The Court announced that proceedings concerning the merits of the right of passage case would continue, and fixed time limits for the rest of the procedure.

It fixed Feb. 25, 1958 for the Indian counter-memorial. May 25, 1958, for the reply of Portugal and July 25, 1958 for the rejoinder of India.

Two of the six preliminary objections of India were not decided upon by the Court, but were joined to the merits of the case.

The judgment was read by the United States President of the Court Judge, Green H. Hackworth.

WORKERS' RIGHTS

The All-India Trade Union Congress holding its Silver Jubilee session at Ernakulam on Dec. 30 adopted a dozen resolutions dealing with colonialism, peace, banning of weapons of mass destruction, Algeria, Indonesia, Goa and Pondicherry, and release of political prisoners. Resolutions on social security and trade union rights were also passed.

One of the resolutions demanded that the Government of India should take necessary steps to carry out suitable amendments to the Constitution to prevent employers from creating obstacles against the much-needed improvement in the living and working conditions of workers.

ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

Mr. S. R. Das, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, told a seminar on "Administrative Law" at New Delhi on Dec. 14 that in its deliberations its endeavour should be "to strike a balance between our social interest in the individual right to liberty and property and our social interest in the advancement of the country as a whole."

The seminar, which was inaugurated by the Chief Justice, has been organised by the newly established "Indian Law Institute."

It was attended by judges, lawyers, attorneys, teachers of law and jurists from all over the country. Several participants read papers dealing with all aspects of "administrative law."

Mr. Das said it would be for the seminar to go into the matter of administrative law carefully and work out some formula for the proper growth of the Administrative Law "but, at the same time, save us from its despotism."

SOVIET CREDIT TO INDIA

Five agreements, subsidiary to the 500 million roubles credit agreement between the Governments of the USSR and India for co-operation in the establishment of industrial enterprises in India, were executed at new Delhi on December 14.

The agreements were signed by Messrs. P. Segeev and P. Solodov on behalf of the "Technoexport," an all-Union export-import corporation of Moscow and Messrs. S. R. Kaiwar and R. S. Krishnaswamy on behalf of the Neyveli Lignite Corporation and National Coal Development Corporation, respectively.

An official Press release said that under the agreement with the Neyveli Lignite Corporation the "Technoexport" will prepare a detailed project report for the Neyveli thermal power station.

The remaining four agreements with the National Coal Development Corporation provide for detailed project report on an open cast mine in the Korba coalfields, two or three coal mines in the area of Korba coalfields, the Central workshop for repair and maintenance of the equipment of the coal enterprises and the coal washing and dressing plant in these fields.

The agreement for the project report for the coal washing and dressing plant, however, provides that laboratory and pilot plant tests on the washability of coals from the Korba should be carried out with the help of Soviet specialists before deciding on the establishment of the enterprise.

AMERICAN AID TO INDIA

Mr. Dalip Singh Saund, Indian-born U. S. Congressman, stated at Madras on December 12 that he was "confident that the Government in the United States and the people of the U.S. are not going to let India down" and that they "will make her Second Five-Year Plan a success."

THE INDIAN BANK

Mr. Krishnamachari, who was delivering the Commemoration Address at Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Bank at Rajaji Hall on December 27 felt that bank's providing medium term credit to industry was the only way in which they could face the present situation in which, inspite of the easy money supply position in the country, industrialists still complained of difficulties in getting credit and of the "inter-bank call rate" being pretty low.

The Governor of the Reserve Bank, Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, who inaugurated the celebrations outlined the role of banks in India in subserving the interest of the country under a planned economy.

PROSPECTS OF FOREIGN AID

India can expect investments in industry primarily from the United States and West Germany, and suppliers' credit from these countries and from Britain and France in addition provided she can raise the rupee capital to match the expected foreign capital. For the raising of this rupee capital, it is essential that both personal and corporate savings should be promoted. In order to promote them the Government of India should suitably modify the present tax structure, reorganise the country's existing credit institutions and banking system so as to create a capital market, and leave royalties on joint enterprises to be settled between the concerned foreign and Indian manufacturers.

This is the main conclusion of the Indian Industrial Delegation sponsored by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry which recently toured in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France and West Germany, and whose report was released at Delhi on December 8. The delegation was led by Mr. G. D. Birla.

LIFE INSURANCE CORPORATION

The Life Insurance Corporation Act would require to be amended if Government were to undertake a "radical revision" of the administrative structure of the Corporation. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Finance Minister, told Mr. Radha Raman in the Lok Sabha last month.

Mr. Krishnamachari added: "I do not think the time is yet ripe for coming before the House with an amendment. We are trying to see what we can do without undertaking an amendment of the Act and to rationalise the administrative structure to the extent that is possible."

The whole matter, Mr. Krishnamachari said, would be reviewed in relation to the implementation of the Lal Committee's report on the subject.

He, however, proposed to go into the whole matter fully and he expected to be able to place before Parliament Government's final proposals during the Budget Session.

MRS. TARA CHERIAN

For the first time in its long and progressive history of the City of Madras has, for the present year, a woman as its Mayor, and in electing Mrs. Tara Cherian to that exalted position, the first citizen, the members of the City Council have recognised the increasingly important place which women are coming to occupy in the affairs of the country. A precedent created some years ago when Madras had the first woman Deputy President of the old Legislative Council, was followed up a year ago with the selection of Mrs. Mary Clubwala Jadhav as Sheriff of Madras, she being the first woman to hold the office.

PEERESSES IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT

Peers in the House of Lords agreed to a Government Bill to allow women to sit and vote with them in the hitherto entirely masculine Upper Chamber.

They gave an unopposed second reading, agreement in principle, to a Bill which will enable the Government to create men and women Peers and Peeresses for life. Their titles will not descend in their heirs.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmauir, said there were men and women of high quality, who were deterred from taking hereditary peerages because they knew their sons did not want them. The Bill would enable them to serve in the House. The Prime Minister would desire to seek the advice of the Leader of the Opposition on the selection of life Peers.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

A non-official Bill seeking to provide for equal pay for equal work for women workers was introduced in the Lok Sabha by Mrs. Renu Chakravarty (Communist—West Bengal).

In the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill, Mrs. Renu Chakravarty says that the principle of equal work for equal pay is embodied in the Indian Constitution and such a thing exists in advanced countries also. The equal remuneration convention of 1951 of the International Labour Organisation has also recommended the acceptance of equal work by the member-countries.

WORLD'S TOP WOMAN

Queen Elizabeth was voted the top personality of 1957 among the world's women at Paris on December 27 in a radio-station's poll of eleven French newspaper editors.

PROSTITUTES

Crime prevention experts of 16 Asian nations, meeting at Tokyo said that prostitutes and their clients should not be classed as criminals.

The delegates attending a U.N. Seminar on the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders agreed that poverty and over-population were the prime causes of prostitution.

A resolution unanimously approved by the seminar urged Asian nations to co-operate more closely for the prevention of crime and the eradication of prostitution.

RUSSIAN GIRLS' BHARATHANATYAM

Miss Mera Bochanova and Miss Natalia Pugaehova, two Russian young women, have come to Kalakshetra, Madras to learn Indian dancing.

The two young women have come under Union Government scholarships. They talk French besides Russian, and are learning English. They will stay at Kalakshetra for five months.

Miss Vera Bochanova is a talented dancer in ballet folk dancing, and is a member of the Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow.

GLIDER TRAINING FOR GIRL CADETS

Air Marshal S. Mukerjee, Chief of the Air Staff, inaugurated aeromodelling and glider training for the senior wing of the Girls' Division, NCC at New Delhi last month.

This is the first time that aeromodelling and glider training is given to girl cadets of the NCC.

About 30 girl cadets attended that training. The Chief of the Air Staff addressing the girl cadets hoped that these training facilities would gradually be extended to practically all women's colleges throughout India.

THE NURSING COUNCIL

The Lok Sabha passed the Indian Nursing Council (Amendment) Bill.

The Nursing Council (Amendment) Bill provides among other things for the maintenance of an All-India Register of Nurses. It also seeks to expand the Council with a view to giving greater representation to nursing colleges and Members of Parliament.

During the debate on the Bill, Delhi's former Health Minister, Dr. Sushila Nayar, said that nurses were not being given their rightful status in society with the result that many girls did not like to enter the profession.

General

BENIAMINO GIGLI

The famous Italian singer, Beniamino Gigli, died at Rome on Dec. 1, the Italian news agency Italia reported. The Italian tenor was 67. For 30 years he received the acclaim of music lovers all over the world until his retirement in 1955.

The youngest son of an Italian shoemaker, he began his career in the Schola Cantorum of the Sistine Chapel as a baritone. He became a tenor at the age of 24.

When he last appeared in Britain, in a concert tour shortly before his retirement, he said he could no longer stand the strain of concerts.

NEHRU ON SHIVAJI'S LIFE

Prime Minister Nehru said at Pratapgarh on Nov. 30, that ever since his childhood Shivaji had always occupied an important place in his heart and he had counted him as one of the greatest sons of India.

"However, I felt a little unhappy how such a great man made the blunder of killing Afzal Khan at a meeting called by him for peace talks. I had learned history through books written by Englishmen. They had written many things about Shivaji in which there was praise as well as censure. One of the accusations was that Afzal Khan was killed by treachery."

He had studied that history and thought it was true because it was written by eminent men. Later he read history books written by Indians, Maharashtrians and Bengalis, who had access to new historical materials which the Englishmen did not have. "After reading these new books another picture was formed in my mind. A new colour was added to the picture and I am really quite happy over this."

D.K.'S ACTIVITIES CONDEMNED

His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Dwaraka Head of the Sharda Math, with a big following in Western India, has condemned the "destructive and harmful" activities of the Dravida Kazhagam in Madras.

Speaking at a big public meeting, His Holiness appealed to the Union and State Governments "to take adequate action to prevent insult and injury to innocent persons."

His Holiness also appealed to the State Governments to exempt charitable institutions and religious organisations from the purview of land reform laws.

Dr. A. J. EWINS

Dr. Arthur James Ewins, one of the discoverers of the anti-pneumonia drug known as M and B, died on Christmas eve.

The drug M and B 693—which has been responsible for saving many lives, was discovered by Dr. Ewins in association with Dr. M. A. Philips in 1937.

Dr. Ewins was also responsible for many other important medical discoveries including the development of drugs for treating tropical diseases, a subject which was one of his main interests.

He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1943 and retired in 1952.

TELEPRINTER INVENTOR

Mr. Frederick George Creed, 54, who revolutionised the world newspaper industry with his teleprinter system, died at Croydon on Dec. 11.

Born in Nova Scotia, Canada, he came to Britain 60 years ago, when the daily Press was still issuing week-end foreign news. His new machine brought up-to-the-minute the coverage of world events. He perfected his idea for faster communication of news in a little workshop in Glasgow, and took it to Fleet Street in 1912.

GOKHALE INSTITUTE

The Gokhale Institute of Political and Economics, Poona has received a grant of \$500,000 from the Ford Foundation for the purpose of assisting the institute in expanding its research and training programme relating to Indian social and economic growth. The grant is for a period of over five years.

NEW APPARATUS TO DETECT CANCER

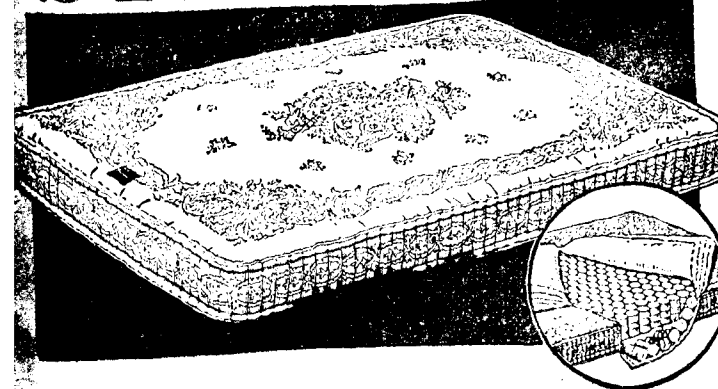
The Soviet Public Health Ministry publication "Meditsinsky Rebotnik" reported that a new invention utilising ultrasonic rays has been invented, which enables doctors to detect cancers not visible to other rays.

The ultrasonic rays reflect on tissues in the human body, which are denser than normal tissues such as cancerous growths. The reflection is amplified by an electronic system, which shows a blank spot marking the cancer on a small screen. The position and character of the spot shows where the tumor is located.

DR. MADAN ATAL

Dr. Madan Atal, who had led the Congress medical mission to China during the Sino-Japanese War and who recently went to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government, passed away on Dec. 1, in Peking.

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