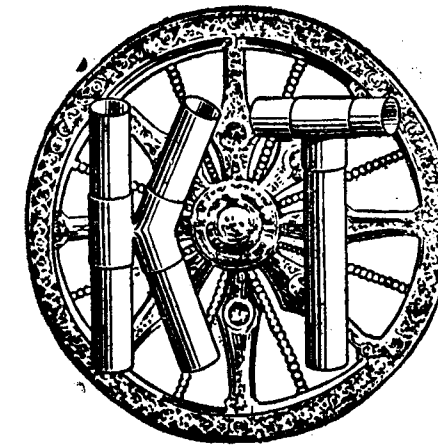


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Vol. 60]

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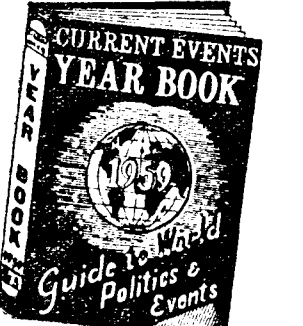
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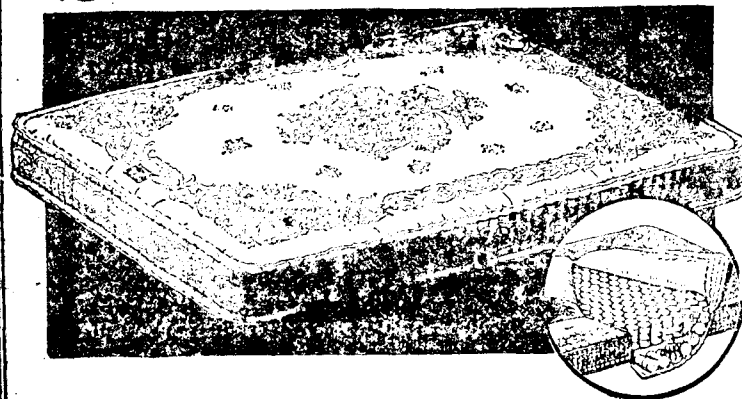
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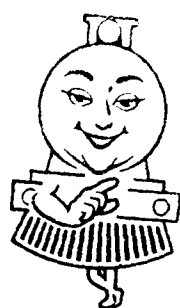
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[No. 4]

Science and Human values

By

Prof. M. S. THACKER

THE topic is so vast and virtually inexhaustible that several volumes may be written on it. After all, every discovery in science and invention has been in the service of mankind. Science has been a sort of Aladdin's Lamp with which man has achieved various miracles. It is surely not possible even to refer to the multifarious disciplines of science which have grown in the past few centuries; and in a short article one can only attempt a general indication of the contributions which science has made, and continues to make, to the progress and welfare of mankind.

The present is essentially an age of science and technology. It pervades all spheres of human activity; from the high Council Rooms of states and governments down to the market place and the kitchen at home. In a sense, science has ennobled man and endowed him with powers, which he could not even have dreamt of in the past ages. Thanks to science, man has delved deep into the bowels of the earth. He can send his word around the globe in a trice, as it were, and can fly at supersonic speed through the atmosphere. Not content with discovering hidden and unknown places on the crust of the earth, man has now begun to reach out for the moon and the stars.

These fabulous achievements of man belong only to the sphere of influence of science. But science has been all-pervasive, and for the past few centuries, the warp and woof of

man's thought, be it in the field of philosophy, religion or culture, are deep-dyed in the vivid colours of science. In fact, science is not to be confused as meaning the various gadgets and instruments which technology has fashioned; nor is science merely the body of knowledge acquired and accumulated over centuries by noble souls.

Science is really an attitude of mind, an amalgam of the restless spirit of adventure which impels man to explore into fields unknown, and experiment with new materials and improvised means, and the spirit of rationalism which makes him reject blind tradition and superstition, and accept only such conclusions as are warranted by known verifiable facts.

The greatest benediction of science is this temper of science which has enabled man to march from strength to strength in all fields of activity. It is this which has led him to probe the boundless universe around him, the planet on which he lives and the life in him and around him. This spirit is responsible for his knowledge of plants and animals, and of diverse forms of matter and energy; it is again this attitude which has enabled him to fight disease and maintain health, to expand his industries, and to tackle the problems of society.

The dominant note in life today is that of science. What is the spectacle that this world of science presents to us? Taking a broad

perspective view of the world as a whole, the features that stand out most prominently are growing populations, expanding industry and diminishing resources.

In industry, we are faced with a spectacle of rapid and quick changes and the flow of technological discoveries and inventions is responsible for a continuous kaleidoscopic revolution. Methods and processes in vogue today become effete and outmoded on the morrow; and industry is hard put to keep pace with this quickened tempo of scientific evolution. The demand for goods and services has been rising progressively with increasing populations and upward standards of living.

The industrial picture is no longer one of giant factories and pygmy workshops existing together in a sort of static equilibrium. It is one of giants increasingly struggling to remain strong and of pygmies continuously growing and asserting their right to a place in the sector of giants; in between, industries producing goods and providing services, for which demands did not exist before, are springing up and are working themselves up to gain a place of vantage. The gigantic growth of industry necessarily implies the consumption of raw materials and power on a prodigal scale and many of the natural resources are being used up at a fast rate, beyond the possibility of recuperation. We are facing serious shortages of food, energy, water, minerals and so on, and how are the shortages going to be met unless science and technology come to our rescue?

Take the problem of food. The cry for progressively increasing food crop-yields and for bringing all available cultivable land under the plough has been heard for quite some time. It has since become insistent. Increased yields per acre can be achieved by the use of better seeds and more fertilizers, improved farming implements and techniques and effective methods for controlling pests and diseases of plants and livestock. Water supplies for

growing crops should be assured. Better roads and marketing facilities are also essential.

In the attempt to produce more and more food, which has been going on with increasing tempo ever since man settled down to community life, two of the greatest resources on which our civilization depends, namely, land and water, are being subjected to continuous interference by man. Land has been denuded of its natural cover over vast areas for purposes of cultivation and dwelling, and exposed to the perils of soil erosion and aridity.

Indeed, aridity and semi-aridity in many areas can be attributed to the indiscretions of man. These conditions must be remedied, and where possible land must be reclaimed from swamps and even the sea. The problem of land utilization is essentially one of raising food and other economic crops in continuously increasing quantities and, at the same time, ensuring that the fertility of the soil remains at its optimum level.

Irrigation and water storage schemes—from the great systems of ancient empires to the gigantic multipurpose projects of today, embodying irrigation, power generation, flood control and transport—have provided the answer to the problems of water conservation and use. But new difficulties, such as silting up of reservoirs and increasing salinity of soils, crop up and demand solution. In some areas water in the required quantities is not available, and it has become necessary to locate and tap ground-water supplies, or reuse, after treatment sewage and trade effluents, or render sea water usable by electrodialysis, passage through beds of ion-exchange resins or distillation.

Hope for increased food production has been kindled by yet other developments. There are reasons to believe that nature's process of photosynthesis, which enables plants to synthesise materials from simple substances, like carbon dioxide and water, can be improved and made more efficient so that higher yields

may be secured. Recent advances in genetics have shown that mutants which give enhanced crop yields can be isolated and cultivated on a farm scale. There is also considerable scope for raising the production of animal foods and it looks as though the limitation to food production is not lack of knowledge or the existence of physical obstacles.

As in the case of food, it is now possible to take an optimistic view of another great need of man, namely power. Energy producing raw materials, like coal and oil, are being rapidly used up and it is becoming plain that we must not only economise their use, but also look for new sources of power. Two rich sources hold promise, one atomic and the other solar. The latter is proving difficult to harness, but some of the recent developments indicate that success may not be far off. Power through atomic fission has already become a reality and the prospects are that the spectre of energy hunger will be laid to rest in near future.

The accelerated consumption of other raw materials present in the earth's crust by expanding industry is also a matter for serious concern. Here again, the contributions of technology, which are already impressive, offer hope. New methods of mineral treatment, such as beneficiation of low-grade ores, have advanced greatly during recent years. Improvements in the working of metals and developments in corrosion-prevention have also contributed to metal economy. In the not too distant future, I expect the sea may be the store-house from which useful metals will be mined.

Developments in plastics have shown that synthetic polymers with desired properties can be produced to replace metals for many conventional uses.

Most outstanding among the benefactions of science to man have come from enquiries on the cause and cure of disease. Some of the epidemic and endemic diseases have been virtually exterminated. Science has also ven-

tured into the field of disease prevention. Not only has the life span of man been enlarged, but he has been enabled to function at his best without fear of interruption by disease or ailment. Advances in public health engineering have provided means to overcome the ravages which afflicted whole communities in the past.

The economy in human labour which science and technology is rendering possible will perhaps prove to be of the greatest benefit to mankind. Electronic instruments have been developed to compile and analyse mathematical data and solve complex mathematical equations. Skilled direction and automation of industrial operations have been achieved through the development of appropriate devices.

Science and technology are not only providing solutions for the many problems of man's existence but are also producing the means for improving the conditions of his living and well-being. The discoveries and inventions which mark their progress are truly amazing. Space rockets, atomic energy, automation, jet propulsion, radar, radio-astronomy, rain making, antibiotics, insecticides, and synthetic fibers are only a few among them. The knowledge which has made these developments possible is essentially beneficial; but it has also released forces which can be used for the destruction of man and this has given rise to the impression that science and technology are also portents of evil.

The harnessing of atomic energy has helped in the devising of weapons which can exterminate civilization; the indiscriminate use of insecticides upsets the balance of nature and can do more than good; and developments in microbiology may be used in biological warfare; our knowledge of bacteriology and preventive medicine has enabled the maintenance of gigantic armies in good condition, for long periods in the fields.

These possibilities have brought home the realization the science, if it is to benefit humanity, must inculcate a sense of meaning and

direction into man's life and activity. Can Science do this? Can it orient man's thinking? My faith in science is deep and abiding; I am confident that it will succeed in creating conditions which would ensure that its constructive possibilities are realised for man's benefit. This prognosis is based on the hope that the wider appreciation of science and its method will inevitably promote human understanding, human values, and human dignity, and herein lies the means for averting the dangerous consequences that follow the misuse of technology.

Science, as I have stated before, has had a profound influence on the social progress of man, and its method has found relevance in the study and understanding of motivations, aptitudes and attitudes of man. Science has abated irrational prejudices and phobias that have caused social discord and violence. It

has been instrumental in adjusting individuals to social living and in moulding man's activities and institutions to social needs. The pioneers of science have not only added new chapters to the book of knowledge, but have introduced a new conception of facts. They have shown that in the search for truth, which is the goal of all scientific effort, the method of science is reliable and could be used by one and all.

I am of the opinion that the scientific achievements of the period have proved outstanding and are pregnant with great possibilities for human welfare. The quest for knowledge has brought together many intellectuals of the world under the banner of science, and their labour are providing a firm and sure pathway to the goal of human prosperity and happiness.



Population Control

By

SIR JULIAN HUXLEY

THE subject of population control is of immense importance not only to India but to the whole world. What I am going to say is of course, only the views of one biologist. But I have for long been concerned with population increase, as perhaps the key problem of our age.

The world is passing through a population crisis. The total population of the world has been steadily increasing since earliest prehistoric times but the basic total, and its rate of increase has shot up in the last 50 years. The total is now over 2½ billion human-beings. The net increase last year was 47 million people and it would be at least 50 million this year.

The compound interest rate of increase reached 1% only in the present century and it

is still going up and of course it is fastest in the under-developed region where the need for food is greatest. Whatever happens, the world population will be doubled in two generations, and the total will be over five billions in the life-time of many people of today.

In fact there is a population explosion going on. And this population explosion is due to what has been called death-control — the fact that science has managed to prevent so many people dying either earlier or late, from all sort of diseases. Meanwhile, the birth-rate has not come down. The death rate has gone down, but the birth-rate has not gone down. Well, what can science do about this population explosion?

First of all, I think, it is clear, that science can't solve the population problem by just providing extra food. Some people say, you can make synthetic foods or you can employ new agricultural methods or introduce new crops or bring new areas, desert and jungle areas, under cultivation. Well, this would often be wasteful. Synthetic food, I am sure, is very unpleasant and in any case you can't do it fast enough to catch up with the rate of increase of people. And in any case it cannot go on for ever for purely arithmetical reasons. You may say that science can't solve the population problem so long as this is regarded as how man can win the race against himself. How man as a consumer can beat man as a Co-producer.

On the other hand, science can be of the greatest help and service if we look at population in a scientific way as a problem of human ecology. That is, the science of man's relations with his environment, the natural environment provided by the earth and the social environment provided by man's own efforts. Looked at in this way, it is quite clear that if nothing is done, man will, sooner or later, become the cancer of the planet he inhabits, and not only that, the cancer of his own future.

Science shows that the basic thing is to establish proper relations with our home. That is to say, to ensure the quality of human life and the fullest realisation of possibilities for individuals, and for fullest achievement by individuals and by society. This means that man has got to learn to live in what in biology we call symbiosis, an organic partnership with the earth that he inhabits. He mustn't erode the resources of his physical environment. He must conserve them, the resources of all sorts, the resources that are to be used and consumed and the resources that are to be enjoyed.

Now among resources to be used there are the soil, the forests, minerals, water, water-power and so on, and there are plants and

animals, wild and domesticated. And as for resources to be enjoyed, there's wild nature, there's wild-life, there's beauty, there's scenery, there is a reasonable amount of solitude and there's space — space of easy access from crowded areas. All this leads to the idea that we have to envisage eventually to an optimum population, or at least not, an unbalanced or run-away increase of population, if you were to achieve anything worthwhile.

A man also must not erode the resources of his social environment. You are beginning to find out that there is a more or less general law, that above a certain rather low threshold, the greater the density of population per square mile, the less freedom and less convenience there is per head. This is obvious in the over-large cities of five and ten million inhabitants that are characteristic of our present age. It is also true about over large populations in general.

If your population gets too big and too dense, it leads to over-organisation and regimentation, a loss of freedom and loss of democracy. And on a world scale, increase of population will eventually lead to the erosion of cultural variety — the substitution of drab, uniformity and mechanical efficiency, for the lovely variety that we now still enjoy in large measure, among the few cultures and indeed and erosion of human values in general. Thus I might say that the scientific approach shows that inevitably increasing misery and increasing frustration for an increasing number of human-beings, will result on a world scale unless something is done, to slow down population increase. Our grand-children will be living, if nothing is done, a world, which is much more unpleasant for more people than the present one is. And that's saying a good deal.

Of course, it is also clear that science can palliate some of these difficulties. It can help to grow or make new food. It can help to find or make new sources of energy. It can

certainly arrange eventually to get fresh water out of salt water, granted that the expense is no obstacle and similarly if expense is no obstacle, it can irrigate distant deserts and cut down forests, that at the moment are unproductive and it can help to prove better distribution. But this is all something only temporary. It is a palliative measure and it won't deal with the basic problem, which is, that unless something is done human re-production will outrun resources.

The ultimate outcome is this, that somehow or other death-control which is the great fact of modern world must be balanced by birth-control. It is very encouraging that already great countries like India and Japan have population control as part of their official policies. But still even within these countries, the results are not fully satisfactory. And even here much more could and should be done.

But you have got to be more fundamental; science certainly could help by discovering a cheap and easy method of birth-control, some sort of pill, as people would like to call it, which could be taken by mouth and would prevent conception or implantation. Now a good deal of research is going on, mostly encouraged by private bodies, but it is piecemeal and on a relatively small scale, and so it is slow. We are getting to find out much more than previously we knew, about human reproduction, the details of it, and how to interfere with the process, to control it.

But, much more ought to be done. I would say if one tenth or 1% of the money and the scientific brain-power that was delegated to discovering how to make the atom-bomb should be allocated to study in details of human re-production and discovering the best way of controlling it, why, we should have the solution at least within ten years. That would be, of course, a temporary solution; then we would have to find a method of persuading government to implement the method to get the people to take the pill and so on.

In the long term, you won't get a solution to this grave problem of population, except by encouraging human ecology on a large scale, human ecology with reference especially to population. You want to set up all sorts of new institutions, to divert a great body of scientific and social scientific man-power into the study and survey of the problem. You need surveys, you need Planning Boards, Advisory Councils, Research Bodies and so on. After all, this country, for instance, has biological survey, it has a botanical survey, it has a geological survey. We in England have an Agricultural Research Council and a Medical Research Council. It seems to me that we need human ecology surveys. We need population research councils to focus attention and to guide research and the implementation of research in practice.

At the moment, the question of population is usually entrusted to the Ministry of Health, why should it not be more important? Why should there not be a Ministry of Population, of Social Development? It seems to me that population is such an urgent and basic problem, not only now, but in the immediate future, that much more attention should be given to it. And above all or perhaps not above all, we need international attention paid to it. Somehow, rather we need United Nations to sit up and tackle this problem of world population with eventual aim of encouraging a world population policy.

Meanwhile, may I put this final point. I feel that it would pay handsomely in all countries, especially in so-called under-developed countries, where a large bulk, a large proportion of people are under-fed and insufficiently provided with education and opportunities for development, it would pay handsomely to spend far more money and thought on population control, than is done at present. Spend money on research, and money on the education of the public to the means for population control, spend money on making and distri-

buting free contraceptives, and giving free instruction all over the country, spend thought on devising financial and social methods of encouraging family limitation, and above all, but again perhaps not above all, but certainly to do this to put across the goal, the ultimate goal of any nation to encourage the quality of life, rather than the quantity of life.

I say it would pay handsomely because at the moment, all our efforts, your efforts in this country, and efforts in China, efforts in many other countries to provide better basic living, better standard of living, and better education and more opportunities for people, are always being over-taken by the flood of babies, that we have to feed and educate. You have got so much to catch up with and yet you cannot do so, because you have these new mouths to feed, these new brains to educate; and you have got to find new jobs for these people too. If you were to reduce the increase of population, you would be able to spend more money on financing the new schools and new scientific equipment and new

methods of agriculture which so urgently need to be done.

I don't want to be pessimistic about this but I do feel that all countries should really concentrate their minds on seeing what could be done to get over the really ghastly difficulties which are arising, and which will become much greater, arising from the population explosion. And for this science must be applied because science is not just some kind of magic, but it is a method of dealing with concrete problems, as they arise. I feel that science can be of real service, if its advice is asked and if its advice is followed and if given the men and money to do the research and the surveys which are needed. And I want to emphasise that by science, I don't just mean technical science or I just don't mean only engineering or anything like that; I don't mean pure biology. I don't mean applied biology or agricultural science. I mean science in every aspect, and the scientific spirit, and especially I mean the encouragement of the essential science of human ecology with special aim of studying population and controlling it.



Our Countrymen Abroad

By

MAJOR-GEN. SHANTA SHAMSHER JUNG BAHADUR RANA,
Chairman, Indians Overseas Cultural Congress.

EVEN though India is free, the question of over 5 million people of Indian origin domiciled abroad is still hanging fire.

For all intents and purposes, they belong to those areas where they have been living. Majority of them are born there and look for their career and future to the countries of their adoption.

Most of them have not even seen India. To them India remains a land where their forefathers came from, a country which is struggling and striving to find a place of honour for her people and solve the problems of poverty and unemployment.

With a view to appreciate the problems of Indians overseas, we must try to understand, (a) where do they live? (b) what is their occupation? (c) what are their problems? (d) and last, though not the least what is their future?

It is understood that wherever they are, the people of Indian origin have kept the flag of India flying and they still look up to the mother country for cultural, social, economic and moral support.

The British, the Chinese and the Jewish communities domiciled abroad do exactly the same. Moreover, what is right for one cannot be wrong for the other.

For the sake of convenience, we may divide the five million people of Indian origin into four regions.

Indian Ocean region is the biggest in population as well as area and comprises of 3,000,000 Indians, 75 per cent of the total living abroad.

India's neighbour, Burma accounts for about 6 to 7 lacs.

Ceylon has 9,69,726, Mauritius and South Africa have identical numbers about 350,000 each.

The Caribbean region, has a population of 550,000 about 10 per cent of the total population of our nationals overseas. Trinidad having 250,000, British Guiana about 210,000 and Dutch Guiana and Jamaica about 60,000 and 20,000 respectively.

The Pacific region, including Fiji, New Zealand and Australia has an Indian population of 175,000 and the rest live in the miscellaneous regions, which cannot be included in any special region.

Viewed from another standpoint, over 50 per cent of our nationals live in the countries within the British Commonwealth of Nations, about 40 per cent in areas which are now independent and about 10 per cent in areas controlled by other nations.

The majority of Indians in Australia are occupied in retail trade or agricultural pursuits.

In Canada they work in lumber factories, in mills, as hawkers, as retail traders, as agricultural land owners and as labourers in fields.

In Great Britain they engage themselves as hawkers, as labourers, as importers and exporters and as doctors.

In this connection, it will be of interest to know that Indian doctors are very popular wherever they are, and form a prosperous and intelligent section of the Indian population.

They have supplied in most cases the local leadership and also act as Justices of Peace and as legislators in the Assemblies.

In the colonies where Indians form a majority of the population, Indians control the cloth market, the cinemas and theatres, vegetable gardens, milk dairies, retail shops and also work as petty officials.

Another interesting fact to note in this connection is the paucity of Indian officers in the colonies specially in the West Indies. It was due to indenture system. By the time the Indians finished with their contracts and set up as independent traders, the emancipated Negroes had stolen a march over them, with the result that today, few Indian officials are to be found.

Though some of the Indians have done well, most of them are living on a starvation level. Economic opportunities are not many. Wages are low and un-employment is fairly common.

A big reason for this state of affairs is that it is being maintained purposely, so that cheap labour is always available.

Another complaint against authorities is that the Indians are not aided to settle down independently on agricultural land, even though the land is there.

This is done probably to keep the prices high. In our time, therefore, most of the disabilities are economic.

The indenture system had come into being soon after the abolition of slavery. The colonists were looking for fresh avenues of labour supply.

For understandable reasons, the emancipated slaves refused to work for their erstwhile masters.

China was the first country to be tapped as a source, but somehow it was not found satisfactory.

India came next. Between 1834 and 1837 about 7,000 Indians were taken to Mauritius. The first batch to British Guiana left in 1838, Trinidad 1844, the Jamaica 1845, Natal 1860, and Fiji 1879.

But once the emigration was stopped under the indenture system, the doors of the colonies

and the dominions were barred and bolted for our nationals under one pretext or another.

South Africa was the first offender; Australia followed, Canada and the United States of America too, did not lag behind.

Then came East Africa. The pattern was almost the same everywhere.

Immigration was prohibited. Anti-racial laws were enacted. Civic rights were either not given at all or were given on a communal franchise.

Schools, hospitals, places of recreation, clubs and other amenities were closed to them.

While expected to observe all the responsibilities of citizenship the privileges and advantages of citizenship were denied to them.

Besides natural difficulties, which our nationals shared in common with others, fresh disabilities were placed on their buying and owning property or following certain professions.

The contention of the Indian is :

"Treat us exactly the same way in respect of both responsibilities and privileges, as all other members of the community of whatever racial origin. Do not exempt us from any rights. Where special agreements already exist concerning us, we are prepared to re-examine them in the light of modern notions of relationship between the individual and the state, and particularly in view of the origins of much of Indian emigration, of the relationship between the employer and the employee,

but this provided, we have full and equal opportunities of influencing legislation and administration through proper channels."

Recently it has been observed that Indians are not welcome as settlers in any part of the world. The pacts with the United States of America and the recently negotiated pact with Canada, need not delude us. They are pure and simple gestures of goodwill.

We have still to find a place of honour for our people who have gone abroad, in search of fresh opportunities and others who even now wish to do so.

India too needs more space. One reason for this is over-population. If Indians may not seek entry to areas which suit white settlers, they should be able to go to the tropical and the sub-tropical areas.

Instead of keeping them fallow, why not allow selected emigrants from India to settle down there? The Indian is a better cultivator of the soil than the white man; he is accustomed to small holdings and to mixed farming. Large tracts of land are lying vacant, and Indians should be permitted to cultivate them.

Our people abroad should not forget that their best chance of success comes from competent leadership based on solidarity among all sections. They should also remember that there should be greater co-operation among the Indians and the other coloured races. In this alone lies their hope for the future.—

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A Pocket Encyclopaedia

Mr. G. A. Natesan, the wellknown publicist of Madras, was mainly responsible for the political education of the middle classes in India. His *INDIAN REVIEW* and his publications of the lives and writings of eminent political leaders, social reformers and orientalist have served as a sort of pocket encyclopaedia. It is a pleasure to know that his sons are carrying on his great work.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN
Vice-President, of India.

Parliamentary Democracy

By
MR. ERNEST ATKINSON

“DEMOCRACY is on trial in the world, on a more colossal scale than ever before.” That phrase is taken from a book called *The Spirit of Democracy* written by Charles Fletcher Dole, who lived from 1845 to 1927, but it might have been written today. For if there is one thing certain about world politics today, it is that “democracy” as the free world understands it faces challenge in a very serious way.

It is one of the greater tragedies of the world of today that the word “democracy” should be so differently understood in many parts of it. There are even differences of emphasis in the interpretations put upon it, say, in the U.S.A. and in Britain, though indeed they both mean just the same thing by the word when it gets down to fundamentals.

But the Russian—and, perhaps, also the Chinese—Communist also claims the right to interpret the word. Semantics may take a holiday so far as he is concerned: “democracy” means what he chooses to make it mean, and nothing else. But it is far different from the Western idea. And by the West, and perhaps by some others, it is called totalitarian.

Yet it remains to find a good definition of what the West means by democracy as applied to the governance of societies in this modern world. The most important instrument for the practice of the principles of democracy is the institution of a freely elected Parliament, to borrow a thought from Sir Stephen-Hall, founder and Chairman of the Council and Honorary Director of the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government.

Sir Stephen goes on to recall, in a booklet about the Society's work shortly to be published, that this institution has developed in many forms in Westminster, Washington, Paris, Bonn, Rome, Delhi, Ottawa, Stockholm

and elsewhere—and one might add that not every practitioner of democracy in each of these capitals would regard the democracy of all of the others as quite perfect to his mind.

There is a profound passage in one of the most important books of political philosophy of the day, Bertrand de Jouvenel's *Sovereignty* brilliantly translated into English by J. F. Huntington (and published in Britain by the Cambridge University Press).

“Liberty of opinion,” he says, “is the basic principle of the political institutions of the West. It is an obvious mistake to regard majority decision as the criterion of the regime which we call ‘democratic.’ So far from massive majorities in favour of a government and its policy giving us a feeling of the excellence of a regime; they render it suspect to us; we get the suspicion that so much unanimity is the result of hindrances placed in the way of expression and propagation of adverse opinions, and these hindrances, we think deprive of all significance the majority obtained. For this reason, majority decision derives its virtue in our eyes from the liberty of opinion which precedes it.

“It is liberty of opinion which animates what is called the dialectic of democracy. Out of the free clash of opinions a majority view emerges and commands. But its right of command can never obstruct the free play of liberty of opinion; the latter continues as before, and in time issues in a different majority view, which commands in its turn. Interrupt this process and you take leave at once of the regime of liberty. Majority opinion derives its authority not from majorities alone, but from majorities formed in a climate of liberty of opinion.

“Such is the principle of our institutions; it is accepted by all but a few, and is never invoked in vain. The belief in the virtue of

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this liberty of opinion is general in our civilization; it is one of the few points on which nearly all agree.”

That might be enough if ideas could be left merely to spread themselves. But the price of liberty—of the opinion as of everything else—is daily vigilance and activity, and it is this that the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government has existed these last 14 years to foster. It is an international organization, independent of any government aid, and on the register for consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, and an associate member of the International Political Science Association. And the Ford Foundation has granted it £ 5,000 a year for the next five years.

That grant has enabled the Society to initiate a number of research projects, such as one on

“The Parliamentary Problems of Supra-national Assemblies.” One begun earlier will lead to a report coming out this year called “What are the Parliamentary Government in West Africa?”—a topic touching political communities newly coming into independent nationhood. And the Society publishes a quarterly journal, *Parliamentary Affairs*, in with authorities on the various form of parliamentary democracy dispense their wisdom.

And, of course, the point about any such body is that it is a lively part of the public conscience of the free democratic Powers, reminding their citizens of their heritage, educating them to know its worth and the means of continuing to claim it: in this instance veritably a society for the promotion of world parliamentary government by examining the working and proclaiming the virtues of the best current practitioners of it.



Bengali Literature

By
Prof. N. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.L.C.

LITERATURE is a mirror of the people amongst whom it arises. It reflects the social, economic and political structure that surrounds them; it gives us an inkling into the thoughts, ideas, sentiments, manners and customs of the people. In short, literature is a product of life. Since life is dynamic, literature also is bound to be a developing social phenomenon taking new shapes and forms, enriched by ever-changing factors of human existence.

Bengali literature like an ever-flowing stream has taken numerous turns in the different periods of its history according to the intellectual climate and historical topography of the ages. Considered historically Bengali literature summaries the life of the Bengalee

people from the earliest times down to the present day. Study of the history of Bengali literature, therefore, is of the greatest importance in the understanding of the Bengalee mind and character and Bengal's outlook on civilisation.

History of Bengali literature may be divided into the following main fairly clearly demarcated periods.

- (1) Ancient Period : 953 A.D. to 1200 A.D.
- (2) Mediaeval Period : 1200 A.D. to 1800 A.D.
- (3) Modern Period : 1800 A.D. to the present.

The mediaeval and modern periods admit of further subdivisions. But the ancient period extending roughly over two hundred

and fifty years is a compact one marked by the composition of the first specimens of literature in the Bengali language which later must have originated from Sanskrit possibly a century or two earlier. It is surmised by scholars that literature might have been produced by Bengalees earlier than the middle of the tenth century. Unfortunately specimens of such literature are not available.

The earliest literature written in Bengali were the works of Mahayana Buddhist monks. The source of their inspiration was religion. These monks are known in Buddhist religious history as 'Siddhwa Acharyyas.' Marked by esoteric mysticism associated with later Buddhism in greater Bengal the 'Padas' of the 'Siddhwa-Acharyyas' are devotional songs. These songs which are amongst the treasures of Bengali literature were lying in manuscript in the library of the Nepal Durbar. Mahamahopadhaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri discovered them in Nepal and had them published in Calcutta by the 'Bangya Sahitya Parishad' under the title "Buddhist Songs and Poems, a thousand years old." The original name of the collection of songs and poems as in the manuscript, is 'Ashcharyya-charyachaya,' Mahamahopadhaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri in his learned introduction to the above publication notes that the 'Padas' were the compositions of twenty-four poets. There are forty-six songs and only one-half of another has been available. Amongst the monkish poets the earliest was 'Lui-Pada.' Twelve of the poems are attributed to 'Kanu-Pada.' Everyone of these poems is a song; and the Ragas and the Raginis in which they are to be rendered are indicated at the head of each song. In spite of their religious character some of the songs are marked by beauty and poetic imagery.

"My little craft crammed with gold,
can never, never silver hold."

The poet's life is suffused with the highest beatitude; there is no place in it for any form of lower religious realisation.

The 'Siddhwa-Acharyyas' belonging to the school of Buddhist Tantrikism were not the only people who enriched Bengali literature in the ancient period. There were other earlier 'Vaishnava' poets who contributed to the growth of the language and literature of Bengal. The theme of their work was the eternal story of Radha and Krishna.

"Leave me alone;

For I am going to play

With Krishna the God of the universe"

Extremely few such specimens of the work of the Vaishnava poets of the period are extant today. To this period also belong numerous folk songs, folk tales, poems, which were handed down from generation to generation without being reduced to writing. It was during the middle ages of the history of Bengali literature that they came to have a place in the manuscripts. It has been held that 'Gopichand's songs,' 'Lansen's story,' the story of 'Behula and Laxmindhar' may be placed in this category.

It appears that literature available which had its origin in the ancient period of the history of Bengali literature was all in verse. There is no extant specimen of prose of the period. Mysticism, richness of imagery, symbolism and alliterative device of composition were the outstanding features of Bengali poetry of the period. A thousand years have rolled by Bengali poetry still retains some of these characteristics. There is a continuity of poetic tradition from the earliest times down to the present day.

Modern scholars are diligently carrying on researches and it may be hoped that their labours will result in the discovery of more priceless treasures belonging to the ancient period of Bengali literature.



Catherine II of Russia

By

Mr. P. BALAKRISHNA MENON, B.A., B.L.,

CATHERINE II of Russia was perhaps the most remarkable woman born in 18th century Europe. For 34 years she ruled her empire with conspicuous ability and success, always keeping the reins of power firmly in her own hands. And when she died in 1896 she left the country larger and stronger than ever before.

It is not possible to judge a person's character and career without some understanding of that person's life. And this is particularly so in the case of Catherine. She was born in Germany; a Lutheran in faith and Sophie was her baptismal name. Her parents though of princely rank were poor in worldly goods and the prestige and position they held were mainly due to the patronage of the Prussian King. Under normal conditions Princess Sophie might have married a man of her own status and passed out of history. But Fate willed otherwise.

In 1744 when the Princess was in her fifteenth year an offer came for her hand in marriage to Grand Duke Peter, heir apparent to the throne of Russia. It was eagerly accepted and she was taken to St. Petersburg by her mother and in due course became the wife of Peter. Before the ceremony however she had to shed her old name and religion and emerged as Catherine and a member of the Orthodox Russian Church. She was now the Second lady of the Empire with the Czarina alone above her in rank and importance. Pomp and luxury surrounded her but her married life proved an ocean of misery.

Russia was then considered by the rest of Europe as a land peopled by Yahoos. Civilization stopped its march outside its frontier and inside all was license and depravity. The reigning Sovereign was Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great. She was a cruel and vindictive woman, a spinster

and a rank nymphomaniac. She possessed piety in plenty but it was of a peculiar pattern. Her favourite prayer was addressed to Virgin Mary soliciting her blessed guidance in the choice of the right man from her Guards as her lover of the day! There is an old saying 'As the King is, so are his subjects'. And the Russians loyally, followed their sovereign in their practices and ways of life.

As for Grand Duke Peter he was young in years but prematurely old in vice. A half-crazy sot and debauchee, playing with toy-soldiers was his most serious occupation. His wife and mistresses and boon-companions all lived together under the same roof. His treatment of Catherine began with neglect and ended in hatred and cruelty.

One can easily imagine the plight of a girl in her early teens suddenly thrown in the midst of a society so vicious and debasing. Catherine's mother returned to Germany soon after her daughter's marriage leaving the Princess to sink or swim in the muddied waters of Russian Court-life. It would have been no wonder if she had sunk and disappeared. But Catherine possessed a large measure of strength of mind and body and survived the ordeal but in the struggle became herself hardened and soiled.

The Empress was anxious that Catherine should bear children as future heirs to the throne. But she was disappointed and at last informed the Grand Duchess that she was at liberty to break the Seventh Commandment and take lovers for begetting progeny! Catherine did so and children came but were taken away by the Czarina to be brought up under her own care. The Grand Duke knew all about his wife's doings but remained indifferent to them.

Catherine's life as Grand Duchess lasted 18 years and this period constituted the formative part of her existence. Her character was

moulded and took a definite shape and texture. She had an inquisitive mind and wished to learn things, to educate herself and to become accomplished and up-to-date. She travelled a good deal in Russia and acquired much information about the country and its people. By mingling freely with Ambassadors and politicians and high officials she became proficient in the art of diplomacy and statecraft. She had shrewdness and commonsense and took care to win the favour of the all-powerful Czarina. At the same time she studied literature and history and showed not a little capacity for absorbing the ideas of others and even improving on them. She had a liking for many activities like hunting and riding and idleness whether of heart, mind or body was repugnant to her. Though fond of pleasure and enjoyment she never allowed them to overcome her mental vigour and thirst for self-improvement.

Catherine's mind was unclouded by tradition or dogma and showed a leaning towards philosophy. She became a disciple of the revolutionary New Thought which had its origin in France. She was also an author in her own right and wrote plays, poems and stories—all forgotten now. To Voltaire she was the Semiramis of the North, a brilliant personality endowed with genius. With him and Grimm and other enlightened men of the day she carried on correspondence spread over many years. It has to be added that her devotion to radical ideas underwent a sudden change when the French Revolution broke out and the guillotine began the red rule in that country. The execution of the King and Queen shocked and shook her to the core of her being and transformed her from a benevolent despot into a hard tyrant. It must not be supposed however that Catherine's liberalism was a mere pose—she was frightened for the safety of her throne and philosophy was killed by fear.

Empress Elizabeth died early in 1762 and Peter became the Czar but not for long. He

hatched a plan to imprison his wife in a convent, divorce her and make his favourite mistress Czarina. But Catherine got wind of the plot and foiled it by prompt and resolute action. She won over the Army-Chiefs and proclaimed herself ruler and Empress. Peter was arrested and lodged in a distant place after securing from him a deed of abdication in her favour. Not a drop of blood was shed and the revolution was completed in a few days. Soon after, Peter was strangled and silenced for ever. Was Catherine guilty? Did she instigate the crime or was it the work of over-zealous partisans who took her consent for granted? Evidence is lacking on the point, but there followed no enquiry after the murder and Catherine must therefore be deemed to have condoned the cruel act.

Thus began Catherine's career as the autocrat of Russia. Her chief aim was to continue the work of modernising the country which was begun by Peter the Great and to make the voice of Russia influential in the councils of Europe. Reforms were introduced into the various departments of State so comprehensively that it would require a volume to recount them. Fresh ways of transport were opened in different parts of the country and trade and commerce with other nations encouraged. New schools and hospitals were opened along with other amenities. The country was divided into distinct Provinces each with a Governor appointed by the Empress and answerable to her. When vaccination was introduced she herself submitted to it in order to encourage the people. A full census of the entire population was taken under her direction. She even contemplated emancipation of the serfs but the project had to be dropped by reason of the strong opposition of the nobility and landed gentry backed by the Church. She was her own Foreign Minister and waged wars and formed alliances according to her judgment. The panslavic movement was started by her with Holy Russia at its head, the object being to drive the Turk out of Europe, seize

Constantinople and impose her sway over the Balkan states. But the plan did not succeed on account of the jealousy of the other powers. As it was, Catherine had to be content with Crimea and the Black Sea and some adjoining territories. At the other end of Russia there was Poland which cried aloud for intervention as a result of long-standing internal factions and misrule. A pact was arranged between Russia, Prussia and Austria by which the first partition of that unfortunate country took place, Catherine getting the largest slice. In the meantime revolts sprang up in some parts of Russia which were quelled and peace restored. For these and other achievements both internal and external History rewarded her with the title of the Great Catherine.

There is however another side of the Czarina's life which has always appealed to writers of poetry and fiction and chroniclers of gossip. Her sex-experiments were many and varied and lasted down to her declining years. Byron calls her the Modern Messalina and makes his hero in 'Don Juan' fall a victim to her blandishments. Her own grandson Constantine bluntly said she was the greatest whore in Europe. Bernard Shaw has written a playlet about her in which he has drawn an unflattering picture of the Empress both as ruler and as woman. Many other authors have also described her and her orgies in the Hermitage as her love-resort was called. It is all unsavoury, a mixture of fact and fancy.

But divested of exaggeration and imaginative flights, the reality appears on the surface of Catherine's life that she practised illicit intimacy with many men. She was not naturally sex-ridden nor did she indulge in amatory excesses before Empress Elizabeth granted her sexual liberty. It is very probable that if her husband was affectionate and intelligent and not a brute she would not have lapsed into immorality. Catherine was not an angel and the role of a meek and silent sufferer

under continued insult and cruelty was foreign to her virile nature. What are generally known as essentially feminine traits were absent in her character.

Catherine was a born leader, strong-minded and resolute. Her appearance and deportment in public were regal and commanding and she exacted from others the homage due to her as Empress. But in personal life she was a wanton, choosing and dismissing lovers as fancy led her. Her brother Monarchs did the same with their mistresses and what is more, allowed some of the favoured sultanas to interfere in state matters to the exclusion of appointed Ministers. Mme. de-Maintenon was thus a power behind the throne in the time of Louis XIV. And under Louis XV the Pompadour openly appointed Ministers and dictated the policies of France. But Catherine always kept her lovers at a distance from politics and only made use of them as her agents and emissaries.

It has been asserted that there was a pronounced masculine streak in her character. In her love-affairs she was always the dominating personality. She was not promiscuous nor were her lovers chosen from the canaille as Empress Elizabeth often did.

From 1613 to 1917 the Romanoffs sat on the throne of Russia. From a principality the state under their rule gradually expanded and developed into a huge empire. Of the Czars, a few figures stand out—John the Terrible, Ivan the Terrible (note the suffix of those two), Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. Those that succeeded Catherine were all commonplace creatures far below her level in capacity and statemanship. Perhaps the worst of the lot was the last Czar Nicholas II who was deposed in 1917 and was later shot and killed along with his wife and children. May their souls rest in peace and the souls of the lakhs of men and women who were murdered and tortured and sent to Siberia under their orders!

Gita: A New Interpretation

By

Prof. B. BISSOONDOYAL, M.A. (Mauritius)

TO hold that the Gita has anything to do with the importance of war is to take too superficial a view of one of the greatest books that India has given to the world.

Properly speaking, the subject of war is only a peg on which a discourse is hung. The Gita is not a book which records the speech of a preceptor who spurred on his disciple to fight. A war was going to be waged between two branches of one and the same clan. When the time came for a born fighter to show his valour he showed some hesitation. He was told that to act was the only course of action he could adopt. The war, in that particular circumstance, was only one form of action. And act one must.

The internal evidence speaks in favour of the thesis that this little book has almost nothing to do with war. Mahatma Gandhi was of this opinion. He used to call the Gita his Saintly Mother. When he was not understood he paraphrased his remark by saying that it was his dictionary.

The Gita is indeed a mother to whom one can go for comfort, a dictionary that everyone should consult from time to time.

Throughout the ages, the opening section of the book has captivated the imagination of readers as no other section has. As the reader goes through it he is reminded at every step of Kant's 'categorical imperative.' Many are the modern commentators that hold the view that the one teaching of the Gita is that what man should do is to act in scorn of circumstances.

It is admitted on all hands that this is a high ideal. We can realize how lofty it is if we remember that most of us are prepared to do quite the opposite of what is required of us. Far from scorning results, many of us see to it that others labour night and day so that we may reap the fruit of their labours. The Gita tells us that if we happen to be thus

deprived of our due we must not grow bitter. He who behaves in accordance with this precept takes the sting out of the gross injustice done to him. Gandhi was in earnest when he said that the Gita was his Saintly Mother. He made his own the serenity, the calm that is the portion of those who act up to the teachings of the Gita. His perfect poise filled him with joy so that he was convinced that he would grow to be 125 years old. After every trial he went back to work, to all outward appearance his own smiling self.

To act in the spirit of the Gita, then, is to prepare oneself for life's battle in right earnest. He who accepts its philosophy knows no defeat. Trouble arises when what we expected to have by way of reward for our efforts eludes our grasp.

This teaching, however, is not the only one that the Gita has to offer. The book is generally divided into three sections having six chapters each. The last two are taken up by other themes, each as important as the other.

Impressed beyond measure by what the opening section teaches, the majority of readers are led to believe that the Gita is a Gospel of action. This interpretation had gained currency when Indian patriots had begun their struggle for the Independence of their fatherland. Some of them were even driven into lawless courses. Gandhi had not yet come upon the scene. In the thick of the fight there was no time to spare for a thorough study of this scripture.

Gandhi then act out to give his own interpretation. Very few are those who know that he was a theologian in the accurate sense of the term. His uncommon talents for reasoning enabled him to write two books and make it clear that far from supporting war, the Gita is not even in favour of violence. For the last three decades the interpretation has been working its way down among the people.

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We may not agree in toto with him, but how can we refuse to be thankful for the clarity with which he has interpreted the Gita? It dawns on us now that he is nearer the truth when he insists that the Gita is of practical utility as a dictionary is. Studying the book with a fair mind, the average reader is led to infer that the man of action is the man of God too. And it is here that one understands why the book is called 'The Song of the Divine One.' The man of action acts in the belief that as it is God that guides his steps, the real doer of all the actions that he does on earth is God Himself. The rewards, if any, belong to Him. Man need not be embittered when he sees that his action bears no fruit.

Act we must. But how are we to know what actions should interest us? The Gita strikes a modern note when it lays down that we should do the work that suits our temperament best. In this view, an industrial magnate is as great in his sphere as is a successful lawyer in his. The Gita used the term *dharma* to express this idea. This term connotes 'religion,' but here it stands for 'inclination.'

India had become the laughing-stock of the whole world. The treatment meted out to a vast number of Indians served to show that religion had not its *raison d'être* there. Curiously enough, the Gita is opposed to such inhumanity. Does it not ask us to imitate the sage who sees "with an equal eye, a learned and humble Brahmin", the head of the body politic, "an elephant or even a dog or an outcaste" who occupies the lowest rung of the social ladder? Armed with this little book, Gandhi dealt a death blow to untouchability. His heart was full of the milk of human kindness. His gigantic powers could not but be directed to the support of the cause of the down-trodden untouchables.

The man of action is the man of God for the good reason that he is the man of knowledge. This takes us to the third and last section which is one long plea for the acquirement of knowledge. It is not blind action that one should indulge in. Action should be the direct result of thought. The Gita closes with a verse, the 700th one, in which Krishna becomes the ideal man of knowledge and Arjuna,

his disciple, the ideal man of action. This is a happy combination.

This verse puts the reader in mind of the verses with which the preceding chapters end. That of the eleventh chapter is of special interest. It contains a prayer to the effect that the devotee may be "free from enmity to all creatures". Is not every human being, be he of the East or of the West, praying for the disappearance of all trace of enmity today in the face of impending danger? It has rightly been stated that this verse is the substance of the whole teaching of the Gita.

The Gita is not the sacred book of this religious group, or that of the other. It is meant for one and all. It is the universality of its appeal that has endeared it to Indians and non-Indians alike. Thinkers like Emerson and Carlyle found solace on reading the Gita.

The book ends as it begins. The opening verse tells us a great truth by reminding us that India is the *Dharma Kshetra*, the sacred plain from which the whole world would do well to draw inspiration. When we reach the 700th or last verse, we are no more in presence of the teacher or the pupil, no more in presence of King Dhritarashtra or Sanjaya who appear in the beginning. We are given a message that can do us great good. The message comes straight from the sage Vyasa although, as the book is conceived, it is put in Sanjaya's mouth. We are told that knowledge saves if it induces us to act. This message is timeless. It can be delivered in all ages. Arjuna is the ideal man of action and Krishna the all-knowing sage whose company is beneficial. This is a message by which the whole humanity cannot but set great store if it wishes to shake off langour and ward off the danger that is facing it.

We will do ourselves good if we bestow some thought on the sublimity of the teachings of Krishna as preserved in this work. Let us give the Gita a chance. Many scholars have spoken in terms of appreciation of it. By way of conclusion, we shall quote only one of them. Lionel D. Barnett says:—

"If the greatness of a book be measured by its power over the souls of men, then assuredly the Gita is a great book."



Theatre as a Means of International Understanding

By

Mr. ROSAMOND GILDER

THERE has never been a time in world history where it was so important for the peoples of the world to understand each other; to recognize each other's likeness, to accept each other's differences, to appreciate and value the finest elements in each other's way of living, thinking and expression. One of the most effective means by which we can acquire this much needed knowledge is the theatre. For the theatre is a microcosm of human life; a synthesis of the arts, a place of communion where artist and audience take part in the act of creation.

Drama is a "thing done" and it is this quality of action that has made it, since the beginning of history, one of the most powerful and certainly the most popular means of expression through which man has sought to understand himself, his fate, his gods, his relation to the universe.

In India, I was told, an ancient saying indicates that the object of education is to "help man transcend the world's turmoil and obtain composure." T.S. Eliot said much the same thing when he defined the function of art as bringing us to a condition of serenity, stillness and reconciliation. Reconciliation not only with ourselves but our neighbour—reconciliation through understanding which is derived in the theatre through the powerful and moving effect of a shared experience. The theatre in Robert Sherwood's words is "the dwelling-place of wonder" and if today it is too often associated with trivial recreation, entertainments fabricated for the perennially infantile mind, this is only because a certain side of the theatre seems at the moment to predominate.

The theatre has always had two major aspects. It is a two-faced, or rather two-masked Muse. On the one hand there is the theatre

that sprang from ritual, from the symbolic enactment of man's concepts of his relation to God, and on the other the explosive force of his relation to nature, his fears and ecstasies, his relation to the cyclic year, his physical joys and terrors. Greek tragedy on the one side; Greek comedy on the other. The temple and the market place; the altar and the platform in the market place.

After the classic period the theatre disappeared from our Western culture as it declined in the East also. When it reappeared in Europe after the Dark Ages, it was born once more in the temple, before the altar of the Catholic Church while the troubadours, dancers and jugglers, direct descendants of the Greek and Roman mimes, continued to exercise their calling in the highways and byways of the Western world. Before long however the theatre was ejected from the church, it became entirely secular and has so remained with slight exceptions until today. One of the elements in the theatre of India, particularly, of course, in the dance drama that especially fascinated me, was the presence of the religious element. The preservation in the dance of elements of ritual, as well as the use of the religious myths and fables as subject matter gives the Indian traditional dance and drama a special richness and perspective.

How then can this great art serve the cause of mutual understanding? It has of course done so continually by providing the theatres the world over with a storehouse of classic drama. The classic masterpieces of Greece, India, England and France are part of the living library of every modern repertory company. The modern classics such as Ibsen, Shaw and even Eugene O'Neill are played in all the countries that have a modern stage. There are however many ways in which the

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uses of the theatre as a means of strengthening the bonds between peoples can be enormously increased.

It was with this thought in mind that a group of theatre experts met in Paris in 1947—just eleven years ago—to found under the auspices of Unesco, the international Theatre Institute. Its founders hoped, by establishing a vehicle for the exchange of ideas and practices in the theatre arts, to provide "one stout thread for the fabric of world society" as J. B. Priestley expressed it. "The theatre is particularly important in the field of international understanding", he added. "A well-written play, finely acted, may do more than fifty speeches by well meaning politicians. It shows us people, their hopes and fears, doubts and dreams." It is a living link between living people.

After eleven years the International Theatre Institute can look with considerable satisfaction on its achievement and is already embarked upon a new decade of activity arising in no small measure out of the finding of the First World Conference on Theatre held in Bombay in 1956. When the ITI was founded it laid down a work-programme of four major lines of activity; information, publications, the exchange of persons, the exchange of companies. Since then the "Theatre and Youth" section which is ultimately concerned with the theatre in education has been a fifth and in the future increasingly important activity. The accomplishment in the first of these five fields can be only briefly summarised here, for much of the influence of the ITI its imponderable; ideas of international exchange in the theatre have been stimulated everywhere.

For instance, national programmes such as the United States Fulbright and Smith-Mundt scholarships have been enlarged to include theatre specialists. These specialists, once in the country of their choice, have been aided, guided and oriented by the Theatre Centres of the ITI. The growth of the ITI itself

since 1947 has been notable. It now has thirty centres literally circling the globe and its congresses, the latest of which was held in Athens have been received in seven different countries. Four or five important conferences including that of Bombay in 1956 have permitted specialists of various kinds to meet and discuss certain particular aspects of theatre.

The Bombay World Conference was an example of this type of intensive discussion, leading as it did to the promulgation of the plan for an Asian Faculty of Theatre. The plan was then submitted to Unesco at its New Delhi Conference in the same year and is now well under way.

In the first four specific fields of its activity, the ITI has carried out its original plan with even greater success than could have been foreseen. Its active National Centres are constantly supplying needed information in all form to hundreds of theatre people everywhere. The illustrated quarterly magazine, *World Theatre*, is serving a much needed purpose by supplying a forum and debating ground for theories and practices in the arts of the theatre. It has also published special issues devoted to the theatre of one country, the special issue on India being an outstanding example, written as it was by Indian theatre leaders and handsomely illustrated.

The monthly bulletin of *World Premieres* gathers within its modest covers information on "first nights" of new plays from all the major theatre centres of the globe. The newly published volume on *Stage Design Since 1935* is one of the handsomest theatre books of the moment and has been enthusiastically received by a wide public. New projects in this field are under way and will continue to help weave that "one stout thread" Priestly spoke of.

Artists and acting companies, specialists, students and teachers sponsored by the ITI or encouraged and assisted by its National Centres are an even more powerful element in strengthening that fabric of mutual under-

standing so necessary to the happy development of the peaceful world. The "Theatre of the Nations" in Paris, outcome of the highly successful Festival of the City of Paris, has proved the immense interest in theatres of every nation when the finest of that country's work is presented abroad. The language barrier disappears before great art. The three or four-year tour of *Porgy and Bess*, the immense success of the ballet companies in

Europe and America, the delight with which such a great artist as Uday Shankar was received in the United States, is only comparable to the interest evoked by Martha Graham in Japan and India and Marian Anderson on her world-wide tour. All these events form a part of an increasing awareness everywhere of the immense value of the arts of the theatre in promoting mutual understanding among the peoples of the earth.



Content of Education

By

SRI RAGHUBIR SAHAI NIGAM

WHILE deciding about the subjects to be taught, the educationists have stuck to the scholastic traditions for framing the curricula. In our country too there is a hoary list of subjects which make a Pundit.

There has been no scientific and rational thinking. The result is that the religious and political thinkers of the past and the political parties of today want to prescribe what according to their philosophy of life will make a Man after their ideals. They sincerely and honestly endeavour to propagate their beliefs and try to mould an individual's personality to their heart's content.

The rational mind of Herbert Spencer laid down certain principles for selecting useful subjects and disciplines. Others with a classical background looked to humanities alone for producing a cultured man.

Herbert's methodology consists of treating a subject in the class-room in a manner, which might be the same as the process by which the mankind has come to learn that knowledge.

There is a simple biological truism that an individual in its life repeats the history of the race (Ontogeny repeats the phylogeny). Let

this natural principle decide what and how much should be introduced in the school and university curricula. For the Primary or Elementary stage man's development from the proto-history or primitive stage to the state when he settled down in an agricultural civilisation should be the proper theme. The school course in this 5 years' schooling should be an epitomised edition of the history and growth of the race. The education must be craft-centred or life-centred. Through crafts and agriculture the child must learn what the mankind has learnt in the centuries preceding ours. His age is 11 plus or 12 plus. He loves to make bows and arrows and is sometimes very predaceous and fighty. Man has passed through that stage. The race-memory is there. Through the 3 R's that he is learning he must imbibe all knowledge that Man knew till the bursting of the machine age on him. Lessons must include material on the life of adivasis as they are a living example of a stage in development. Methods of research even in History, Geography, much less to say of Science, must form part of the syllabi in the matrix of teaching material for 3 R's. Basic education does not take into account the differ-

ences in the mental and physical make-up of the children. The crafts used as bases in Basic education are belonging to the agricultural stage of development. Why should machines, and principles of automatan, of machineries not form the basic crafts. Man's growth from agricultural stage to machine age is to be reflected in the Secondary Stage of Education. Modern exploration, evolution of democratic institutions, achievements of Science should in general form the basis of the curriculum. Crafts as practiced in the Machine age and climates should form the staple fare. Diversity in subjects and crafts represents the march of Man to a complex society.

There are certain students who can form mental concepts. Why should they be tied down to crafts to learn things which might be intangible and beyond the conception of the bucolic minds. This is levelling down.

In the University stage the learning and thinking should be on a universal and liberal plane with the liberality and catholicity of this age. Leaders of thought are to be produced. In Ontogeny it represents the stage of progress of mankind which has taken place in the living present, i.e., to-day. All the scientific and technological march of humanity is the inflorescence of the tree of growth of homo-sapiens.

In the Post-graduate and Doctorate level it is the coming phylogenic development and the sustaining of life as it is today and tomorrow must be the concern. Life-force's sources must be kept running unpolluted. But for this knowledge our species might be superceded by a more biologically efficient one if atomic radiation allows man to live on this earth. The stage of wisdom and mature judgment in individuals represents the culmination of the race's progress.



Kautilya and Machiavelli—A Comparative Study

By

Shri C. V. RAMACHANDRA RAO

A perusal of Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' and Machiavelli's 'The Prince' cannot fail to impress one with the similarity and coincidence of thought in the principles of statecraft enunciated by the two classic state manuals. This similarity and coincidence is all the more interesting when one thinks of the wide gulf of time that exists between Kautilya and Machiavelli. (Strange to say, we find a similarity even their form of presentation—the Sutra (aphorism)—commentary forum. In both the works, the title of each of the chapters forms the 'sutra', and the chapter itself a commentary. This is not a chance coincidence and can be best explained as the outcome of the projection of two political geniuses, similar in

their mental equipment into two ages and countries that were strikingly similar in their political conditions.

India, 'the Asiatic Italy' of the fourth century B.C., bears a close resemblance in its political conditions to the Italy, of the sixteenth century. Both in India and Italy, in the respective periods, disunity, constant political disorder and internecine war followed by foreign invasion and humiliation resulted in a strong and urgent need for the potent hand of a paramount ruler, who could restore order and whose word would be respected throughout the country. When the Emathian conqueror with his thundering legions entered North-west India, the country was full of

princes and princelings and republican clans—according to Megasthenes, there existed 118 distinct nations or tribes—and with no love lost between them and a fierce love of autonomy. The Nanda king, lord of an extensive empire and resources, and the only man who could successfully resist the foreigner was, as Chandraguptha Maurya reported to Alexander's followers, so much 'hatred and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin.'

Italy, after the disappearance of the Hohenstaufen dynasty lost its political unity. When Machiavelli wrote, it was divided among five larger states—the kingdom of Naples in South, the Duchy of Milan in the North-west, the aristocratic republic of Venice in the North-east, the republic of Florence, and the papal state in the centre; besides these there were a medley of city-states; and all these with no sense of unity between them and none with the ability to consolidate the whole of Italy under its sway. The land was left a prey to the French, the Spanish and Germans; and like Magadha in India, the papal state was the only best consolidated and the most permanent state in Italy that could bring a sense of unity among Italians, if it so chose, but which it did not. Thus, in both countries the rotten stuff of disunity proved to be the fertile soil out of which emerged the Italian despot and the Indian monarch. The free cities of Northern India had become political anachronisms unable to cope with a situation which required consolidated power, a systematic army and a large and more vigorous foreign and internal policies.

The 'Arthashastra' and 'The Prince', are the faithful mirrors that reflect the political conditions of the respective countries and periods, as they found their expression in the two difficult, but interesting personalities of Kautilya and Machiavelli. Machiavelli, banished from the city of Florence, and being condemned to live in the surrounding territory, in the first years of his retirement wrote

'The Prince'. Kautilya, banished from the Nanda court, we could well believe, conceived the plan of his 'Arthashastra' in the calm retreat of some Vindhyan forest, to where he retreated, humiliated. Both were practical statesmen, with a first hand knowledge of home and foreign politics and with a considerable period of political service behind them. No other men of their respective ages saw so clearly, the direction that political evolution was taking throughout India and Europe. Both of them realised the importance of national unity, which for the one was necessary to establish 'Dharma' and for the other to restore Italy to the glories of ancient Rome. Both aimed at the depiction of the kind of ruler best suited to liberate their motherland from the profane presence of barbarian invaders and restore order. While Kautilya found the hero of his ambition in Chandragupta Maurya, Machiavelli made Caesar Borgia, the hero of his teachings, though Kautilya was able to realise his ideals to a greater degree of perfection in the person of Chandragupta.

'The Prince' and the 'Arthashastra' were a selection of their author's views for a special purpose. Machiavelli wrote 'The Prince' to obtain employment under the Medici, though this fact did not influence the opinion expressed in it; Kautilya wrote his state manual to help his disciple both as a minister and mentor. The two books show equally the qualities for which their authors have been especially known, such as indifference to the use of immoral means for political purposes and the belief that government depends largely on force and craft. Machiavelli proves by many examples that 'a prince should know how to use the beast's nature wisely' and 'he ought of beasts to choose both the lion and the fox,' and 'that he who was best known to play the fox has had the best success.' Kautilya makes the identical assertion "thus of the three acquirements, viz., enthusiasm, power and skill for intrigue, he who possesses more of the quality mentioned later than the one mention-

ed first in the order of enumeration will be successful in over-reaching the others." The two political writings belong less to political theory than to the class of diplomatic literature of which much had already been produced; as the authors themselves state they were the epitomes of the political wisdom of the past ages. Machiavelli, in his dedication, says about his book that it is 'a knowledge of the actions of great men, acquired in the course of a long experience of modern affairs and a continual study of antiquity.....most carefully and particularly pondered over and sifted by me and now reduced into this little book, which is identical with the statement of Kautilya that the Arthashastra is 'made as a compendium of almost all the Asthasastras, which in view of acquisition and maintenance of earth, have been composed by ancient teachers.' The two books reveal the most perspicacious and the most profound insight into points of weakness and strength in a political situation, the most objective estimate of the limitations of policy, the clearest and coolest judgment of the resources and temperament of an opponent, the soundest commonsense in predicting the logic of events and the outcome of a course of action. They present the aspects of the same subject—the causes of the rise and the fall of states and the means by which rulers can make them permanent. They deal with the means by which states may be made strong and surviving, the policies by which they can enhance their power and the causes of their decay or overthrow. Political and military measures are the main object of their interest and they divorce these almost wholly from religious and moral considerations except as the latter effect political expedients. The purpose of politics is to preserve and increase political power itself and the standard by which one is to judge it is its success in doing this. They often discuss the advantages of immorality, skilfully used to gain ruler's ends. It is this which is chiefly responsible for their evil, repute and made Kautilya and Machiavelli synonyms for unscrupulous, double-dealing, deceit and all that is diabolical in public and private policy.

Kautilya and Machiavelli had substantially similar ideas about the political utility which religion ought to have as its secular consequence, though they differ in their method of approach to it. Kautilya, like Marsilio, de-

fends the autonomy of reason by making morals otherworldly; Machiavelli condemns them because they are otherworldly. They were of course, not blind or indifferent to the effects which morals and religion, in the mass of mankind have upon social and political life. They did not believe that the ruler must believe in the religion of his subjects or practise their virtues; if at all the ruler followed, it was not because he believed, but because it served his political purpose. But both, were unanimous in asserting that a prince must pay due respect to the settled customs and institutions cherished by the people. They were indifferent to morale not because of any scientific detachment, but because they were interested in a single end, the preservation of the state and were indifferent to all others. Their prince was never immoral; at the most he was amoral or non-moral, particularly in the public life.

Kautilya and Machiavelli were not much interested in theorising for its own sake, except as it was useful to a statesman. Realists as they were in politics, they were interested more in a theory of the art of government than in a theory of the state. For them, government was ultimately based on force and fear; hence their insistence on a well-trained army. Both knew well the inherent merits of republics, but chose to support monarchy. Both preached a doctrine of aggrandisement which carried weight later on with governments and princes, in India and Italy. Machiavelli's seven books on the Art of War which elaborate on the doctrine of military discipline and on the best means of restoring it resemble the elaborate directions concerning war and its several aspects, we find in the Arthashastra. In their respective countries they were the first, at least the first considerable writers who exalted statecraft into science. The most brilliant and versatile intellects of their respective ages and two essentially noble souls, they have been the victims of much censure and reprehension, though they have never lacked admirers who could see and appreciate their principles in their right context. The history of the world reveals that Kautilya and Machiavelli professed, what all states, ancient as well as modern, occident as well as orient, condemned in theory but actually put into practice.

Co-operative Farming in Britain

By
Mr. PAT WALTERS

AGRICULTURAL co-operation is becoming an increasingly important part of the farming picture of Britain.

Earlier in the century the establishment of farmers' co-operative societies had shown rapid progress under a national organisation known as the agricultural organisation society, which was set up in 1901. But the basis was not sound as many of the member societies were too small. The Society was dissolved in 1929 and for 20 years there was no central organisation concerned exclusively with agricultural co-operation in England. The societies which survived the financial difficulties and depression of the inter-war period, however, learnt many valuable lessons and slowly and independently developed along more stable lines.

During and after World War II the societies expanded rapidly showing the general prosperity of agricultural and a new central organisation, the Agricultural Co-operative Association was founded in 1945. Today the 208 societies registered in England have a total membership of over 165,000 and an aggregate total annual turnover of £ 74 million. (Rs. 98.7 crores).

The Association is a non-trading body which acts in an advisory and educational capacity and is partly assisted by a government grant.

Originally most of the farmers' societies were concerned with supplying farmers' requirements, but to day they can be roughly divided into three main classes — firstly, the supply of all kinds of farming requisites; secondly, the marketing of produce, and thirdly, societies rendering specialist services.

The societies vary greatly in size and scope. But they all have one thing in common — they are owned and operated by the farmers themselves for the provision of service to the members.

The "requirements" society, which is the most common society, supplies the farmer with many of his needs such as fertilisers, feeding stuffs, seeds, machinery, building materials and equipment of all kinds. Many of the large feeding societies have mills in which they grind and compound feeding stuffs in bulk and many have now installed up-to-date seed cleaning and dressing plants where weed seeds and impurities are removed by mechanical processes and where the clean seed is chemically dressed to ensure sound healthy crops.

The growth of the marketing as distinct from the purchasing of agricultural co-operation is of rather later development. In some cases existing requirements societies have undertaken the marketing of certain farm products, particularly eggs, in addition to their own functions. But in general this is done for the farmer by co-operative marketing societies which are registered as separate societies.

The third type of society, the service society, has developed more particularly since the war. Farming has become so mechanised, so much more scientific and technical than it used to be that farmers have been finding that they can often only benefit from certain of these new developments by co-operating. Artificial insemination is perhaps the best known example, but there are also others which provide for the hire of machinery, threshing and corn and grass drying. Accredited hatcheries and pedigree seed growing societies have also made a start.

One of the great weaknesses in the producers' co-operative movement is that the societies have not a federal trading organisation nor is there a farmers' co-operative credit organisation. Nevertheless the progress which has already been made in establishing new and existing societies on a sound basis provides a good omen for the future.

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History of Islamic India (1605-1748)

By
MR. T. S. RAMACHANDRAN, I.C.S. (Retd.) Bar-at-Law

CARLYLE first complained that History unfortunately continued to be an account of battles and sieges and dynastic rivalries and rarely touched such things as what the people ate and what galligaskins they wore and what their customs and manners were. With the increasing impact of Sociology, Anthropology and Biology on historical writing, more attention is now paid to social and economic aspects of the lives of the people. The emphasis is not so much on statistical compilations on making things live again while being careful to be true to the sources of history which were roughly summarised by Hilaire Belloc as Geographical Data, Monuments, Inscriptions, Contemporary Accounts, and later appreciations of pre-existing material. Our author has done his work with industry and enthusiasm, as exemplified by the fact that the body of the book of 181 pages—(A Social History of Islamic India. By Mohammed Asin, Ph.D. Price Rs. Fifteen. The Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow) is supplemented by an exhaustive bibliography running to thirty-three pages. He has also wisely confined himself to the period from 1605 to 1748, that is from the death of Akbar to the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah. The broad thesis is that though personally he started with a prejudice in favour of the Two-Nations Theory as set out in the Preface, he came to the conclusion that the Muslims never constituted or became a distinct nation in India and were, gradually, adopting the Hindu civil as apart from strictly religious festivals like Holi and Hindola.

He has necessarily had to work his subject forward and backward and to quote extensively from writers dealing with the reign of Akbar anterior to the date chosen as starting point and the later developments after 1748. It is a pity he has confined his investigation to

the Muslim Community in Northern India only; his passing statement that this was true of the South also is gross understatement as it is in the South, the Muslim, even in religious matters approximated himself to local tradition by the temple of Andavar at Nagore and presenting elephants to Mosques and giving contributions to Srirangam and Bhadrachalam like the Nizam of Hyderabad and Tipu Sultan of Mysore.

In Chapter I, the author clearly indicates that the Muslim community was predominantly foreign in race composition in the beginning consisting of Turanics, Afghans, and Iranis or Persians who were new arrivals and only gradually of Domiciled original immigrants and of Nau-Muslims or local converts. The last two categories were more marked by the local habits, customs, manners, and superstitions circumjacent the Hindu peoples and naturally were looked down upon by the pure "Moghuls." It was like the classification of Anglo-Indians by unkind people as Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal.

The Economic Life of the population which professed Islam naturally showed a preference for living in protected Urban areas and following trades and professions rather than Agriculture. The higher posts in the Civil Services and the Fighting Forces were monopolised by the "Moghuls." The subordinate posts were filled by Indian Muslims and Kashmiris whose special recommendations were supple tongue, intrigue, and handsome appearance. There was a prejudice against the Kashmiris as against the Jews in Europe and the Brahmins in parts of India. To-day a Kashmiri Brahmin is Prime Minister of India and a German Jewess is Queen of England. Food was rich and varied and included Kabobs, Halwas etc. Clothing was also varied and

picturesque as any one who has seen the paintings of that age can testify.

The relations between the Muslim and Hindu Aristocracy were by no means friendly but this was due to personal reasons and the general relations among the Hindus and Muslims was cordial and characterised by mutual toleration.

Chapter IV gives a detailed account of the Muslim Festivals and Ceremonies including curious data like offering pan to indicate the visitor should depart and licking the fingers even if food had actually been eaten with the aid of a fork or spoon.

Chapter V describes the various sects which India seems unable to resist throwing up in any religion whatsoever. Thus as some Christians baptize by total immersion in cattle troughs and others were allowed to wear the Sacred Thread, Ibrahim Kak uttered only the names of Ram the Hindu Avatar and Allah. The Jalaliyans like the Vallabhacharya enjoyed the first night privileges. Altogether things were as good or as bad as they have been all the world over and at all times.

The author warms up in Chapter VI and shows how gradually the forces of adjustment and amalgamation made Hindus and Muslims attend the same schools and adopt the same secular beliefs and superstitions.

The Seventh Chapter on Man and Morals gives the usual sociological accounts of social and sexual life and the position of women and the Moral Excellences and Failings of the Community. As the wives and mistresses of Kings and Dukes were more powerful in England and in Politics before they were allowed to get into Parliament Ayesha, Roshanara, Jauhanara, and Ali Vardi Khan's Begum played the role of Supreme Political Officers with-

out being so designated as a precisian might put it.

In Chapter VIII the intriguing subject of the reaction against the compulsory toleration of Akbar's *Din-Ilahi*, supported by the theory of the emergence of a Mahdi is dealt with. People should not forget the apocryphal tale that the Jain King of Gujerat practised Ahimsa by crushing a man to death for cracking a louse. Similarly, the Tolerant Liberalism of Akbar had its unpleasant aspects as Ashoka ended up by marrying a shameless whore called Tishya Rakshita and finally burying her alive in quicklime without trial or enquiry, after hearing only the case for the prosecution.

Chapter IX gives a not-too-sympathetic account of Mujaddid Alf-i-sani Shaikh Sarhindi (1563—1626 A.D.) who rejuvenated Islam as Ignatius Loyola and the Counter-Reformation revived the Roman Catholic Church. Like the Society of Jesus, he founded the Mujaddidiah, a sub-division of the Naqshbandiah order, and the Khalifas of the two orders with the patronage of half-hearted Jehangir and liberal Shah Jahan prepared the way for the rigid Reactionism of Aurangazebe. After the "Thorough" overhauling given by Aurangazebe, Shah Waliullah kept the torch alive (1703—1763) and was followed by Sayaid Ahmed of Rae Bareli (1776—1831).

The History of Islamic India is written with vigour and imagination and only blind reactionaries will object to the author's un concealed predilection for a tolerant "secular" state like the Republic of India. As there were Whig and Tory historians in England and Nationalist and Imperialist historians in pre-1947 India, it is not a blemish that we have a pro-secular state historian in Doctor Muhammed Yasin.

The Central and the State Budgets

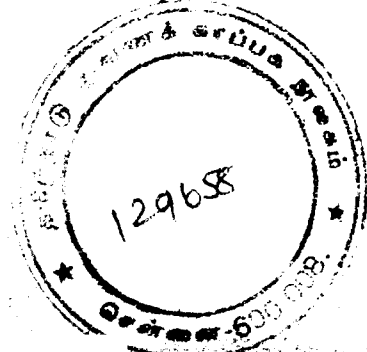
By

Shri V. R. NATARAJAN

THE budget for 1959-'60, which was presented by Mr. M. Desai is to be judged in its short period aspect of meeting the present economic strain as also in its long period aspect as setting a pattern for the future tax system. In this latter aspect it is forward-looking and its aim is to give the tax system a certain resilience, so as to make it conform, as far as is possible within a democratic set-up, to the needs, aspirations and objectives of long-term planning. Judged by the normal standard, it is not only a realistic budget, but also it accepts the financial implications of our plans. And if at this stage it does not go far enough, it does at least provide an indication as to which way we must turn to in future for the effective mobilisation of our domestic resources to meet the growing demands of the future plans. In fact, Mr. Morarji Desai said that a considerable further effort to augment the resources available for development will be necessary for the next two years. As regards the economic situation, the Finance Minister said: "The economic situation on the whole is somewhat better than it was a few months ago; we are sensing the effect of various corrective measures we have taken."

The Union Finance Minister said that he proposed to cover about one-fourth of the Rs. 82 crores deficit. He estimated the total revenue at Rs. 757.51 crores and expenditure at Rs. 839.18 crores. Expenditure on defence services, was placed at Rs. 242.68 crores which is Rs. 24.19 crores less than in the current year. Mr. Desai said that civil expenditure next year would amount to Rs. 596.5 crores. The Finance Minister has also announced several new tax measures. The most notable change from the point of view of businessmen is the new system of taxation

of company profits which the Finance Minister has proposed. There was at no time a case for levying the wealth tax on companies. The wealth tax on companies has been justified by the Government only on revenue considerations. It has not and cannot be defended on any grounds of equity or justice. The entire structure of company taxation needs drastic revision immediately in order to make it consistent with well-known economic principles of taxation and to make its burden reasonable and equitable. The Excess Dividends Tax was anomalous in its operation and discouraged dividend distribution without encouraging business efficiency and enterprise. It may be that in the coming years, public revenues will be more elastic as the new irrigation, steel and other projects help to bring about increased agricultural and industrial production. Of late, governmental revenues have been lagging. The small savings scheme has been a relative failure, but the success of the borrowing programme of the central and state governments has been resounding. Under small savings, the budget had taken credit for a net receipt of Rs. 100 crores. The net collections from small savings have been steadily rising from a figure of Rs. 37.57 crores in 1951-'52, to a figure of Rs. 69.6 crores in 1957-'58. Until such time as there is a significant increase in and diversification of industrial output: until tax-evasion is made practically impossible; and until there is some improvement in the lot of the peasant, it is clearly difficult to envisage any worthwhile increase in tax revenues. And so, the main avenues of resources for government will have to be (i) deficit financing; (ii) foreign aid; and (iii) market borrowings. The need for utmost economy in civil and defence expenditure



remains vital. The slight fall in defence expenditure expected in the coming year represents no big relief as the defence estimate continues to be substantially higher than what it was at the beginning of the First Plan.

The criticisms that have come from various quarters are either just emotional or are actuated by narrow self-interest. These comments and the manner in which the initiator of the Budget is found to be faltering under pressure only enhance our earlier apprehension that our people are not willing to accept the implications of planning. One of the curses of our present generation is a certain mal-adjustment between our aspirations and our willingness to act up to it. We demand all the good things of the world from the state, and yet we are not prepared to make enough allowance for the state's claim on us. We want freedom and democracy, but we are not always aware of the obligations that they involve. Judging by the exigencies of the present situation and the needs of the plan the Budget does not go far enough. In spite of the additional taxes proposed, we are still left with a deficit which the economy already burdened with inflationary pressures cannot be allowed to bear. Reactions among businessmen, market circles and M.P.'S. to Mr. Morarji's budget are favourable. The stock markets reacted well to central budget proposals and the Bombay stock exchange, it is said became bullish.

Revenue and Expenditure

(In lakhs of rupees)

	Budget	Revised Budget	
	1958-'59	1958-'59	1959-'60
Total revenue	767,99	728,20	757,57 plus 23,35
Total Expenditure	796,01	788,15	839,18
Deficit (minus)	28,02	-59,95	-58,32

On the other hand, if we turn our attention to the Railway Budget for 1959-'60, we can say

that it is one of the the most heartening official assessments of government's performance that we have seen in recent years. In regard to every phase of railway activity, the Union Minister has been in a position to report encouraging and considerable progress. During the year, the railways were able to announce favourable rates of freights for 9 commodities in respect of exports, and studies are being made about the feasibility of further incentives being provided for exports. The peak of constructional activity took place during the current fiscal year. Work on the Assam link has proceeded apace. Attempts have been made, and successfully at that, to reduce the foreign exchange element in the railway projects. Financially, the Indian Railways are in a sound position. The Second Plan allotment has been increased from Rs. 11,250 millions to Rs. 14,000 millions, which inspite of inflated costs here or there must be fairly sufficient for the maximum physical achievement possible within another three years. The lack of excitement in this year's Railway Budget arises, of course in the fact that there is no sensation provided, by an increase either in passenger fares or goods rates. Mr. Jagjivan Ram's budget for 1959-'60 is thus an inspiring and hopeful document.

Railways have not only to make up the past arrears but to provide transport for increased demand of passenger and goods traffic which has increased several fold. With the development of other sections of economy, the amount of traffic, especially freight, will increase still further; the planning commission anticipates a large increase. The total sum provided in the plan will be hardly sufficient to handle traffic efficiently and without bottlenecks as they appear at intervals. Railways are the most important form of transport and are essential for the economic development of country. More funds will have to be provided in the third plan to increase the carrying capacity and operating efficiency of our railways.

Rly. budget at a glance

In crores of rupees)

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jects have been executed, but in the meanwhile from where is the money to come? Their resources are either inelastic or likely to shrink but their needs for carrying out nation-building activities are ever expanding. The greatest need is to diversify the character of state finance and decrease its unparelled dependence on land taxes. This can be done by encouraging village industries and big industries in towns, so that there is a better balance between agriculture and industry. The development of trade and industry will open out new avenues of taxation. There should be a better co-ordination between state and local finances. So far as Madras State is concerned, its finances are in good shape and it has the additional advantages, which many other states do not have, of a well-developed banking system, a fine network of roads and efficient road organisations, a corps of experienced and competent businessmen, and a good reservoir of intelligent labour. If agricultural production is stepped up and prices are kept fairly stable, there is every prospect of our states making substantial all round progress. This makes it all the more vital that the Government should consider seriously before they embark on any further radical scheme of land reforms.

The conspicuous lack of new tax measures in the State Budgets so far announced; the failure of Mr. Jagjivanram to seek new revenues either from an increase in freight rates or from a hike in passenger fares; the excellent record of 1958-'59 in the matter of market borrowings; the partial success that has greeted the attempt to hold the price line; the greatly improved agricultural crops of the current season; the virtual underwriting of our foreign exchange heads for the Second Plan by friendly foreign governments; the bringing into balance at long last of exports and imports;—all these are hopeful signs for the future.

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Purification of the Mind

By

Mr. JEHANGIR M. SHAPOORJEE

THE goal of spiritual life is, of course, union with the Creator. In the humble opinion of the writer, the path thereto is nothing more and nothing less than purification of the mind—purification of a much higher order than is ordinarily understood by the term. It is not only necessary to conquer all the senses and emotions, but it is necessary to conquer the very mind itself. In the Bhagavad Gita it is said :

“Hard to control, no doubt, this restless mind ; Yet by distaste, disgust, for things of sense. Turning away from fleeting worldly things, And by persistent turning to the Self Of this most fickle mind, dragging it back Again and yet again with resolute will, Whenever it escapes to wayward ways, It can, no doubt, be brought under control.”

Most persons think that there is nothing impure about their minds, and that they have full control over them. That is not quite correct. The mind of an ordinary human being is clouded by what is known in Hindu philosophy as “Maya” (illusion). It is this “Maya” which creates all the turmoil in the mind of an individual, in family life, and in social, national and international life. Let us see how it works.

We all know that it is very easy to find fault with others, and that it is as good as impossible to see our own faults. Two thousand years ago, Lord Jesus Christ said : “Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother’s eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own?” None the less, our eyes continue to see the mote as clearly and are as blind to the beam as ever. When two persons disagree, each sees only his own viewpoint, and more often than not, nothing can make him see the other. Is there any doubt that this is illusion? The way that illusion works in the life of any family, society or nation, and in the relations between different nations, is too clear to need explanation.

It is the mind which creates the curtain that blinds man to reality, and keeps him occupied with illusion upon illusion, it is the mind which makes a person give an absurd amount of importance to his own little ego ; it is the mind which prevents him from devoting himself to eternal Truth, and induces him to waste his energies in accumulating more

and more wealth, when he knows only too well that none of it can be carried away when the time comes to bid adieu to the mortal garments of the soul ; it is the mind which tempts persons to dishonesty and deceit for acquiring certain gains or certain positions, which so often do not bring the happiness that is expected of them ; it is the mind which makes a person feel sure about various things that will happen in the future, only to sigh “Man proposes, God disposes” when the anticipations fail ; it is the mind which is responsible for making persons break their pious resolutions by blinding them to the undesirability of doing so ; it is the mind which makes persons succumb to emotions when under temptation by dimming their normal sense of judgment ; it is the mind which creates suspicions that are so often unfounded, but nevertheless lead to serious strifes ; it is the mind which makes persons indulge in fancy ideas and expostulations of spiritual life, when the simple fact is that the real Truth can only be understood from within, and cannot possibly be explained. In short, it is the mind which prevents persons from surrendering to the Will of God, and leads them to engage in constant battle with their lot instead of accepting it without demur.

A person who wishes to enjoy the real and perfect beauty of life must, therefore, realize in ever-increasing degree that the illusion of the mind is dangerous, and reliance on it is not the height of wisdom. It will not be long before he is able to see how often he has been mistaken in what he has considered to be absolute certainties. He will also find it amusing, as time goes on, to see how people indulge in making bold assertions about the certainty of things which are to happen in future, whereas he himself can see how easily such predictions are liable to be upset. Being thus freed from the habit of false conjectures, and having gained the ability to limit his attention to realities, he grows and grows in self-confidence till he becomes firm like a solid rock.

Realization of the fact of the existence of “Maya” is the first stage in spiritual progress. Various Saints have described this progress in various ways. Some have defined it in three stages, viz., purgative, illuminative and unitive.

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PURIFICATION OF THE MIND

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In all humility, I would say that in plain language the three stages are : (1) realization that our vision is clouded by the curtain of “Maya”, (2) removal of the curtain, and (3) enjoyment of the bliss of the life of reality.

It should not be thought for a moment that distrust of the mind means abandonment of the intellect. While it is necessary to guard against the illusions of the mind, due intelligence must always be exercised in all activities of life. We are not to relinquish normal activities and expect God to do everything, like the bullock-cart driver who, when his cart got stuck in the slush, sat down all day, praying to God to get it out. Late in the evening, on the advice of a passing Sadhu (an ascetic), he added his own strength to that of his bullocks, and was able to extricate the cart. The Sadhu explained to him that God would not have given hands and legs to man if He did not want them to be used. God helps those who help themselves.

Thus, purification of the mind is not a freakish process by any means. What has to be done is to avoid zealously and misuse of the five passions viz., *Kama* (lust), *Krodha* (anger), *Lobha* (greed), *Moha* (attachment) and *Ahankara* (pride). As the devotee acquires control over these passions, the purity of his mind is reflected in his speech and in his actions. Apparently, he lives as normally as anyone else. He does not cease to attend to his home, his avocation and his social duties. He is, however, always calm and serene. Since his faith in the Almighty is supreme, anxieties do not beset him, jealousies do not hurt him, anger does not inflame him, wealth does not attract him, losses do not deject him, and success does not elate him. Life becomes easy for him. He sees the hand of God in all that happens, and believes his own functions to be limited to exercising his common sense and doing the right thing at all times. He does not just resign himself to the results of his actions, but welcomes the result—whatever they may be—as being in accordance with the Will of God. No considerations of expediency can tempt him to say or do anything against the dictates of his conscience. He will, therefore, do nothing that is wrong—wrong to himself or to anyone else. He lives from minute to minute and second to second without being swayed hither and thither by hopes and fears. His wants are few and far between. When planning is necessary, he will resort to it e.g., he will make just and reason-

able provision for the future for himself and his family. The necessity of making such a provision, however, will never lead him to live miserly or to decline to extend help to others when he is convinced that it is his duty to do so, for he does not lose sight of the immortal words of Lord Jesus Christ :

“Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow ; they toil not, neither do they spin: And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.”

The method of purifying the mind is simple, though it cannot be said to be so easy, for great patience and perseverance have to be exercised to push on in spite of failure after failure. Everyone has a conscience which tells him what is right and what is wrong, but the force of “Maya” leads him on to choose the wrong course. As he does this again and again, the still small voice of his conscience becomes dimmer and dimmer, till he ceases to feel its pangs at his own misdemeanour. It is a curious fact, however, that although a person is able to stifle his conscience so completely that he can justify whatever wrong he does—where it is a small matter, such as losing temper unnecessarily, or a heinous crime, such as murder—nevertheless he always continues to know what is right and what is wrong, for in the behaviour of others he will invariably condemn the wrong and extol the right. Furthermore, when relating his own wrong actions, he will give the story a twist to make it appear in the eyes of others that what he has done is right. This shows that every human being has the power to verify the right course of life by listening sincerely and honestly to his own conscience. The only way of leading an ideal life, therefore, is to become more and more receptive to the voice of the conscience and endeavour to follow it rigidly.

Every human being has a different mind. That is why the way of controlling it has been explained in so many different ways. It should be remembered that it is a universally recognized fact that the way to the real life of the spirit is *via* the annihilation of senses and emotions. Master’s directions for leading a spiritual life include the real and effective way of controlling the mind and freeing it from the tyranny of senses and emotions. He does not advise us to and subdue the mind, which is a powerful force and retaliates

against coercion. He says the best thing is to watch the mind calmly, and at the same time to concentrate all our attention on love of God; and, like true lovers, to strive ceaselessly to please Him by every thought, word and deed. Then the strength of the spirit would grow, and that of the flesh would dwindle, till the senses and emotions come under control, and the myths of worldly pleasures and gains, which used to seem so important, are seen to be insignificant. In this connection, Baba Sai Giani has given the following quotation in one of his letters to Baba Sai Mirchandani:

"It is not the skill of human art,
Which gives me power my God to know,
The sacred lessons of the heart,
Come not from instruments below.
Love is my teacher; he can tell,
The wonders that he learnt above,
No other Masters know so well,
It is love alone can tell of love.
Oh! then, of God if thou would'st learn,
His wisdom, goodness, glory see,
All human arts and knowledge spurn,
Let Love alone thy teacher be."

Love is indeed the life of the soul.

The mind is, of course, prone to formation of habits: when open to evil influences, it forms evil habits, and *vice-versa*. Attendance at "Sat Sanghs" (gatherings of truth) is, therefore, of immense value in training the mind towards purity. Master holds a "Sat Sangh" at his residence (Thoburn House, Apollo Bunder, Bombay-1.) every evening. This is open to all. He spends the whole evening in talking with those who come there. He talks about God, about spiritual life, about goodness, truth love and the life. Everything that he says points to good thoughts, good words and good deeds ("Manasni, Givasni, Kunasni" as Lord Zarathustra said.) Yet the "Sat Sangh" is not like a lecture room with a heavy, studious atmosphere. It is like a family gathering, members of the family ranging from doctors and barristers to peons and sweepers. The conversation often includes topics of everyday life. Master does not overawe the gathering. He is most informal, courteous and gentle to all. Humour never fails him. The pleasure which one derives from the peaceful atmosphere of the gathering is impossible to describe. It is truly unique.

And while to some it may seem that nothing more than idle talks is taking place, each member who attends the "Sat Sangh" finds himself progressing slowly and steadily towards his cherished goal. Every Thursday the "Sat Sangh" takes the form of a "Cheonki" (a programme of devotional music, a *bhajan* or *kirtan*). Music is the food of the soul, and the effect of the "Cheonki" on the mind is even more sublime than that of the daily "Sat Sangh."

No rituals or prayers are prescribed though each person is free to observe his own religious practices, and is not deterred from doing so. When an aspirant reaches a certain stage in his development Master gives him a "Mantra" (a couplet about God). Constant repetition of the "Mantra" not only helps to keep one on the straight path, but actually goes a long way to pacify one's mind.

Meditation is strongly recommended. In fact, it is the *sine qua non* for attainment of higher stages. The method of meditation is to sit in an erect posture with eyes closed, to try to keep the mind as calm as possible, to concentrate on the image of one's Deity or Master, and to keep on repeating a "Mantra." It appears impossible at first to keep the mind calm. Thoughts come in quick succession one upon another—thoughts about home, thoughts about office, thoughts about all sorts of matters. That should not cause anxiety. It is but natural. It takes a long time to achieve any results.

The necessity, the advantages and the methods of purifying the mind have now been explained briefly, in order to give the reader a glimpse of the path. It may be added that the journey along the beautiful path is a long and arduous one with many a snare and many a pitfall. In venturing to traverse the path unaided, many give it up half way, and may go astray. Having endeavoured to travel along the path a little way myself, I am of the honest opinion that it is essential for one to proceed with the help of a Guide. In other words, I am unable to see how a person can control his turbulent mind without the constant guidance and support of a Master, for the mind which is accustomed to running about in wild circles does not readily go into the straight and narrow groove. It fights ferociously to avoid entering, and to wriggle out even after entering.

Berlin—A National Symbol

BY

MR. ERNEST LEMMER

More than any other German city does Berlin, the old capital of the Reich, mirror the fate of Germany since the war. In 1945, after the total defeat of National Socialism following a senseless resistance, and after having been captured by the Soviets, this city was placed under the administration of the Four Powers, i.e., USSR, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, and as Germany, was later divided into a western and the eastern zone. For every German, therefore, Berlin has become the national symbol of the unhappy division of the fatherland, constantly reminding him to work toward re-unification. Every German is convinced that some day the union will materialise in Berlin. That is why the latest Soviet attack on the present Four Power Status of Berlin, which threatens to jeopardize the mission of the German capital, has stirred up such deep emotions everywhere in Germany. The Soviet proposal to turn West Berlin into a Free City has not found an echo neither with Germans living in the Federal Republic nor with those in the Eastern Zone, with the exception, perhaps of the few communistic functionaries in the GDR (German Democratic Republic) who, in no way, should be regarded as the representatives of the people. Everyone realizes that, once the responsibility of the Four Nations for Berlin ceases, the last political restrictions, offering a chance for re-unification, would be eliminated. Long experience gained in Berlin and in Central Germany makes it obvious that the Soviet proposals for the creation of a "Free" City must be regarded as a temporary measure only and that the incorporation of all Berlin into the sphere of the influence of the GDR would soon follow. Eastern functionaries have, in fact, openly admitted such ambitions. Berliners realise that the Soviet proposals may contain some apparent advantages to blind those who did not have the opportunity recently to observe Soviet practice at close range. It is necessary, therefore always to draw the attention of the world to what it would mean if, for instance, the extensive industry and the food supply of Berlin would be placed under the dependence of the Communistic Regime in accordance with the Soviet proposals. This

would open wide the door to political and economic extortion, which no power on earth could prevent. Berliners are not deceived, even though political independence, the right of self-government and free access would, temporarily, be maintained.

They clearly recall the years between 1946 and 1948. The first free elections in Greater Berlin on October 20th, 1946, resulted in a mere 26 seats for the Communists of the 130 seats in the city's parliament. This was just after an attempt of the Soviets to effect a compulsory merger of the Social Democratic Party with the Communistic Party had failed in Berlin. The Soviet answer to this open challenge of Berlin's voters against the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei* was their veto of the election of Professor Ernst Reuter (SPD—Social Democratic Party) as Governing Mayor of the Four Sector City. In the months that followed, the Soviets restricted the work of the freely elected city government and its administrative bodies more and more, while at the same time the disputes with the Allied Control Council and the Office of the Allied Commanders of Berlin intensified. The climax was reached when the Soviets began to blockade West Berlin in June 1948. This action constituted the first attempt to force the Western Powers out of Berlin. The concerted efforts of the Western nations and the people of West Berlin turned the blockade into a failure after a duration of almost 12 months. During the months of the blockade, organised communistic harsasings brought the freely elected administration of Greater Berlin to fall. Already on June 23, 1948, Communistic raiders broke up a meeting of the Municipal Government which was to deliberate on the political and economic problems of the currency reform. In August 1948, the Communists declared that the elected Magistrate no longer enjoyed the confidence of the people of Berlin and on September 6 a meeting of the City Government, held in the Soviet Sector, was broken up by rioters. The Soviet-controlled police in the Eastern Sector made no attempt to protect the freely elected representatives. The SPD, CDU and LDP (Social Democrats, Christian Democratic Union, Libe-

ral Democratic Party) groups, in consequence thereof, decided to hold their meetings in West Berlin. On November 30, 1944, the Communists in East Berlin, without any authorization, held a meeting extraordinary of the members of the Municipal Government. Without much ado they dismissed the elected Magistrate and appointed a new, all-communist Magistrate. Thus the administrative division of the city was forced upon the people of Berlin against their will, a division which could not be overcome even after the termination of the blockade in May 1949.

This experience no Berliner has forgotten. Everybody is convinced that a "Free" City of West Berlin would receive a similar treatment as in 1948, if they would refuse to yield to Communistic demands, which are already voiced quite openly. Once the Western Powers would have withdrawn there would be no possibilities whatever to prevent such communistic manoeuvres, which would, moreover and in all probability, be cleverly camouflaged. On the outside, an affiliation of the "Free" City with the so-called GDR would be interpreted as a "spontaneous expression of the free will of the people."

Such a development could not be prevented if the Senate of Berlin, the Federal Government and the Western Powers would accept the ultimatum of the Soviet Government. The present state of Berlin cannot, of course, be called ideal; this would be the case only if

Berlin were re-instated also the capital of a free and re-united Germany. But a unilateral repudiation of an obligation is no suitable way of improving the situation. They should at least respect the right of self-determination of the people of Berlin, i.e., all Berliners from the western as well as the eastern sectors. A plebiscite under the control of the UN on three questions, namely:

- (i) The "Anschluß" of all Berlin to GDR.
- (ii) The "Anschluß" of all Berlin to the Federal Republic.
- (iii) The establishment of a Free City of Greater Berlin under the control of the United Nations.

would meet the requirements of self-determination.

West Berliners have already given their clear-cut answer by their election results of December 7. They desire to have their independence and freedom maintained, safeguarded by the troops of the three Western Nations. These troops are stationed in Berlin as the result of an Agreement of the Four Nations, and this Agreement can only be altered by common consent, but never unilaterally. The coming months will bring with them much tension and most likely a war of nerves without parallel. But negotiations will be held and it is of the utmost importance that public opinion of the world stand behind Berlin, supporting her Right to Freedom.



The Riddle of the Alphabet

By

Mr. ALDO LAVAGNINI

The most puzzling thing about our alphabet—apart from the form of the letter themselves, which bear no true relation to the sounds they are meant to represent—is its ORDER, which has no apparent justification. Vowels and consonants—even while vowels were originally wholly absent—labials and palatals, dentals and sonants, are there thoroughly mixed, in spite of which that order has been kept faithfully and substantially preserved, during no less than 4000 years.

There is in it nothing, for instance, of the nice grouping of the Devanagari letters,

vowels first in their order, than gutturals, palatals, post-alveolars, dentals, labials and spirants.

It has been instilled in us from our first school days and innumerable generations have learned it in the same manner, together with the names of the letters. We find it thoroughly applied in our dictionaries, and have found it very convenient to order by it proper names and the subject matter of any treatise. Although we do not use it currently for numerals, as the Greek, the Hebrew and Phœnician were accustomed to do, that order is for us no

less useful, such as the one of the seven days of the week—another legate of the older Semitic civilization.

There have been very few interpolations, if any, some dropping or change—as for instance the purely Latin G—and some additions at the end, so that the Greek alphabet ends in Omega and ours with Z, but the ancient order has been preserved, with very few exceptions, in its several offshoots.

The reason for that order has not been explained until now: it has been sought vainly in the original name of the letters themselves—as they are best preserved in Greek and Hebrew—but no satisfactory motive has been found for such a peculiar and rigid grouping of apparently heterogeneous objects, such as a bull, a house, a camel, a door or tent, and so on.

It is true, however, that the reason is concealed in the names of the letters, which may reveal it when properly analyzed from a syncretical viewpoint: the best clue is given us by the name of the first letter *Aleph* or *Alpha*, originally *alepu*, the Bull. When we know that up to 3000 years ago the constellation of Taurus was the one of the Vernal Equinox, and that therefore the Zodiac begun with it, the natural explanation for that order so faithfully kept is that it followed just the same order of the zodiacal constellations.

In the form of our letter A, we may even now recognize the head of a bull, or the astro-nomic sign for Taurus, if we only turn it the top down. It is not an isolated instance: just past the middle, we find a group of three letters, the one after the other, M, N, and O, which by both their name and shape are unmistakably related to the last three constellations, as we know them Aquarius, Pisces and Aries. M or *e'mmaim* stands for "the waters", N similarly for *nun* or *ennaina* "the two fishes" and O or *ain* for the "eye" constellation, i.e., Aries, as it was afterwards named.

In *Mondi Lingue*, an attempt has been made to similarly explain all the intermediate and following letters, as related to the heavenly constellations, both the zodiacal and the other boreal and near ones, such as the Whale and Orion.

The number of the chief constellations is by no means exhausted by the list: it is less than half. Which can only mean that the original enumeration from which the alphabet was derived must have been used only partly.

Since it should have been widely known, it must be found in some of the older Babylonian or Sumerian records: very probably the order will tackle. The fact that it may be now couched in the cuneiform writ is no obstacle for its derivation, since we know that cuneiform writing on clay was paralleled by reed-pen writing on a more perishable and pliable material, such as skin.

The name of the constellations, and the exact number of those which are cut by the ecliptical line, may have changed from how they have been accounted for and defined during the first thousand years previous to our era, which are practically identical with our own. Or, being no more so understood, their semitic names can have been altered and given another meaning, which—apart from some astrological reason—may explain why Gemini was identified with a *house*, a *camel* or *square* (the measure of the right angle) with Cancer, or a *tent* or *door* was seen in the Lion constellation, and a simple invocation, or the feminine pronoun, was taken to represent the Mother Goddess or Virgo.

The important thing, to justify such an attribution or correlation, is the fact that we have no more a haphazard list of more or less unrelated materials, but an *organic whole*, which can only explain the faithfully preserved order, and at the same time the *monogenesis* of the alphabet.

Nothing better than the images outlined in the sky by the most familiar constellations, to be recorded for even in our writing! If the reader may have some doubt, we would counsel him to take a celestial atlas of the stars and see by himself if our letters—as they have come to us through Etruscan and Latin—cannot be recognized in those star frames. Or, on a clear night, to try to identify in a similar way, those which may be visible.

While the zodiac with which we are now familiar begins with Aries—the old constellation of the Eye—and ends with Pisces, that old Zodiac, as it was recognized from about 4000 to 1000 B.C., has been preserved to us in those letters we are daily using. Astronomically our zodiac begins no more either with Aries (very short asterism, in comparison with both Taurus and Pisces) but with Pisces. However, we have kept the denomination of Aries for the first of the twelve equal divisions of the yearly Rhythm of Life, which begins with the Vernal Equinox.

WORLD OF BOOKS

The New India. Progress through Democracy prepared by Planning Commission of the Government of India. Price Two Dollars Fifty cents. The Macmillan Company New, York.

The Ford Foundation and the Government of India co-operated to compile this factual account of progress so far achieved and hopes for the future. From the Eight Basic Decisions which start with the First One of Increasing National Income and end with the Eighth One of not Forgetting Individual Freedom and Development every problem of the Plan is first set out in Outline and then filled up with instructive and productive detail. Agricultural Advance may not be hindered by Industrial Expansion and vice versa. Educational Advance must be tempered by making Literacy linked with social education. Health and Medical Relief Programs must not forget Family Planning whose need is intensified by the fall in the Death Rate produced by the advances of the Preventive and Curative and Surgical Medicine. Industrial Relations and Housing are also tackled with enthusiasm and sobriety. A tendency to conserve and an inclination quickly translated into action to reform and improve characterise the Programs. Miss Jeen Joyce on whom the major burden of drafting and seeing the book through the Press have fallen is to be heartily congratulated.

Maverick Marshal, by Nelson Nye. Signet Book, New American Library, New York. 25 cents.

This story of how a cowhand Frank Carrico was engaged as Marshal of South Fork to hunt down Tularosa a six foot four "Killer" is in the best tradition of hardbitten stories of outlaw gangs, with the usual Honey girls also thrown in. This is called Good reading for the Millions and no other kind of "literature" can the Millions concentrate on when not distracted by attending to noisy machines for their daily bread and listening to Television and Jazz.

Mrs. Miniver, by Jan Struther, published by Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 2/-

This is a well known book by Jan Struther. The sketches are interesting and on subjects which are familiar to the reader but which few can express in such delightful and elusively simple language. It is difficult to make a selection because all of them are good.

The Gospel of the Gnostics, by Duncan Greenlees. Price Rs. 10 Cloth. Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.

This exposition, which significantly bears the mystic number Thirteen which has both beneficent and malevolent aspects, cannot be understood without relation to the revelation of the mysteries of Gnosticism to the accomplished author. He was born in 1899 in South Africa and at the early age of twenty, in 1919 when the old Christian Orthodoxies seemed to have failed a world agonized by the first World War of 1914-1918, the "Heretical" *Gnosis* or Direct Experiential Knowledge of God, the Soul, and the True Relationship to the Universe attracted his attention. After excavations in Egypt and elsewhere and much teaching in many countries including India, and much seeking after illumination, the apocalyptic destruction of the second World War of 1939-1945 left him with the self-imposed task of publishing the World Gospel Series. By education, equipment character, and temperament, no fitter expounder into the Way of Illumination can be found. The Introduction explains that it is not given to all to renounce the World. The Cosmogony of Gnosis is traced through the Promise and the Story of the Aeons and the Myth of the Gospel and the Mystic Cross. The words are often reconstructed and amplified as frankly admitted by the author and the comments showing similarities with the sacred writings of other religions like the Upanishads and the teaching of Ramana Rishi are brilliant. This Wisdom from the Thirteenth Aeon will not fall or perish.

Sardar Panikkar and Christian Missions, by Father Jerome De Souza S. J. Price Re. 1. Publisher Rev. Father R. Doraiswami S.J., St. Mary's, Dindigul.

This is a scintillating piece of polemic persiflage. I am sure Malayalam Madhava who has blossomed into Sardar Panikkar and an old friend of mine would be the foremost to enjoy the raillery. For sheer irony the following is hard to beat. "How shall we explain these errors of fact and judgment, and these evident contradictions? Certainly not by deliberate perversity and bad faith. We must be ready to give credit to Sardar Panikkar for courage and sincerity. The inadequacy of his treatment of Christian Missions must be attributed to ignorance of Christian teaching."

APRIL 1959]

WORLD OF BOOKS

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I will not deprive the reader of enjoying for himself the flashes of wit and humour that sparkle in this brochure. But I must allow myself a friendly dig at the author. When like Gandhiji, I said I could appreciate, approve, admire, and a Christian Life without renouncing the religion of my heathen parents or the sprinkling of baptismal Holy Water, I was told I was suffering from *Invincible Ignorance*. I am afraid Sardar Panikkar and I will continue to be unrepentant reprobates in this respect. (T.S.R.)

Indian Economy. Its Nature and Problems. A New Look on Indian Economics, by Alak Ghosh, M.A., Calcutta University. The World Press Private Limited, 37, College Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 8-50.

This is a most interesting and delightful *tour de force*. Professor Ghosh is a smart Alec if one may be permitted a flippant pun on his Christian name of Alak.

He starts with a penetrating analysis of the fundamental problem of the nature of Indian Economy, the nature of undeveloped areas, the different aspects of economic development, the role of Government, and the possibilities of Initiating Rapid Growth in Part I.

In Part II he gives a descriptive and expository account of the Fundamentals of Planning, India's First and Second Five Year Plans, and a critical and appreciative Survey of Development Projects including Community Projects and Irrigation Cum Power Projects.

In Part III he discusses India's Natural Resources, National Income, and their relation to the Five Year Plans.

Part IV deals with Population Problems. Agricultural Production in its various aspects, Land Reforms, Co-operation, and Problems of Agricultural Labour and Mechanisation.

Part V dealing with Industry and Labour is naturally more descriptive than academic and Part VI on Public Finance is really brilliant.

Parts VII and VIII dealing with Banking Currency and Trade, Exchange and Transport leave one breathless with admiration as masterpieces of compressed yet vivid writing making the dull bones of Economics clothed with flesh and pulsating with Life.

Not since the Marshalls revolutionised Economic writing and Lilian Knowles supplied an English Historic background have we seen such brilliant erudite writing.

This book is a "must" for every student of Economics, every publicist or journalist and every politician or statesman. And it is very very cheap for the price of Rs. Eight and Naya Paise Fifty only.

The Technique of Correlation in Basic Education, by A. B. Solanki. Price Two Rs. Fifty nP. Nava Jivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

An ounce of practice is worth a ton of Theory and Basic Education as such has been demonstrated practically at Sevagram, Doctor Soundaram Ramachandran's Gandhigram, and Ex-Minister Avinashilingam Chettiar's Rural Institute at Perianaikanpalayam, Coimbatore District. But as we learn to talk and discuss before people, write grammars of languages, per contra grammars must be written to analyse and synthesise achievements. Sri Solanki with a masterly comprehensive knowledge of Eastern and Western Techniques of Educational Processes has correlated theory, practice and achievement, never forgetting the evolutionary dynamism of Gandhiji's initial inspiration. As Rajaji said, too often we follow Gandhiji to the letter forgetting the spirit. We vacillate as the Madras State did about postponing English instruction to the Eighth Standard ten years ago and now putting it back in the Fifth Standard, prospectively from 1961. John Milton said "The New Presbyter is only the Old Priest writ Large." Similarly, the original English teaching "Keep a Diary" is translated as "Children should be trained in the art of planning, executing and recording their work, and of keeping accounts of their time with items of work done." "Cleanliness is next to Godliness becomes "Safai programme of personal, environmental, social, and civic cleanliness." Altogether an experimental attitude towards the problem of correlation is maintained by the thought provoking treatment of all aspects of the problem, and so the book will be most useful to all concerned in Educational Techniques.

The Atom and its Energy, by Amalendu Das Gupta. Price Rs. 9-50 nP. Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

This is a scientific yet popular account by an expert who is on the staff of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. In the first fifteen chapters he has given an analytical and chronological account of the extant information on the subject. The sixteenth chapter on Atomic Energy in India speaks of the potential of raw material and development of Atomic Energy in India that is Bharat. The author is an adept at unravelling the miracles of nuclear physics and fission for the lay reader.

Democracy in Asia : By Ellsworth Bunker, U.S. Embassy, New Delhi.

This brochure is a text of an address given by Bunker before the Seminar on Problems and Prospects of Democracy in Asia. The ultimate goal of democracy according to him "is the quality of the human beings." He has also narrated some of the benefits that we can derive from a democratic form of Government. Democracy never claims perfection; but a constantly moving dynamic force. A true democrat acquires a humility which is a certain quality of grace.

In the course of his lecture, Mr. Bunker has also pointed out some of the advantages which the U.S. has reaped from the democratic form of rule. He says sense of responsibility, self-discipline and respect for minority rights are the quintessence of successful democracy. At present, the overthrow of democratic form of Government by military dictatorship in several Asian countries is a pointer to the urgent need for getting democratic ideals rooted in the minds of the Indian people and in this respect the parliamentary democracy in India under the leadership of Mr. Nehru is a shining example which other Asian countries will do well to emulate.

The Fifth Anniversary Souvenir of Calcutta Tamil Manavar Manram—190-A. Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta 29.

The Tamil Manavar Manram of Calcutta is doing a great service to the Tamilians who are living there by arranging periodically lectures by distinguished Tamil scholars and by interpreting the elegance and the beauty in literature which are as old as the hills to non-Tamil knowing public thereby kindling in them a desire to learn Tamil. The Souvenir contains besides a succinct account of the activities of the Manram, original articles by distinguished writers. The articles on "Puli Thevan" by Prof. N. Sanjeevi, "Women Literateurs" by Srimati Venkatalakshmi Ramakrishna deserve mention. The Tamil portion of the Souvenir contains informing and scholarly contributions from well-known Tamil writers. The Souvenir is well got up.

The Spell of Aphrodite, and other short stories. By S. K. Chettur I.C.S. Jaico Publishing House, Imperial Bank Lane, Mount Road, Madras-2. Price Rs. 2/-

The 17 short stories are all with an Indian setting. The author an adept at short stories sustains the interest of the readers in the various stories by abundant humour, portray-

ing the evil customs and also the corrupt practices. The well-known and beautiful landscape, shrines and the varied features of the South are portrayed admirably. This unique collection of short stories provide interesting and delightful reading.

This is Nehru's India, by C. N. Zutshi. Price Rs. Two. Central Book Dept., Delhi.

This is a Bird's Eye View of Resurgent India and the Record of India's All-Round Progress during the Regime of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is historical, descriptive, and analytical. Winning Freedom, the Constitution, the National Flag, and the bulwarks of Freedom are described in the First Part. Follows an account of Planning and Building for prosperity and Preaching Panchsila to the World. Altogether, a well documented, eulogistic introduction to achievements of the first decade.

The Mahabharata, by Biren Roy, Published by D. K. Mukerji, The Indian Airman, Behula, Calcutta, 34, Price Rs. 10.

Preserving the integrity and compactness of the great Epic of Mahabharata story by shedding off most of the superfluous and extraneous matter that gathered around the work, the author has presented a complete version of the main story in a very simple and brief manner. The original story consisting of a lakh of slokas in Sanskrit is a veritable encyclopaedia. But the author has condensed it in such a way as the charm of the original is not spoiled. The style of the English version is simple and elegant. The get up is very nice and the printing is good. It deserves to be in the hands of everyone who cannot have access to the Sanskrit original.

The New Mysore Medical Directory (1958), compiled under the direct supervision of Expert Editorial Board, by B. Subba Rao and K. Anandarao. New Mysore Publishers, Line Bazaar, Dharwar, Mysore State. Rs. 10-50.

The publishers have taken pains to give all possible information about the various systems of medicine: Allopathy, Ayurveda, Unani and Homeopathy in the Mysore State. The publication is unique as it gives all information including Pharmaceutical industries with a complete list of Medical Practitioners in the State. The book also provides useful information about the State's activity with regard to Public Health. This will be useful for the Medical profession and Trade and also the public at large.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA

TAMILS IN S. AFRICA

An appeal to Tamil writers to help to enrich the knowledge of the Tamil people in South Africa in their mother tongue, was made by Mr. P. R. Pather, President, Natal Indian Organisation who was in Madras last month.

The Tamil people there, Mr. Pather said, were proud of their culture and traditions, and wanted to live as Tamilians. They were not, however, very well versed in the language as their counterparts in Tamil Nad were. The Tamil writers in India could do a lot for the enrichment of the knowledge of their brethren in South Africa in respect of their mother-tongue. He requested the Tamil writers to help them by producing some suitable textbooks in Tamil for the benefit of the Tamil children in that country. He envisaged the possibility of sending some students from South Africa for the study of Tamil in India, so that they could, on their return teach the language to their children in the same way as was done in Tamil Nad, and appealed for the co-operation of the Tamil writers in the venture.

ANDHRAS IN S. AFRICA

Emigration of Andhras to South Africa dates back to 1860, and there are at present, about 45,000 Andhras, living in that place. The Andhra Maha Sabha with its head office at Durban has 43 branches in different centres. This information was given to Pressmen by Mr. M. A. Nydoo, President of the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa, who is in India now.

BURMA

RESTRICTIONS ON INDIANS

Several Indian nationals have been deported from Burma and some are awaiting deportation. Thirteen others were reported to be in detention in different jails in Burma, Mr. Nehru told the Lok Sabha last month.

Specific charges against these persons were not known hitherto, but they had been deported on the ground that they were "undesirable aliens." Some of them were alleged to have contravened the Foreign Exchange regulations or indulged in hoarding, blackmarketing and other anti-social activities.

CEYLON

INDIAN SETTLERS

Writing in the independent evening newspaper, *The Times of Ceylon*, Mr. Subasinghe said among the reasons why a liberal approach to the Indian problem might not be popular in his country were (1) the notion that the presence of Indian-origin workers on the plantation was responsible for the poverty and backwardness of the Kandyan peasantry, (2) the feeling that the Indian businessmen were exploiting the country for their own benefit, and (3) the fear of Indian-origin citizens acting as agents of separatists and South Indian expansionists.

Dealing with the fear of the Indian-origin citizens acting as agents of external or disruptive forces, Mr. Subasinghe said "The Indian worker or the other Indians did not participate in the communal disturbances that broke out last year. Their organisations have refrained from associating themselves with the campaign for Federalism. To ostracise them and treat them as an alien group will be the surest way to drive them out into the camp of the very forces we would like to resist....." "What of the alleged expansionist threats from South India? There are Chauvinists no doubt on both sides of the Palk Straits. But Chauvinism is not the national policy of India. Chauvinists in South India will have to fight and win a big battle with all the forces that stand for unity, progress and peaceful international relations in their own country before they can embark on a policy of expansionism." Such a battle is not so easily won. Even if expansionism is a potential danger, it is in our interests to strengthen the progressive forces in India by finding progressive solutions to our common problems."

MALAYA

IMMIGRATION INTO MALAYA

The Government of India is believed to have received assurances from the Malayan and Singapore Governments that immigration regulations which were recently modified were not directed against Indians.

According to authoritative sources, no security check is to be imposed on Indians either arriving from India or residing in Singapore or Malaya. It is, however, proposed to restrict entry in Malaya and Singapore.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Mar. 1. U.S. launches satellite in Polar orbit.
- Mar. 2. U. K.-Egypt financial dispute ends : Agreement is signed.
- Mar. 3. U. K. and Soviet Prime Ministers fail to agree on Germany.
- Mar. 4. Khrushchev announces that he would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany.
- Mar. 5. United States and Pakistan sign at Ankara a bilateral defence agreement.
—Ike announces U. S.—U. K. differences over nuclear weapons test ban.
—N. G. Ranga resigns the Secretaryship of the Congress Parliamentary Party.
- Mar. 6. Central African crisis worsens : African National Congress officials detained under Emergency regulation.
- Mar. 7. U. S. State department announces the new bilateral defence agreement between U. S. and Pakistan does not provide for U. S. aid to Pakistan in the event of a war between India and Pakistan.
- Mar. 8. Pak troops cease fire on Karimganj border : Pakistan denies use of U. S. arms in border raids.
- Mar. 9. U. P. Legislature Congress Party meeting passes a vote of confidence in Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister.
—Military revolt in North Iraq.
- Mar. 10. M. R. Jayakar is dead.
—Mr. Macmillan meets President De Gaulle of France at Paris.
- Mar. 11. Pak forces are massing on the border villages in Murshidabad District.
- Mar. 12. Russia warns Pakistan against pact with U. S.
—Effective army control on border of W. Bengal is announced.
- Mar. 13. President Rajendra Prasad leaves New Delhi for a tour in Indo-China.
—Pak forces cease fire in Murshidabad area.
—Revolt in Southern Maldives is reported.
—Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader is arrested.
- Mar. 14. The Hawaii Islands attain statehood and become the 50th State of the Union (U.S.).
- Mar. 15. President Prasad and his suite arrive in Cambodian Capital Phnom Penh, Rousing reception is given to him.
- Mar. 16. Congress Working Committee meets in New Delhi.
—Cambodia Queen greets President Prasad.
—U.S. announces willingness to participate in Summit talks with Russia.
- Mar. 17. U.A.R. protests to Iraq against the violation of U.A.R. air space by Iraqi air craft.
—Russia and Iraq sign an agreement by which Iraq gets a loan of 550,000,000 roubles.
- Mar. 18. The U.N. Secretary-General Mr. Dag. Hammarskjöld arrives in New Delhi and meets Mr. Nehru.
- Mar. 19. Khrushchev agrees to have talks at Foreign Ministers' level but would prefer a Summit meeting before that.
- Mar. 20. Outbreak of fighting is reported in Lhasa (Tibet) near Indian consulate.
- Mar. 21. Master Tara Singh is released.
- Mar. 22. Ike—Macmillan Parleys at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
- Mar. 23. Indira Gandhi asks critics of Co-ops. to quit the Congress Party.
- Mar. 24. U.K. Government orders inquiry into Nyasaland unrest.
—Heavy fighting is reported in Lhasa.
—Iraq leaves Baghdad Pact.
- Mar. 25. Indonesian Warships attack rebel supply ships : fighting in Sumatra is reported.
- Mar. 26. Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld leaves for Moscow.
—Fighting ends in Lhasa.
- Mar. 27. Tibet proclaims independence.
—Pakistan again violates cease-fire and begins shooting.
—President Prasad returns to India.
- Mar. 28. Chinese troops ordered to seal Tibetan borders.

READERS' DIGEST

U. S. BASE IN INDIAN OCEAN

Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, a historian for the U. S. Navy, suggests in a magazine article that the U.S. should create a powerful naval force and station it in the Indian Ocean to protect its friends against the threat of Soviet aggression.

The article appears in *Navy* a publication of the Navy League, which is an independent civilian organisation supporting the strengthening of U.S. naval power.

Admiral Eller says that Soviet pressure seemed to have subsided in the Middle East and to be concentrated on Berlin and Germany.

But Americans "should not deceive themselves," he observed. "Crises smolder in the Middle East, volcanoes will erupt."

Admiral Eller, a retired member of the Naval Reserve, is the Director of the Naval History Division in the Office of naval operations.

Admiral Eller's article forms part of a study by the magazine of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf areas.

He writes : "A suitable naval task force in these waters would be of priceless value in helping to keep world peace. The sooner this vacuum is filled, the stronger will be the prospects of averting Soviet domination of this area whose loss in end might mean the loss of freedom everywhere."

"The way to fill this vacuum would not be by taking ships from others theatres, thus replacing one emptiness with another. The U.S. Navy is already worked to the edge of effective endurance. With only two-score large fighting ships, cruisers, and carriers, they are spread thin indeed to cover the seven seas. When we remember the tremendous number of ships and planes required by the Navy in World War II, and when we contemplate the submarine and guided missiles problems today facing us, we reach some understanding of the gravity of the situation at sea."

"Unless we build strength to support our friends and block aggression, in the Persian Gulf and southward as well as elsewhere, the day of reckoning will come as it came in Korea. The lack of a little timely effort may lead to.....great expenditures of lives and money, great disasters."

"Sea power especially blesses us in this atomic age because it deters nuclear war with unique effectiveness. Unseen and unknown in the vasts of waters, it insures ever ready and ever certain nuclear retaliation. Whatever happens to our other forces, these of the sea will deliver. South of Suez opens wide manoeuvring room where the forces of freedom should sail. Their presence will surely reduce the threat of world catastrophe."

The magazine says in an editorial review that the question of the hour was whether the U.S. Navy must take over the watch in the Indian Ocean in addition to the separate stands of the Seventh Fleet in the Far East and the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

"The unpatrolled reaches of the semi-landlocked Indian Ocean, bordering the vast continents of Africa and India and a host of new fledging independent nations, is a wideopen invitation to anyone to grab the sceptre....." it declared.

"The Indian Ocean is momentarily a naval vacuum with no single or joint command at the ready to keep open this only highway to the outside world."

"At the same time, this water mass, in a sense, flaunts itself like a green light to any covetous aggressor seeking the untold riches lying virtually unexploited and unprotected. Invasion would not necessarily have to be by the ocean route. A coup d'etat could be effected by infiltration and the supply of arms to a restive minority."

Gone with the wind are the former protective flotillas of Britain, Holland and France. Yet in the past decade so-called independence has come to Burma, Ceylon and Malaya, Pakistan and India. Are these less vulnerable than Lebanon and Quemoy to fomented trouble?

"Specifically, for instance, are Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Pakistan (to which the U.S. is joined under SEATO) less vulnerable than Lebanon—to internal treachery?

"If one of the SEATO countries were imperilled we would be obliged to call on units of the Sixth Fleet to pull out of the Mediterranean and steam completely around Africa via the Cape of Good Hope to meet the emergency, should the Suez Canal be closed to us."

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

"Dangers of joint co-operative farming" is the subject of an article contributed by Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P. to the *Hindu*. We give below the concluding portion of the article on this controversial subject :

"It is said that co-operative farming would increase employment. Co-operative or collective farming reduces employment. By pooling land, by bringing in methods of rationalisation or mechanisation, you reduce the need for labour. The one thing that co-operative farming can be expected to do—whatever else it does not—is to increase unemployment in the countryside.

There is only one way to create more employment in the countryside, and that is the method that Mahatma Gandhi always urged, the establishment of rural industries, the taking of industry to the countryside with electric power or without. My own emphasis, like Mahatma Gandhi's, would be on decentralised industry, small people working on electric tools through power taken to the countryside. I believe that this is the pattern of the future and that Mahatma Gandhi was ahead of all of us by many generations.

Finally, it has been said that co-operative farming is a higher form of society, it is part of the socialist pattern. Collectivisation is no part of democratic socialism in any part of free world. Warning this country against following the Chinese path of so-called co-operatives, on his last visit to Delhi, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Left-wing leader of the British Labour Party, said :

"India cannot afford to make the mistake that Russia has committed, because she does not possess empty spaces which could be called upon to make up for the failures and mistakes in agriculture as in Russia. India has to bring about an economic revolution in harmony with the needs of the countryside. The application of the principles of collectivisation, mechanisation and centralised control has proved a failure in the field of agriculture in the Soviet Union. The whole countryside in Russia seethed with discontent. The number of cattle in Russia to-day is less than before the revolution. The Russian experience was being repeated in China and the Communist States of Eastern and Central Europe."

Let us examine what has been said on this subject by a man whose knowledge on this subject is unsurpassed in this country. Mr. Charan Singh, who is a member and leading light of the Congress Party, has made a life-long study of this subject much better than anybody else. This is what he says :

"Human nature being what it is, even brothers usually separate from one another after the head of the family, the father, has been removed by death or other cause. In the circumstances, it is Utopian to expect that an average householder will, all of a sudden, identify his interest with the interests of these hundreds of persons in the village or neighbourhood who were total strangers to his life before."

We know that murders are committed between cousins and between relations for land. To say that because of a resolution or a law, we are going to change a human being overnight and make people who love their lands with passion to pool their lands in a voluntary manner is thoroughly Utopian.

There is only one way in which this kind of joint farming can be brought about and that is by coercion and violence.

Let us take another example. We know about the gramdan villages. In Koraput, Acharya Vinobha Bhave and Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan tried to ask the local people to cultivate them as a village and not to ask for distribution of the land. Mr. Jaya Prakash confessed that this experiment had not succeeded because the peasant does not want to farm village land jointly; he wants something of his own. That is part of human nature. We all want something of our own. We are not prepared to share everything with everyone in an equal measure. The human being is largely selfish, though not entirely so. Are we going to legislate for human beings or for angels who do not exist?"

FOREIGN AID FOR THIRD PLAN

Under the heading "Resources for the third plan—An approach" Mr. K. N. Raj contributes an article to the tenth annual number of the *Economic Weekly* which is a sumptuous number containing over thirty articles of topical interest. Several well-known writers are amongst its contributors. Mr. Raj says that if measures are initiated to increase our foreign exchange earnings by, say, Rs. 75 crores, the deficit on current account in the balance of pay-

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The Times says in an editorial on Tibet on March 25, that "the Chinese will no doubt find a way out of their Tibetan impasse and may hope to do it without flouting Asian opinion."

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The paper says that an estimate of the broader Asian reaction could not be made in a sentence. The impact of China operated at several levels. There might be a "sneaking admiration for the intransigence of China's nationalism and the power by which China's identity has been re-established in the world. But this is not the end of it." A feeling of detachment has also grown and "the sense of common Asian brotherhood that seemed so vigorous and inspiring in the first days of independence has now been succeeded by a great awareness of Asia's different civilisations and their different outlook.

"Not least are the particular problem brought to life by China's power. Tibet is prominent in the Indian mind—emigration and the frontier, in the Burmese—the mere Chineseness of the political alternative disturbs Malaya.

"The balance-sheet of these reflections may not mean hostility to China. It has led only to a closer calculation of national interest and a more objective view of China. The Chinese will, no doubt, find a way out of their Tibetan impasse and may hope to do it without flouting Asian opinion. They should be aware by now that opinion has been aroused."

ments to foreign countries who have aided can not only be wiped out but perhaps turned into a small surplus by 1965-66. Provided we have a long-term strategy of this kind in regard to the balance of payments, there is no reason why we should be worried—at any rate on economic grounds—about taking more foreign aid in the Third Plan period. The main thing is to aim at developing a surplus on current account, if possible by 1965-66. (It would not matter even if it is a little later, provided the surplus that is made to emerge is correspondingly larger).

The question usually asked, as to what the size of the Third Plan should be, cannot therefore be answered in precise terms—at any rate, by starting from the side of resources. It all depends on what goes into the Plan, what kind of long-term strategy it incorporates, and how steadfastly and single-mindedly we can pursue a strategy once we are convinced that it is sound in conception. Experience in regard to the last has not been very encouraging in the Second Plan period, but obviously unless we believe that things can be improved there can be no basis for planning. The sky is the limit if the magnitude of foreign aid for the Third Plan is estimated in terms of the need of the country, says the writer, particularly if we make soft assumptions about the possibilities of mobilising resources within a democratic framework.

The writer concludes : "It may be wise, on socio-political grounds, to fix a ceiling of around Rs. 1,500 crores or so, avoid making too many facile assumptions about what is not possible in a democratic system, and adjust, if necessary, some of the items in the investment programme (particularly in the sector of industry now requiring large imports of capital goods, e.g., steel) during this period, rather than adopt an ambivalent attitude in this matter.

Given an approach of the kind tentatively outlined above, one may perhaps venture the statement that foreign aid of the order of Rs. 1500 crores should be able to see through an investment programme of the order of Rs. 10,000 crores in the Third Plan period without much difficulty; but the size of the Plan could be more or much less, depending on the policies adopted to begin with, and the efficiency brought to bear in its implementation. Both success and failure will, by the nature of the problem, be cumulative in its effects."

PARTITION OF INDIA

Dr. N. B. Khare says in *Organiser* that Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Prime Minister Nehru were playing into the hands of of Lord and Lady Mountbatten in those days when they accepted the country's partition which was brought about to serve British interests. Proof in support of the statement, says the writer, has now been furnished by the book 'India wins freedom' which is an autobiography of the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

As this evidence came from Maulana Azad, the best friend of Nehru, Nehru could not ignore it, says the writer.

"Nehru was constrained to take notice of the disclosures made by the Maulana and give reply to them. Nehru could not deny the disclosures made by the Maulana. He has admitted them, but the admission is half-hearted and without grace. Says Nehru, 'The Late Maulana thought too much in individual terms sometimes and not in terms of historical forces at work.....There was an overwhelming sense of conflict and disruption during the interim government days by pulls in different directions by the Muslim League.'"

By saying this, says the writer, Nehru wants to absolve himself of all blame. But the following facts mentioned in the order of sequence will squarely lay the blame at Nehru's door.

The partition of India, as the Maulana says, was brought about more in the interest of the British than anything else. It is directly in tune with British strategy in all parts of the world. Britain quits a country only after dividing it. As a result of the weakening of Britain by the sledge-hammer blows delivered by Hitler in the Second World War, and also as a result of the undermining of the Indian Army brought about by the armed invasion on India by Subhash Chandra Bose, and also by the general discontent brought about by the political agitation carried on by the Congress and other political parties, Britain was compelled to withdraw from India and, as customary with her, to bring about partition of the country before quitting. Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy, was not in favour of partition. In a joint session of the then Central Assembly and the Council of State, which the writer attended as a member of Viceroy's Council, he openly declared that India was one country

from Peshawar to Cape Camorin. What God made one could not be partitioned. His continuance in office was therefore not suited to the British policy of division or partition. So he was recalled and succeeded by Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy, since the South-East Asia command was in its closing stages.

Mountbatten, as events proved, was obviously in favour of furthering the policy of partition of India. It was therefore necessary to bring Nehru, the pliable Congress leader, under the influence of Mountbatten, so that, with power in hand, he might readily consent to partition as soon as Mountbatten became Viceroy. With this object, Nehru was sent to Malaya to be feted and flattered by the Mountbattens as the future Prime Minister of India.

Nehru's nature was assessed by Alan Campbell-Johnson, the press attache to Lord Mountbatten in the following words: "Lord Louis Mountbatten soon found out that Pt. Nehru was amenable to flattery and fond of self adulation." Nehru had also, as mentioned in his biography by Frank Moraes, admitted to an acquaintance that Mountbatten and he did a bit of "mutual indoctrination."

Being thus hypnotised, continues the writer, Nehru, groomed for power, returned to India, in the second quarter of the year 1946. Democratically it was improper to give power in Nehru's hands unless he was either President of the Congress or leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. He was neither. Therefore Maulana Azad, who was the President of the Congress till then, was inspired to resign on the score of 'ill health.' Nehru was elected in his place and installed in power as Vice-President of the Viceroy's Council, the so-called interim government, on 2nd September 1946, under the Government of India Act 1919.

The great Calcutta killing in pursuance of Direct Action resolution of the Muslim League, began on 16th August 1946. The Muslim Leader, Mr. Jinnah, openly said that he would give the British and the Congress a demonstration of bloodshed and civil war, thereby blackmailing and bludgeoning both into acceptance of Pakistan. It was a fortuitous circumstance that the Muslim League did not join Viceroy's Council on 2nd September 1946. It gave the Congress Government a golden opportunity—in view of Jinnah's pronouncement mentioned above—to ban the

Muslim League and imprison Jinnah and Liaquat Ali, and nip Pakistan in the bud. As the Central Government was functioning under the 1919 Act, the Viceroy had the power to veto this proposal of the Central Government. But there were Government in eight provinces like Bombay and U.P., functioning from April 1946 under the 1935 Provincial Autonomy Act, with full power to maintain Law and Order in their respective areas, without interference from any quarter not even from the Viceroy.

These Governments were under the thumb of the Congress High Command. The Central Government could have directed these Governments like Bombay and U.P. illegal in their respective areas and impound Jinnah and Liaquat Ali. But alas! Instead of doing this, Nehru Government ran after the Muslim League and persuaded it to join the Viceroy's Executive Council which it did about the fourth week of October 1946. The Muslim League on account of this week-kneed policy of Nehru, had the best of both the worlds.

Thus, their bloody Direct Action flourished resulting in unheard of carnage, and they could successfully disrupt the Central Government, leading ultimately, in the words of the Maulana, to the 'Catastrophe' of partition.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE GOVERNMENT?

Recently the Editor of *The Hindustan Times* invited five "able and eminent" men whom he allowed to remain anonymous to give their candid opinions of the way the administration is run. A "seasoned administrator" has this to say.

"The only way to save India from anarchy while implementing the radical policies which the P.M. has in mind is to have a single party dictatorship. I hope the Congress leadership, having destroyed the chance of a genuine democratic government, will have the courage to do it. In the first five years it stole the capitalists' thunder by projecting gigantic schemes in the public sector; in the next five years it stole the socialists' thunder by adopting socialism as its war-cry; it is now engaged in stealing the communist thunder by preaching co-operative farming.....The opposition having been paralysed, the only alternative is one-party rule.....The Congress has been carrying on a virtually one-party rule, but it has lacked the trained manpower for dictatorship.

ELIMINATION OF CORRUPTION

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has stated that the warning of Pakistan to India is that "we should hasten to wipe out such abuses as have crept in (the administration) on account of long single-party domination and run Government with less and less of party interest in view."

In an article entitled "Ayub and India", published in *Indian Foreign Affairs*, a non-official journal, Mr. Rajagopalachari says, "we should quickly achieve the freedom of administration from interference by party bosses and their under-bosses either in the interest of the party or of particular party beneficiaries. The warning is that Government should be good in every way and efficient in all aspects and depend on that achievement for public approval more than on party votes."

Stability, he says, depends on good, honest and just administration than on the attraction of the ideal, the national participation in Government by all citizens which is the supposed appeal of democracy. "Window-dressing is good if we desire only a good name abroad. But a good reputation in the country itself is what is required most to prevent a mishap in India on the model of Pakistan."

PAKISTAN STAND ON KASHMIR

"Pakistan believes that if a just solution of the Kashmir and canal waters problems is not found promptly, a situation might well arise which would threaten the peace of whole sub-continent and perhaps, that of the world," says an official article released for publication on Pakistan Day on Mar. 23.

The article, released by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, says: "Pakistan is faced with two major problems — Kashmir and canal waters. For the last 11 years, India has been blocking a settlement of the Kashmir issue by rejecting all proposals put forward by the United Nations representatives and the Security Council to settle it.

"As for canal waters, Pakistan cannot let millions of her people die simply because India decides to deny Pakistan's legitimate right to waters of the Indus valley." The article quoted President Ayub Khan who had said "both Kashmir and canal waters disputes are matters of life and death for us."

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THE SOCIALIST ISRAEL

Dr. P. C. Ghose in the course of an article in the *Janata* says :

Israel is a living example of what an honest, hard-working and intelligent people inspired by an ideal and love for the country can do.

To say the least they have converted desert and rocky mountains into beautiful gardens. Swampy and marshy lands have been converted into agricultural lands and tanks yielding food grains and fish in abundance.

But more remarkable is their achievement in the field of language. They have revived a dead language like Hebrew. Even science subjects are taught in Hebrew. In the absence of printed books in these subjects professors give cyclostyled notes in Hebrew. People coming from more than 50 different countries of Europe, Asia and Africa have taken to Hebrew with great enthusiasm. A dead language has now been transformed into a modern language. This is the result of planned determination.

It is a progressive Socialist State. Lowest monthly salary of a Government servant after deducting taxes is about 175 Israeli pounds (1 Israeli Pound = Rs. 2.62 nP.) whereas that of the Prime Minister, the highest paid man, is about 700 I.L. and of the President is 590 I.L. So the ratio of the minimum to the maximum is 1 : 4. In private sector, however, the gap is wider than that. Among men engaged in commerce and industry some evade payment of legitimate taxes, but their number is not large. The Government does not like anyone even in the private sector to earn more than 1,500 I.L. per month. They are taking steps in that behalf. Even the lowest in the land can think of enjoying the fruits of his labour. That is at the bottom of the tremendous enthusiasm of common people.

Every one gets what is called balanced diet. Education is compulsory up to the age of 14 for boys and girls. Arrangement for medical treatment is quite good. There are over eleven thousand hospital beds in the whole country whose population is barely 2 million. Excepting a few thousand people living in very remote and mountainous areas everybody gets the advantage of electricity whether living in the urban or rural area. Knowledge of modern science has been harnessed to the welfare of

the people. Even in the rural areas people enjoy the modern amenities of life available in many European countries.

The country is not yet self-sufficient in food articles. They, however, export some food articles like citrus fruits and eggs. In fact, citrus fruit is one of their main exports. They hope to export about 10 million crates of oranges to Europe this year. But their import is much more than their export. In fact, export forms only about 34 per cent of the import. Unless this import gap is great deal narrowed down the country's economy cannot be called balanced. Men in power are conscious of this fact and they are working hard to achieve that.

During the last decade they have invested 5,000 million I.L. for the development of the nation. (It is about 1,300 crores of rupees in Indian currency, that is Rs. 6,500/- per head). It is a huge sum. They have received large amount from the International Jewish Organisation, U.S.A., and as reparation from Germany. It is to be seen how they face when these sources dry up. Test of their real strength will come then. Future only can say how this nation will come out of the ordeal. But what I saw made me optimistic. Highly educated men took to agriculture, working with their own hands, producing excellent results. Visit to Kibbutz and Moshav, their agricultural colonies, have convinced me that they would overcome all obstacles. These colonies consisting of idealistic, hard-working, educated people supply the core of leadership of the country. Prime Minister Ben Gurion David is a farmer from a Kibbutz. A professor of Jerusalem University, Dr. Freudenberg, with his highly educated wife, were farmers in a Moshav for about 15 years."

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON INDIAN FICTION

Writing in the *Orient Review*, Humayun Kabir notes three related elements in the influence of Western thought on Indian outlook. The most far-reaching is the challenge to many odd beliefs: the scientific temper and the democratic outlook have deeply stirred the Indian mind. The second influence has been on the technique of fiction. Here India has gained immensely from the rich and varied developments in the west. But the third element in the foreign influence—that on the content of Indian fiction—has not been either deep or beneficial, he says :

THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

In her reports to *The Manchester Guardian* Mrs. Taya Zinkin describes what she calls Nehrunism and the revolution by consent in India, and after a close examination of the Indian life conditions concludes that the Indian revolution is indeed unique in the real sense of the term due to its following features.

"(1) India to-day is undergoing a unique revolution, it is the world's only revolution to develop through democracy and law. It is so successful that it is almost unnoticed.

(2) The Indian revolution lacks class warfare; it is a revolution by consent.

(3) The Indian revolution is deliberately and avowedly socialist, but socialist in a rather special way, with the emphasis on equality rather than on State ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. It attaches great importance to co-operation.

(4) There is no element of Russian Communism about the Socialism of the Indian revolution.

(5) The Constitution gives the individual citizen the right to equality before the law, a right to property, to religious and cultural freedom, and to the prerogative of writs such as *habeas corpus*.

(6) Democracy is another mark of India's Socialism that distinguishes it from Communism.

(7) The Indian way of peaceful change and development without terror has the lasting advantages of being an indigenous way and not a borrowed foreign one, as was the Chinese revolution.

(8) India's revolution is officially encompassed within its Five-year Plans."

The uniqueness of the Indian revolution in the words of Mrs. Zinkin is : " what is happening in India has no exact parallel with anything in the West, for the revolution is fundamentally India, steeped in the great Hindu traditions of tolerance and non-violence."

"Whenever an Indian writer has sought to imitate the West or introduce Western content without proper assimilation, the result has been unfortunate. There are cases of mechanical introduction of Western themes. Western situations in an Indian context have not generally met with success. There is, however, no intrinsic reason why foreign content should not be integrated into Indian experience and, in some of the works of Tagore for example, we have splendid instances of such integration."

"Till now the influence has been largely one-sided. Every new development in the West has had its impact on Indian fiction. This state of affairs is, however likely to change."

As Indian writing grows in volume, he concedes, it is also bound to improve in quality.

ENDURING ETHICS

Ethics as judgments of what is good and what is bad are basically identical among all religions and communities of the world. But the basis of these ethics, observes Mr. Y. Krishnan in the *Aryan Path*, is of vital importance in securing the willing and active allegiance of the followers of those religions and the members of those communities. New ideas of social justice have led people to challenge traditional morality as a bourgeois cult designed to serve vested interests. Inequality of opportunity, congenital deformities, heredity and a host of other factors have seriously diluted a person's moral responsibility for his evil deeds; in fact there is now a tendency to view a person's lapses in conduct indulgently as due to, rather than as offences against, the society of which he is a member. This poses a very serious threat to ethical values and to the very existence of the social group, inasmuch as an individual fully taking this view need feel no compulsion to exercise any voluntary self-restraint over his activities and desires, except for fear of punishment.

The ancient Indian ethics, according to the writer, are based on the fundamental and immutable experience that attachment is suffering and on the intuitive realization of the cosmic unity of all existence.

"In that they have an enduring basis which transcends the limitations of time, of changing human concepts of life and differences between individuals from whatever causes. It is this that makes these ethical values eternal."

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was "one of the most outstanding personalities I have ever encountered," says Mr. H. C. Taussig, Editor of the *Eastern World*, a British magazine devoted to Asian affairs, in an article in the current month's issue of the magazine.

The article, entitled "India's first lady," has been based, according to the author, on an interview with the Congress President during a recent visit to India. "Nothing could be more wrong," he says, "than to see in her merely an animated shadow of her great father. I myself confess to have made that mistake...Let me state immediately that I received a thorough—and very pleasant—shock."

"Mrs. Indira Gandhi is not only very much a personality on her own but she is one of the most outstanding personalities, male or female, I have ever encountered."

"Let me also state that her charm is natural and that of the truly great, uncorrupted by many temptations to superficiality and make-believe to which her social opportunities would have made a lesser person succumb."

DISTASTE FOR MANUAL WORK

Writing in *Swarajya*, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari draws attention to the growing distaste for manual work even among people hitherto living on such labour and having no distaste for it. Here is a vital defect in the educational policy at present prevailing in our land which must be attended to if the future well-being and progress of the country depends on the elimination of this distaste among the youth of this generation. The appeal receives considerable force from the report about China where recent pace of progress has been astonishing to the people of the west. This is what Mr. Joseph Needham says in the *New Statesman*.

"There is no question that at the present time a great mystique of Manual work has grown up in China. I believe that this is a true expression of the mass feeling of the people, canalised by the party leadership, but by no means something imposed from above. It was inevitable and necessary that it should happen some time if the Chinese people were to coalesce into a single, unified and as far as possible classless society. (The italics are C.R.'s) In China of the olden days there was a great traditional aloofness of the scholars (the civil servants of the mandarin state) from

manual work—perhaps nowhere in the world was this more marked. Now the Chinese people are determined to overcome it. There may be exaggerations in particular times and places due to excessive enthusiasm but the movement is fundamentally sound. The greatest thinkers, experiments and artists have always seen that only when the manual and mental (or the intellectual) are combined in one individual's experience, can mankind reach its highest stature."

THE NEHRU WAY

In a candid criticism of the Nagpur Resolutions and the way Pandit Nehru held the strings, Mr Philip Spratt of *Mysindia* observes in the course of an article in *The Radical Humanist*:

"The actor assumes each of his successive roles with a kind of temporary sincerity. He is concerned only to express the emotion of the moment: its incompatibility with tomorrow's emotion does not worry him. His business is with gestures, attitudes, not practical realities."

"Nehru can assure the private sector that there is a place for it, and then condemn it to extinction, insist upon cooperative farming and yet repeat that it is to be entirely voluntary, all within a few hours. He is satisfied with the posture of democracy: he gets the vote for personal reasons, and it does not worry him that he has mandate for his new policies, which are in fact unpopular. He does not consider the problem of resources: he insists on impossibly big plans, and faces the practical difficulties with 'iron determination'. Everybody else knows that co-operative farming cannot work without Chinese compulsion, but he satisfies himself with Gandhian sentiments about overcoming acquisitiveness. He does not, he admits, know much about the nuclear energy and space flight. He has created an atmosphere in which the more socialistic the proposal the louder the applause, and he carries on this slogan-politics, reckless of practical consequences, nationalising concerns which he has not the staff to run, forcing the private sector out of business when he cannot replace it, expropriating property-owners, stirring up class-war in the villages. And how annoyed he was when A.I.C.C. members made critical speeches, how impatiently he turned down the proposal that half the Working Committee should be elected and so be put in a position to voice and stand by their own convictions!"

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

LAND REFORMS

The panel in the Planning Commission on land reforms is being reconstituted.

Mr. S. N. Mishra, Deputy Minister of Planning told Mr. G. K. Gupta and Mr. S. M. Banerjee in a written reply in the Lok Sabha, on March 19, that it was proposed to include in the panel 12 Members of Parliament, two representatives of the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, three leading economists and about 10 leading non-officials from States.

"The names of these ten non-officials having special knowledge of and interest in, land problems, are to be proposed by the Chief Ministers," he added.

Mr. Mishra told Mr. Rajendra Singh and ten others in a separate written answer that the land reform proposals set out in the Second Five-Year Plan represented a broad national policy to be implemented by all States with due regard to local conditions.

He said that some States had already formulated proposals for implementing the decisions taken in September, 1957, by the Standing Committee of the National Development Council in other States, he added, proposals were under "active consideration."

Mr. Mishra gave the progress on land reform made by the States as follows:

Andhra Pradesh Comprehensive legislation on tenancy reforms is under consideration. The life of the Andhra Tenancy Act, due to expire on June 1, 1959, to be extended by another year.

Assam: Legislation has been undertaken for the abolition of inams held by religious and charitable institutions of a public nature.

Bihar: The Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950, is being amended to remove difficulties experienced in the implementation of the Act and to expedite the payment of compensation to former intermediaries.

Bombay: Comprehensive tenancy legislation has been enacted for Vidarbha and Kutch areas, ceiling on future acquisition has been fixed at three family holdings.

Kerala: Legislation passed for abolition of intermediary rights of 'jenmis' in Travancore area. Proposals have been formulated for

abolition of intermediary rights in Sree Padam lands and Pandaravaka lands.

Madhya Pradesh: Legislation for the abolition of 'mauffis' and inams, ceiling on future acquisitions and regulation of tenancies has been introduced to provide for uniform land laws for the reorganised States.

Madras: Comprehensive proposals on land reforms are under consideration of the State Government.

Mysore: Land Reforms Bill, providing for the security of tenure and fixation of minimum rent at one-fourth the gross produce in the case of lands with assured irrigation facilities and one-fifth in other cases, introduced. Imposition of ceiling on future and on existing holdings at three family holdings is also provided for in the Bill.

Orissa: Proposals for a comprehensive measure of tenancy reform, including ceiling on future acquisitions have been formulated. Proposals for ceiling on existing holdings are under consideration.

Uttar Pradesh: The ceiling limit on future acquisitions has been reduced to 12.5 acres. The question of ceilings on existing holdings is under consideration.

Rajasthan: A Bill has been introduced for imposition of ceiling on future acquisitions and existing holdings. Ceiling area would be an extent of land yielding a net annual income of Rs. 2,400, exclusive of the labour of the cultivator and his family but inclusive of all subsidiary income from the land.

West Bengal: Provisions relating to the imposition of ceiling on existing holdings are under implementation. About 67,000 acres have so far become available for re-distribution.

The All-India Congress Committee will launch a three-month campaign throughout the country from early next month to propagate the Nagpur decisions on land reforms, Mr. Sadiq Ali, General Secretary, announced on March 23.

During the campaign, the Congress President, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the four General Secretaries and teams of Congress M.Ps. will tour different States.

DR. PRASAD'S ADDRESS TO CAMBODIAN ASSEMBLY

Addressing a joint session of both the Houses of the Cambodian Parliament at Phnom Penh on Mar. 18, Dr. Prasad said that freedom was not just an abstract ideological concept. It required to be imbued with economic content to enable it to function in human society.

President Rajendra Prasad said that freedom should be based on non-violence and truth if it was to be enjoyed by everybody.

Freedom, with its ideological concept and economic content, can be enjoyed by one and all only if it is based on non-violence and truth so that everyone respects similar freedom for everyone else and in an ideal society, this respect for freedom becomes a duty willingly and cheerfully discharged by everyone and ceases to be a right to be enforced by anyone against anyone else," the President added.

MR. CHAGLA ON U. S.—PAK PACT

Speaking at New York on Mar. 16, Mr. M. C. Chagla said that the bilateral Pact between Pakistan and the United States had worsened Indo-Pakistan relations and had rendered the settlement of disputes between the two countries more difficult.

Mr. Chagla said India had protested to the U.S. against the conclusion of the pact and the U.S. had made it clear that the pact was intended only to defend Pakistan against international Communism. But Pakistan held a different view and stated "she would use military aid received from the U.S. against India's aggression."

"Aggression is an elastic word, which Hitler used against the Poles. I do not think that in the history of the world anyone had resorted to war without charging the other side with aggression. Official interpretation given to the pact by Pakistan is that it was intended against India."

MR. NEHRU ON NEW INDIA

Prime Minister Nehru declared in Bombay on Mar. 10, that the "New India, which we have dreamt of" was possible of achievement in the "near future."

"Hundreds and millions of Indian people", he said, "are working and labouring consciously or unconsciously to build up the new India which we have dreamt of. We have seen visions of it. I venture to say that now it appears to be within our grasp."

ARCHBISHOP ON NUCLEAR WAR

The Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury who came to Calcutta on the 25th of last month said that every Christian church and its every group had come to the conclusion that war was against the will of God and nuclear war was still more so as it was "bestly."

The Archbishop told Pressmen at Calcutta on Mar. 26 "there were two Christian views on nuclear weapons. One was that if one nation gave it up unilaterally, all others would do so. The other Christian view was that there should be a general ban on all weapons of war. In other words, instead of banning a single type of weapon there should be general disarmament," Archbishop concluded.

SMT. INDIRA GANDHI ON CO-OPERATIVES

A broad outline of the projected service co-operatives would be ready shortly; disclosed Smt. Indira Gandhi at a reception held by the Press Guild at the Ambassador's Hotel at Bombay on Mar. 27.

She confessed she had no hard and fast political opinions. "It is not that I am a hard and fast socialist or have a rigid picture of socialism," she explained. She added, though, that if it was choosing between the isms, she chose socialism because that would bring her nearer to the picture of India she envisaged during the freedom struggle.

MR. LIKHACHOV ON GOA

The five-man Soviet Government delegation which toured India last month reiterated the Soviet Government's stand that the territory of Goa should become part of India.

Mr. Likhachov, Chief of South-East Asia Department of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, described the Portuguese administered territory of Goa as one of the "black spots of colonialism."

EARL RUSSELL ON CONQUEST OF SPACE

Bertrand (Earl) Russell, the British author and philosopher, said in a television interview at London on Mar. 14, that he did not see the conquest of space as a hopeful development.

"I am charmed with the ingenuity and I am charmed with the increase in knowledge it might bring. But when the money is spent in order to spread our silly squabbles about the solar system, I find it utterly disgusting," he said.

GENEVA TALKS ON NUCLEAR TESTS

Mr. Krushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister, declared in a letter of 24th March to 22 American politicians, scientists and industrialists published that the Geneva atom test ban talks had reached an impasse and were threatened with complete failure by the Western stand.

The Soviet official news agency Tass reported the letter was in reply to one from the Americans, sent through the Soviet Embassy in Washington, on the cessation of nuclear tests. They sent identical letters to President Eisenhower and Mr. Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister.

Mr. Krushchev said the British and American delegations at Geneva were doing their utmost to prevent an agreement on a Test ban, Tass, added.

INDEPENDENCE FOR FRENCH CAMEROONS

The 82-nation U. N. Trusteeship Committee on March 13 voted for the ending of trusteeship and granting independence to French Cameroons on January 1, 1960.

The provisions in a twelve-Power resolution before the Committee recommending the termination of the trusteeship agreement were adopted unanimously but the final vote on the resolution was 56 to nine with 16 abstentions.

THE HAWAII ISLANDS

Hawaii, pronounced Haw-wayee, a group of eight Islands in the Pacific which has been seeking American Statehood for half a century, finally made it on March 13 with Congress voting overwhelmingly to make her the 50th State of the Union.

RUSSIA'S WARNING TO PAKISTAN

A "strongly-worded" Soviet note to Pakistan, warned her that she should "bear the consequences" of her entering into military alliance with the U.S.

The Soviet Union is also believed to have said that the new bilateral military pact endangered not only "the territorial security of Russia but also that of her friendly neighbours in the region."

The sources said the Soviet Government had taken a "grave view of Pakistan allowing her territory to be used as military base by foreign powers against her peace-loving neighbours" and had warned the Pakistan Government that it had to "bear responsibility for tension and danger to peace in the region."

DEVELOPMENTS IN NYASALAND

The first resolution on foreign affairs, adopted by the Congress Working Committee which met at New Delhi on March 16 under the Chairmanship of Shrimathi Indira Gandhi, condemned the recent developments in Nyasaland and the Central African Federation. The Committee observed: "The Congress has always supported the movement for freedom in the African States and has welcomed the emergence of some of these States as independent countries. It has appreciated the policy of the United Kingdom Government in this respect and has looked forward to its rapid implementation in other States. The recent deplorable events appeared to be a reversal of this policy and an attempt to consolidate the racial domination of a minority over the great majority of the African people and to deny them even the elementary political rights." The Committee proceeded to warn that the continuation of the policy of racial discrimination was not only against the basic principles of the U.N. Charter but would also lead to terrible conflicts.

INDIAN CONSTITUTION FOR KASHMIR

Premier Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed told the Kashmir Assembly last month that as far as he and his party were concerned, "our approach to the extension of the Indian Constitution to the State is not static but dynamic."

Bakshi Ghulam made this statement after the Democratic National Conference leader, Mr. G. M. Sadiq had intervened while he was replying to the debate on the Sadar-I-Riyasat's address to the Legislature. Mr. Sadiq had said "as an individual and on behalf of the Democratic National Conference, I declare that the time is coming when the Indian Constitution will have to be completely introduced in the State."

FUTURE OF TIBET

The Tibetan Cabinet was reported on Mar. 28 to have denounced a treaty with China on the ground of persistent violations by the Chinese and to have proclaimed Tibet to be independent. Under the treaty of May 23, 1951, China took control of Tibet's foreign and military affairs.

China's State Council announced on Mar. 28 that it had dissolved the local Government of Tibet following a rebellion launched against the Chinese garrison in Lhasa by the Tibetan army and rebellious elements.

Educational

ADMISSIONS TO COLLEGES

The Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs had initiated steps to collect factual information from the regional offices of that Ministry in regard to reservation of seats in educational institutions and the calibre of students selected for admission, the Educational Minister told the Rajya Sabha on March 12.

He was replying to Mr. Jugal Kishore who had drawn his attention to the warning given by the Chairman of the University Grants Commission against the danger of admitting students of inferior calibre into engineering and medical colleges under political pressure and undue influence from outside." Mr. Jugal Kishore wanted to know what steps Government proposed to take to avoid outside pressure in the admission of students.

The Minister said that the Chairman of the Commission must have had good reasons for making the statement he did. He would try to find out from him the grounds on which he had made that statement and tell the House.

EXPANSION OF EDUCATION

The Union Ministry of Education has set up a working group on education in consultation with the Planning Commission to prepare a blueprint of educational development in the country under the Third Five-Year Plan.

The group which is headed by Mr. K. G. Saiyda, Educational Adviser to the Government of India and Secretary to the Union Education Ministry, includes representatives of the Union Ministries of Education, Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Planning Commission, the University Grants Commission and prominent educationists from the States.

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Minister of Education, told Mr. Ram Krishnan Gupta in the Lok Sabha that the Government were considering a proposal to reorganise the Central Institute of Education Delhi, as a national centre for educational research.

TAMIL IN ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY

The Government of Madras has donated Rs. 4,000 per annum to the University of Allahabad for a period of five years, commencing from 1959-60 for establishing a Chair in Tamil, it is learnt.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The number of students receiving free and compulsory primary education in the country during 1956-57 was 63,35,335, according to The Union Minister of Education.

This figure includes Andhra Pradesh, 4,03,195 Kerala 2,67,769, Madras 8,08,946 and Mysore 5,89,325.

A.I.C. FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The Government of India have decided to recognise the examination held by the All-India Council for Technical Education for the award of National Certificate in civil, mechanical and electrical engineering (formerly known as All-India Certificate) for purposes of recruitment to subordinate posts and services in the respective fields.

MULTI-PURPOSE SCHOOLS

Various problems of Multi-purpose schools and the implementation of the three-year degree course scheme were discussed by the informal Consultative Committee of members of Parliament for the Ministry of Education on March 12.

It was stated at the meeting that 353 multi-purpose schools were started during the First Plan and the Union Government had given a grant of Rs. 4.19 crores to the States for the purpose. Of this only Rs. 2.27 crores had been used. During the three years of the Second Plan period 799 multi-purpose schools had been established against the target of 937.

The meeting was told that the reorganisation of secondary education would be completed by the end of the Third Plan period.

EDUCATION TO CHILDREN

The Education Minister, Dr. K. L. Shrimali announced in the Lok Sabha on March 17 that the Centre had decided to give special assistance to backward States by allocating funds and additional teachers to speed up their progress in providing free and compulsory primary education to children between the ages of six and eleven.

He said the assistance would be given in proportion to the backwardness as exhibited through the number of children in the 6-11 age group out of school, and the size of the population would also be taken into account.

Legal

APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES

The Law Minister, Mr. A. K. Sen, repudiated the finding of the Law Commission that considerations other than merit had weighed with the Government for some appointments to the Supreme Court and the High Courts.

Mr. Sen told the Lok Sabha on Mar. 18 "I consider it my duty to say that never, during the last eight or nine years, has the Government imposed any of its nominees on the High Courts or the Supreme Court."

The Law Minister's "emphatic" denial of what he called the general allegations of the Law Commission came during his reply to the debate on the demands for grants of his Ministry.

Apart from the plea for cheaper and quicker justice and the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive, the highlight of the debate was the wide criticism of appointments to the Judiciary of the country, based on the report of the Law Commission.

Mr. Sen declared: "I do not for a moment acknowledge the validity of the criticism levelled on the basis of certain odd observations here and there in the report of the Law Commission that the party in power used its influence in the appointment of Judges."

Also the Home Minister Pt. Pant categorically refuted the Law Commission's observation that the Executive had exerted influence in the appointment of some of the Judges to the Supreme Court and the High Courts.

"TRIBUNAL NOT AN APPEAL COURT"

The Industrial Tribunal was not a court of appeal in disciplinary matters, observed His Lordship Mr. P. V. Balakrishna Aiyer, at Madras allowing a writ petition filed on behalf of the Management of the Cambodia Mills, Ltd., Coimbatore, to quash the order of the Industrial Tribunal, Madras, refusing to give its approval for the disciplinary action taken against an employee.

CALCUTTA HIGH COURT

The President has appointed (1) Mr. Justice Bimal Kumar Bhattacharya and Mr. Justice Binayak Nath Banerjee, at present Additional Judges of the Calcutta High Court, to be the permanent Judges of that High Court, and (2) Mr. Subodh Kumar Niyogi and Mr. Dwijendra Nath Das Gupta, District and Sessions Judges, to be the Additional Judges of the Calcutta High Court for a period of two years with effect from the date they assume charge of their respective offices.

KASHMIR CASE

The Supreme Court on March 13 rejected Sheikh Abdullah's application for stay of proceedings before the Special Magistrate, Mr. N. K. Hak, in the Kashmir Conspiracy case.

The application arose out of a writ petition filed by Sheikh Abdullah under Art. 32 of the Constitution challenging the legality of the Magistrate's order that under Sec. 208 (1) of the Cr. P. C. the prosecution was entitled to deliver the opening address to the court disclosing the facts of the case before the evidence was recorded.

The court found no substance in the arguments and rejected the application. The Chief Justice said that the petitioner's case was not based on breach of any fundamental right. The Magistrate's order did not discriminate between the petitioner and other accused. The order of the Magistrate also did not relate to personal liberty of the petitioner because even if it had been in his favour he would have still remained in custody, His Lordship added.

BOMBAY LAW INSTITUTE

A provisional regional committee of the Indian Law Institute was set up at Bombay on March 14 with the Chief Justice of Bombay Mr. H. K. Chainani, as the President.

The Indian Law Institute has been formed with the object of promoting the reform of administration of justice and of law and its healthy development suitable to the social, economic and other needs of the people. The Chief Justice of India, Mr. Sudhi Ranjan Das, is its President and its Governing Council includes eminent judges and lawyers.

TAMIL IN MADRAS COURTS

The Finance Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam who is in charge of judicial administration, in Madras State declared in the Legislative Assembly on March 19 that the Government proposed to stick to its policy of introduction of Tamil medium at various levels of administration, including law courts, according to the phased programme it had formulated.

ABOLITION OF DOWRY

Mr. A. K. Sen, Union Law Minister, told the Rajya Sabha last month that the Government proposed to bring in legislation to outlaw the dowry system.

He was intervening in the debate on Mr. Jugal Kishore's (Cong.) Bill seeking to do away with dowry and providing for punishment for giving or taking of dowry.

THE A.I.M.O. AND THE 3RD PLAN

The All-India Manufacturers' Organisation, at its 19th Conference at Bombay on Mar. 12, passed a resolution urging that the imbalance noticed in the first two years of the Second Plan between the resources available and the Plan expenditure should be avoided to ensure the successful implementation of the Third Plan. The resolution emphasised that the greatest possible care should be bestowed from now on upon the building up of resources and their proper mobilisation for nation-building.

The resolution said that it was essential in this context to foster larger capital formation, to step up the rate of investment from internal as well as external sources, to seek closer co-operation of the private sector for utilising all available productive facilities to the maximum extent possible and to avoid or minimise every expenditure which was either wasteful or was not developmental.

The Conference reiterated the belief of the Organisation that the expansion of the country's economy resulting from the developments in the first two Plans and the rationalisation of the tax structure as indicated herein would by themselves bring in progressively larger tax revenues to Government than at present.

MR. NEHRU ON VESTED INTERESTS

Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the 32nd annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Vign Bhavan at New Delhi on Mar. 7.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru told industrialists and businessmen of India that vested interests would progressively have no place in the world and "anything coming in the way of the development of the millions of the country, or is a burden to them, must go."

"Let us find the most painless way for it to go, but go it must. It is not a question of my opinion, but something inherent in the circumstances of the world today."

REPAYMENT OF LOANS

Repayments by India in foreign currencies against various foreign loans during 1959-60 will be of the order of Rs. 2471 lakhs including interest, according to a statement placed on the table of Lok Sabha by the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, in reply to a question by Mr. H. C. Mathur on Mar. 13.

This included repayments against foreign loans, I.M.F. drawings and deferred payment.

CONTROL OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Iyengar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, has termed the Public Accounts Committees and Estimates Committees as the two eyes of the Legislatures in the matter of financial control over public expenditure.

Mr. Iyengar, who was inaugurating at New Delhi the Second Conference of the Chairmen of the Public Accounts Committees on Mar. 14, said that in a democratic form of Government, it was the prerogative of the Legislature to exercise control over taxation, to vote supplies for public expenditure and to ensure that the executive applied the funds voted to the purposes for which they were granted.

INDIA AND AMERICAN CREDIT

American officials have expressed some concern over India's inability so far to utilise in a "significant way" the \$150,000,000 credit advanced by the Export-Import Bank to this country last year.

India's slow rate of withdrawals from the Export-Import Bank credit is largely due to the high prices of American goods and machinery which the loan was intended to finance. Even if there was a reasonable margin in the price differential there would have been no hesitation on the part of this country to utilise the credit fully for the purchase of capital goods and transport equipment.

RAILWAYS AND WORKERS

An early decision on workers' participation in the management of the Railways was promised by the Union Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, while replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha on Mar. 13, on one of the appropriation bills for Railways.

"I concede here and now that workers are going to have full measure of participation. But this should mean not formal association but more and more responsibility on their shoulders for execution and implementation of programmes," he added.

BRITISH CAPITAL IN INDIA

Mr. George Cole, Vice-Chairman of Unilever, said at New Delhi on Mar. 15, that although British capital in India was now more cautious he foresaw that conditions would be better and was optimistic about foreign business in India. Referring to the wide ramifications of Unilever's business in several continents and countries, Mr. Cole observed that no foreign company can function in a country unless it identified with the country's policy.

U. N. ON STATUS OF WOMEN

The U. N. Commission on the Status of Women passed a resolution on March 13, recommending that it might be "appropriate to prescribe desirable standards" for the minimum marrying age, free consent and marriage registration by means of an international instrument under the auspices of the United Nations.

LADY LAYTON

Lady Layton, former President of the Women's Liberal Federation and a campaigner for international good causes, died in London on Mar. 18, she was aged 71. She was Chairman of the Women's Advisory Council on Indian Affairs, later reconstituted as the Women's Council, co-operating with the women of India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

WOMEN IN KERALA

About a quarter of the employees of the Government belonged to the fair sex.

This was revealed by Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister, in a written reply in the State Assembly on March 23.

The Chief Minister said that the percentage of women in the various Government departments was 24.02. Replying to another question as to how many were working in the Engineering department, the Chief Minister said 16.

MADAME NASRIDINOVA

Madame Yagdar Nasriddinova, a prominent political and public leader, was elected on Mar. 25, Chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium, *Tass* reported.

In this position, she is equivalent to President of Uzbek, a Central Asian Soviet Republic where she has previously served as Deputy Chairman of the Presidium.

The newly elected Supreme Soviet of the Republic appointed Mr. Arif Alimov, Prime Minister, and Mr. Rasul Chulamov, Chairman (Speaker), of the Assembly.

WOMEN DETECTIVES

The Queensland Government is planning to introduce women as fully qualified detectives, the State Police Commissioner, Mr. F. E. Bischof, announced.

Explaining the decision he said, the choice was made because of women's "innate natural curiosity," and "tireless persistence."

He added: "Women have some peculiar personal trait when it comes to finding the truth. It is a real inborn flair...some people call it being nosy."

GIRLS AND STILETTO HEELS

More than 2,000 girls have been ordered by their employers for stopping wearing stiletto heels from Mar. 25.

A firm of soap-makers believe that these heels do too much damage to office and factory floors.

A spokesman for the firm said on Mar. 25. "We made a test with an eight-stone girl wearing stilettos and a 16-stone man wearing ordinary heels. We found the girl exerted a pressure of a ton per square inch on the floor surface with every step she took. Floor pressure exerted by the man was only 23 pounds per square inch."

A ballroom spokesman said: "Rock and roll and cha-cha make stilettos even more destructive."

"Girls leave deep pits in the floor when they stamp their feet."

"Stilettos cut the life of a 5,000 sterling dance floor by half. Damage in the girls' own homes must be enormous."

Several other dance halls have already banned stilettos and a London firm has provided flat heeled shoes for their girls to wear during office hours.

WOMEN'S HOCKEY TEAM

The visit to Europe this summer by an Indian Women's hockey team has been called off, it is learnt.

India was scheduled to field a team at the International Women's Hockey Championships in Amsterdam next month. The decision to call-off the trip was prompted by two considerations—finance and standard of women's hockey in India today.

WOMEN'S PLACE IN INDIA

Mr. H. C. Dasappa, of Mysore, spoke like a Minister repudiating Opposition criticism in Lok Sabha last month. Replying to Acharya Kripalani who wanted exclusion of women from Defence Services Mr. Dasappa said that the representation of *Sakti* (strength) was not a man but a woman. "Every ideal we have placed before ourselves is typified by woman....If it is learning, it is Saraswathi. If it is wealth it is Lakshmi." Patriotism and sacrifice, he said, should not be the monopoly of man.

WOMEN IN CHINA TEXTILES

Women workers distinguished themselves in the campaign for technical innovations. In textile mills in Shanghai, the women workers have put forward and carried out 2,400 suggestions for technical improvement.

General

C. S. RANGASWAMI

Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, Managing Editor of *Indian Finance*, died of coronary thrombosis at Calcutta on Mar. 12. He was aged 65.

With the passing of Mr. C. S. Rangaswami, "we shall miss a picturesque and patriarchal figure in the world of Indian financial journalism. Those who knew him only through the medium of the printed word in the columns of the *"Indian Finance"*, missed meeting one of India's most scintillating conversationalists. His rare personal charm imparted to his ready wit a magnetism all its own. Many may not know that Mr. Rangaswami was a gifted and lucid speaker and the press button command over the apt phrase so well-known to the readers of *"Clive Street Gossip"* did not desert him when he mounted a rostrum. His range of general knowledge was considerable and till eye-sight failed him, he was reading voraciously, with books held within a few inches of his face."

M. R. JAYAKAR

Dr. Mukund Ramrao Jayakar, Liberal leader and former Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, died in Bombay on Mar. 10. Dr. Jayakar was 86.

The late Mr. Jayakar was educated in Bombay and London and was enrolled as advocate of the Bombay High Court in 1905. He was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1923, and leader of the Swaraj Party. He was later elected to the Legislative Assembly and was deputy leader of the Nationalist Party. He was appointed Puisne Judge of the Federal Court of India in 1937 and was later member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Mr. Jayakar was a delegate to the Round Table Conference. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly, which he resigned and again became a member of the Judicial Committee. He became Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University in 1949.

KALA VENKATA RAO

We regret to record the death of Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, Revenue minister of Andhra Pradesh at his residence in Hyderabad, on Mar. 28. He was laid up with influenza for a week and suddenly collapsed due to a heart attack.

The Andhra Assembly, the Lok Sabha and the Madras Assembly paid handsome tributes to the departed Andhra Leader.

ALL-INDIA SPORTS COUNCIL

The Government of India have reconstituted the All-India Council of Sports with effect from March 2, 1959. The Council will consist of the following 15 members nominated by the Government of India from March 11, 1959:

(1) Dr. P. Subbarayan (President). (2) H. I. the Maharaja of Patiala. (3) Rajakumari Arjit Kaur. (4) Mr. Naval H. Tata. (5) Genl. K. S. Thimayya. (6) Mr. S. M. Moinul Haq. (7) Mr. M. S. Duleepsinhji. (8) Mr. M. I. Kaul. (9) Mr. G. D. Sondhi. (10) Mr. M. T. Kapur. (11) Prof. N. Sidhanta. (12) Mr. N. Wanchoo. (13) Mr. Jaipal Singh. (14) Mr. M. N. Masud. Members of the Council shall hold office for a period of two years.

The Council, which is an advisory body shall have the following functions: (a) to advise the Government of India in all matters concerning sports and games. (b) to act as liaison between the National Sports Federations Associations and the Government; (c) to grant recognition to such sports organisations established at the national level as it may deem worthy of recognition.

NEHRU'S STYLE OF WRESTLING

Prime Minister Nehru told a gathering of wrestlers in New Delhi on Mar. 14 that he could claim himself to be a wrestler but in a different field—that of politics.

Quick came the remark from a wrestler: "In that field (political) you are on top in the world."

In a brief talk at his residence to the wrestlers who are participating in the national championships in wrestling the Prime Minister said that wrestling as an Indian game deserved every encouragement.

The Prime Minister recalled that his father, Pandit Motilal Nehru, was a keen promoter of wrestling in the early 20s when he took a wrestling team to Europe.

THE KALINGA PRIZE

The Indian Kalinga prize for the popularisation of science was awarded to Austrian-born Professor Karl Von Frisch, well-known zoologist and scientific writer, on March 26 at UNESCO House in Paris by the Director-General, Dr. Vittorino Veronese.

Prof. Von Frisch is the author of more than a hundred scientific studies dealing particularly with his research on bees, their life, language and sense of orientation. Retired, he now lives in Munich.

R. F.
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