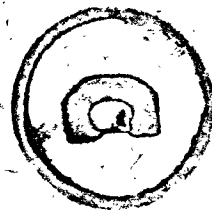


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The INDIAN REVIEW

59th Year

Vol. 59.

MARCH 1958

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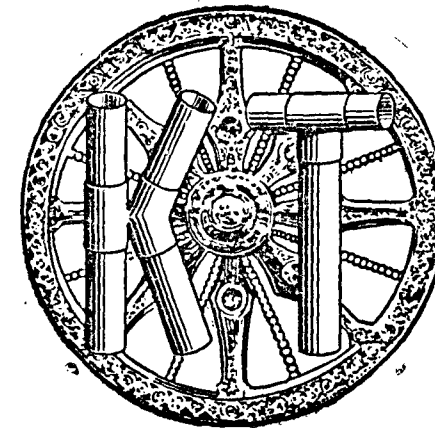
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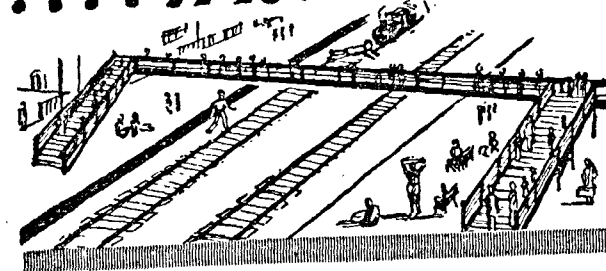
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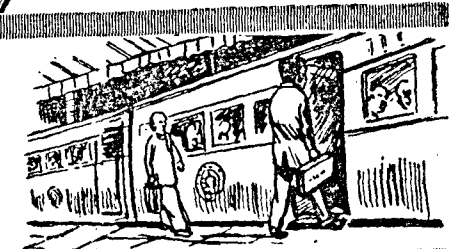
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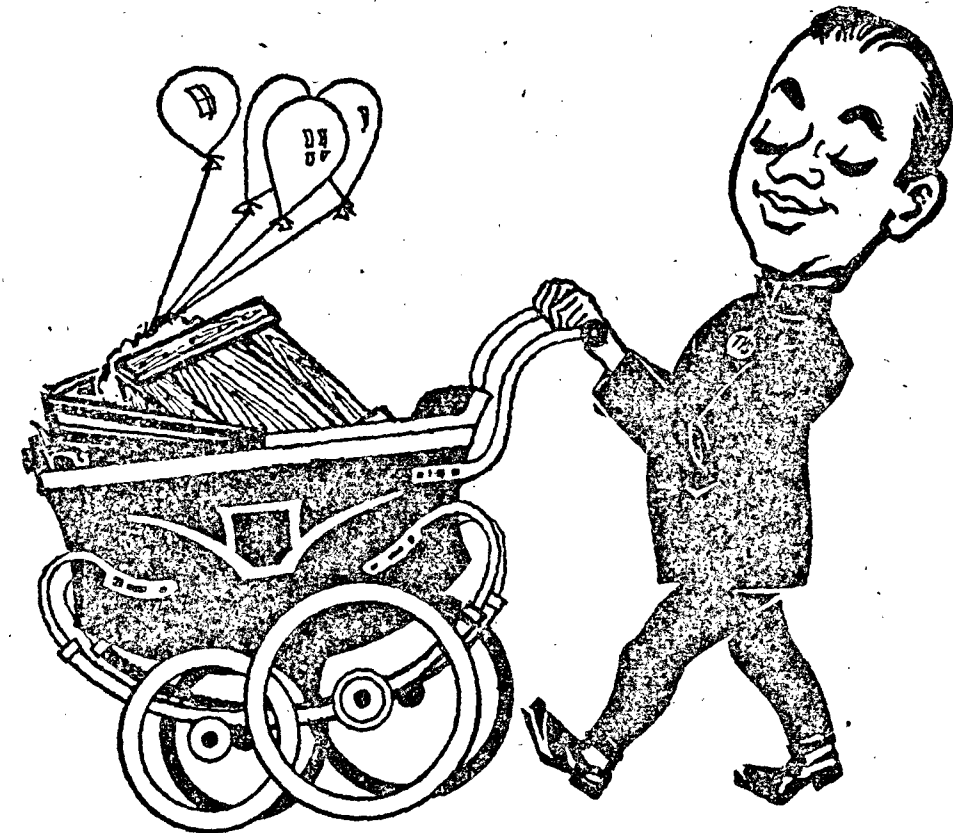
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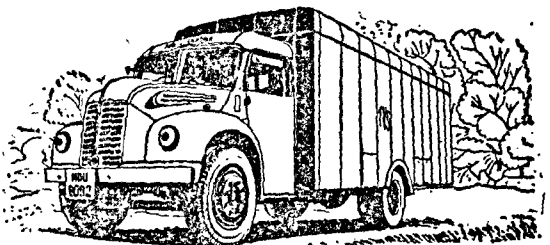
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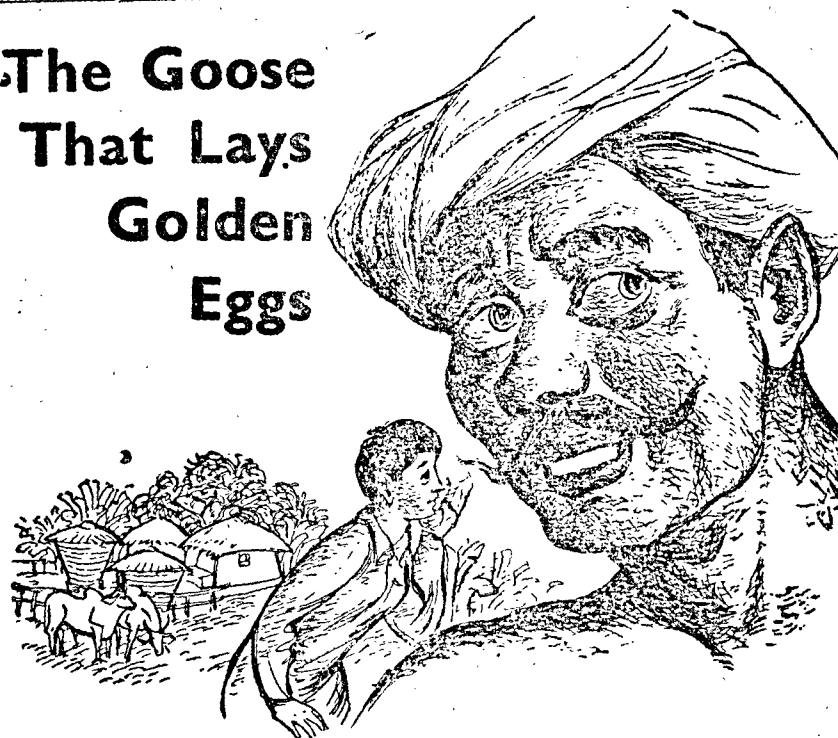
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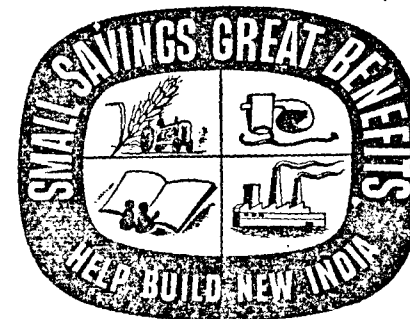
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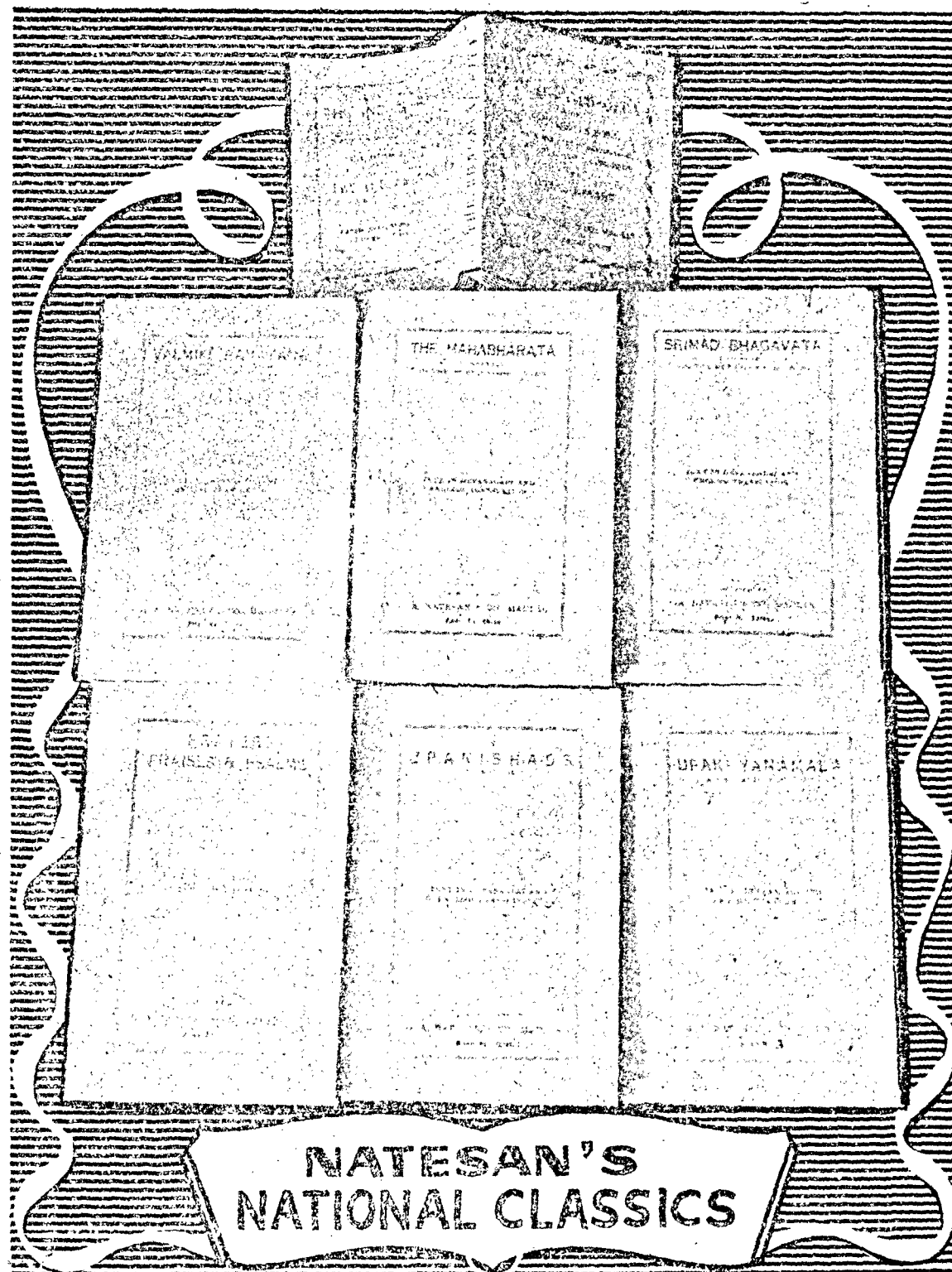
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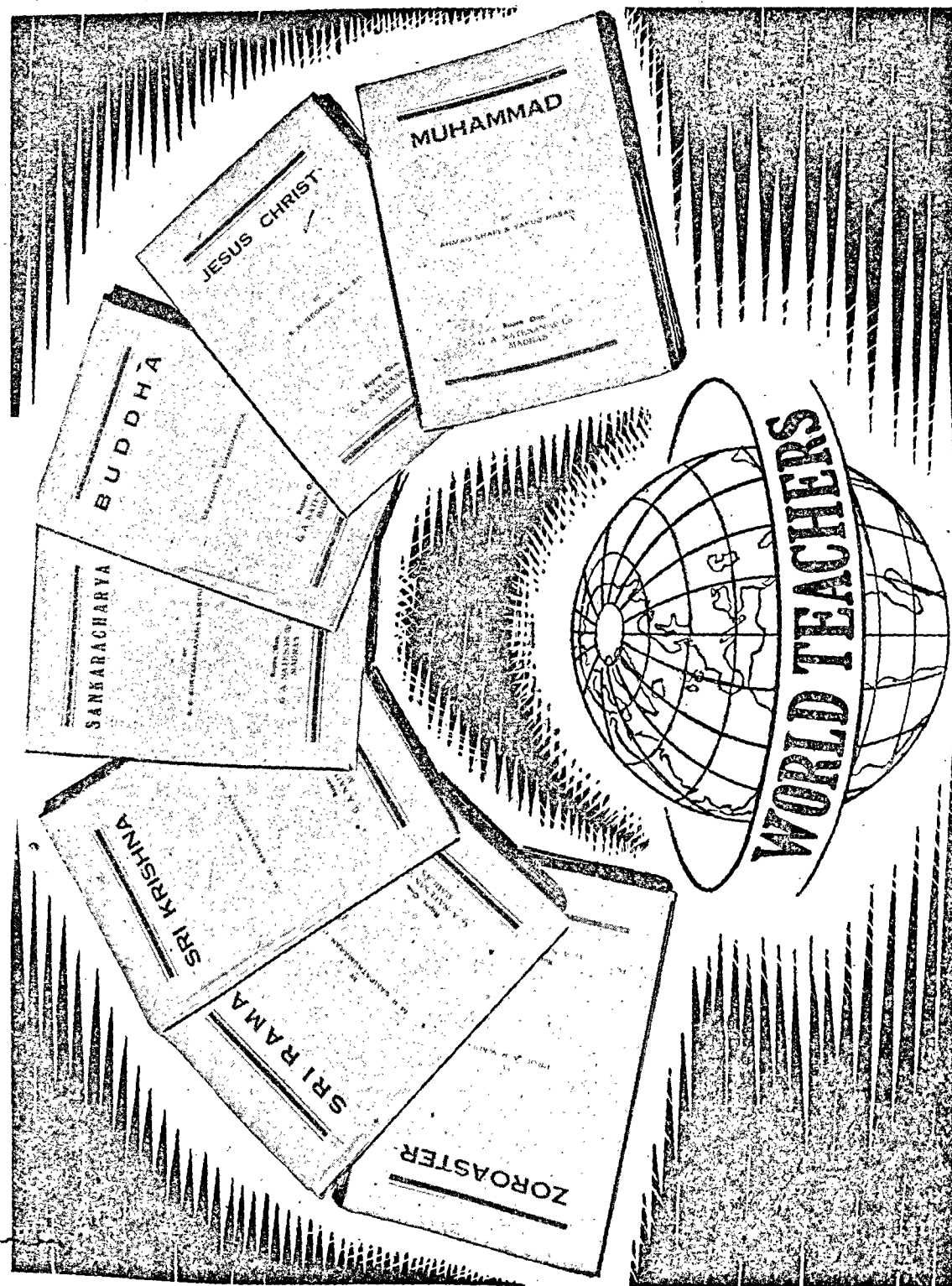
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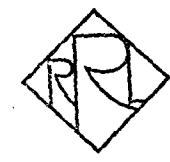
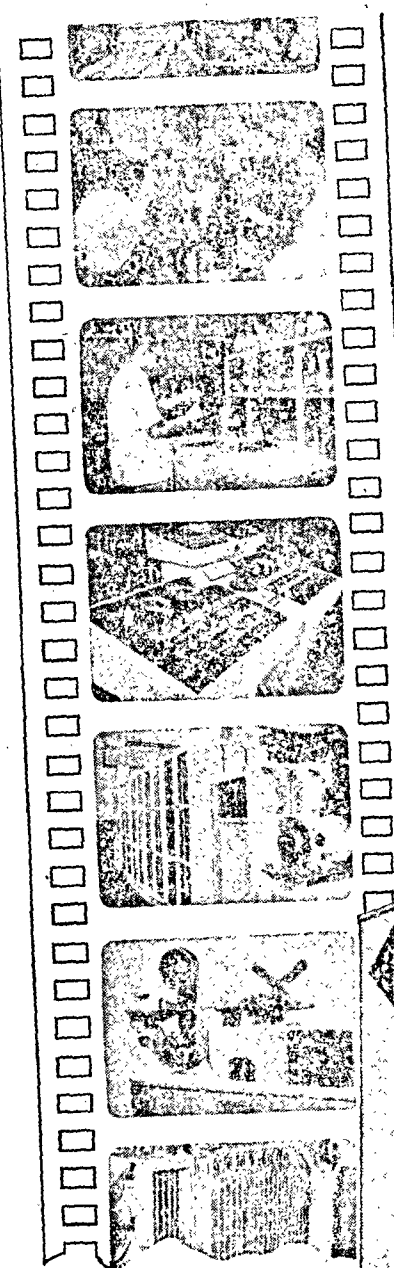
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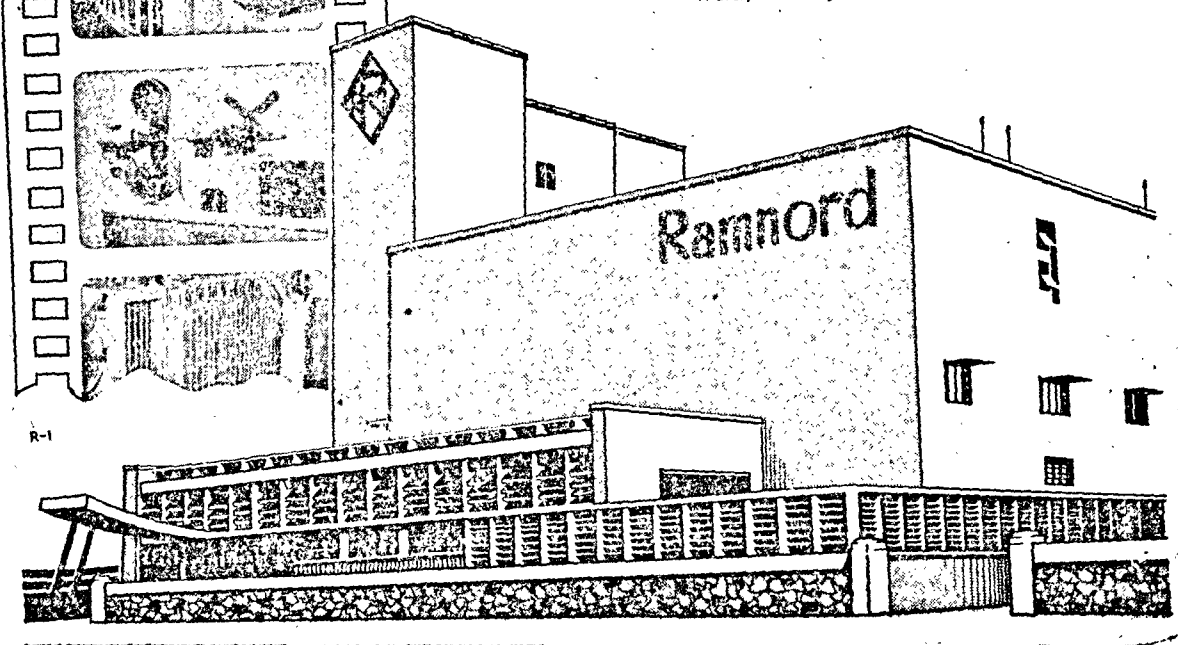
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MARCH 1958

[No. 3]

EDITORIAL

THE BUDGET

The Budget of the Central Government for 1958-59, contains few surprises. It follows the same pattern as the Budget of the previous year, and the Prime Minister showed a 'caretaker' interest in the performance of a task which he felt thrust upon him. He, however, emphasised that the Government were determined to pursue the socialistic ideal and the necessary implementation of the Plan.

Of the Gift Tax, the only criticism that can be made is that it seems rather unnecessary, in view of the period before death for exemptions from estate duty being increased from two years to five. In actual fact, most of the gifts have been already made at or about the time of the passing of the Estate Duty Act, and there is an element of prospectiveness rather than imminence about the new imposition. But once the principle is granted that transfer of property should be subject to tax, one cannot object to transfers *intervivos* being brought within the scope of the principle. It is a necessary precaution against the estate duty being circumvented, and follows logically from such duty.

Defence is the largest single branch of expenditure. The provision is a pitiful percentage of what the modern nations are spending on armaments, but then, the question arises whether, in the context of the new space penetrating missiles and the hydrogen bombs and the supersonic speeds of carrier craft, any purpose is served by buying guns and ships and aircraft that are sufficient only for quelling

civil rebellion, but are totally useless in any form of modern warfare. This is like children playing at being father and mother. Both Pakistan and India seem to be throwing good money away in taking a precaution that cannot stand up against the grim realities of a real conflict, which, as the Suez incident has shown, can never be bilateral. The criticism of the defence budget is not that it is wasteful in its detail, but that, as a whole, it is based on a misconception of its usefulness.

There is also an economic purblindness in the breezy assumption of the available taxable capacity. For example, the Government have transferred the charge levied on cement by the Sales Corporation to itself as an excise duty, thereby maintaining the *status quo vis-a-vis* the consumer and the producer, at a time when the real need of the hour is to encourage the consumption of cement. Stocks of cement are accumulating in the factories because the larger State projects have been slowed down. This is just the time to make cement more freely available to the private consumers. The present price was fixed so as to equalise the cost of the imported and the local cement. But imports have been stopped and yet the high price is allowed to continue, thus illustrating the orthodox economic cliché that a tax once levied, will never be withdrawn, but will be continued in some form or other. There is thus no justification for converting the levy into an excise. It is inopportune and will hasten the general tendency towards a depression.

The cutting down of the Plan to a core that is considered vital is a welcome sign, and will place the present in a more favourable position in relation to a vague and seemingly ever receding future for which we are being asked to make sacrifices; but the pruning would have been more intelligent if it had been made in the beginning itself, instead of being a forced and last minute cutting down of practically the entire private sector. The private sector is pre-eminently the consumer sector, making things that can be sold straightaway. Its expansion is by itself a guarantee of ample stocks in the market which will absorb the newly created purchasing power from the long range State schemes, and thereby control inflation. One is afraid that the future is too much with us, and that the sacrifice of the present has become a grim ritual which perhaps satisfies the feelings of those who are proud of having gone to jail for the sake of their country. It is time that an adjustment is made for the sake of the present and a greater share of exchange made available for the consumer sector.

THE MIDDLE EAST

In the shifting swing of world politics the Middle East has now assumed importance. The changes have not followed the usual pattern to which the past has accustomed the Power Nations, and to say the least of it, they are bewildered. It commenced with what may be called the self-determination policy of Egypt in regard to the Suez canal. The Israel-British combination did not make the expected headway against Egypt. The final result was a reduction of British prestige, a waste of Israel's sponsored effort at a show-down and the emergence of Egypt and of its dictator, as forces in their own right, all the help that Egypt may have received from one or more big powers notwithstanding. In a sense, Egypt discovered its strength.

But power is a strange diet. It opens out many possibilities of expansion. It attracts

satellites as by an invisible magnet. It is too early to pronounce an opinion on the motives behind the Egypto-Syrian Union, (to which little Yemen added itself) and it will be unwise to dismiss or underestimate it as the creation of Russian manoeuvring. It represents the core of a new awakening in an area which has for long been the play board of Western power politics. It has to be then related to the personality of this or that person who directs and crystallises this awakening to suit his ends. In other words, Nasser is not the architect of this movement, but the man with a giant crowd behind which propels him on, but who also leads it along a chosen path of his desire. Thus the union with Syria and Yemen may well lead to less voluntary annexations, with Sudan, for instance, where the people may be worked up into opposition to the present Government, and a coup engineered, but it will nevertheless be a movement of the people.

On the other hand, the Jordan-Iraqi federation looks less a union of the people and more a union of the rulers, and one may, merely as a matter of political speculation, wonder, on the basis of its timing and the diplomatic character of it, whether it is not partly a creature of external sponsoring. Nasser has come out with an open condemnation of it, and there is a possibility of two groups being now formed in that area.

Meanwhile, one may safely say that these new unions will weaken the Bagdad pact, and give rise to different local groupings which will be in a better position to bargain with the nations that want bases for bombs, than hitherto.

The position of Israel is unenviable. It will be ringed round with hostile groups, and its safety will lie very much on the extent to which it becomes an enclave of the powerful nations of the West. It is so now to some extent by the force of geography, but it will have to practice a certain surrender if it is to survive.

To the west of this troubled area, the blind colonial policy of the French is causing world opinion to gather in favour of Algeria. That is a second region, in the Middle East, comprising of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, which may, in course of time, develop sufficient affinities to form a union. Every action of the French Government brings them together, apart from racial, religious and other common interests.

The over-all picture is one which justifies a prediction of petty warfare, and continued uneasiness for a few more years, with Egypt-Syria trying to add to its territory, the Oil States of Arabia presided over by outworn and monopolistic royalties trying to form a conservative union (with contrary peoples' movements being sponsored from within and without), a troubled Israel turning to the West, and the French West African countries getting together. Ultimately it is likely that two groups will emerge, one mainly "Arabian-oil influenced," and the other "Egypt-centred-African," but this will take time, and meanwhile it is quite likely that the two great powers of the world will try to form smaller alignments in the area. Whatever may be the intermediate changes of strength, position, and groupings, in the last analysis, the seeds of some kind of people's self-determination will bear fruit.

THE MUNDHRA AFFAIR AND THE PUBLIC CORPORATIONS

Just as in the case of some one who has fallen a victim to an acute disorder, the symptoms are first treated, and then, when the danger is past, a more thorough examination of the root causes of the malign disease is made, so, also, in the case of the body politic, we may now, after the chemotherapy of Chagla, sit back and try to analyse the significance of this debacle. Firstly, it has been made clear that the public corporation in India continues to be a department of the Government and not an independent body, the theoretical rationale of which is its freedom

from the delaying routine of departmental procedures and from interference by a stifling authority and an ill informed but vociferous legislature. On the contrary, what has happened is just the reverse, a display of Government control, absence of autonomous policies, and the worst form of parliamentary inquisition. There is an essential difference between an organisation which has a constitution of its own, and functions within the freedom available to it, and a body which has all the legal clothing of autonomy, but is in fact, a creature of Government, used for serving the policies of the Government. The L.I.C. has been shown to be only a Government department. It is a waste of time to create such bodies and then make them mere annexures of the Ministry of Finance. State capitalism is not socialisation, but a change of masters, from the rapacious entrepreneur to the bureaucrat, with the added danger of irresponsibility arising from the absence of personal financial stake. The minor disclosures of the affair are as nothing compared to the revelation that this country has either not understood the importance of preserving the autonomy of the Public Corporation, or, that the Legislature, in their political anxiety to reshuffle the seats of power, have ignored the dangers of this kind of meatcarving.

Secondly, the incident has shown that this country revels in the exhibition of scandal, pain, suffering, indecent exposures, and other forms of used linen washing. It is a terrible commentary on our sense of decency and fair-play that the incident should have let loose a veritable flood of enjoyable comment and satisfying news gobbling, dire predictions of something much more sinister yet to come, deep conspiracies, and police probes into unsuspected matters with promise of yet more terrible disclosures. There is something repellant in the idea of a judicial enquiry degenerating into a Roman Holiday for the citizens of Bombay, and less directly, for the members of this great democracy. It was a serious investigation which should have been held

either in camera, or by a committee of the legislature. But the theory of doing everything openly because this is a Government of the people can be overdone and misapplied; as indeed it has been done in the present case.

Thirdly, it raises the major question of the relations of the officials with the Ministers. It is difficult to determine the merits of this particular incident, neither is it necessary to do so but it cannot be denied that it has destroyed what little confidence and courage the officials possessed. The old I.C.S. started with the disadvantage that in the eyes of their new masters, they represented the foreign regime, relics of a period when they, the new masters suffered for the sake of their country. The ministers felt like the daughter-in-law who had become the mother-in-law. It may be conceded that some of the officers did not realise the full significance of the change and continued to act as if theirs was the voice that mattered. But this was for the first two or three years. No one can say that in 1957 the bureaucracy did not loyally carry out the policies of the Government or had not come to realise their position in the new setup. But the politicians are yet to realise that no modern Government can possibly be carried on except on the basis of large delegation, both personally and through self-governing institution, and that delegation implies trust to the extent of standing up for the official always and without reserve, with the sole exception that when the minister is convinced that there has been malafides and corruption, he orders an enquiry, and if the legislature asks about the matter, tells them that he will first get the facts clear and then make a statement. But it looks as if mutual distrust is ruling the secretariats, and whatever may be the merits of the Mundhra case it will be more charitable to gently pension off the older officers and, as in the U.S.A., fill the chief executive posts by party men. One is afraid that the tradition of the British Civil Service and of the British Parliamentary decencies demand a political maturity that we shall take several generations and a great deal of trial and tribulation to attain.

THE ANTI-CORRUPTION ACT

The recent amendment of the Anti-Corruption Act raises an analogous argument about political immaturity. It is a callow conception of the principle as well as the consequences of punishment that the more deterrent the punishment is, the less likely is the crime to be committed. Crimes of passion are rarely premeditated and the fear of punishment rarely acts as a deterrent to their commission. Crimes of profit are always premeditated, and, in the absence of a proper social conscience, will always be committed, the illegal inducement being increased with every increased official precaution taken against them. The Government have made corruption punishable by imprisonment compulsorily. In actual fact, very few cases of corruption, when proved in a court of law, escape a sentence of imprisonment, and in practice, little has been gained by imposing this new amendment, a restriction on the possible mercies of a court. But assuming that it is salutary in itself, how can one sector of society alone be made moral by an Act of Parliament, politicians when there is no law to prevent taking money for asking questions, men in business indulging in black marketing, Travelling bills being made the subject of false claims by magnates in industry, labour leaders living on fomenting trouble, and the double-standard of remuneration—part black and part white—being the accepted norm of all receipts and payments, whether in business, law, medicine or the sale of property or remuneration for services? How are the Government certain that the Special Police, whom they are nourishing, are not a corrupt part of the administration? Unless there is an improvement in the social conscience of the people, these laws have no value except as exhibiting the concealed sadism of the wielders of power. Nor can the country improve when men who have spent lacs on elections and have collected money for the elections from all and sundry, suddenly set themselves up as arbiters of official morality. It is to be hoped that in the years to come, corruption in all walks of life will go down, and along with it, official corruption also. Otherwise the official with political pull will get away, and the orphaned official will be made the victim. What is required is a widespread social integrity, so that the inducement to give will disappear, more than the desire to receive. All else will remain good only in the book.

Indian Shipping

By

SRI R. R. SAKSENA,
CHAIRMAN AND MANAGING DIRECTOR,
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IN his book, A HISTORY OF INDIAN SHIPPING Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee has stated that "the early growth of her shipping and shipbuilding, coupled with the genius and energy of her merchants, the skill and daring of her seamen, the enterprise of her colonists, and the zeal of her missionaries secured to India the command of the seas for ages, and helped her to attain and long maintain her proud position as the Mistress of the Eastern Seas". This tribute to our past should naturally fill the heart of every Indian with pride, but pride which induces complacency is the negation of virtue. We cannot afford to lose ourselves in the contemplation of our departed



glory. The past is useful only in so far as it spurs us to action and warns us against lurking dangers. We had, ages ago, a great maritime tradition it is true, but it is equally true that to-day that tradition inspires us no longer and we occupy a lowly position, quite incompatible with our size and importance, among the maritime nations of the world.

What forces were responsible for our maritime ascendancy in bygone days and what has brought about our down-fall in more recent

times are questions which must be properly answered and understood before we are able to evolve policies calculated to restore our prestige and influence. The reasons for both these situations are not far to seek. We had, in the olden days, a larger surplus of merchandise for export which necessitated the exploitation of foreign markets. The fact that our products were greatly in demand and could be sold at enormous profits overseas made it possible for merchants to finance the development of the Indian merchant marine. The existence of powerful states along the seaboard of India further stimulated the development of sea-power. Moved by the desire for wealth which ships brought to the country, the great maritime states of India took an active interest in the development and protection of their shipping. After the establishment of central authority at Delhi during the Muslim period, the centre of political gravity moved from the maritime states towards the vast hinterland of India with the result that interest in the development of sea-power and the merchant marine declined. The appearance of foreign ships better manned and led and fired with zeal, both religious and commercial, completed the debacle. Whatever was left of the once glorious Indian merchant marine was destroyed with the establishment of alien rule which was interested only in encouraging the rapacity of its own merchant adventurers.

We, as a people, could do little to stem this tide of adversity so long as we remained tied up in the chains of bondage. With the awakening of national consciousness and the attainment of sovereign status a new era has dawned for the country and we are now in a position to rehabilitate this important national industry. As a matter of fact, long before

India became independent some Indians with vision and a spirit of adventure had embarked on shipping enterprises. But the career of many of them was snuffed out by the ruthless competition, mostly unfair, offered by foreign shipping companies. Before the first World War foreign shipping companies monopolised the entire overseas trade and passenger traffic of the country, 85% of the coastal trade and received the entire annual postal subsidy of Rs. 8 lakhs. After the first World War, when Allied shipping lay prostrate and the demand for tonnage had become urgent and insistent Indian enterprises took heart again, and the foundation of Indian National Shipping was laid with the establishment of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company with one ship of about 6,000 tons on the 27th March, 1919. Even this insignificant enterprise was not allowed to have a smooth passage and frequently got into serious financial difficulties. It was only the doggedness and pertinacity of its founders, which allowed this frail bark to withstand the breakers of ruthless competition.

The first landmark in the history of Indian Shipping was reached in 1923 when the Government of India appointed the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee to report on measures for the training of Indians for a sea career, the provision of shipbuilding facilities, and the growth of an Indian mercantile marine. The Committee made some useful recommendations, but the Government of the day was in no mood to give them favourable consideration. Even as late as 1928 when Sri S. N. Haji moved his Bill for the reservation of coastal shipping to Indian ships in the Legislative Assembly, the opposition of British shipping interests proved too strong and the Bill had to be abandoned.

Till the outbreak of the second World War the Indian shipping industry continued, with more downs than ups on its humdrum course. During the War, Indian ships were requisitioned for War purposes, and their employment was rigorously controlled. When

the War ended, requisitioning was abandoned and ships were returned to their owners, but losses during the War had sadly depleted Indian tonnage. The War, nevertheless, had a salutary effect on the framers of policy and in 1944 the Commerce Department of the Government of India found it possible to issue a statement to say that for a country of its size the number of deep sea vessels possessed by India was distressingly small. It went on to pronounce that the acquisition of an adequate share in the world's carrying trade should be the aim of our post-war shipping policy.

A Committee was appointed in 1945 to make suitable recommendations for the implementation of the policy enunciated in 1944. The Committee's recommendations were accepted by the Government in July, 1947, almost on the eve of Independence. A target of 2 million tons of shipping to be achieved within the next five to seven years was adopted and it was agreed that coastal shipping would be reserved for Indian ships. The encouragement given by Government to Indian shipping led very soon to the establishment of two other important Indian shipping companies and an increase of Indian tonnage by 1948 to 315,000. Indian shipping companies were also admitted as members of several Conference lines.

In November, 1957, Sri C. H. Bhabha, the then Commerce Minister, announced a new policy of collaboration between Government and private shipping interests and stated Government's intention to establish three Government-sponsored Shipping Corporations. The first Corporation known as The Eastern Shipping Corporation was established in Bombay in March, 1950 with the Scindia Steam Navigation Company as its Managing Agents. The second Corporation known as the Western Shipping Corporation was registered only in 1956 as a Private Company and now owns a Tanker which has been chartered to the Burmah-Shell Company. The third Corporation has still to be formed. The reser-

vation of coastal trade for Indian ships was announced by Government on the 15th August 1950 and was a notable mile-stone in the advance of Indian shipping.

Seven years have passed since the Government of India accepted the recommendation of the Reconstruction Policy Sub-Committee to adopt a dynamic policy with regard to shipping and to achieve the targets of 100% for the coastal trade, 75% for trade with Burma, Ceylon and other adjacent countries and 50% of India's distant trades. These targets, as also the target of 2 million tons of Indian shipping still remain unfulfilled. During the last seven years Government's preoccupation with other matters and the diversion of available resources to other projects have stood in the way of progress being made in the shipping industry as rapidly as was desired. The First Five-year Plan in fact reduced the target of gross registered tonnage to 600,000 by the end of 1955-56. Even this modest target could only be said to have been achieved if the tonnage of ships under construction but not actually delivered during the Plan period were taken into account. The Second Five-year Plan allows for a net increase of 360,000 gross tonnage by the end of 1961 or a total tonnage of 900,000 g.r.t. The difficulties in the way of availability of foreign exchange which have recently become manifest and the soaring prices of ships, both new and secondhand, make the prospect of achieving this modest expansion somewhat remote. Even assuming that it were achieved, Indian tonnage would still carry only about 12 to 15% of the country's overseas trade and 50% of her trade with adjacent countries as against the present proportion of 5 and 40%.

The paucity of financial resources is mainly responsible for the slow progress which has been made in recent years in the expansion of

Indian tonnage. The allocation of Rs. 45 crores during the second Plan period was too small for the needs of shipping industry and I greatly fear that foreign exchange may not now be available even to the extent of this figure. The indigenous Shipping industry centralised at the Hindustan shipyard has not expanded fast enough to allow rapid expansion of national tonnage and the second Shipyard is still only in the offing. Foreign shipyards are so fully occupied that they cannot promise deliveries for some years to come and second-hand ships are at present on offer at such high prices that they are not worth having. We could, to some extent, mitigate the shortage of foreign exchange, if ships could be obtained on long deferred term basis, but conditions at present make it somewhat doubtful if we shall get financial accommodation for the acquisition of ships on acceptable terms. The prospects for a large increase in the Indian tonnage in the immediate future are thus dim, and we must now focus our attention on the distant future for the fulfilment of our aspirations.

The arguments, economic, political and strategic, in favour of an expanded Indian mercantile marine are overwhelming and even though the centre of political gravity is still a thousand miles away from the seaboard, the importance and urgency of building up our mercantile marine to a strength commensurate with the size, the needs and the prestige of our country is beginning to be increasingly appreciated. We are to-day masters of our destiny. The compulsion of our economic necessities and the spirit of enterprise which animate both the Government and the people must inevitably move us with gathering momentum towards the fulfilment of our dreams for the Indian mercantile marine.

The Central Budget

The Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, presenting the Budget for 1958-59 in the Lok Sabha on Feb. 28, disclosed a revenue deficit, of Rs. 32.85 crores at the existing level of taxation.

Mr. Nehru said with experience some changes might be made here and there in the tax structure, but the major steps that were taken last year had to continue.

He estimated revenue for the coming year at Rs. 763.16 crores, and expenditure at Rs. 796.01 crores. Under the revised estimates, the current year (1957-58) will close with revenue of Rs. 724.63 crores, and expenditure of Rs. 719.58 crores.

The original estimates were: Revenue Rs. 708.03 crores, and expenditure Rs. 672.29 crores.

The estimates of capital expenditure for the coming year are placed at Rs. 412 crores, excluding a formal adjusting debit of Rs. 78 crores in respect of loan assistance from the United States. The revised estimates of the current year provide for an outlay of Rs. 427 crores, a reduction of Rs. 28 crores over the Budget estimates.

The following are the new tax proposals in the Budget.

Mr. Nehru announced the introduction of a Gift Tax.

A total of Rs. 10,000 given as a gift to an individual in one year will be exempted.

The Gift Tax will include transfer of property to relatives and friends. The only exception will be in the case of charitable institutions, Government companies, corporations established by Central or State Acts and public companies whose affairs are controlled by six persons or more.

If the value of gifts exceeds Rs. 10,000 the excess will be taxed. Among the exemptions

are gifts to one's wife up to a limit of Rs. one lakh, gifts to female dependents on the occasion of marriage up to Rs. 10,000 in each case, and gifts to Central and State Governments and local authorities and charitable institutions.

The rates of Gift Tax will be the same as for Estate Duty without exemptions for the first slab of Rs. 50,000.

The total yield expected from the Gift Tax is Rs. three crores.

Mr. Nehru announced a reduction in the exemption limit of Estate Duty from Rs. one lakh to Rs. 50,000.

Mr. Nehru proposed no major changes in the income-tax structure.

He announced an increase in the rate of excise duty on cement from Rs. 20 to Rs. 24 per ton.

The rate of excise duty on vegetable products has been lowered on the first 300 tons cleared by each factory. This will give a relief of Rs. 24 lakhs.

He announced an increase in the development rebate on new ships from 25 per cent to 40 per cent.

Mr. Nehru said the new taxation proposals would yield Rs. 6.57 crores.

He proposed only minor verbal changes in customs duties. This includes introduction of alternative *ad valorem* duties in respect of certain varieties of art silk like rayon. As far as other varieties are concerned the rate of duties is left unchanged.

The final deficit will be Rs. 27.03 crores, which has been left uncovered.

Mr. Nehru will not have to face a highly critical House and his budget may have an easy passage with support from all sections of the House.

Government and Administration of the United Kingdom

By

"AN ENGLISHMAN"

PARLIAMENTARY Government is one of the most important institutions to originate in Britain. Its effect is to combine responsibility with representation. While the will of the majority prevails, every opportunity is given to the minority to have its say and exert its proper influence.

Under the system of universal adult suffrage, each citizen has the right to vote periodically, freely and secretly to choose his representatives in Parliament. Therefore each citizen has an equal influence and an equal responsibility. The system has grown in strength and flexibility over many centuries, and, while much remains of traditional pageantry, which is not without point and value, it may be fairly claimed that the British Parliament is an efficient and up-to-date instrument.

The supreme legislative authority in the United Kingdom is the Queen in Parliament, that is to say the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament, the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

The House of Lords is constituted primarily on a hereditary basis. Of the eight to nine hundred peers who have the right to sit, fewer than a hundred normally take any part in the proceedings. Archbishops and certain bishops of the Church of England, as well as a few members of the judiciary (law lords), also sit. New peerages are created by the Sovereign on the advice of the Prime Minister.

The House of Commons is elected by universal adult suffrage. There are at present 630 members, each representing a single member constituency.

By the Parliament Act, 1911, the normal life of a Parliament was fixed at five years, although

it may be and often is dissolved in less than that time. The main functions of Parliament are legislation and the taking of formal action, cast in legislative form, to make available finance for the needs of the community and to appropriate the funds necessary for the services of the State. Parliament also criticizes and controls the Government.

In the past, legislation was initiated from both sides of the House; but in present-day practice almost all Bills—and all money Bills—are brought forward by the Government. Bills may be introduced in either House, unless they deal with finance or representation, when they are always introduced in the Commons. After a Bill has passed through its various parliamentary stages, it is sent to the Sovereign for Royal Assent, which is automatically given either by the Sovereign in person or, usually, by Commission.

In the normal course of events, the Lords either accept a Bill from the Commons and return it unchanged, or amend it and return it for the consideration of members of the other House, who frequently agree to the amendments made. They cannot require the Commons to agree to amendments, nor can they delay a Bill indefinitely.

Parliament's function of controlling the Government is exercised, in the final analysis, by the power of the House of Commons to pass a resolution of 'no confidence' in the Government, or to reject a proposal which the Government considers so vital to its policy that it has made it a 'matter of confidence'; and thus to force the Government to resign.

The party system has existed in one form or another since the seventeenth century, and has

now become an essential element in the working of the constitution.

The party which wins the majority of seats (although not necessarily the majority of votes) at a General Election forms the Government. The Prime Minister is appointed from its numbers by the Sovereign, usually on the formal advice of the retiring Prime Minister; and its most outstanding members in the House of Lords and the House of Commons receive ministerial appointments on the advice of the Prime Minister. The larger minority party becomes the official opposition with its own leader and its own council of discussion or unofficial Cabinet.

The Cabinet is a conventional organ of government composed of a number of Ministers selected by the Prime Minister. Membership is not fixed by statute; no individual Minister can claim by virtue of his office to be included, and the number of members varies nowadays between 15 and 25. The Cabinet is not in itself an executant, in that it has no legal authority, its decisions being valid by convention and not by law. It is designed to formulate general policy, to bring about co-operation between the different forces of the State without interfering with their legal independence, and to exercise general control.

The doctrine of collective responsibility imposes upon Cabinet Ministers the obligation to act not as individuals but (in the interests of stability of government) as a united group. Any Minister who feels himself unable to agree or compromise with the view of the majority

of his colleagues in Parliament or elsewhere must resign. If he does not resign, he is held to be responsible, and cannot afterwards reject criticism on the ground that he did not personally agree with the policy adopted. By the same token, the Cabinet is bound to offer unanimous advice to the Sovereign, even when its members do not hold identical views on a given subject. The individual responsibility of a Minister for the work of his Department means that, as political head of that Department, he is answerable for all its acts and omissions.

Government Departments exist for the most part to assist ministers in the discharge of their functions by providing information and advice as a basis for the formation of policy, and by putting that policy into effect when the necessary legislation has been passed. Both in their advisory and executive capacities Government Departments may and frequently do work with and through local authorities, public corporations and many Government-sponsored organizations which, while not forming part of Government Departments, are under varying degree of Government control.

A change of Government does not generally affect the number of functions of Government Departments, although a radical change in policy may be accompanied by a corresponding change in the Departments concerned. The widening scope of Government activity has, however, led to the formation of a substantial number of new Departments in the past half-century. A few have existed for over 200 years.

Service to Motherland

Sri Bisnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras

We have a large number of journals and periodicals but a very few of them had got the opportunity of having been in the Service of the Motherland continuously for a such a long period like the INDIAN REVIEW. I trust, with the experience gathered for so many years, the INDIAN REVIEW would find it an easy task to help in shaping public opinion and to lead the country towards her moral and intellectual development at a time when India is endeavouring to reconstruct herself and establish a lasting peace in the World.

English as Official Language

By

SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

ONE of the major questions with which the Government of India is faced at the moment is that of the official language of the Union. The decision on this matter — whatever it might be — is fraught with far-reaching consequences to the future of India.

What is to be that language — Hindi or English? There is a strong feeling on this matter more particularly in the South and in Bengal — a feeling which is likely to gather momentum with the passage of time. The protagonists of Hindi in Uttar Pradesh, having succeeded by a single vote in inserting a provision in the Constitution Act that Hindi is to be the official language of the Union, displacing English, are using every endeavour, every device to see that the provision is implemented by the appointed date, namely 1965.

I feel tempted to make very briefly, a few observations on what has become an acutely controversial issue.

I would consider this question in three separate categories: the common language, the regional language and the official language. We all agree that a common language is a most desirable possession for any nation. The question is what exactly do we mean by a common language in a country like India with the numerous languages and races, its vast area and its huge population, and the heterogeneous character of its people? Would Hindi serve the purpose and would it satisfy all reasonable aspirations? Would it be wise to give any indigenous language a status superior to others by making it the official language? How can this problem be solved to the satisfaction of all of the largest possible proportion of our people?

My own suggestion would be — make Hindusthani, which is mid-way between Hindi and Urdu, and which is neither highly Sanskritized like Hindi nor Persianized like Urdu, the common language of India. It is a

language which is easily picked up, is spoken and understood nearly everywhere in India. The State should encourage it by all legitimate means and make it more and more popular. This could be done without introducing any element of compulsion and without impinging on the other languages. Let it be the language of popular inter-communication. It is even now the language of the cinema and cultured society alike.

Then there is the regional language, the mother tongue of the majority of the population in each State — Bengali in Bengal, Tamil in Madras, Telugu in Andhra, Hindi in Uttar Pradesh, Malayalam in Malabar, Marati and Gujarati in their respective areas. The mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in schools up to the college classes when English should take its place. English should be taught from the beginning along with the mother tongue and later Hindusthani in Devanagari script. This need not mean any neglect of the mother tongue which could still continue to be studied by those who so wish, even in the university course, as is indeed the case at present. But the medium for higher studies in Science, Philosophy, History, Law, and Literature should be definitely English.

The official language of any State, as distinct from the Centre, might be the local language in all subordinate offices, more particularly Revenue. In the Secretariat and Departmental offices it should be English. This has long been the practice in Mysore.

The official language of the Centre should be English. No Indian language is at present, or is likely to be in any foreseeable future, fitted to take its place. They are all inadequate or unacceptable to many or both. English can well continue to be the language of the judiciary, of all inter-State correspondence, and the main language of the university

bodies and the legislative assemblies, I say "mair" language because other languages may also be allowed to be used in the legislative assemblies and in the university bodies. This was the practice in Mysore and it worked very well. In the Legislative Council both English and Kannada were allowed but in the popular house, called the Representative Assembly, only Kannada was used. Excepting the Dewan's address which was in English (but subsequently a Kannada translation was read out) the proceedings were conducted entirely in Kannada and even the European members, the coffee planters mostly, who knew Kannada, preferred to speak in that language rather than in English.

Any attempt to oust English in favour of Hindi will prove to be both difficult and harmful in its consequences. A great international language, which English is, is needed both for internal and external purposes. It is the good

fortune of India that history has already provided her with such a language. Wise statesmanship will not hastily discard such a useful tried instrument.

To say, as some do, that English is understood by hardly one per cent of the population, while Hindi is spoken by at least 42 per cent is to overlook certain essential facts. Hindi is practically confined to one special area. English is known to the educated throughout the country. Moreover, let us not forget that the one per cent that speak English are the intellectual cream of the nation and are responsible for administration and for progress in every sphere.

Working on the above basis and allowing the processes of Nature to fashion the future course of events, we may await the results with confidence, for results thus obtained are more likely to be in the best long-term interests of the nation than any obtained in any other way.

International Aid for Projects

By

SHRI K. C. KHATRI,

(Superintending Engineer, Central Water and Power Committee)

MULTIPURPOSE integrated river valley planning is comparatively new to India for all countries. For carrying out the various investigations, drawing up plans for them and their execution technical personnel specially trained in each type of work are needed. As some of the countries in the world have gained considerably more experience in the planning and technique of execution of multipurpose projects, it would be helpful to India to draw on such experience and improve the speed and economy of project development. Technically advanced countries like the U.S.A., United Kingdom, Canada, West Germany and others have generously offered to assist us in the development of our water and power resources, and the assistance

being given by them has been playing a significant role in the Plan programmes of India. Foreign assistance received in the shape of technical personnel drafted to India, training for our engineers abroad, materials and equipments for projects research in foreign laboratories, are broadly outlined in this article.

Assistance from the United States of America is by far the largest foreign aid for river valley development in the country. This is being channeled through an agreement signed between India and the United States on January 5, 1952. Under this Agreement two kinds of assistance are being received namely, (i) assistance in the United States, and (ii) assistance in India.

The Government of the United States of America has undertaken to make available at the office, laboratories and other installations of the United States Bureau of Reclamation, the services of personnel, equipment and facilities of the Bureau as may be necessary to render such scientific and technical service and advice required by the Government of India. The cost of such service is to be borne by the U.S. Government, which has set apart a sum of 100,000 for the purpose. Under the Agreement, a number of technical problems relating to Hirakud, Koyna, Rihand and other projects have been referred to the Bureau of Reclamation. Similarly the Bureau has also supplied a number of technical publications for use by various departments in India.

Three kinds of assistance is being offered in India by the United States Government.

(i) Services of American technicians.

(ii) Training facilities for Indian engineers in the States.

(iii) Supply of equipment for the various projects under execution in India.

The U.S. Government has made available the services of 32 technical experts during the First Five-year Plan. Of these 10 were attached to the Damodar Valley Corporation, two to the Hirakud Project and the rest were assigned to the Central Water and Power Commission.

The United States made available training facilities for 17 engineers from India. Seven of these were from C.W. & P. C., three each from Hirakud and DVC Projects, and the rest from State Governments.

The United States also made available considerable quantity of equipment such as heavy earthmoving machinery like scrapers, dumpers, tractors, etc., and construction equipment like stone crushers, concrete batching and conveying plants, etc., with spare parts for various river valley projects in India.

Project	Estimated Project cost (in crores of rupees)	Cost of Equipment made available (dollars)
Hirakud Dam ...	70.78	3,323,482.00
Kakrapar Weir and Canals (Bombay)	11.65	23,615.15
Mahi (Bombay) ...	14.00	658,840.00
Ghataprabha (Bombay) ...	5.45	207,643.00
Tunga Anicut (Mysore) ...	2.31	215,640.00
Saurashtra Irrigation Scheme (Bombay)	3.34	89,650.00
Chambal Project (Madhya Pradesh)	48.03	2,266,116.00
Pathri Project (Uttar Pradesh) ...	2.58	19,232.00

The Government of the United States is also assisting the Government of India in controlling the flood menace in this country by making available services of experts and equipment to the extent of 202,000. The equipment includes fully-equipped motor launches, rain and river gauges that can report rainfall and river-flow by unattended radio and devices to measure the speed of waterflow.

In addition to the above projects, the Government of the United States has agreed to assist in the execution of the Rihand Project to the extent of 6,413,017 and Rs. 7 crores. The dollar component is intended mostly for procuring construction equipment and also a team of construction technicians to be deputed by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation. The rupee component is to assist in paying for general construction costs. The total cost of the Rihand Project is estimated at Rs. 48 crores.

Similarly the Government of the United States has helped in setting up two technical training centres for operation and maintenance of heavy earth-moving equipment, and at

Kotah and the other at Nagarjunasagar dam site. Most of the equipment for these training centres and service of expert operators and mechanics are being supplied by the United States. Each of the centres is training 40 operators and mechanics every year.

In addition, two more training centres for "Hot line maintenance of transmission and distribution system" are being set up, one at Bangalore and the other at Nangal with the assistance of the United States. These are expected to start functioning shortly.

The Colombo Plan is a co-operative effort and mutual assistance programme of countries comprising the Commonwealth of Nations, Japan, Burma and Thailand. Under this scheme, Canada, Australia and U.K. are affording assistance to this country in the execution of projects. Out of these countries, Canada has given by far the biggest contribution.

In the first two years of India's First Five-year Plan, Canadian assistance was mainly in the shape of commodities. An amount of \$ 15 million (Canadian) was allocated for the supply of wheat and the rupee proceeds realised therefrom were allocated by agreement for expenditure on the Mayurakshi Project in West Bengal. In addition, the Canadian Government has also assisted the project by supplying electrical equipment, costing \$ 3 million (Canadian). The Mayurakshi Dam has been re-named the Canada Dam as a token of appreciation of Canada's gesture.

Similarly Canada also offered capital assistance for the Umtru Hydro-electric Project in Assam. Electrical equipment, costing \$ 1.2 million (Canadian) has been supplied. The construction cost of the project is being met from the rupee-proceeds of the sale of raw materials offered to the cable and wire industry for which that country had made an allocation of \$ 5 million (Canadian) in 1952-53.

The Government of Canada has also made available training facilities for Indian engineers in that country. Two officers from the

Central Water and Power Commission have since availed of these facilities.

The Government of Australia authorised an amount of Rs. 372 lakhs for the supply of wheat and flour for sale in India. The sale proceeds of the food material have been utilised to meet the rupee costs of the Tungabhadra Project. Similarly that Government made an allocation of Rs. 160 lakhs for the supply of construction equipment for this project and power transmission line material for the Ramagundam Power Project in Andhra.

The Australian Government also made available training facilities for two Indian engineers in that country.

Assistance from the United Kingdom has been mainly in the form of expert personnel deputed to India, training facilities for Indian engineers in the U.K. and supply of certain types of research equipment. Three experts were assigned to the Hirakud Project and two were assigned to Central Water and Power Commission under this programme.

The Government of the United Kingdom made available training facilities for seven officers of the Central Water and Power Commission and supplied equipment worth about Rs. 45,000 for the Hydraulic Machinery Laboratory of the Central Water & Power Research Station, Poona.

The United Nations and its specialised agencies have given technical assistance to this country. The foremost among these is the UNESCO. Under the terms of the agreement between India and the UNESCO, two specific projects, namely "Ship-testing Techniques" and "Photo-elastic Studies" for determining the adequacy of designs for dam projects have been started in India. The Organisation made available the services of four foreign experts, three for ship model testing and one for photo-elastic studies for these schemes. Special equipment, costing about Rs. 1,50,000 for the ship-testing tank set up at the C. W. & P. Research Station, Poona and photo-elastic equipment, costing Rs. 8,000, for the photo-

elastic laboratory in the C.W. & P.C. at Delhi, were supplied by the UNESCO.

In the same programme, training facilities for four officers of C.W. & P.C. in laboratories in France, Switzerland, U.K. and Sweden, etc., were made available. The United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, a sister organisation of the Unesco, also arranged training facilities for eight officers of the C.W. & P.C. in various countries.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany have offered, through West German firms, training facilities to the Government of India. Under this programme two officers from the Central Water and Power Commission were sent to West Germany for specialised training.

Modern Oriya Literature

By

Prof. K. JENA, M. A.

IT will be impossible to make a complete and comprehensive study of any literature; this is more so in case of a literature which suffers a systematic development as the Oriya literature. Literature as such is a complex problem as life itself. As it is impossible to analyse the whole of life from a single angle so also it is in case of any literature. At best, we can take a particular period and find out the important features which make it different from other periods.

The Modern period in Oriya literature begins in the first quarter of the 20th century. The essential elements of modernism were the outcome of new changes that ushered in world culture. It is settled that the idea of modernism came in different literature in different periods: for example, modernism had dawned much earlier in European literature and more so in English literature. The English literature is generally supposed to have begun with

India is thus a great beneficiary of assistance generously extended in several ways by countries which are more technically and economically forward. Although it is correct to say that India's river valley projects could and would go on with her own resources, and that the pecuniary aid received from abroad, relative to the enormous investment required for them, is small, it is equally true that the imported knowledge of modern techniques is assisting project progress in India to a considerable degree. The helping hand of international co-operation contributes to the material advancement of the assisted nation, strengthening it to extend, in its turn, similar co-operation to others in need, all of which together built the great cause world brotherhood, of which we can never have too much.

Shakespeare and Milton; whereas the French literature had to wait much longer.

The tremendous impact of the Industrial Revolution in England and the political Revolution in France had made drastic changes in literary outlook. For the first time, Literature emerged out of the fortress of wealth and aristocracy and belonged to the masses. The idea of Man as the centre of literature was further matured by the 19th century German Humanitarians. Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and Bergson gave the final blow to God and His kingdom. God was dead and the kingdom of Man had begun.

This idea of Man as the hero of literature, nay, in all art and creation is the greatest contribution, the 19th century Europe made to mankind. This was reflected for the first time in Oriya literature in writings of Fakirmahan Senapaty. In his works Mamu, Chamanathaguntha, Prayashata and other works he

The Bhoodan Movement

By

Mr. ASHISH BOSE

THE land problem is one of the most difficult and complex problems facing the country and no measure of land reform can really succeed unless it is comprehensive enough in visualizing the multitude of problems which add up to the land problem.

There is the old problem of an unjust land tenure system under which a host of intermediaries and absentee landlords flourish. Then there is the problem of increasing pressure of population on land, the fragmentation of holdings and surplus population in agriculture. Next, there is the problem of agrarian re-organisation, of institutional changes in the agrarian structure, the problems of fixing ceilings on land holdings, of consideration of holdings and co-operative farming.

This brings us to the most important aspect of the land problem, namely, the equitable distribution of land. What is the role of the Bhoodan movement in solving this problem *vis-a-vis* other methods of land reform? What is the genesis of this movement and what are its strong points and weaknesses? Can it really solve the land problem?

Land can be acquired through violence and bloodshed or through legislation with or without compensation. The first method is based on hatred and brute force while the second on the force of law and the authority of the State. Acharya Vinoba Bhave rejects both these methods. His unique methods envisages voluntary surrender of land by the landowners out of compassion and a sense of fellow-feeling. His Bhoodan or land-gift movement is based on love and non-violence and the dictates of human conscience.

The Bhoodan movement originated in April 1951 in a village in Telangana in Hyderabad. In this area, the forces of violence and hatred

reigned supreme, there was clamour for land from the landless, the poor were helpless and the rich insecure. Vinoba, a true disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, reached this village on foot to spread the message of non-violence and love. He wanted the people to solve their problems themselves. An imaginative landlord donated one hundred acres of land which Vinoba distributed to the landless Harijans in the village. From these humble beginnings the Bhoodan movement has attained immense significance and has attracted the attention of the world. In the last few years Vinoba has walked over 16,000 miles on foot all over the country and collected over 42 lakh acres of land from over 5½ lakh donors. In course of time, the Bhoodan movement led to a more significant movement, the 'gram-dan' movement or the gift of whole villages. Over 3,500 villages have been given in gram-dan.

Incidentally, though the usual managing of 'dan' is charity, Vinoba uses the word according to the connotation given by Shankaracharya and means by 'dan' "sharing together." Bhoodan Yajnya is perhaps a more appropriate term. As Vinoba put it: "I appeal to all of you to contribute your mite for the worship of 'Daridranarayan'.

This is a real yajnya - sacrifice." The element of sacrifice is the essence of the Bhoodan and other allied movements like gramdan, sampattidan, shramdan, buddhidan, jeevandan and so on. The Bhoodan movement is not based on random donations of land motivated by selfish desires. It is a movement which appeals to the conscience of man and seeks to bring about a great social and economic transformation through the change in the hearts of men. But what is the immediate objective of the Bhoodan movement? In Vinoba's own words, "as for the immediate objective, I will be satisfied if enough land for

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the landless is given. The total land under cultivation in India is 30 crore acres out of which I ask for five crore acres, i.e., one-sixth of the total land. There are five crores of landless people in India. My argument is quite simple. Generally, there are five persons in every family; so I say, add me and give my share.....so one-sixth is my immediate objective."

The primary aim of the Bhoodan movement is to distribute land to the landless and in that it scores a point over legislative measures of land reform which are primarily concerned with getting rid of the intermediaries and absentee landlords. Our first Five Year Plan admitted that schemes of land distribution were likely to confer somewhat restricted benefits on agricultural workers other than tenants as under these schemes, the first claim was that of the tenants. The Bhoodan movement, the Plan said, had, therefore, special value, for it gave to the landless workers an opportunity not otherwise available to them.

The Bhoodan movement, however, is not without its critics who point out that the movement, is too slow and cannot solve the land problem of India. It is also asserted that very often the land donated is uncultivable land, land under litigation or dispute and the donors of the land are not actuated by love and fellow-feeling but by considerations of prestige and popularity. It is also contended that not all Bhoodan workers are inspired by the ideals of Gandhiji and there are undesirable elements aspiring for a political career through their association with the movement.

All this criticism is not totally unwarranted but it only shows that there are hypocrites and persons who love to donate their counterfeit coins. And it is only tackling these baser instincts of human nature that Gandhism seeks to bring about a revolution.

Revolution is much abused word today. The critics of the Bhoodan movement say that it is not revolutionary enough to bring about radical changes in society. On the contrary,

it appears to me that the Bhoodan movement is too revolutionary movement for bringing about long reforms, for it really aims at reforming man and not land. It seeks a change in the minds and hearts of man, a change in their sense of values and goals. As Vinoba said, the aim of the Bhoodan movement was to bring about a three-fold revolution; first, a change in the people's heart; second, a change in their lives; and third, a change in social structure.

Land reform through legislation tackles the problem from the other end. It tries to bring about a change in the social structure through the abolition of unwanted intermediaries and by investing the rights of ownership in the tillers of the soil and expects that this will result in an improvement in the lives of the people but it does not concern itself with a change in the people's hearts.

The Bhoodan movement, on the other hand, as a Gandhian technique envisages, first, an inward human change and the only then an outward social change. If society is to progress we must have both inward human change and outward social change. But the Government cannot bring about inward human change, it requires a Gandhi or a Vinoba to do that.

No government can tolerate the forces of violence; likewise, no government can abandon its legislative functions in favour of a movement which appeals to the conscience of the rich to sacrifice for the welfare of the poor and the oppressed. The Government of India and the Planning Commission have lent their support to the Bhoodan movement but obviously they cannot look upon this movement as a substitute for a policy of land reform through legislation.

In the last few years there has been an enormous amount of land reform legislation in India which is unsurpassed in any other country. The critics of land reform legislation have pointed out the loopholes in the legislation and the gap between expectation and achievement. It is not always that radical changes occur by

a stroke of pen. In U.P., for example, the legislature passed a resolution in supporting the principle of zamindari abolition in 1946 while the Zamindari Abolition Bill was passed in 1951, i.e., after about five years. In Bihar, the legislative and legal formalities to abolish Zamindari took eight years.

The absence of an effective contact between the Government and the rural masses is a great obstacle in the way of rapid progress. The interest and enthusiasm of millions of people cannot be aroused by party resolutions and parliamentary legislation. But in the case of a social movement like the Bhoodan movement, even the curiosity of people is turned into interest and enthusiasm and the movement brings to the depressed millions a ray of hope. And anybody can participate in this movement. Mass participation is the essence of a truly democratic society.

But all said and done, the distribution of land to the landless cannot by itself bring

about an improvement in the lives of the rural masses. The size of holdings may be too small for profitable cultivation. The cultivator may lack capital and implements and credit facilities. As the Second Five-year Plan makes it clear, land reforms cannot succeed without considerable extension of credit facilities and without tackling the problems of uneconomic and fragmented holdings and the deficiencies in the use and management of land.

The Bhoodan movement cannot effectively tackle all these problems unless backed by suitable legislation and governmental action. At the same time, the legislative measures of land reform and their execution can be successfully supplemented by the Bhoodan movement not so much by the land that is collected but by highlighting the needs of the landless workers and by emphasizing the role of non-violence and mass participation in bringing about radical changes in society. A.I.R.

The Genius Of Amaranatha Jha

By

Mr. R. H. KRISHNA RAO, M.A.

DIM is the fame of great potentates, little are they known outside their own land and soon they are forgotten and pass into oblivion. But it is the peculiar greatness of literature, great works of art and marvellous paintings that they endure longer than kings and dynasties.

The works of Shakespeare are permanent possessions of human race, the art of Michael Angelo is still cherished with devout gratitude, the music and poetry of Tagore will continue to enchant the generations to come. Their work transcends all barriers of tribe and nation. They know no space nor time. But distinguish-

hed men are more than mere intellectuals. They are gentle of heart and noble of spirits.

This is significant of men of Dr. Amaranatha Jha's stature. A luminary among scholars, a friend of those that knew him, a benefactor of those that desired to know him, Dr. Jha was to Allahabad, its ornament. The last of the galaxy of intellectual giants lost to the great city of Allahabad. 'The greatest city in India' in the words of late Sir C. Y. Chintamani — Dr. Jha has passed from life into history.

Steeped in the great tradition, schooled to standards and values alien to plutocracy, Dr.

Jha represented in himself all that is the best in the East and, in the West. At Rome, a Roman dressed in fine English cut suit, he retained the oriental clam and splendour. At home, on informal occasions, one could catch him in simple kurta and dhoti. The pair of big bright eyes, under soft eye brows, seem as though they were engaged in conversation with space and eternity or as if they were penetrating into a 'beyond.' Held between his lips was his inevitable cigar, sending soft rings of smokes stimulating great thoughts. In all this there was a poise and dignity, a charm and grace, all his own.

His perfect Oxonian accent was as striking as it was instructive. His conversation was as breezy as it was brilliant. His visit was as sparkling as it was unfailing. When he spoke Hindi, it was as simple in expression as it was rich in thought. His snatches from Urdu and Persian poetry were remarkable and sumptuous.

Whether it was at the U. N. E. S. C. O., seminars on Education, or in the class rooms at Oxford, or was it a convocation at Viswa-Bharati or as the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad or Banaras University, or when it came to discovering talents for Public Services, Dr. Jha left an impress of his high scholarship and deep learning as much as his understanding and sympathy.

Never afraid of calling a spade, a spade, and he would not call it more than a spade. Never would he compromise his principle. Office makes people big but in the case of Dr. Jha, it made call the difference. He made the office big. It was not given to him to offer his services to the country, he was best suited for, as its ambassador. Providence did not grant him more years, perhaps within which he would have distinguished India's diplomatic gallery.

A patron of arts and letters, music and painting, culture and sports, Dr. Jha's genius was versatile and his tastes varied. He would cling to his radio listening commentary on Cricket or watch tennis match on the University green lost in the game till he suddenly woke up in time to go to address a meeting. He would inform the audience what the score was and who were at the wicket or who was leading in

tennis. Advising the teachers once: he said 'You may speak with the tongues of angels and your tongue may drop manna, yet if you meet your students in the class room and laboratory only, your work will remain incomplete. You will gain their confidence and mould their characters more effectively if you come into contact with them on the playing field, in the debating hall, in the dramatic society, in scout camps and during picnics.' That indeed, was the secret of his success as a teacher.

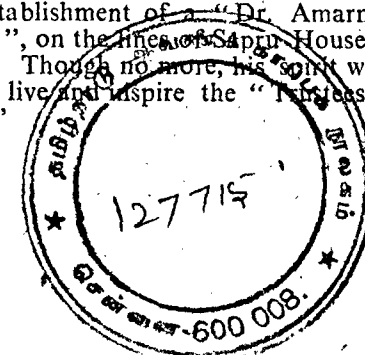
He had a remarkable memory of men—their names and faces. "Scholars, sportsmen and even scoundrels are the groups the names of whom I do not forget", he said once, when asked how he managed to remember the names of so many, of them. With him it was never a case of out of sight, out of mind.

In his speeches he revealed a range of thought, wealth of knowledge and an air of authority. Not often did he regale his audience with Iqbal's poems or Tulsis verses sending the whole house into laughter or taken them to sublime thought.

He was a great friend of teachers—their mentor, their monitor and their soul. He apprised the society of the danger of placing the children in the hands of hungry and ill-paid teachers. He said, 'Hunger and idealism ill go together. They must receive adequate emoluments if they are to perform their duty efficiently. Enthusiasm cannot be engendered on an empty stomach or if there is enthusiasm as it will be of the wrong and subversive variety. Society must realize the danger of placing impressionable children in the care of starving and disillusioned teachers.'

Such was the man and such was his message. His memory the country will continue to cherish. Statues and busts are not lasting memorials of such men. Age may whither them.

There can be no lasting memorial to Dr. Jha in his city of Allahabad, where he spent more than half a century and the people to whom he endeared himself so long and so much, than the establishment of a "Dr. Amarnath Jha House", on the lines of Sapru House in New Delhi. Though no more, his spirit will continue to live and inspire the "Heroes of posterity."



The Blind Man and the King

A Short Story

By

Mr. S. Y. KRISHNASWAMI

LONG, long ago there ruled over the kingdom of Myleswara a king by name Mylwan. He was like a father unto his subjects, kind but firm, charitable but not lavish, brave but not foolhardy, and the Court poets vied with one another in singing that untruth was the only thing that was not obtainable in his kingdom, thieving the only absent occupation, disease the only rare sight, doctors the only unemployed, ugliness the only novelty, and tears the only unknown liquid. And it rained thrice every month because the king was just and the subjects pursued their respective avocations with devotion rather than desire, and the women worshipped none but their husbands. No father performed the obsequies of his son, and no brother raised his hand against his brother. Time was a seamless web, and the very gods came down in disguise and spent days and nights in uncelestial peace.

One day, as the king was seated on his throne, dispensing justice in accordance with the ancient Texts as interpreted by the Pundits, the royal Announcer of Applicants came before him, bowed low, and reverentially folding his hands in prayer, said, "Sir, there awaits your pleasure a blind man who says that he possesses wondrous faculties that are the marvel of the world." It was a fixed rule of the Court that every applicant for royal audience should be announced forthwith, no matter how deeply the king was engaged in council. Hearing these words of the announcer, the king smiled and said "Go forth and bring the blind man unto us immediately. Do not tarry."

The servant departed, and in a few moments returned, leading by the hand a young man, of

noble bearing and pleasant countenance, but alas, with a vacant stare that proclaimed the unseeing eye. Guided, no doubt by some compensating instinct, perhaps a greater sensitiveness of hearing, the blind man faced the king and made his obeisance.

"What gifts are these that I hear" said the king, "that have made you bold to seek an audience with us?"

The blind man bowed once again.

"Your Majesty," replied the blind man, in a soft and cultivated voice, "I am born blind, but I have mastered the science of precious stones, of horses, and of human nature."

The king smiled. The councillors also smiled. This was audacity that may well lead to ruin. But it was a royal duty to encourage the really exceptional and punish the pretentious charlatans.

"Very well," commanded the king. "Let him stay on in the palace. Give him one silver coin and half a measure of rice every day."

The blind man was dismissed, and he was guided back by the announcer, in reverse step, so as not to show his back to the king.

Time passed. The blind man lived a quiet life in the midst of the thousands of persons at the Court, and the king forgot about him. One day a jeweller came from far away, from beyond the mountains, and craved audience with the king. He exhibited before the king a blue sapphire of such marvellous beauty that it shone like a lamp. The king and the courtiers were mightily impressed, and the king was anxious to possess it because he was running the period of Saturn and the astrologers had been repeatedly requesting him to wear a ring set with a sapphire. Then he suddenly

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remembered the blind man. This was an opportunity to test him.

The blind man was brought before the king. He was asked to examine the stone. He held out his hand and requested the merchant to place it on his right palm. The merchant did so. The blind man closed his palm, and went into a brown study.

"Bring me a silver cup filled with water" asked the blind man. It was brought. He dropped the sapphire into the water.

"Can you see the stone at the bottom of the cup" asked the blind man.

"Yes" said the courtiers, as one voice.

"Is the water clear" asked the blind man.

"Yes" said the courtiers eagerly.

The blind man turned to the king.

"I will not advise your majesty to buy this stone. A real sapphire should colour the water blue, and the blueness should be reflected in the sides of the cup. This is not a real sapphire, but the product of necromancy, and will soon lose its lustre."

The courtiers gasped. The king asked for the merchant in tones of controlled wrath. But the merchant had quietly slipped away. His bluff had been called.

The king was overjoyed with the blind man. How ever did the blind man guess at the truth?

"Increase the blind man's allowance immediately" said the king. "Give him two silver coins and one measure of rice every day."

The blind man bowed in thankfulness, and departed.

Time passed. The blind man was again forgotten. But one day a trader came from beyond the oceans, leading a string of horses, that pranced and shook their manes and dug the ground with their hoofs, and glistened with health and beauty in the sun. One of the

horses caught the king's fancy. It was a noble steed, with muscles that rippled, and as white as a dove. The king now remembered the blind man. "Send for him," he commanded. The blind man came running, and stood before the king. The king asked him to examine the white horse. The blind man went up to the horse cautiously, and spent very nearly three *Ghaties* of time feeling it from nose to tail. He then turned to the king and said "Your majesty, this horse is not suitable for a king. It has the appearance of a horse but the instincts of a buffalo. It will not draw back when it sees water, but will plunge into it and stay submerged with its hose uplifted like a common buffalo."

There was a large water pond in the palace garden. The horse was led to the pond. No sooner it saw the water, than it eagerly ran towards it and went right in. It was all the merchant could do to drag it out.

Said the king "O, blind man, we are overjoyed. This is the second time you have displayed your great faculties, and truly, your powers are secret and marvellous. From to-day you will be given three silver coins and three measures of rice every day."

The blind man bowed and departed.

Time passed. The blind man was forgotten. One day the king recollected the incident of his first meeting with him. He had professed to be the master of three sciences. What was the third? He thought for a while. The details came back to him. It was his capacity to assess and understand human nature. The king was anxious to test this ability. He sent for the blind man.

"You have told me about your ability to correctly judge men" said the king, "now tell me all about myself." The blind man hesitated. It was a royal command. He was in a dilemma. He kept silent as long as he could, and knowing the impatience of the king, said "Sir, I shall do so if you will be pleased to

give me in writing that whatever I say, I shall be pardoned and not punished." "Most certainly," said the king, "I am not a person who is afraid of the truth," and forthwith had a cadjan leaf prepared, granting an advance pardon.

"Your majesty" said the blind man, "you are not the son of your father, the late king, but of a sturdy mendicant who came to beg at the palace gates."

The king's hand instinctively went to his sword. The blind man sensed the danger.

"You have already pardoned me, sir," he reminded the king. "True, I have" said the king. A sadness swept over his face. He walked slowly to the inner apartments of the palace. He went up to his mother. She had just finished her morning prayers, and was repeating the name of the Lord, counting the number with the aid of a rosary of Tulsi beads.

"What brings you so early in the morning, my son" asked the queen-mother, with a shade of anxiety in her voice.

The king went straight to the subject.

"Mother," he enquired, "Whose son am I?"

The queen-mother dropped the rosary. She stood up. How had a secret known to none but herself, and guarded so jealously that she had even taken the precaution of sleeping by herself so as to prevent any one from hearing an unconscious phrase that might escape her lips in sleep or dream, how had it suddenly, like a bolt of thunder, crashed into the open in this way? After thirty years of peace and blissful ignorance, too. But she knew that her son had somehow come upon the truth. There was no use hiding it.

Said the queen-mother "My son, you must not think of me too harshly. Your father was getting old. His manhood was slipping from him. Death was calling him. There was no heir to the kingdom: I was desperate. One day there came to the palace a learned mendicant, young, handsome, and full of religious lore. I was attracted by him. It seemed to me that my sin would be forgiven by God because I did not sin for pleasure, but for the sake of the people of this land. You are his son."

The king did not wait to hear any more. He went back in haste to the blind man. The king said "O, blind man, you spoke nothing but the truth. But, tell me, how did you divine the secret known to no human being except my mother?"

"Your majesty may pardon me, once again," said the blind man, "I came to you, a man born blind, yet professing marvellous wisdom and knowledge, and you sanctioned for my maintenance one silver coin and one measure of rice. Then I showed up the false sapphire, a truly great feat, and you doubled my allowance. Then I displayed my knowledge of horses, and you again gave me three silver coins and three measures of rice. No son of a king will be so niggardly. The joy of a king will flower forth into mighty gifts. He will throw away a pearl necklace. He will drape me with silk and shower gold coins. He will endow a village and give me the right to go about in a palanquin. But you are the son of a beggar. You calculated how much I was worth every time. My other faculties I learnt by penance and skill and the grace of my Guru; but this last, I merely guessed from circumstances."

Wanted: Rural Banks for Seeds and Grains*

By

Mr. N. V. ESWAR

NATURE herself does her own part in depriving the Indian farmer of seeds for his next crop. The farmer also adds considerably to this loss of seed. He has no storage facilities. Mostly, seeds are carelessly stored in open bamboo baskets or earthenware jars. Both these storages are very easily accessible to ants, assuming that these have been stored in such a way that rats and birds cannot reach them. The destructive work of ants is very high indeed. In no time the ants turn the seeds into mere husks. At least 25% to 30% of the stored seeds is lost by each farmer through ants alone. This should be the size of the problem faced by the farmer.

It is estimated that about a million tons of seeds stored by farmers in India are eaten away annually by rats and other depredators of Nature. This estimate was taken a few years ago. I am sure, therefore, the current estimate should be at least two million tons lost, if not more.

I have personally known of farmers who had allowed the land to lie fallow for want of seeds every alternate year. After a lapse of years, when I went to my village recently, I found these fields have become almost sterile due to such indifferent farming. This has happened at a time when so much more food is required. My enquiries with some of the farmers revealed that they were all certain that no more paddy would grow on these fields.

The farmer, however, cannot go in on his own for improved methods of storage. He simply does not have the means. The tendency to pool resources is also not there. Actually, while socially there is much co-operation, when the question of farming and its requirements come up, each farmer is aggressively individualistic and highly selfish. Knowing his own nature, he would rather not talk of taking any concerted action.

Above all, the farmer has to guard himself against the seeds! This is very strange. During the lean months when there is nothing to do on the fields, the farmer just lives on the seeds. It is common that peasants and farmers sell seeds to feed themselves. Even in the households of prudent farmers, the stored seeds are a temptation to idle stomachs who decide to feed themselves to capacity first and think of seeds for the next crop when the sowing season starts.

Think of today. Why bother about the morrow? Omar Khayyam would have applauded them from the grave! If every one acts on this philosophy, when the sowing season comes round, there is no surprise that there is no seed with anyone for sale. And if any one has, he asks the price in gold. The clever landlord is always there who is willing enough to deny himself and sell the farmer seeds which, in his wisdom and forethought, he had stored—at just double the market rate!

To prevent seeds being consumed by the farmer and see that the yield from the land is utilised in an intelligent manner, it is necessary that steps are taken by the Government to foster a spirit of saving foodgrains in the minds of the farmers, so that these could be used both for purposes of seed and feed in an emergency and in season.

The Government can at least institute a Society in each village, without waiting for any local initiative, for the express purpose of collecting surplus grains and storing seeds in a healthy fashion. The Society should work more or less on the lines of a Savings Bank, allowing only meagre withdrawals and that too after much scrutiny. This will instil a desire

* As the article was in the press, the Madras Government has announced that it would float a short-term seven year debenture loan to open 600 rural agricultural banks. — Editor, Indian Review.

for savings into the minds of the farmers which is totally absent today.

Since the farmer is concerned mostly with seeds and grains, we have to take the banking habit to him, in order that he would be careful in the usage of these as he is in the monetary field.

Having banked away the seeds which he would not be able to release except in the sowing season or fulfilling other conditions, the farmer would be careful in nursing his stock of grains and himself adopt careful measures for proper storage. This is sure to go a great way in maintaining stocks of grains to feed himself properly. He will also not ruin himself by spending all the grains he has in a spree during the idle months of the year and then run himself into debts by buying seeds at prohibitive rates. Paradoxical indeed, that the farmer who grows grains should go and buy the seeds from others!

Storage of grains is certainly a Big Problem and would require a vast outlay in the construction of bushels or granaries of the American type. If the Central Government gets at the back of such rural Banks, these modern type Storages can come into being at an early date. And the amount of seeds these would hold in saving on an all-India basis would perhaps offset the cost in the first year itself. Any new experiment of course has to be tried locally for results before it can be made into a country-wide net work. When it is known that even Banking as such is only spreading out into the interior of the country in the slowest possible manner, the problem of spreading the idea of a Seed Bank into rural areas might take much longer. But once the farmer knows that his prosperous existence is bound up with the efficient and successful operations of these Banks for him in the village, he is sure to utilise its services to the full and thus make the Seed Banks in rural areas a living and growing organism in the shortest possible time.

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The Plantation Economy of India

By

SRI S. NARAYANASWAMY

THERE appears to be no sector of India's economy about which more is taken for granted than the Plantations of India. Judging from the facile and juicy statements made by Leftist politicians, one would think that the plantation economy came to us as a primordial inheritance alongside of the Baghavad Gita, Mohinja Daro and Jersoppa falls. It is not as if this excellent sector of organised agriculture—the only one of its kind unhappily for us—would have come to us in the inevitable sequence of modern amenities like the railways, the telephone and electric power projects whether or not we were under foreign rule in the past. The Plains dweller in India has never felt the call of the hills to the extent of initiating pioneering effort to clear jungles

and plant Tea, Coffee or Rubber. Such agricultural effort as was ever made indigenously was confined to foot hills and never the higher reaches, where the total agronomic effort was confined to the scattered and small farms maintained by hill tribes on a scale that was inconsequential. The clearing of malaria-ridden jungle and planting of Tea and Coffee were undertaken invariably by the European planter. He was no doubt attracted by the climate of the hills, whose elevation enabled the European pioneer to whet his nostalgic appetite. But to brave the malaria, to undertake the capital cost involved in clearing jungles, planting the Tea or Coffee bush, put up residential quarters and waiting for a minimum period of 6 or 7 years for results

and for any return at all on his investment was the lot of the planting pioneer. It is true he had to mobilise Indian labour from neighbouring Plains, villagers who did the work of cleaning, levelling and planting, but in the early years, about 100 years ago, this was found an uphill job, because of the ravages of malaria and lack of medical or other facilities on the hills.

Today to one who visits a first rate plantation, everything looks so well-ordered because of the roads, the spruce-looking factory, the natty cooly lines, the running water laid out, the electric supply for power and domestic uses, the telephone, the tractors and spraying machines that whisk past and most important of all, the hospital maternity ward and the schools that seem so apt an answer to the cry of social security we have learned to recognise. This state of affairs makes the casual visitor take things for granted. The amazing thing is not that the casual visitor fails to size up the decades of effort that have gone into creating these exquisite units of economic activity but that a mature-minded body like the Plantation Enquiry Commission, consisting of members none of whom had any plantation experience, should have taken so many things for granted and proceeded to suggest measures that would wear the economy of our plantations to a frazzle. The fact of the matter is that it is necessary to recognise even while we live in the midst of leftist slogans or industrial; and no ideological obstacles should be placed in their path. The man who saves and invests should be considered the real friend of the country and nothing should be done to discourage or penalise him. And above all, the country is sorely in need of a holiday from the bewildering spate of contradictory statements and pronouncements of Ministers and other high dignitaries.

And now suddenly we find we are short of foreign exchange. We are short of capital. Our plans were drawn up on the easy assumption of foreign capital assistance. No one

appears to have bothered to find out if foreign capital is available and, if so, whether it would choose to come to India. We do not seem to know that there is a shortage of capital in the world. In Germany, the rate of interest is as high as 8%. England is a borrower. Japan leans heavily on U. S. A. France has never looked upon India as an investment field. U. S. A. has innumerable priority demands. She naturally prefers Canada, U.K., Central and South America to countries in Asia.

That we should be overtaken so suddenly by a foreign exchange crisis in an age of planning, is indeed a sorry reflection in our entire system of planning and the management of our national finances.

We need foreign capital. We need it sorely. But have we done anything to attract it? International capital is adventurous and mobile; but it is also cautious. Unwise and intemperate statements of Ministers and politicians have done their best to scare away the foreign investor. Our Government need to learn the peculiar psychology of international capital. We frequently hear it said "We welcome foreign capital, but on our terms." This reveals complete ignorance of investors' psychology. "No strings," says the Government. But who attached strings? It is not a question of whether they are willing to invest with strings, but whether they are willing to invest at all. It is time that India realised that we must not bully a prospective foreign investor. We must also realise that foreign investors are not falling over each other trying to enter the Indian investment market, that there is no queue of investors waiting outside our door begging to be allowed to come in and invest.

It is an old habit with a section of our rather ill-informed press to abuse foreign capital. They need to be reminded that our Plan requires a large amount of foreign capital assistance for its successful implementation and that anyone who scares it away (including Ministers and politicians) is doing the country

a distinct disservice. Our foreign friends have been confused by a string of confusing statements. Our Prime Minister said that private enterprise would have "not only a very important place but a respected place in the context of the broad policies that we pursue." Almost simultaneously, an important Union Minister said, with misplaced sarcasm, "I am not very fond of the Private Sector" and still we expect foreign countries to lend us money, to invest money here. Our central taxation, our fiscal laws, our jungle of sales tax laws, our quick-changing industrial policy, our politically-weighted labour policy, our soaring internal prices, our high cost of internal transport, the multitude of vexatious administrative controls, the vast powers of control and regulation vested in the bureaucracy, the bottlenecks strewn all over the country, the chronic shortages, the over-hanging threat of nationalisation in many sectors of our economy—all these must be swept away or their rigours reduced before you can expect foreigners to invest in India.

For some years now, the Government have been trying to propagate the view that the successful completion of the Plan will be the end of all our troubles and the solution of all our problems. Slowly the country has begun to feel that far from being the hope and solution of our difficulties and the dawn of a new era of prosperity, the Plan is the starting point of a fresh crop of troubles and sufferings. We are now asked to sacrifice, to tighten our belts, to shed tears and to bear burdens. The lot of the present generation assigned to it by the Plan appears to be one of sufferings and tribulations, of social dislocation and economic hardship. The new brave world of peace, happiness and plenty will be witnessed only by our grand-children, it seems.

The fact is that we have been imprisoned within the massive walls of our own making—the Plan. An unachievable Plan is constricting us. It is imposing burdens, hardships and sacrifices far beyond our capacity to bear. When many economists and prominent businessmen warned the Government of the danger and the risks involved in going ahead with the Plan, that was demonstrably beyond the capacity of the country, the Government and the politicians brushed them aside as timid, unpatriotic people. And now it is the turn of the Ministers and politicians to apologise and explain to the country, and as usual everyone is "passing the buck." Cornered,

strangled and almost thrown over by a chronic foreign exchange deficiency, a mounting unfavourable balance of payments position, persistent inflation and the failure of the planners' hope for foreign financial assistance, Government spokesmen are looking around frantically for scape-goats. We are now told that the foreign exchange crisis was "built in" in the Second Plan. The Planning Commission must, no doubt, be held responsible for its own share; but the Government having accepted the Plan, having sworn by it all these years, having propagandised it, must now, at least have the courage to accept its own responsibility in the matter. The Plan is that of the Government, and not merely of the Planning Commission, and if that Plan is the cause of trouble, the responsibility for it must be manfully and courageously owned by the Government themselves.

What is the remedy? If the Plan is the cause of our troubles, that Plan must be altered, amended, reduced or curtailed. It is for the Government to tell us what they propose to do. The country's feelings are fully known to them. Independent public men, and especially the business community, have not hesitated to speak out their minds, even at the risk of incurring official displeasure. There are only two ways of doing this—either increase the Plan period to 6 or 7 years, or cut the size of the Plan to suit our limitations and resources. In the long run, they mean the same thing. "Rephrasing of priorities," going ahead with the "hard core of the Plan," "some pruning of the Plan"—these are all various political ways of saying the same thing. You may adopt any of these formulas depending upon your political compulsions and the need for political appeasement; but the hard fact is that this huge unsupportable Plan must be reduced in size as to conform as nearly as possible to the country's resources. The politician may clothe this fact in any manner he likes. He may lay as thick a coating of sugar on this pill as he likes in order to "sell" it to his constituents; but to the businessman it just means reduction in the size of the Plan, which economic good sense and wisdom have made necessary. The Plan was based on our economic vanity. It was largely an expression of our vaulting economic ambitions. Now let us make it the symbol of reviving economic sanity. Let us not treat it as a political propaganda tract. Let us elevate it to the dignity of a cold and carefully constructed blue-print of economic progress.

WORLD OF BOOKS

LOOK NOT UPON ME: By Denys Jones. —Price: 35c.—Original Publisher: Criterion Books—A Signet Book—Published by The New American Library, New York.

This is the usual suspenseful story of forbidden love in the bloody Mau-Mau country. When someone object to the apparent over-emphasis on sex in the epics like Homer's 'Iliad' and the Indian Mahabharatha, the report came that we will be inventing these things in a more experienced manner if we had no religious epics. This book justifies the report.

PAINT ON THEIR FACES: By Jerry Well, A Signet Book published by The American Library. New York—Price: 25c.

This is, as the blurb says, an intimate story of love, heartache and temptation of girls in a big city. I sometimes wonder how much of foreign dollar exchange is lost and how much of foreign dollar exchange can be saved by prohibiting the import of this type of books.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI: Vol. I. 1884 to 1896. Published by the Director, Publications Dn. Delhi 8. Rs. 3.

The Government of India have planned to publish the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi and this is the first volume of the series. This relates to the period 1884 to 1896, the earliest period of Gandhiji's Life. The work of organising the collection of material which forms an authentic history of India was entrusted to the late Bharatan Kumarappa who worked at this task with unsparing devotion till death snatched him away just on the eve of the publication of the 1st volume. Now the rest of the volumes will appear under chief editorship of Sri Jairamdas Doulatram assisted by a band of experienced editors. We look forward with eagerness to the succeeding volumes which will be of lasting benefit to posterity.

INDIAN FINANCE ANNUAL 1957: 116, Lower Circular Rd. Calcutta.

Year after year this Annual comes with new features. In addition to the usual array of informing articles by well-known writers, this year's annual denotes a special section to Industrial profiles where one gets pen-pictures of some of the industrial units which help to further the second Five-year Plan. Industrialists, Economists and even lay people who are interested in India's expansion of industry will find this Annual very interesting, informing and authoritative.

TAGORE'S CHITRANGADA: Translated by Birendra Nath Roy. Sribhumi Publishing Company, Calcutta 9. Rs. 3.

Readers are familiar with Tagore's *Chitra* in Macmillans' Indian Edition. That however, is an abridged version of the original in Bengali. In *Chitrangada* the author offers a complete and unabridged translation of the original. This is no easy task: to capture the spirit of the poet's fancy and give it a form worthy of that fancy. Non-Bengali readers have no right to judge the correctness or otherwise of the translation. But there is no doubt they will readily enjoy the easy, smooth flowing rendering in Birendra Nath Roy's poetic prose which seems as fitting as it is attractive.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES. By M. Hiriyanna, Kavyalaya Publishers. Mysore, Rs. 7-50.

The fifth collection of Prof. Hiriyanna's papers may be said to be a definitive edition. All except the last three papers have already appeared in different journals and publications; but advantage has been taken of the issue of this edition to revise them in the light of his own corrections, and the marginal notes left by him have been appropriately added as footnotes.

Prof. Hiriyanna was a scholar as familiar with contemporary European and American thought as with the philosophy of the ancients. His studies on the Problem of Truth and Error as viewed by different Indian schools, his analysis of the Advaitic conception of Time, and the Place of Reason in Advaita, his interpretation of Ramanuja's Theory of Knowledge, included in this volume, are rewarding. In the Definition of Brahman and other Essays on thoroughly abstruse subjects the Professor writes with Berkleyan ease and clarity.

CO-OPERATION IN FOREIGN LANDS. B. B. Mamoria and R. D. SAXENA. Price Rs. Five. Kitab Mahal, Publishers, Allahabad 3.

This text book by the two eminent members of the Department of Commerce, Maharana Bupal College, Udaipur, is a welcome addition to the category of such treatises meant to help Post-Graduate Students in Universities and Co-operative Institutions. It is complementary to the work on Co-operation in India, England, Denmark, Ireland, Germany, and Italy. The pioneers in most forms of co-operation receive exhaustive attention in the bulk of the book. Accounts of France, Sweden, U.S.S.R., and China follow with a concluding chapter on Palestine.

PEACEFUL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, THEIR SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE: By R. J. Soman. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. Four.

This is a doctorate thesis which deserves careful study and calm consideration. The attempt to apply Gandhian ethics to the unstable relations of the Worker and the Capitalist is analysed and discussed and most helpful suggestions are given. That the End can never justify the Means is emphasised though the long history of the struggle of the Labouring Classes in England and India is of Labour Leaders won over the Employers and often ending up in the Gubernatorial Gadi or starting the Governmental Trade Union Congress as contrasted with the oriental or "communistic-inclined" Trade Union Congress. The Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association was and is a heroic attempt to translate Gandhian Ideology into Direct Action and the success achieved cannot be brushed aside as meagre or not likely to be lasting. The quotations from Gandhi's writings are apt and impressive. The great merit of the book is, it is thought-provoking, clear-cut without being rigid, and fluid without being ambiguous or vague.

INDIAN ECONOMICS YEAR BOOK. 1957-58. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 2.50.

This is a comprehensive compilation full of information about India. Starting with a descriptive factual background on the Land and the People, natural resources, Five-year Plans, Agriculture, Land Reforms, Co-operation, Power Community Projects, Industry, Industrial Finance, Labour and Welfare, Railways and Transport Communications, Foreign Trade, Currency and Exchange, Banking, Insurance, Public Finance, all receive brief but adequately proportional treatment culminating naturally in probing the Combined inter-related Problems of National Income, Foreign Aid and the Second Plan. The book is very very cheap for the wealth of information contained in it.

THE INDIAN FINANCIAL SYSTEM: By O. K. Ghosh. Price Rs. Five. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad.

Mr. Accountant-General Ghosh of the Uttar Pradesh State has fully utilised his varied experience as Accounts Officer and Under Secretary and Deputy Secretary and Special Officer in the Planning Commission and Department of Economic Affairs to

produce a brilliant monograph. He has clearly analysed the relations between the Centre and the States, described lucidly the Budgets explained the scope, purpose and necessity of Audit, and properly concluded with a passionate and reasoned plea for a reorientation of Policies and Personnel Recruitment.

HOW I PASSED I. A. S. EXAMS: By R. K. Mishra, I. A. S. Price Rs. Five. Kitab Mahal, Publishers, Allahabad.

This is a racy narrative purporting to be the account of how a brilliant graduate passed the Indian Administrative Service Examination held in October 1956 and from unemployment passed into employment in India's ablest Service. The sub-titles are as sparkling as the old silent film sub-titles like From Wavering to Decision, From Decision to Preparation, to Written Test, to Personality Test, to Medical Test, to Medical Re-Test etc. Humorous side-lights on his being jilted when unemployed and overpowered with offers from parents of marriageable daughters after his results were announced, and the Macaulayan confidence with which he prescribed reconstitution of the Interview Board etc. make the book a ripper.

BEL AMI: By Guy De Maupassant, Jaico Publishing House, Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras. Rs. 3.

Bel Ami is the nickname given to Georges Duroy, the principal character in the novel of old time Paris by a master craftsman. It is the story of a City Vagabond who climbs through devious ways from obscurity to a position of power and influence as a journalist. Early in his career he discovered that the quickest way to success lay through women and the unscrupulous use of them to serve his own ends. This he set about to achieve by questionable means, often cautious and some times brutal. Starting with amorous-adventures with street girls he contrives to entice society women through whom he gets to the top of the profession. His intimate love affairs with Miss Marelle and Mrs. Walter and subsequent marriages with the scholarly Mrs. Forestier and pretty Suzanne make a colourful background of an exciting story told with gripping interest, such as only Maupassant could do.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA

INDIANS IN DURBAN

A considerable number of people of Indian origin will be affected, especially in Durban, where they are engaged in the textile industry as a result of the reported decision of the South African Government to reserve all skilled jobs in that industry for White workers, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru told the Lok Sabha on February, 11.

Replying to Mr. S. N. Das and others, Mr. Nehru said apart from people of Indian origin, Africans and others who were non-White workers would also be affected.

Earlier, Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the External Affairs Minister, informed the House that the Government of India had seen Press reports to the effect that the South African Government had decided to reserve all skilled jobs in the cloth industry for White workers. Since there was no Indian mission in South Africa it was not possible to obtain any factual information as to how many Indian workers would be affected if the South African Government's decision was fully implemented.

Answering supplementaries, Mr. Sadath Ali Khan said it was reported that the South African Government had decided to reserve all skilled jobs in the cloth industry for White workers.

Mr. Nehru replied that the people affected, though of Indian origin were South African nationals, and not Indian nationals. Therefore, India did not come into the picture in the strict legal sense. Moreover, in a matter of this kind we do not want detailed particulars through any other Government."

He added there "are no Indians in South Africa, not a single one. They are people of Indian origin."

Mr. Nehru made it clear, that the welfare of people of Indian descent in South Africa was the concern of the South African Government.

He added that the steps we have taken to ameliorate their conditions are public steps in the U.N. and elsewhere. "I do not know of any other step we can take except declare war on South Africa which we do not propose."

BURMA

INDIANS IN BURMA

Indian residents in Burma have appealed last month to Mr. Nehru and U Nu, Burma's Premier, on behalf of the poorer members of their community who are finding it difficult to meet the new increased charges for foreigners registration.

The previous charge of Rs. 25 a year has been raised to Rs. 50. This charge is levied on each foreigner above the age of 18, so that the head of a family with several dependents has to meet a heavy bill.

Immigration officials there point out that Burma is generous in its treatment of foreigners. For example registration fees are charged only for persons above the age of 18.

The Burmese Government has issued a "stern warning" to those foreigners who have failed to register themselves as required by the Foreigners Registration Rules.

An official communique advised foreigners to register themselves by the end of May this year in Burma proper and by the end of July in the States, failing which, the Government would be constrained to resort to deportation as provided in the Act.

CEYLON

FUTURE OF CEYLON INDIANS

The early settlement of the vexed Indo-Sinhalese problem relating to the future status of nearly one million persons of Indian origin in Ceylon is one of the main topics on the agenda of the annual conference of Sri Lanka Freedom Party (the ruling party) which will be held this month.

The resolution on the Indo-Sinhalese problem sponsored by the Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, reads as follows:

"Early steps should be taken to secure a solution to the Indo-Ceylon problem."

The issue has been kept away from political platforms since Premier Bandaranaike assumed power 20 months ago. Though the problem figured prominently in Mr. Bandaranaike's election manifesto it was not taken up until Mr. R. G. Senanayake, Minister for Commerce and Trade, (who joined Bandaranaike's Government on the assurance that the Indo-Sinhalese problem would be solved) raised it with the Prime Minister recently.

The same group last month protested against the extension of even National Provident Fund benefits to Indians.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Feb. 1. America's first artificial moon is floated in space.
- Feb. 2. Egypt & Syria form United Arab Republic.
- Feb. 3. Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti is dead. —White House (U. S. A.) rejects Bulganin's letter re. Summit Conference.
- Feb. 4. Japan & India sign re. the former's Yen credit to India. —Ceylon celebrates her Independence Day.
- Feb. 5. Ho Chi-Minh, President of Viet Nam arrives in New Delhi.
- Feb. 6. Moscow invites Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld U.N. Secretary-General. —Mr. B. K. Das is appointed Minister in Central Cabinet of Pakistan.
- Feb. 7. U.S. Troops in Japan withdraw.
- Feb. 8. French aircraft bombs Algerian border village.
- Feb. 9. Tunisia decides to appeal to U.N. re. France's action.
- Feb. 10. President Prasad addresses the joint session of Parliament at New Delhi.
- Feb. 11. King Zahir Shah of Afganistan arrives in New Delhi.
- Feb. 12. Sri T. T. Krishnamachari the Finance Minister resigns.
- Feb. 13. Yemen decides to join Federal Union of Egypt and Syria.
- Feb. 14. Iraq and Jordan form Federation. —Sardar Abdur Rahim Nishtar, President of Pak Muslim League is dead.
- Feb. 15. Sumatra rebels proclaim a new independent Government for Indonesia. —Yemen joins United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria).
- Feb. 16. Purge in East Germany results in the dismissal of top officials of the Govt. —Sir Malcolm Darling's Report on Co-operative Movement in India is published.
- Feb. 17. Eisenhower's letter to Bulganin re. East-West Summit Conference. —Railway Budget for 1958-59 is presented in Parliament.
- Feb. 18. Egypt's ultimatum to Sudan for surrendering disputed areas near Red Sea.
- Feb. 19. Sudan turns down Egypt's protest. —Ike asks Congress to vote \$ 3942 m for foreign aid funds.
- Feb. 20. Lok Sabha accepts Chagla report on L.I.C.'s investments. —Sudan refers dispute with Egypt to U.N. Security Council.
- Feb. 21. Jakarta applies Blockade against Sumatra. —Sudan arrests 50 Egyptians inside the Sudanese border.
- Feb. 22. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is dead. —Mr. Nasser is officially proclaimed as President of United Arab Republic.
- Feb. 23. Mr. Bhuvananda Das, congress leader of Orissa is dead.
- Feb. 24. Col. Nasser arrives in Damascus. —Both Houses of Parliament adjourn as a mark of respect to the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. —Huge damage in Pathankot blast resulting in 26 deaths and many injured.
- Feb. 25. Massing of French Troops along Algerian—Tunisian frontier is reported. —Coastal Reservation Act for Indian Shipping is extended by another two years.
- Feb. 26 India and West-Germany sign a pact deferring for 3 years India's payment re-Rourkela plant.
- Feb. 27. India and U.S.A. issue a joint statement for closer economic co-operation.
- Feb. 28. Pandit Nehru presents the Budget in Lok Sabha.

READERS' DIGEST

WHY HE PREFERS INDIA ?

Like Haldane, the Scientist, Hilton Brown the retired civilian prefers to spend his last days in India. One reason is that new India is full of hope and he loves to live among forward looking men. The other is the fascination exercised by the religion and arts of the country. He is by no means religious-minded, he says in his reminiscences, published serially in the *Hindu* of Madras. It is customary with the Christian British, "to inveigh against the Hindu religion for its grotesque imagery, its drastic taboos and disciplines, its fantastic rites and stories."

But the stories of all religions are fantastic; indeed religion is itself a fantastic aspect of human thought; the more fantastic, the more credible—if once you can believe in it at all. I am sure that if I were a religious man I should have no use for rational religions; the sterile balance-sheets of Buddhism (though admittedly more sensible than the "damned-for-eternity" of the Christians) would leave me cold. As I have said, I disclaim any knowledge of Hinduism, but the impression with which it leaves me is one of warmth and a vague intangible beauty. I like living with such an impression even if I cannot put it into words. It is the impression of something old and hallowed, beautiful in its very vagueness. Need I say that with the modern iconoclasts who would destroy it I have no sympathy at all?

At all events it has expressed itself in a beauty which is by no means vague and which is perfectly tangible—as tangible as chiselled stone.

"It may seem a strange thing for a man without religion to say of himself, but the fact remains that I can draw a pleasure from a half-hour spent in one of the older Hindu temples which has nothing to do with the aesthetic pleasure drawn from their superb proportions, their exquisite carving and their communication of the devout labour, the devout satisfaction of a great and ageless company of human beings. (What it has to do with I just don't know and couldn't tell you perhaps I am not after all so irreligious as I sup-

pose.) I would not go into a European church or cathedral except merely as a sightseer to admire the architecture and the murals; but I like, I positively like, to stroll through the Nataraja Temple at Chidambaram or to go round the outer courts at Tiruvannamalai or to sit for a while in the Kanaka Sabhai at Perur, or indeed to visit some much less distinguished shrine such as Komaramalai or Devarabetta or Jaikunda. Great and small, I get something out of them—I don't quite know what."

Perhaps it is that there is something about the massiveness, the profusion of these places that makes one proud of the human race and more confident of its survival.

"I do not in my own godlessness understand but I can nonetheless admire a people whose stupefying devotion—unaided by machinery unaided by anything except primitive tools and their own ten fingers—produced these colossal results. It is nonsense to say that the work was done by slave labour or prisoners of war; one has only to glance at it to be assured that it was done by individual craftsmen and artists whose labour was of love. Nobody skimmed, nobody "went slow." They must have felt an intense pride and an intense satisfaction in the finished work, and I vicariously feel it now."

That is another reason, he says, why he lives in India.

THE SOUTH POLE

Sir Edmund Hillary, joint conqueror of Mount Everest, is the first man to reach the South Pole by the overland route since Capt. Scott in 1912. The American team were already there having reached the Pole the easy way by flying. Sir Edmund and his team of four New Zealanders had to trek over a thousand miles through snow and ice to reach the Pole. His duty was mainly to set down, supply depots for the British team and he was to stay waiting for the leader Dr. Vivian Fuchs on reaching Base 700. But finding Dr. Fuchs's party delayed by heavy weather Hillary made a dash on his own and reached the Pole.

GANDHIJI—TEN YEARS AFTER

Francis Watson, writing in the *New Statesman*, asks how much in the frankness and friendliness of the British Prime Minister's recent reception in India is owed to the man who was killed in New Delhi just ten years ago. One thing is certain, he says:

"Gandhi had the chance, and was urged from many quarters, to make one final and supreme act of protest on the issue of partition. He could have blamed the British for the 'parting kick of imperialism,' and his words would have carried all over a land already dangerously inflamed. This Gandhi declined to do. Not only did he announce positively that the transfer of power to two national authorities was the responsibility of the Congress and Muslim League leaders. He had already advised Lord Mountbatten in the strongest terms that if partition had to come it would be a grave mistake to let it even appear to come from Britain. What sort of political opportunism, what kind of Hindu shrewdness, was that?"

That last phase of Gandhi's life does not answer the nagging question whether he was a man of religion or a man of politics except to show that his own insistence on the possibility of being both was at least genuine.

"In the tradition of politics he should have become his country's first President, or perhaps its dictator. In the tradition of sainthood, he should have retired to some Himalayan cave. By doing neither he almost compels us to pay attention to himself, to look again at the idealistic polity that he advocated with quixotic persistence, to drop the clichés and the preconceptions and start again with him, if need be at the beginning."

Although as a politician Gandhi seemed always to be pressing the British farther and faster than they were prepared to go. He often said that he would rather wait than get the wrong kind of independence or get it in the wrong way.

"The revolution—his sort of revolution—was more important to him than its political goal; and therefore he upset people, in India and in Britain, who saw the goal but had other plans of reaching it either more or less 'constitutional.' He wanted the psychological assurance more than the constitutional fact.

(He wasn't interested in constitutions,' said Lord Halifax, who as Lord Irwin both fought him and made peace with him.) It was the shock-the-ropy of feeling free that he prescribed. But for India's ills he also prescribed action, exercise, all his own carefully considered and deliberately tested moral equivalents of war."

The wrong kind of independence was for Gandhi (partition aside) something very like what India finally and inevitably attained—the modern western concept of the nation-state.

"This is one measure of his failure. But it must be recognised, first, that he had to compete with violent extremists on the one hand and the well-to-do westernised politicians on the other, neither of whom would have made a more satisfactory 'Indian' job of it if they had succeeded alone, secondly, that he was consistent enough to dissociate himself from the final exercise of power and to criticise it frankly; and thirdly that his influence on independent India, even if seen as a compromise, has been of great significance."

Even so, who can say which way the pattern of forces might finally have moved into balance without the catastrophic interruption of World War II? Simplicity underlay Gandhi's shrewdness, but none of the answers are really simple.

"The spinning-wheel was a mystic symbol, like the Buddhist Wheel of the Law. It was also a device (like St. Anthony's basket-weaving) for the stilling of worldly thoughts and desires. But it was primarily a direct assault upon a concrete problem, the semi-employed poverty of a peasantry that had lost its cottage-crafts. An hour before his assassination in New Delhi, arrangements had been made for his departure next day for his rural headquarters at Wardha, in the middle of India, there to propose the revitalisation of his 'constructive programme'—the revival of village industries, rural hygiene, basic education, the uplift of outcasts and of tribal people and of women, the campaign for prohibition, the service of lepers, and all the many other well-nurtured growths that for Gandhi himself meant nationhood."

The Hindu mind, attuned to flux and process, does not readily accept either the millennium or the apocalypse.

"Gandhi believed that he was on the right road, but only at the beginning of it, even in India. When the Congress Party differed with him in 1940, it protested that it was a political institution pledged to win Indian independence, not an institution for organising world peace. His ideas and practice of non-violence gave Gandhi a world status, but his experiments, big as they were, were in a limited field, a specialised situation. Those who since his death have tried in other situations to repeat his experiments (there is evidence from several countries) have found that they are in no sense an easy way out, and that the genius of leadership is both necessary and rare. But at least, in these days of radical questioning, Gandhi provides a point of reference. The starry-eyed have been joined by a practical craftsman.

PAKISTAN POLITICS

Describing the recent political changes in Pakistan as "dramatic," signifying the unexpected, the *Round Table* says that even a chameleon cannot change its colours so easily and so frequently as the Republicans have done. But the other parties show no better record either.

"When the Republican Party was formed early last year, its *raison d'être* was enough in the role it was to play in safeguarding. One Unit, of which it was to act as the custodian and make it a going concern. But within seventeen months of its formation the party underwent a complete metamorphosis with regard to its self-allotted task. It willingly, even keenly, entered into an agreement with the National Awami Party for the disintegration of One Unit and the creation in its place of a Zonal Federation of autonomous units based on linguistic divisions of the province of West Pakistan. The sole object of the Republicans in taking such a drastic step was to 'incapacitate the Muslim League from ousting their Ministry in the very province which they had bargained to dismember. But the Muslim League itself was prepared to enter into a similar agreement with the N.A.P., and it was merely a case of first come first served."

The Awami-League-Republican coalition weakened "by interecine intrigues and Jockeying for power among its two constituents" was now crumbling.

Having successfully weathered the storm in the West Pakistan province, the Republicans concentrated on repairing their position at the Centre. They could not patch up their differences with Mr. Suhrawardy. They could not relish, either, the prospect of being thrown out of office. So they took another somersault and entered into a coalition with the Muslim League, and on October 18 the new Central Government, headed by Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, was sworn in."

The terms which the Republicans accepted for coalescing with the Muslim League were diametrically opposed to what they had promised to the N.A.P. and were in flagrant violation of their past commitments.

"Subsequent to the passage of the One Unit disintegration resolution by the West Pakistan Assembly, the Muslim League found it advisable to pass a resolution, at its Dacca session, favouring the retention of One Unit, at least until after the first general elections have been held. The issue was then to be decided by the newly chosen representatives of the people. The Republicans, on the other hand, had pledged themselves to bring about the dismemberment of One Unit even before the end of the present year and certainly, in any event, before the general elections. Now they forgot all about it and not only agreed with the League to shelve the issue for the present, but also surrendered on the electorate question."

"The Muslim League, being a sectarian political party, had all along advocated separate electorate throughout the country."

"But the Republicans had finally committed themselves to joint electorate when they voted in the National Assembly early last year for amending the Electorate Act of 1956 so that joint electorate may be introduced in West Pakistan as well. Even a chameleon cannot change its colours so easily and so frequently as the Republicans have done.

One of the major difficulties that confront the country is that no single party can by itself form a government either at the Centre or in the provinces.

"Since none of them has really been consistent in adhering to its own policies and programmes—usually set out in high-sounding manifestoes—each move of one seeking to coalesce with the other brings in fresh complications. Wildest promises are made in the most cavalier fashion and, if expedient unhesitatingly disregarded."

CHANGING BRITAIN

We have seen the shifts in the structure of the British upper-class and upper middle-class consequent on the Industrial Revolution which produced the new rich who have more fortunes in trade and manufacture. But the majority of the British Nation the industrial workers—have also undergone a striking transformation in the last twenty years. Britain has been moving, says T. R. Fyvel in the *New Leader*, "from the historic society of cultural contrasts between middle-class and working-class life, towards a new society with only a single culture and fairly fluid income brackets. The advance is reflected by a new look in the British landscape."

"Travelling through Britain today, one sees continuous, sprawling colonies of well-built, well-planned and monotonously mass-produced small houses. These are the so-called "Council Estates," put up by local authorities with subsidies from local and State taxation and designed mainly for working-class families. With their surrounding of poster-lined roads, factories, Cinemas and filling stations, these Estates form a large part of the new landscape decried as "Subtopia."

Over two million Council Houses have been built since the war alone, and roughly one working-class household in four today lives on such an Estate. Every second household has television, almost one in five a car or motor-cycle. And these proportions must increase.

Here we have a social change which is decisive. That is 'class' is going out and "income bracket" is taking its place. One can see the change reflected in the sale of consumer goods.

"The leading chain stores, which do an enormous volume of business, are as smoothly efficient as their American counterparts, and their customs and goods—especially in women's and men's fashions—are emphatically "classless."

But the most profound effect of the social levelling has shown itself in mass entertainments and communications. In terms of buying newspapers, for instance "the British easily lead the world with 660 newspapers bought each day per 1,000 inhabitants. The London *Daily Mirror*, at once tabloid and intellectually radical, with Richard Crossman as political commentator, has a circulation of 4.5 million; Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* has 4 million. Among Sunday

papers, the *News of the World* sells close to 7 million copies a day, the illustrated *Sunday Pictorial* over 5 million. (To some extent these figures are boosted because the papers are bought for their betting pages—for news about the football pools, in which 30.40 per cent of all households take part, and about horse-and-dog-racing.)

These popular papers are becoming more and more like daily magazines, featuring celebrity stories, gossip columns and especially women's fashion and household pages.

"Meanwhile, extremely well-produced weeklies like *Woman* and *Woman's Own*, with circulations respectively of 3.2 and 2.5 million, are now among the top-earning journals.

In the last few years, television has also expanded enormously—there are three times more sets in Britain than in all Continental Europe—with commercial television expanding alongside the BBC and drawing an advertising revenue of \$150 million a year, and with television stars reflecting an unprecedented cult of the personality."

In all this expanded popular culture, American influences are strong.

A QUESTION OF PROTOCOL

Soviet Land, the official publication of the Information Department of the Russian Embassy in India, carried along with its normal issue of December 20, 1957 a lengthy Supplement. It contains among other things the Manifesto of the Communist and Workers Parties, including the Communist Party of India.

Granted there is no difference between the Russian Government and the Russian Communist Party, under whose auspices and inspiration the Manifesto was issued in Moscow. It may also be argued that the position of the Russian Communist Party vis-a-vis the Russian Government is not dissimilar to that of the Indian National Congress which provides the personnel of the Government of India. But what strikes us as odd says *Thought*, is the propriety of the Russian Embassy's venture in publicizing a clearly political and partisan document on Indian soil.

"To the extent the document is signed and subscribed to by the Communist Party of India, it is a document of an opposition party. We do not think the Indian Embassy in Russia has been guilty of disseminating in Russia any resolution or declaration by the Indian National Congress. At the same time it would be unthinkable that the Muslim League in

Pakistan, which was until some time ago the Government of Pakistan, would be permitted to issue through the Pakistan Embassy in New Delhi any document which might have on it the signature of the Muslim League in India. Or, to take another instance, the West German Government, which is Christian in character and also perhaps in inspiration, would not be well advised to issue through its New Delhi Embassy a document which had the not-altogether impossible public endorsement by the Christians in India should the latter come to have a political party of their own."

PAK WITHDRAWAL FROM BAGHDAD PACT

The *Manchester Guardian* suggests that Pakistan's withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact and the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation might be an effective way of helping to solve the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

"The Indians have long argued that Pakistan completely altered the relations between the two countries by joining the Baghdad Pact and SEATO," says the *Guardian*.

"Since then they have declared a plebiscite (for Kashmir) to be out of the question.

"Suppose the Pakistan Government were to ask them what their attitude would be if it withdrew from the alliances? The question is not as desperate as it may seem. Membership, in Pakistan, is generally seen and defended by politicians as a defence not against Russia but against India: Both organisations could probably survive without Pakistan; if not (in spite of what Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Noon have said in Karachi) last month the Baghdad Pact at least would be no great loss. Its main contribution so far to the defence of the Middle East against Communism has been to give the Soviet Union an easy opening in Egypt and Syria, and to make almost every other Arab Government unstable.

"LIVING IN SPACE"

A successful U. S. Test of "Living in Space" was made in February (1958) at San Antonio (Texas). For Mr. Donald Farrell, 23-years-old American airman, "returned to earth" on February 16 after a week in a sealed cabin to test mental and physical conditions of supposed flight to the moon.

He smiled broadly and was apparently none the worse for the confinement during which he was able to see nothing but some instruments

and hear nothing but his own voice. The cabin was three feet by five feet in size.

Farrell was greeted by Senate majority leader, Mr. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, as he climbed out of the cabin. Senator Johnson, the chief proponent of the Congressional panel on space problems, shook Farrell's hand and said "you have contributed much."

Farrell told a Press conference later that he was now ready and willing to take part in an actual trip to the Moon.

He said he felt "a little tired" after his seven-day "flight" but the only change in his condition that he knew of was a loss of four pounds in weight.

"I was kept busy enough that I did not have time to think of any personal discomfort," he said. At no time did he feel any fear such as might be experienced on an actual space flight.

The thing Mr. Farrell missed during the seven days was a cigarette and the strangest sensation "that I could not whistle. I guess it was because of the altitude."

Major General Otis Benson (Junior), Commandant of the Randolph School of Aviation, presented him with a special medal of commendation and read several congratulatory telegrams to him.

Among them was one from Gen. Curtis Lemay, Air Force Chief of Staff, who said that Farrell's contribution would be of "incalculable value to the Air Force and to the nation in the coming space operations."

Doctors have been amazed at the way in which Farrell remained cheerful, interested and alert practically throughout the seven day test-long enough for a rocket to go to the moon and return to earth.

Lt. Col. George Steinkamp, head of the project, said that the six foot airman's experience in a cabin barely large enough to stand up and lie down in proves that a human being could stand many of the rigours of a space flight.

SEARCH FOR TRUTH

"One of the things which universities do continually is to unsettle people, to challenge their prejudices and assumptions, and to try to instil into them the desire to search for truth wherever it may take them. We who work in universities think that is a good thing, on the whole. We think young people are tough enough to withstand challenges, and to deal with them effectively."

Bruce Miller, Professor of Politics at Leicester University, speaking in the BBC's Midland Home Service.

IS MOTHER NECESSARY?

The Medical Press (Britain) suggests in an editorial that mother's apron strings may be tied too tight for too long.

No idea in medicine, it says, has spread so widely and so rapidly as the concept that a child may suffer psychologically if taken away from its mother, even for a short time.

The theory is used "as an unanswerable argument against the divorce of couples who have nothing in common but their quarrels."

"It has opened hospital gates to parents whose children are ill and has closed the doors of nurseries to children whose parents are well."

But in fact, says the article, evidence of lasting harm from children being separated from their parents is extremely hard to come by.

The British Medical Journal, official organ of the B.M.A., goes even further. Mothers, it says, are not irreplaceable.

"Grannies," "nannies," and even foster-parents particularly if they take the child within a few weeks of birth, can provide all the mother-love needed for a secure and happy life.

A specialist discussing the effect of a mother's death in child-birth says:

"Every child needs a warm and personal relationship to a mother-figure. Though the mother herself is the usual mother-figure she is not invariably the best one."

This love can be given by a suitable substitute mother. Providing there are no complications such as the father blaming the child for the mother's death, the child can grow up quite normally.

SAINT TYAGARAJA

"At such a time when we seek to bring about a cultural renaissance by restoring our arts to their classical purity our thoughts naturally turn to our musical heritage," says Mr. E. M. J. Vennigoor writing in a recent issue of *Sunday Standard*. The heavy hand of time and all the holocausts of foreign domination could neither mar nor stale the highest traditions of Carnatic music; and we have it with us in all its classical purity. Why? what indeed is the secret of this immunity, the power that sustained its influence when all else fell to evil days? The writer gives the following answer.

The answer seems to be that Carnatic music had invariably been a religious exercise, that it

had for its fountainhead saints of the stature of Tyagaraja, and that its devotees would not stoop to dilute its grandeur for cheap popularity and worldly gains.

Of course, the princes and nobles were there to patronise the art, but no art could thrive on worldly patronage alone, much less a highly classical form, unless it has an appeal for the deeper elements in the common people.

It must, therefore, be interesting to cast a glimpse into the lives of the great savants, the composers, exponents and patrons who bequeathed to us this splendid legacy, to remember the strange episodes of their lives that gave birth to the keertans we sing today, to note how they reacted to circumstances that challenged their honour and ideals, to assess, above all, the exalted values that their lives and kritis symbolise.

In the phraseology of Carnatic music, three of its greatest composers, Tyagaraja, Dikshitar and Syama Sastri, are usually spoken of as Trimurthy, which is as much to say, the Trinity.

Let us begin with Tyagaraja, the first of the trinity, and the greatest name in the annals of Carnatic music. He was not just a composer as composers are understood today, but a poet, singer, mystic and saint. In fact, the entire world of South Indian music regards him as an avatar, an incarnation of a divine spark, and worship him as such with musical offerings at his samadhi beside the holy Cauvery.

It is said Thyagaraja composed over 24,000 keertans just like Ramayana which contains 24,000 slokams. But only 505 keertans are now available and sung by votaries of Carnatic music.

Besides these hymns, Tyagaraja composed two operas, Nowkacharitham and Prahladhaktha Charitham, and also certain groups of compositions called Ulsavaprabandhas, intended primarily for singing on certain deities during specific festivals.

It is needless to repeat that the compositions of Tyagaraja, simple, sweet and expressive of the profoundest devotion and the highest spiritual experiences denote the high water-mark in the annals of South Indian music.

These indeed are the most cherished among musical compositions of the South, and constitute thus the very core of a people's cultural heritage. As a man, the universality of his genius is astounding, and a saint, he has tasted the very bliss of sayujya through nado-pasana.

INCOME TAX IN U.S.A.

"There was no general income tax in the United States until 1862, says *The Individualist*. And the rates of taxation during the Civil War, the most desperate emergency in American history, were unbelievably mild by modern standards: 3% on incomes from \$600 to \$10,000, and moderately progressive rates above \$10,000. The whole idea of a tax on income was thrown out of the window in 1872 as inconsistent with the American ideal of unlimited personal opportunity. An attempt to levy at 2% tax on income in 1894 was declared unconstitutional. Only after the passing of the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution in 1913 was the principle of the federal income tax firmly imbedded in the U.S. fiscal system."

THE NEW FERMENT IN AMERICA

A writer in *The Hindustan Times* observes that, in a sense, the past year has been a year of failures for the U.S. and in another it has been a year of deep heart-searching.

"The Soviet earth satellites sent the U.S. into a tither from which it has not yet recovered. Americans discovered the shortcomings of their educational system and are now hell-bent to remedy them. But in more senses than one, American society is in a ferment. McCarthyism was dead in the U.S. long before the man after whom the idea was named, died. But it has taken some time—and two Soviet earth satellites—to jerk the Americans back to reality.

There is a move to reconsider the sad case of Dr. Oppenheimer.

"The army voluntarily moved to reconsider the cases of enlisted men who had been disbanded as security risks. Teachers, who were once the least paid and most forgotten men, are now getting a little attention from top brass. Colleges and universities are due to get additional aid to the tune of a couple of billion dollars."

America may not regain totally the power and the prestige all over the world that she enjoyed in the immediate post-war years.

"But she is at least making an honest, if somewhat agonizing reappraisal of her policies, both domestic and international. Writing on this, Mr. Stewart Alsop, one of the best known and frequently-quoted columnists, said: "One thing at least is certain. Circumstances themselves are forcing a drastic recasting."

RUSSIAN DRIVE IN PAKISTAN

"For the first time Soviet Embassy personnel are leaving their compound to join clubs and foster helpful social contacts with Pakistanis, says the *New York Times* in its issue dated January 31. The Russian Minister's statements on agriculture and food have evoked keen interest in Prime Minister Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who is a wealthy landlord and considered an expert on farming. Both men have discussed waterlogging, land reclamation and irrigation.

The question of steel mill has also been received with great interest here. Last year bitter controversy on whether to have a steel mill nearly split the cabinet because Finance Minister Amjad Ali thought the country could not afford such a project. United States foreign aid officials supported this view. Their stand has caused dissatisfaction with the United States for failing to assist Pakistan.

WORLD LANGUAGE

Albert Guerard of the Stanford University, California, writing in *The Aryan Path*, pleads for a lead from India in regard to the adoption of an international language as both the symbol and the instrument of world unity. India is indeed more of a babel than Europe. She needs a common language for commercial, administrative and cultural purposes. But why hark back to English or Hindi?

Why not look forward, beyond the dreams of Akbar, Macaulay or Disraeli? Why should not India aspire to be the pioneer in the adoption of a world language, and make it officially her own?

This may seem Utopian: but there is an immediate practical approach. The Unesco meeting at Montevideo urged that the question of a world auxiliary language be investigated: let India support and implement this proposal with all her might. The promise that she herself would adopt it would be a decisive argument. Nations new and old have declared that they were discarding their local weights and measures, in spite of immemorial associations, in favour of the metric system. France and Italy in the preamble of their constitutions have declared their readiness to abandon their absolute sovereignty and to submit to world law. Why should not India take a step of the same kind in the linguistic field? It would actually be the best solution to her own internal linguistic problem and a lesson in constructive world citizenship.

HAS CASTE OUTLIVED?

"Has the Hindu caste system outlived its usefulness now that India is her own mistress?" asks Prof. Rushbrook Williams in the *Spectator*.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams points out that every Indian leader, from Nehru downwards, is determined to end untouchability not merely in law but in fact. But untouchability is only one aspect of the caste system and could disappear and still leave the system stronger than ever. To caste Hindus the system had been a useful cohesive force which held the Hindu society together in spite of many different invading cultures.

Now, many Indians attacked it on the ground that caste loyalties are incompatible with the all-India outlook, with exercise of individual judgment in politics and with the urge to national, social, economic advancement.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams is of opinion that in the long run reformers may get their way because the zeitgeist of modern India is behind them. Yet caste system is so deep rooted, so adaptable and so bound up with the Hindu outlook of life that it is unlikely to disappear quickly—especially if untouchability, the aspect on which it has been most vulnerable to attack, steadily yields to liberal ideas backed by legal sanctions. One thing, however, is clear: India has good ground for arguing that caste system, in spite of all criticisms which can be—and are—directed against it, is a purely social phenomenon which has nothing in common with the deliberate political exaltation of a 'master race' which damns apartheid in Asian eyes."

WHAT IS LIBERTARIANISM?

The world must switch back to Libertarianism, says Miss Kusum Lotwalla in her editorial to the new year issue of *The Indian Libertarian*. Libertarianism as described in Webster's Dictionary means, "one who holds to the principle of free will; also who upholds the principle of liberty, specially individual liberty of thought and action."

"Politically it means strong opposition to authoritarianism of all kinds, whether of the Right or of the Left. It is opposed, therefore, to all forms of regimentation and totalitarianism which absorb the whole field of private relations and individual life into the sphere of

Government action. It is opposed to all the so-called "welfare" plans. It stands for limited Government. Government, according to the philosophy we stand for, should confine itself to Defence, Justice and the Rule of Law as against "welfarism" on regimentation."

"The Libertarians believe that the human collectivity has no being and consciousness of its own, to override the rights and happiness of the individual citizen. The State has evolved into being, in the course of human history, to defend society against external aggression and to enforce justice between man and man. Beyond it the State should not go and if it does that, it encroaches on the inalienable rights of the individual. In the limited government the right entrusted to the State, to enforce justice between man and man, and to defend against aggression, through organised Army and the Police, is to be used strictly according to law and conformity with the rights of the individual.

The Libertarian is not concerned with the metaphysical discussion as to the ultimate nature of the human being, whether it is a soul, a spirit, or only organic nature with an emergent consciousness.

SECRECY AND DEMOCRACY

Prof. F. E. Rourke of the Johns Hopkin's University, discussing "Secrecy in American Bureaucracy" says that for some the problem of striking a balance between secrecy and disclosure in administration presents none of the complexity that the pattern of court decisions would suggest.

"Administrative secrecy is on all counts to be abhorred as characteristic of an authoritarian society and repugnant to the spirit and practice of constitutionalism. It should therefore, be held within the narrowest limits consistent with the safety of such State secrets as of absolute necessity be concealed from unfriendly foreign eyes. This is certainly the viewpoint of spokesmen for the media of communications and...this has been the prevailing view in the American political tradition. "Let there be light," Woodrow Wilson once wrote with respect to the affairs of government in a democracy, and light there has generally been in the operations of American political institutions."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

JOINT APPEAL BY NEHRU AND HO-CHI-MINH

Dr. Ho-Chi-minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, in a joint statement on February 13 reaffirmed their faith in Panch Sheela, the five principles of co-existence, and said that the application of these principles in international relations would help to relax international tensions and provide a basis for peace and understanding among nations.

The two leaders felt that, with the developments in the fields of space travel and atomic and thermo-nuclear warfare, "maintenance of peace has, more than ever before, become imperative."

The statement said: "The President and the Prime Minister agreed the colonialism and forcible occupation or domination of national territories by foreign powers have no place in the world of to-day. They expressed their deep sympathy for all peoples struggling for their independence and sovereignty. They were glad that a number of countries in Asia and Africa had achieved independence. The main problem of the newly independent countries is to give economic and social content to their independence and raise the living standards of their people. The President and the Prime Minister agreed that arms aid by foreign Powers and military pacts not only detracted from the newly won independence of these countries but jeopardised their much-needed progress in the economic and social fields."

EISENHOWER'S LETTER TO BULGANIN

President Eisenhower, in a letter to Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, on February 17 called on the Soviet Union to seek to breakthrough "less publicised contacts."

The President, referring to the long series of letters exchanged with the Soviet Prime Minister, wrote: "I began to wonder, Mr. Chairman, whether we shall get anywhere by continuing to write speeches to each other..... I cannot avoid the feeling that if our two countries are to move ahead to the establishment of better relations, we must find some ways other than mere prolongation of repetitive public debate."

In the 2,200 word letter, the President said that the United States wanted nothing more

than to "co-operate wholeheartedly with any Soviet Government which is genuinely dedicated to advancing, by peaceful means, the welfare of the people of the Soviet Union."

The President declared that in his last letter of February 1, Marshal Bulganin had, in effect demanded the right to veto discussion of the matters which President Eisenhower had suggested should be discussed at a summit conference.

"Perhaps, the impasse to which we seem to have come can be broken by less formal and less publicised contacts through which we would continue to seek to find out whether there can be a top-level meeting which, in the words of my letter to you of January 12, 1958, would hold good hope of advancing the cause of peace and justice in the world.

KHRUSHCHEV ON SOVIET AIMS

In an interview to the *The Times* of London Mr. Khrushchev agreed that there was need to find such forms of preparation as would prevent the conference from petering out before it was convened. Mr. Khrushchev offered the suggestion that preparations should possibly be carried on through "diplomatic channels."

"I am not sure," he said, "that if preparations for a Summit conference are entrusted to the Foreign Ministers the solution of that issue would not be thwarted. After a Summit meeting, the Ministers could continue their deliberations."

Mr. Khrushchev in an interview given to the foreign Editor of *The Times*, Iverach Macdonald on January 31 and released by *Tass* on February 15, said that the Soviet Union was "for liquidating armies in the final count, going over to the militia system, that is, not to have any armed forces in the country except for militia forces for maintaining internal law and order."

"We are internationalists," Mr. Khrushchev said "and believe in the friendly co-existence of all peoples. We strive for peace and not for war. If we give much attention to our army, this is done out of necessity. In as much as the capitalist countries do not intend to live without armies, we must also have an army, and if this is the case then it is best to have an army capable of repulsing any forces threatening the Soviet Union."

Utterances of the Day

MR. MACMILLAN ON INDIA

Mr. Harold Macmillan, British, Prime Minister, on his return from a 30,000-mile Commonwealth tour, said at London on Feb. 15, that in the new Commonwealth countries—India, Pakistan and Ceylon—he found signs everywhere of a determination to maintain the links of the Commonwealth.

Asked about India's attitude towards Communism, the Prime Minister said: "Like us they are absolutely anti-Communist." India followed practices absolutely contrary in Communist doctrine and ideology.

"It is true that India does not support the military groupings and alliances, which we think necessary for the defence against Communism—Pakistan does. But that is no reason why we should not respect their view. We are all on the same in this great issue," he added.

HO-CHI-MINH ON KASHMIR

Dr. Ho Chi-Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, said at Calcutta on Feb. 15, that "Kashmir belongs to India."

He told a Press Conference at Raj Bhavan on the conclusion of his ten-day tour of India, that questions had been put to him why he had not so far referred to Kashmir. "I do not think there is any question about Kashmir", he asserted. "Kashmir is yours. If I am to say anything about Kashmir, I may also have to say something about Bangalore, Bombay and Calcutta."

MR. MAFFRY ON AID TO INDIA

Mr. August Maffry, Consultant to the United States Government on foreign aid and investment programme, said at Madras on Feb. 23, that it was the intention of the U.S. administration that over the next three years the total amount of U.S. financial aid to India should be "several times as much as the recently announced loan of \$ 225 million (about Rs. 107 crores)." This loan was only a first instalment, he added.

"You can count upon sustained help from the U.S. Government and also from the private sector in achieving the essential objectives of the Second Plan and the other Five-Year Plans which will follow," he added.

KHRUSHCHEV ON PEACE

Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Communist Party Chief said at Moscow, on Feb. 23, that Russia wanted peace so that the peoples of the world could live without fear.

"We want peace not only for ourselves", he declared. "We want peace for all nations, for the world, to live without fear, to live in friendship, to develop a competition based only upon peaceful conditions between nations and in peaceful business."

"We are arming our army, but we do not wish these arms ever to be used, because modern weapons are the most terrible weapons of all times. There have never before been weapons like those with which armies are now being equipped. We desire peace—peace not only for ourselves but for all peoples peace so as to live without fear."

"We are fully aware that we must be a modern armed force, strong and equipped with the most modern technical means, in order to serve our Soviet State, which is defending peace among the peoples of the whole world", he concluded.

MR. BUNKER ON U.S.A'S POLICY

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, U.S. Ambassador in India, declared at Bombay on Feb. 26, that the United States would never commit aggression against any nation. "We shall constantly endeavour to uphold and strengthen the United Nations. We shall unceasingly wage peace until the victory of peace is won," he added.

Mr. Bunker, inaugurated the India-Pan American Association in Bombay, and said that failure to agree on disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, was an obstacle to world peace. "Perhaps it is the most important one, but it is not the only one," he said and added: "There is poverty and want; distrust and bitterness; misunderstanding and ignorance. All these must be fought if man is to make progress on the path. The United States has been trying for more than a decade to clear away these obstacles."

MR. NIXON'S PLEA

Mr. Richard Nixon, the Vice-President of the United States, named India as the country whose freedom and independence were vital for the security of the United States. Speaking at Washington on Feb. 26, he said: let us take India. If India is independent and is strong then I say this is in our interest. Let us not also forget that as far as the choice is concerned, it is far better for India or anyone of these other countries to be independent, to be neutral, to be uncommitted than to be on the Communist side."

Political

NEHRU AND ZAHIR SHAH

The King of Afghanistan and the Prime Minister of India, at the conclusion of their exchange of views at New Delhi on Feb. 14 have issued a joint statement welcoming the formation of the United Arab Republic, which, they believe, would pursue with vigour a policy of peace.

Expressing their deep regret over the serious situation in Algeria, the two Asian leaders expressed the hope that an early solution would be found which would ensure independence of the Algerian people with due regard to the legitimate interests of the parties concerned.

As in other similar joint statements, the imperative need for ending nuclear tests with immediate effect and for reserving outer space exclusively for peaceful purpose was underlined.

While admitting the value of preparatory steps, the two leaders expressed the view that "a meeting at high level" should take place "as speedily as possible" to consider problems of war and peace.

At the outset, the joint communique underlined the fact that there was no difference between India and Afghanistan to disturb their subsisting close and friendly relations. Their foreign policies were also inspired by their mutual desire to serve the cause of world peace.

DE JURE TRANSFER OF PONDICHERY

Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha on Feb. 11 that there was no major opposition in France to the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry to India, but circumstances somehow conspired to delay this matter from time to time.

Mr. Nehru was replying to Mr. H. N. Mukerjee who had asked whether it was not a fact that many problems about the administration of Pondicherry were being inevitably shelved on account of the delay in *de jure* integration of Pondicherry.

Mr. Mukerjee also asked, "Are we to wait on the good pleasure of the French Government which is busy with things like Algeria and Tunisia?"

The Prime Minister said that it was true that a number of problems were being held up because of the delay in the transfer. "I am unhappy about it, but we have to face difficulties as they arise," he said. "In fact we are being assured every month for the last one year that this is coming about."

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Milling crowds of joyous Egyptians and Syrians rolled through the cities of Cairo and Damascus yelling "Mabrook" (congratulations) to the United Arab Republic merging Egypt and Syria which was born Cairo on Feb. 22.

Egyptians and Syrians almost unanimously voted for this Republic and for Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser as the first President of this Republic in a plebiscite held on Feb. 21.

COMMUNISTS IN KERALA

The Communist Party of India has now a membership of 2,18,532. The party registered an increase of 1,00,000 members during the last four months when an enrolment drive was conducted in all States.

Kerala has the largest number of Communist members with 56,000, while Andhra comes next with 52,000. West Bengal has 24,200, Tamil Nad 20,000, Bihar 16,381, U. P. 12,800. Punjab 10,000 and Maharashtra 9,000. Gujerat has the lowest number of members (700) among the various regions.

PERIL FROM RUSSIA AND CHINA

Mr. Hollington K. Tong, Nationalist Chinese Ambassador, said at Washington on Feb. 21 that India was facing a great peril from Communist China and the Soviet Union.

The Ambassador, in a speech prepared for delivery to a Cosmos Club luncheon, said the hand of China was behind the turmoil and unrest in the Asian Continent.

In Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Laos, Cambodia, South Viet-Nam and Indonesia, he said, Communist infiltration and subversion were behind most of the present political disorders.

RAJAJI ON D.K. AND D.M.K.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, in a letter dated February 8 to Mr. N. C. Zamindar of Indore, says: "I do not have any influence over them (D.M.K. and D.K.) or their politics. That they hold the same view as I do on the language issue is the only connection between them and me. But the language policy of the Government of India and the Congress is giving them strength."

Referring to the demands of the DMK and D.K., Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "As for the stand of the D.M.K. and D.K. they are not worth notice. Their demand for separation is based on a foundation of sand. There is no likelihood of its ever taking serious shape."

Educational

STUDY OF SANSKRIT

The Sanskrit Commission in its report has recommended "compulsory provision for the teaching of Sanskrit in all secondary schools "unaffected by arguments of economy or number of students taking Sanskrit," and has suggested modification of Government's three-language formula with this end in view.

The Commission recommends that, in secondary schools, all Indian students should be taught three languages, namely, (1) the mother-tongue (or the regional language), (2) English and (3) Sanskrit (or in some special cases, some other—classical language as equivalent to Sanskrit, e.g., Arabic, Persian, old Tamil, Latin or Greek).

That Hindi should be taught at the college stage to such students as desire to enter all-India services, or, if it is to be taught in the school, the three language-scheme recommended by it above should be so modified that Hindi or, for Hindi-speaking students, some other modern Indian language, preferably South Indian, is allowed as an alternative to English.

In any scheme of adjustment with Hindi, the Commission is against providing Hindi as an alternative to Sanskrit.

VENKATESWARA CONVOCATION

"A university graduate is not expected to be an encyclopaedia of knowledge. He should be one who in the course of his life will attempt to be a perpetual student, studying all aspects of life and all factors incidental to the welfare of society and to the role of good citizenship" observed Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, delivering the first Convocation address of the Sri Venkateswara University at Tirupathy on Feb. 14.

CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD'S RECOMMENDATION

Several important recommendations in regard to various stages of education, viz., basic, secondary, higher and social education have been made by the Central Advisory Board of Education which concluded its two-day deliberations at New Delhi on Feb. 7. The Chairman of the Board, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, presided.

The recommendations mainly aim at the improvement of the educational standards and efficiency of the teaching profession.

The Board has laid particular stress on the need for narrowing down the gap between the basic and non-basic education at all stages. It

also discussed at length the nature of preparation necessary for the professional courses at the university level and decided to reconsider the matter after the All-India Council of Technical Education and the Deshmukh Committee, which are at present looking into the question, have submitted their reports.

KERALA EDUCATION BILL

It is reliably learnt the Government of India will definitely refer the Kerala Education Bill to the Supreme Court in spite of the objections raised by the State Government.

At present, the memorandum of the Kerala Government in reply to the communication from Delhi, enumerating the issues desired to be referred to the Supreme Court, is under study.

The main contention against the Kerala Education Bill is that it affects the rights of minorities as described in Art. 14 of the Constitution. It is learnt the Kerala Government, which has sought the advice of the well-known British lawyer, Mr. Pritt, has pointed out in a 27 page letter, among other things, that the Central Government has no authority in the matter and it is believed they will challenge the competence of the Central Government when the reference comes before the Supreme Court.

JOHN MATTHAI ON FOUNDATION

Dr. John Matthai, Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University, said at Kharagpur on Feb. 22, that foundations should be properly laid at the lower levels of education if lasting results in scientific and technological education were to be achieved. He said in India while attempts were made to set up National Laboratories and higher technical colleges, not much progress was made in education at the Secondary and University stages. He was addressing the third annual convocation of the Indian Institute of Technology.

Dr. A. R. MUDALIAR ON ENGLISH

Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, pleaded at Ahmedabad on Feb. 6 for the retention of the study of English in India.

Addressing the fourth Annual Day function of the Gujarat University School of Social Sciences, he said unless a happy balance was struck between the enthusiasm for regional languages and the great need to keep the tap of knowledge open the progress of the country would be dangerously retarded.

Legal

JAIL FOR CORRUPTION

Government's dissatisfaction at the leniency shown in awarding punishment to Government officials convicted of corruption was voiced in the Lok Sabha on February 2 by Mr. B.N. Datar Minister for Home Affairs.

Moving for consideration of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which aims at curbing corruption more effectively, Mr. Datar said a provision was being added to prescribe a minimum of one year's jail in case of conviction. The Judge or Magistrate would have to state his reasons for awarding a lesser sentence.

KERALA HIGH COURT ON PAY OF TEACHERS

At the Kerala High Court on Feb. 17, Their Lordships, the acting Chief Justice, Mr. K. Sankaran and Mr. Justice P.T. Raman Nair, delivered judgment dismissing with costs a batch of petitions under Article 226 of the constitution filed by Mr. Joseph Valamrugalam, Manager, St. Paul's and St. Alotious Lower Primary Schools, Parur and two other school managers against the State for quashing the order of the Government dated October 12, 1957 which provided for *inter alia* payment of salaries of all teachers including the headmaster in lower primary schools in the State through headmasters of the respective schools.

Their Lordships observed that none of the objections taken to the impugned order seemed to them well founded and leaving technicalities alone and going to the substance of the matter. Their Lordships did not think the petitioners had any grievance justifying appeal to the power of the court under Article 226 of the Constitution.

REQUISITIONING OF PROPERTY

The Treasury Bench yielded to the pressure of opinion in the Lok Sabha on Feb. 11 agreeing to limit the life of the Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act to another six years, instead of placing it permanently on the statute book.

The amendment was moved by Mr. C. R. Pattabhiraman and was accepted by Mr. K. C. Reddy Minister for Works, Housing and supply.

Grounds of objections to the measure were mainly that either there had been discrimination shown as between old and new landlord or that owners of land which had been acquired

red for defence purposes had not been duly compensated.

The Deputy Minister, Mr. A.K. Chanda, conceded that there might have been lapses and mistakes but Government would look into them and rectify matters.

CORRUPTION IN PAKISTAN

The conduct of more than 1,000 Government officials in West Pakistan is reported to be under investigation by the provincial Anti-Corruption Department.

The list includes divisional Commissioners, Session Judges and senior Engineers of the Public Works Department.

Investigations against these officers have been undertaken with the sanction of the provincial Government. Reports said that criminal cases had been registered at different Police stations in respect of several of them. They have been charged with fraud, misappropriation of Government funds, tampering with official records, bribery, nepotism and other offences.

PARTNERSHIP OF LAWYERS

The expressions "Advocate, Vakil, Pleader, and Attorney" shall in future be deemed to include a partnership composed of such persons.

The Madras High Court has amended the Civil Rules of Practice and Circular Orders, Volume I, and the Appellate Side Rules to provide for this amendment.

The other amendments lay down that no such partnership shall be entitled to act or plead in any court unless all the members thereof are entitled to act or placed in such Court; and in every case member of the partnership signs any document or writing on behalf of the partnership, he shall do so in the name of the partnership and shall authenticate the same by affixing his signature.

These amendments have been confirmed with the previous approval of the Government.

BILL TO END OLD AGE MARRIAGE

A Bill to put an end to old age marriages was introduced on the Lok Sabha on Feb. 11 by a private member, Mr. Mohan Swarup.

The statement of objects says: "There are several instances where rich persons after crossing the age of 50 years marry young girls of 20 years of age or sometimes even younger. Such aged people after marriage generally die soon leaving behind young widows. The object of the Bill is to put an end to such old age marriages."

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

Railway passenger fares and freight rates remain unchanged in the Railway Budget for 1958-59 presented to the Lok Sabha by the Railway Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram on February 17.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, however, indicated that the freight rates might change soon. He said that examination of the Railway Freight Structure Committee's recommendations is now in the final stages. The decisions thereon are expected to be taken and implemented in the near future.

Booming gross traffic railway receipts—with Rs. 347.5 crores in 1956-57, Rs. 384 crores in the current year and Rs. 407 crores budgeted for the next—together with a steady increase in the annual tonnage of goods traffic suggest that our railways are shaping well.

NATIONALISATION OF BANKS

The State Bank of India is to take over the business of six State associated banks, namely, the Indore Bank, the Patiala Bank, the Travancore Bank, the Hyderabad State Bank and the State Bank of Saurashtra. The necessary legislation is expected to be introduced in the current session of Parliament. Under it the six banks will become branches of the State Bank.

Certain other State-associated banks like the Bank of Bikaner, the Bank of Rajasthan, the Bank of Baroda and the Bank of Mysore are expected to come within the purview of the proposed legislation in course of time, as also some smaller State associated banks as recommended by the Rural Credit Survey Committee of the Reserve Bank.

BRITAIN'S PAYMENT TO INDIA

It is officially announced at New Delhi that Britain has agreed to make available to India a sum of £ Twelve million on April 1, 1958, besides the normal £ Four million due in connection with the payment of sterling pensions. India bought sterling annuities for payment of sterling pensions after partition, and subsequently it has been calculated that India has paid an excess of £ Forty million. This excess is now being repaid to India at the rate of £ Four million annually. In view of India's need for foreign exchange, three annual payments are being made in advance in April next.

The Finance Minister has acknowledged Britain's offer with thanks in a communication addressed to the British High Commissioner in Delhi.

THE L. I. C. DEAL

The Chagla Inquiry Commission whose report was placed in Parliament on February 13 by the Prime Minister had concluded that there was "acquiescence" on the part of the Finance Minister, in the absence of any "reputation," in the dominant part played by Mr. H. M. Patel, Principal Finance Secretary in bringing about the investments of the Life Insurance Corporation in Mundra shares.

"The Minister," Mr. Justice Chagla says, "must fully and squarely accept the responsibility for what Mr. Patel did and if the transaction is improper and unjustified, although Mr. Patel may be actually responsible for the transaction, constitutionally the responsibility is that of the Minister."

MADRAS SALES TAX REFORM

The levy of a single-point sales tax at source at specified rates on 67 commodities, and multi-point levies on others have been recommended by Dr P. S. Lokanathan, who had been appointed by the Madras Government to examine the scope and working of the Sales Tax law in the State to simplify its structure and its administration.

A copy of the report was placed on the table of the Legislative Assembly, Madras on February 10.

Dr Lokanathan has recommended that small dealers that is those with turnovers of less than Rs. 25,000, be allowed the option of paying at prescribed slab rates or the actual tax. They should be required to maintain detailed purchase accounts only.

"If and when revenues from single-point levies are considered satisfactory, the Government may consider raising exemption limit for the multi-point tax to Rs. 25000, exemption of essential articles from tax, and abolition of multi-point levy in that order of priority," he has stated.

INDO-U. S. CO-OPERATION

A joint statement signed at Washington on February 27 by the representatives of the Governments of the United States and India enunciates the principles animating Indo-American trade relations and recognises the existing potential for a significant increase in value and in volume of trade between the two countries.

MISS SULOCHANA RAGHAVAN

Miss Sulochana Raghavan, is recommended or the Fellowship by the Rotary Club of Nagpur. She will study psychology, in preparation for a career in teaching or social work, at one of the major universities in North America. Daughter of Mr. G. V. Raghavan of Nagpur, she was born in 1934 in Visakhapatnam, but studied in Nagpur, where she graduated from the Central College for Women in Nagpur.

MISS A GIRIJA

Miss Ananthanarayana Girija has been awarded a Rotary Foundation Fellowship, for advanced study in Pediatrics at the Yale University U.S.A.

Daughter of Dr. A. Ananthanarayana of Madras, 26-year-old Miss Girija graduated from the Stanley Medical College in 1955, specialising in Gynecology and Obstetrics, and is at present officiating as House Surgeon at the Government Stanley Hospital.

Miss Girija was sponsored for the Rotary Fellowship by the Rotary Club of Madras and she is one of the two candidates selected from India for this signal honour, during 1958-1959.

SRIMATHI M. AUDILAKSHMI

Srimathi M. Audilakshmi, of the University of Madras, is to go to Russia to take up the post of a Teaching Specialist in Telugu and Tamil at the University of Leningrad. She is the first Indian woman, to be selected for the post to which she brings her wide study and scholarship. She is an author, and has done research in Telugu literature under an India Government scholarship.

MISS KAMILA TYABJI

There is one Indian woman who has stayed in London for the best part of her life. She is Miss Kamila Tyabji.

M. A., B.C.L., B. Litt. (Oxford), Barrister-at-Law, reads her visiting card. She spent seven years at Oxford, practised at the Privy Council for over two years. She was engaged by the Government of India to hold a brief on its behalf at the Privy Council in a number of murder cases.

She went to Ceylon to do research work as there is a large Muslim population there. She is expert in Mohammedan Law. She devotes most of her time in broadcasting in the B. B. C.'s Overseas Service. She is also in demand as a first-rate platform speaker to tell British women about India's women's movement and on East-West relations.

SMT. SAKUNTALA DEVI

Smt. Sakuntala Devi, the young mathematician well-known for her powers of mathematical calculations, said in a talk with a local newspaper that her gifts were not hereditary.

"When a problem is posed to me," she observed. "I just think of it and the numbers which form the answer flash to my mind in a matter of three or four seconds."

The Express Reporter, who had prepared a few difficult mathematical problems (with their answers in his pocket) posed them to her and she gave immediate answers to each of them.

"I shall visit the various countries of the Far East," she said, "as one of India's cultural ambassadors and give demonstrations of my powers of calculation to the people of other countries."

On her return to India, Smt. Sakuntala Devi would write books on the calculating machines she sees during her tour.

WOMAN VISITORS TO U.S.A.

As a service to woman visitors from other lands, the Carrie Chapman Catt Fund has published a pocket-size pamphlet highlighting a variety of useful information about the United States. The fund is a research and educational organization created by the League of Women Voters of the U. S. It has answered many requests from women's organizations in other countries for assistance in citizen-education projects.

The booklet, entitled "You and the U.S.A.," gives brief, illustrated information about means of travel, the system of local and national government, public and private education, the separation of church and state, the monetary system, the nation's economic set-up recreation, and suburban family life.

The author, Dr. Helen Hill Miller, is an internationally educated economist and author who, according to the foreword of the pamphlet, "brings a seeing eye to the problem of viewing her own country as others first see it."

MISS R. N. VASANTHE

Miss R. N. Vasantha, student of the University College, Trivandrum, won the first prize in the Abraham Lincoln essay contest conducted by the U.S.I.S., Madras. The contest was arranged to tie with the 149th Lincoln birth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln on February, 12.

General

THE CHAGLA REPORT

Sri Justice Chagla had fixed constitutional responsibility on the Finance Minister for the purchase of Mundhra shares by the Life Insurance Corporation in his 80-page report submitted to the Government on February 11.

The Commission followed the general line advanced by the Attorney General in finding Sri. H. M. Patel principally responsible for putting the deal through. But he suggested that Sri Patel could not have acted as he did without the general approval of the Minister.

The Commission is also of the view that Sri G. R. Kamat and Sri Vaidyanathan, Chairman and Managing Director of the L.I.C., respectively, abdicated their responsibility in this matter.

Following Parliamentary practice Sri T. T. K. has resigned. His resignation has been accepted by the Prime Minister. Commenting on this the *Times of India* of Bombay wrote in its editorial dated 17th February:—

"Mr. Krishnamachari's services to the nation during a period of particular difficulty and the impact throughout the entire field of his activities of his vigorous personality are matters of common knowledge. Many will, therefore, associate themselves with the Prime Minister in expressing the country's gratitude to Mr. Krishnamachari. The nation can ill-afford so grievous a loss in terms of ability and application to duty and it will generally be hoped, as Mr. Nehru has done, that his abilities may yet be utilised in the service of the country."

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

We regret to record the death of Maulana Azad on 22nd February.

Country-wide tributes were paid to the services of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad to the cause of the nation.

The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a message on the death of Maulana Azad, described him as "a great leader" and said: "He has died full of glory leaving millions to mourn his loss."

The message said: "By the passing away of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, India loses a profound scholar, a great orator, an elder statesman, a consistent and persistent nationalist, an untiring fighter in the cause of freedom and, above all, a great leader whose wise counsel and indomitable courage were always availed of to solve many an intricate problem."

As Education Minister, Maulana Azad visited Britain in connection with the future of the India Office Library in July 1955. Later, he visited France, Germany and Switzerland. He was responsible for sponsoring the three-volume report of the University Education Commission in 1948-49 and the publication of the *History of Indian Philosophy* (two volumes) in 1952.

A refined and cultured individual, he had a distinguished presence and a compelling personality. A liberal in his outlook on life, he did his best to bring people together.

MR. V. M. OBEIDULLAH

Mr. V. M. Obeidullah, M. P. and Vice-President of Tamil Nad Congress Committee died on Feb. 21, at Vellore.

An ardent Congress worker from boyhood, Mr. Obeidullah suffered imprisonment five times in connection with the Freedom Struggle between 1921 and 1944. He was Municipal Councillor, Vellore, for over 20 years. He was Vice-President, North Arcot District Board, for four years, President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee, during 1940-41, member, Tamil Nad Congress Executive for over 17 years, Vice-President, TNCC for over seven years, member, All India Congress Committee for 10 years, member, Provisional Parliament during 1951-52, member, Rajya Sabha, from 1952 to 1956. He was reelected to the Rajya Sabha and continued to be Member of the Rajya Sabha till the time of his death.

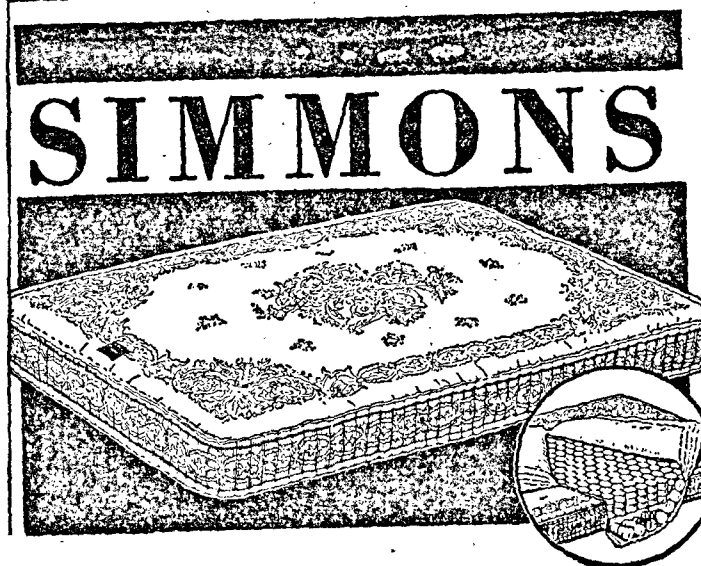
MR. BULUSU SAMBAMURTI

Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti who died last month was a great patriot who discarded his wealth and good practice at the bar to join the freedom movement, was a true disciple of Gandhiji and a gallant fighter in the political field. His rulings as Speaker of the Madras Assembly served as models. The part he played during the days prior to the establishment of Andhra State would ever be remembered.

THE LATE MR. B. DAS

Mr. Bhuvananda Das, veteran Congress leader of Orissa and a member of the Rajya Sabha, died at his residence at New Delhi on February 23.

Mr. Das was one of the pioneers of the movement for the formation of a separate State of Orissa in the early 'thirties. He was President of the Oriya Samaj, Delhi, for some time.



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