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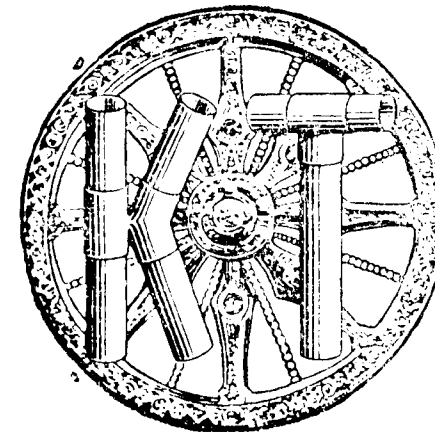
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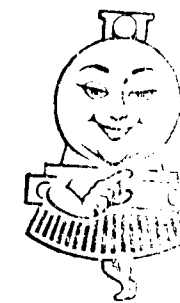
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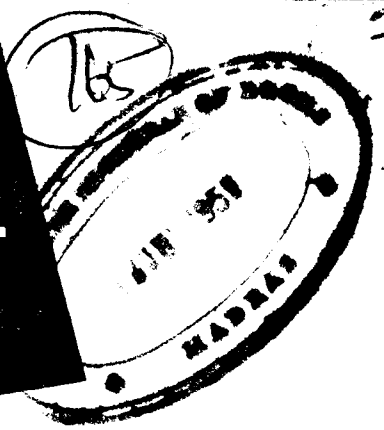
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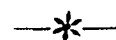
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Vol. 60]

JULY 1959

[No. 7]

Democracy in India

BY

SHRI ASOKA MEHTA, M.P.

EDMUND Burke formulated a social law when he said: "Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere: the less of it is within, the more will it be without." It is true, that Burke was a Conservative philosopher but he wrote during the French Revolution when there was as great a need for cohesion as for change.

To achieve a vital balance between internal and external controls, is the task of wise statesmanship.

Internal controls are of many kinds, some desirable, some obnoxious. Where the latter predominate society becomes stagnant and stratified. External controls also are of many kinds; the character of society is determined by importance assigned to regulative as against coercive controls. To the extent controls are imposed society weakens, to the extent they are understandingly accepted and organised, society becomes free and creative.

Internal controls are provided partly by morality, and partly by special customs and practices. Professor Gilbert Murray has somewhere cited a beautiful little incident of ancient Greece. In a lonely spot two warriors met in a combat and one of them was killed. He was clad in a magnificent armour. The victorious warrior was tempted to take it from the dead man, there was no one to see him do it, yet he was held back. A voice from within said: "It is not done." It is that voice that is the ultimate sanction of morality.

It is said, goodness in men makes democracy possible, while evil in men makes democracy necessary. It is that goodness which is the basis of internal controls. In so far as moral ideas, or categorical imperatives, are respected, society, has built-in safeguards against disorder. Where they break down, danger of tyranny emerges.

Reinhold Neibhur has argued that man may be moral, but society remains immoral. Rajaji once warned me that an individual can be altruistic, but never a group. Hedonism is the nuclear core of every group. Social morality is thus something different from the sum total of individual morality. It operates not just on the plane of ideas but of interests, institutions and taboos.

Where institutions organised to regulate individual and group interests lose vitality, get drained of their purposes, they operate as taboo. Such societies might maintain a semblance of order, but at the cost of paralysing creative impulses, as aptly described by Gurudev Tagore in *Tasher Desh*. Moral ideas in such context, usually spell an acquiescence in hierarchical order, rather than the evolution of free and equal life. As vital aspects of institutions get ossified, the need to shatter the integument grows. Traditional society is apt to end as prison house for spirit.

Once the cake of custom hardens it has to be broken. That is the *raison d'être* of revolution. But revolution, in its turn, pulverises society, and in the ensuing rootlessness nostal-

Military Administration in Peace & War

BY
GENERAL K. S. THIMAYYA,
Chief of the Army Staff

THIS is a very vast subject, so I can only confine myself to the broad principles and emphasise the more important factors.

The role of our army is to defend our country and we, therefore, have to place our troops and installations in such a manner so that they could easily defend our frontiers and to place our reserves in order to enable them to move in any direction where our borders are threatened.

When the British occupied this country the role of the Indian Army then was primarily to protect the North-West Frontier which they considered the most threatened entry into India, and secondly to form an expeditionary force to go overseas to reinforce the British Forces in any operations they have to undertake in any part of their Empire and, thirdly, to protect the British population of India in case of an internal rebellion.

In order to ensure themselves against a second Mutiny a large number of British troops were also kept to hold a series of 'keeps' or secured areas where they could protect their own population until reinforcements arrived from the United Kingdom. So we found their army of that day divided into three distinct portions — the largest was located in what is now West Punjab in the North-West Frontier. This meant the concentration of living areas, and installations located in those areas. In addition, they had one or two places such as Secunderabad and Quetta in which were placed the nucleus of an expeditionary force, and thirdly every large city in India had cantonment nearby in which were located troops who could protect the British population of those cities and at the same time could come to the assistance of the civil authorities in case of strikes and other civil disturbances in these big cities.

After Independence, we found ourselves with two-thirds of the pre-Independence Indian Army coming as our share but only about one-third of the accommodation becoming available. In view of our new role, therefore, we had to re-organise the whole set-up and at the same time undertake our responsibilities in connection with the large movements of refugees followed immediately by the war in Kashmir — all of which added to our administrative problems.

I will now deal with the organization of the Army in peace. The Army in India is controlled by Army Headquarters and the country is divided into three Commands — Western which includes Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi with its Headquarters in Simla — Eastern which includes Nefsa, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Uttar Pradesh including the states of Manipur and Tripura with its Headquarters in Lucknow — Southern Command with its Headquarters in Poona commands the rest of India. The boundaries go along the State boundaries to enable the Army Commander to deal with the State Governments and to ensure that two Army Commanders do not have to deal with the same State's Ministry. Each of these Commands is divided into Areas — under a Major-General and Sub Areas — under a Brigadier. These divisions also go in accordance with the State's boundaries.

These organizations are responsible for all command and administrative purposes. In addition to these you may have inside these Commands fighting organisations such as Corps, Divisions and Brigades, whose sole role is to fight a war. Their commanders are responsible for their fighting efficiency and other capacity for undertaking operations but come

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under the local administrative commanders for all administrative purposes and general supervision of training.

Administrative requirements are based on the size of the army including reserves in case it gets involved in fighting and in appreciating these requirements the terrain, the type of enemy and the nature of warfare has to be considered. But there are certain fundamental rules of Administration which never change.

These are :—

- (a) Foresight
- (b) Economy
- (c) Flexibility
- (d) Simplicity, and
- (e) Co-operation

These rules must be understood and applied intelligently to suit any peculiar situation. No two situations are alike. In appreciating the administrative problems for any particular situation, if these principles are observed, the planning is bound to be sound. Some of the factors which govern the application of administration are :—

- (f) Characteristics of the enemy
- (g) Our own organisation and resources.
- (h) Time and space
- (i) Topography and maintenance of communications, and
- (j) Climate

The organisation of Army Headquarters is decentralised as follows :

- (a) General Staff Branch
- (b) Adjutant General's Branch
- (c) Quartermaster General's Branch
- (d) Master General of the Ordnance Branch

The General Staff Branch deals with Plans, Training for War, Staff duties, War Equipment and have no connection with the administration of the Army as such, and I, therefore, will confine myself to the other three Branches.

Military Administration is that function of a Commander which deals with maintenance in peace and war of the forces under his com-

mand—men as well as material—and due to its complexity, varying but heavy demands 'Military Administration' has been divided functionally into above three branches :

(a) The Adjutant General's Branch deals with :

(i) Manpower problems of the Army including its mobilisation and demobilisation.

(ii) Personnel administration of Armoured Corps, Infantry Pioneer Corps and the Record offices.

(iii) All policy matters concerning civilians employed with the Army.

(iv) Selection of officers for the Army.

(v) Recruitment of other ranks and Non-combatants enrolled for Regular Army, Territorial Army, Ministry of Defence Security Corps, Navy and other miscellaneous forces.

(vi) General policy regarding discipline.

(vii) All policy questions relating to conditions of service, promotion and leave.

(viii) Pay allowances and pension questions.

(ix) General welfare and morale of the Army.

(x) Health of the Army (as advised by the DMS) and administration of Medical Services.

(xi) Administration of Military law (as advised by judge Advocate-General).

(xii) Budget Estimates for pay and allowances of Army personnel.

(b) QMG's Branch deals with :

(i) Movement of personnel, stores and equipment within or without the country.

(ii) Works policy and works services.

(iii) Accommodation for the Army and its stores and connected questions.

(iv) Provision and inspection of all food stuffs, forage and POL for the Army.

(v) General supervision of transport, motor and animal transport throughout the Army.

(vi) Provisions of animals for the Army and their veterinary care.

gia for ordered life emerges. A great Frenchman, Royer-Collard, bemoaned the death of the *ancient regime* in the following words :

"We have seen the old society perish, and with it the great number of local institutions and independent tribunals which formed part and parcel of it. These were powerful symbols of personal privileges, true republics within the framework of the monarchy. These institutions, these tribunals, it is true, did not share the prerogatives of sovereignty, but they set limits to it. No one of them has survived, and no new ones have been put in their place. The revolution has left nothing standing but individuals.....Indeed, where we have nothing but 'individuals,' all matters which are not properly theirs are public affairs of the StateThis is how we become an admonished nation."

Society in this fashion has oscillated between stagnation and atomisation. Human intelligence strives to achieve a balance, to arrest the Aristotelian cycle.

Constitutional checks and balances were evolved to prevent concentration of power in one or limited hands. They are developed through series of historical struggles in England, but were deliberately enshrined in the organic law in the United States. We in India have followed the United States. Constitutional provision prevents authority from becoming oppressive and safeguard liberties of individuals against arbitrary powers.

It is widely recognised that there is no such thing as liberty but only a bundle of liberties. Constitutional provisions by themselves cannot ensure free enjoyment of liberties because it contemplates rights as well as restraints. That has led to the realisation that the pyramid of representative government must rest on direct democracy at the grass roots. In the United States, the TVA developed the river basin through innumerable contracts entered into with local councils, rarely imposing its will through the Federal Law had endowed the Authority with the power.

In traditional societies community ties are important, though often they degenerate into oppressive and unjust burdens. In a free society, however, men cannot live as isolates. Only at their peril can they allow themselves to be engulfed by the lonely crowd. They need to enter into significant social relationships. As traditional order breaks down under the weight of its decay, and from hammer blows of change, a quest for community has to begin. In the West, the quest has led to the creation of what one might call the social infra-structure. Men as citizens and workers enter into meaningful relationships, and a web of associations—trade unions, co-operatives, political parties, churches, professional organisations, welfare clubs etc.—fill the void that the crumbling of the old order throws up.

Affluent communities have moved in the direction of a plural society, where through foliation of associations, constitutional checks and balances are provided a basis of institutional interplay.

In India, traditional order is breaking down. New India cannot emerge until the ossified and often oppressive structures are razed, but then men are in the danger of losing all ties and restraints, rootless and footloose they might drift, prey to every mountebank. For the success of political democracy, as also economic progress and social change, men have to gather in folds of varied associations. Society, like any organism, grows on cells, and its cells are associations men understandingly enter into, the fusion of wills so achieved.

Where traditional life breaks down, if new community ties are not achieved, society degenerates into what the Germans call *zusammen marchieren*, or "marching together." Lacking inner purpose, ranks are maintained by constant discovery of fresh enemies. Loyalties become narrow, antipathy opens new edges, social erosion results in frustration, that is, in the erosion of the self itself!

In a healthy society, man draws sustenance from it as well as supports it. When man

becomes purely parasitic, where he receives without returning, Hobbes' vision of a war of each against all becomes real, and then the lamps of liberty are put out. The more difficult a situation, greater is the need of overriding purposes and expanding loyalties.

To create the needed atmosphere, the democratic state needs to be at once responsive yet firm; responsive where people bring forward their felt grievances in orderly fashion, firm where disturbances are created. It is a matter of deep regret that in our country the feeling is growing up that the government operates the other way about.

Long have we talked of decentralisation, but our organs of direct democracy remain weak. Our Panchayats, not to talk of higher organs of direct democracy, lack effective power. Our trade unions are fragmented, our co-operatives lack the nucleus of close-knit understanding and association, that keeps expanding as new entrants join.

We are a democratic state. But all that it means is that we have the trappings of democracy, but the people are yet to be clothed in the garments of responsibility. If people were well organised, if there were recognised channels of representation, differences could be thrashed out in fruitful manner. Lack of organisation is sought to be made up by frequent resort to direct action. This often shifts the arena of decision from the legislative chamber to the streets. Issues are sometimes resolved, not in terms of reason, but in terms of endurance to fast or ability to fill prisons. Minority action tends to usurp the place of cultivating consensus. We tend to admire self-invited suffering even when it is wanton.

On the other hand, those in power do not seem to put much premium on organisation, on the discovery of means of resolving disputes. The frequent resort to police firing in a country where the people are known to be patient and long-suffering suggests that there is something fundamentally wrong with the organisation and functioning of our democratic life.

During the national liberation movement, we got highly politicalised. Now politics has lost much of its elevated purpose, and tends to distort every activity in a partisan manner. With us a single loyalty, be it caste or political affiliation, tends to become decisive. The checks and balances of loyalties on which alone can a democratic structure, enshrining liberties, be raised, do not easily come about. In all these directions, if we are to give firm hold to democracy, countervailing measures have to be carefully thought out, and deliberately fostered.

In neighbouring countries democracy has collapsed, not just because people had become somewhat disorderly, but because politicians had got into the habit of provoking and aggravating dissensions. If India is to avert such a *debacle*, politics will have to be more of an organising and constructive activity—as it was during the liberation struggle—and less of an erosive force, as it is today.

A society like ours has many fissures. To exploit them is to endanger democracy. Merely by destroying democracy, fissures do not close up nor wants get satisfied. The records of dictatorships aptly show that no magic of transformation resides in them. I have heard in a number of countries under military regime those in power bemoaning the emergence of a vacuum. Economic growth and social progress, irrespective of political pattern adopted, demand a vast effort and organisation and co-operation.

In economic life increasingly the structural disturbances are sought to be overcome by what are known as "built-in stabilisers." So in democracy, there is a need for "built-in stabilisers." A code of conduct among political parties, a jury of peers among politicians, effective decentralisation of administration, fostering of functional organisations, are among the varied stabilisers that can be built-in, to strengthen the forces of liberty against forces of licence. It is necessary to remember that more control there is within, less there will be from without.

we find that it may not be possible to provide this level of additional employment which mean that the backlog in the Third Plan would be consequently all the greater. Here again, the problem is one of investment, for it is only an investment effort of sufficient magnitude that would ensure employment opportunities large enough to absorb the annual additions to the working population.

There is a further fact that, because of its size, India must find a solution to its economic and particularly its demographic problems from within its own borders than through international trade and migration. In the light of the current trend towards restrictions in international trade and the desire of countries to industrialise rather than to specialize in agricultural production, it is uncertain that a country of the size of India could count on obtaining a very large fraction of its food supply for a population which is larger than its present one by exporting industrial products and importing food.

Indeed, an important aspect in a consideration of the effects of population growth on problems of planning is its relation to the need for additional food supply. It has now been generally recognised that the success of the planning effort in this country depends a great deal on the availability of adequate food supplies to meet the expanding needs of a grow-

ing population and also higher standards of living. To the extent to which we desire an increase in per capita levels of food consumption, the rate of increase in food output must be much more than would be necessitated merely by preserving the present standards of consumption.

The large size of the population and its potential for further growth in relation to the limited resources of the country make it imperative that we think in terms of population control. Admittedly, for the effects of such a policy to become effective on any significant scale, considerable time would have to elapse and in the decades immediately ahead we may assume population to grow substantially.

Even so, a beginning has been made and the Five-year Plan and the Planning Commission went on to recommend the promotion of intensive studies of attitudes and motivations and of methods of educating public opinion as well as the provision of facilities at hospitals and health centres where advice on family planning could be given. A number of steps have been taken in this direction which seek to shorten the long historical process which would lead to an ultimate reduction in birth rates; on their success would depend to a large extent the chances of the benefits of economic development translating themselves into raising living standards.

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Economics of Village Service Co-operatives

By

Dr. V. D. NAGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

THE debates and discussions, both ideological and empirical on co-operative farming present a strange mixture of an over-pessimistic fear of the conservatism of the peasant, on the one hand, and an over-optimistic hope of co-operative village life, on the other. In the heat of controversies and emotionally surcharged atmosphere, the fundamental truth that the agriculturist is the most important man in India, as he symbolises millions of rural population which are constantly living on the verge of starvation or beyond it, is usually forgotten with the result that many knotty issues with which the problem of farm-

ing bristles recede into background. The arguments for and against co-operative farming are either theoretical or general illustrated wherever needed with the conditions obtaining in foreign countries.

But we cannot bodily import any of the forms of co-operative societies followed in Denmark, Israel, China and Japan where new experiments have been made in co-operative farming to suit their different conditions. We have to evolve our own form which may suit our economic, social and political conditions and to put in Prof. D. R. Gadgil's words "an approach to the problem which in Indian con-

ditions is both economically feasible and is likely to be accepted politically."

The road to co-operative farming in India passes through the village service co-operatives. "Our present aim," in the words of Mr. Nehru, "is village service co-operatives aiming later on at co-operative farming." The village service co-operative is nothing but Otto Schiller's "individual farming on co-operative lines" which according to him "solves the problem of finding a way of organizing small cultivators for co-operative action in forming operations without depriving them of economic independence and without affecting their individual initiative and private ownership of land."

Emphasis, therefore, should be placed on the service co-operatives which would represent (a) a higher degree of co-operation (b) a strong economic organisation for helping the peasants, (c) an attractive force and school for the introduction of better and more productive methods of cultivation and (d) a device for avoiding wastage of land, labour, capital, cattle, water etc. and putting an end to the common village rivalries and factions. These service co-operatives will provide the peasants with the high quality seed and artificial manures, plough their lands with improved types of ploughs or tractors, irrigate the land and provide labour during harvesting season for a very low cost, lower than that which the peasants pay at present. Once the co-operatives gain the trust of peasants and the peasants begin to regard the co-operatives as their own economic organisation and not something alien to them thrust upon as at present, other forms of co-operation and functions like agricultural marketing, supply of necessary provisions to the peasants etc., can be added. Not only this, peasants when assured of general communal husbandry and essential services will sell their draught animals and primitive means of production and devote more time for social and economic development of the village. In

short, the village service co-operatives will justify their existence by achieving two aims: firstly, agricultural production will increase and secondly, the habits and the peasants' traditional character based on "self-servicing" will be changed. These achievements will lay the sound foundation for co-operative farming and link the peasants gradually and painlessly to the socialist economy.

In India, there are about 5-1/2 lakh villages, both big and small. Very small and adjacent villages having common land will have to be grouped into workable and economically strong co-operatives. The village thus will need about 4 lakh co-operatives which as Mr. Nehru has assured, "are not terrible figures to contemplate."

But the aforesaid claimed advantages are not possible to be achieved unless the following pre-requisites are fully met:—

(a) All the political parties should take the success of service co-operatives as the "National Issue" and should not confuse the ignorant and poor villagers by introducing party-politics in the service co-operatives.

(b) The co-operatives should be economically strong organisations so that they may be their own strength, influence and attract the peasants.

(c) Elastic and suitable (to the needs) laws replacing the present inelastic and obsolete system, which would appeal and convince more to the individual producers and lead them in the planned direction should be framed without any delay.

(d) The rebirth of zamindari and absentee landlordism in the new garb i.e., a large number of managers, supervisors, foremen and staff of workers doing no physical labour themselves with earning higher emoluments than other actual workers should not be allowed. This is necessary to ensure participation of the peasants in the production activities organised by the co-operatives. Supervision by highly trained specialists on the basis

(vii) Running of Military Farms for supply of dairy products to the Armed Forces.

(viii) Technical examination of MES work bills.

(ix) Provision of postal facilities to troops in operational areas.

(x) Canteen services to the Armed Forces

(xi) Co-ordination of fire fighting arrangements in the Army units and establishments.

(xii) Administration of civilians in 'Q' services.

(c) MGO's Branch deals with

(i) Storage, care and preservation and issue of all equipment.

(ii) Repair and maintenance of all types of equipment.

(iii) Administration of Ordnance Corps and Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (including civilians).

This organisation is reflected in our Military Administration from Army Headquarters

down to the lowest Formation at Brigade level.

In peace time, the whole of the Administration and Maintenance is based on Headquarters and installations that exist on the ground but in war time certain installations would have to be created and fighting formations such as Corps, Divisions and Armies are so organised as to enable themselves to be maintained and administered independently of static installations, provided of course the bulk maintenance to the formation is maintained from the rear.

In concluding I would like to emphasize the important role the Army is carrying out as a Nation-building organization and that the Ministry of Defence combines work for the Armed Forces that is being carried out by the other ministries, e.g., education, construction work for accommodation, roads and bridges, dairy farming, grow more food and so on.



Population and Planning

BY

SHRI D. S. SAVKAR

INDIA'S people are among the poorest in the world and the object of our effort at planned economic development has been to raise the standards of living of the mass of our people. The speed with which this is done is the resultant of the inter-action of several forces, but perhaps the most important single determinant of this is the rate of growth of population. In fact, Indian economic history itself affords proof that the inadequacy of the rate of economic growth in relation to population increase has led to a stagnation and sometimes retrogression in the standards of people's living.

Economic development is, in a sense, a reflection of the provision of a higher level of

capital equipment per head of the population, for only thus can industrial and agricultural productivity be raised, and an improvement in the per capita income of the people be brought about. Looking to the experience of the Plan, in the First Five-year Plan national income rose by nearly 18 per cent but the rise in population limited the rate of per capita growth to no more than 11 per cent. Similarly, in the Second Plan period, the target for national income growth is an increase of 25 per cent but, taking account of the rise in population, the target is a per capita increase of 18 per cent.

In other words, if the process of economic growth is to have any impact through higher

output levels on the standards of the people's living, it must be at a pace faster than the growth of population.

India's population, at near 400 million, is large relative to our natural resources; not only this; the potential for further rapid growth is also high. Indeed, the demographic pressure in India is perhaps without a parallel anywhere, except possibly that in China. The improvement in medical and health services, and generally the process of development itself, would result in a decline in the mortality rates without at the same time bringing about immediately, at any rate, a decline in birth rates.

This 'vital revolution', as it has been called, thus tends to bring about immediately a higher rate of population growth than otherwise and thus makes the efforts of achieving an increase in output levels more urgent and pressing. Under conditions prevailing in a country like ours, a high rate of population growth is thus bound to affect adversely the rate of economic advance and per capita living standards. Given the overall shortage of land and of capital equipment relative to population, the conclusion is inescapable that an effective curb on population growth is an important condition for improvement in the incomes and in the levels of living.

To go into this in somewhat greater detail let us see how a high rate of population growth tends to affect economic advancement. We all know that India is basically an agricultural country and despite the bias towards industrialisation that we have been giving in our Five-year Plans, it will remain so for a long time to come. India's population is largely concentrated in its villages. In fact, the density of rural population in India is very high and a further increase in population would tend to increase the dependence on agriculture. Especially when land resources are extremely limited and what is called for is a shift away from agriculture to industry and other secondary and tertiary occupations, this

increase of the rural population would tend to affect adversely the attempts at increasing agricultural output.

As it is, it has been felt that there is a large sector of the agricultural population which is not contributing effectively to agricultural output and in fact it has been suggested that even if some portion of the agricultural labour were withdrawn from the land, there would be no diminution in agricultural output. Under such conditions, it would be realised that a further increase in rural population would have deleterious effects.

Of course, with the improvement in agricultural methods and improvement in the use of fertilisers, with a greater volume of irrigated land and with more intensive methods of cultivation, the need for labour would perhaps increase but it is more than problematic whether the increased demand for rural labour would be anywhere near the increase that is bound to occur in its supply.

Similarly, even assuming that we industrialise at a rate sufficient to bring about a balanced economy, it is doubtful whether the increase in urban population would be absorbed by the growth of industry. This lends significance to the emphasis in Indian planning on decentralisation of economic activity so as to provide increasing work opportunities for those dependent on agriculture. This has taken the form of small-scale and cottage industries using labour-intensive methods. Though from the purely economic point of view this may appear a costly method of production as a socio-economic measure, it has much to commend itself.

Let us, at this stage, see what happened in the period of the Plans. At the end of the First Plan, the backlog of urban unemployment was, despite the investment effort of that Plan, as high as 2.5 million, and the new entrants to the labour force in the Second Plan were estimated at 10 million.

As against an original employment target of 9.5 million additional jobs in the Second Plan,

of modern agro-economic science and practice should be kept to the necessary level only.

(e) As the village service co-operatives by pooling of resources may reduce the number of farm labourers and increase the existing disguised labour of individual farmers, development activities such as soil conservation, levelling, bunding, layout of field channels, reclamation of land, draining of marsh lands, improvement of minor irrigation of works, digging of wells, etc. should be undertaken so that the surplus labour may be engaged in productive employment for the development of agriculture. Besides this, the scheme of agricultural expansion such as livestock production on the whole time basis can give employment to a part of the labour as well as non-labour population of agriculture.

(f) Apart from enlarging the scope for employment within agricultural sector itself, the surplus labour should be diverted to forest industries which at present are thrown to contractors or highest bidders. This in turn necessitates the formation of labour co-operatives in forest industries also. The formation of village service co-operatives is thus essentially linked with the elimination of middlemen from the rural area as a whole.

(g) Lastly, close contact with the rural population, more attention to the local conditions, infinite patience, energy and tact, earnest

and simplicity of personal habits together with unbounded sympathy for rural poor and particularly the unemployed persons on the part of the organisers are the key to winning the co-operation and confidence of the peasants. Any kind of haste to fulfill the official targets should be avoided. The organisers have to mix with the villagers, to sit with them, to gossip with them and to become one of them. Without such close association, the village service co-operatives can neither perform service nor achieve co-operation.

When these pre-requisites are fulfilled, we can follow the steps according to the classification of Otto Schiller. After the formation of village service co-operatives i.e. individual farming on co-operative lines, the next step should be co-operative farming in new settlements and the last but not the least, co-operative farming in old villages. This, however, does not suggest that co-operative farming in both new settlements and old villages should not be undertaken simultaneously if the villagers spontaneously join together and conditions are favourable. The real need is to make the service co-operatives successful. The Government will have to come forward with all assistance of men, money and materials. In fact, we have to take care of the village service co-operatives and the co-operative farming will automatically take its own care.



Education System in Denmark

By

Mr. SIGURD HOJBY

A long discussion on the structure of Danish education has ended with the passage of the new Education Acts. Three Ministers of Education have contributed to this result: the late Hartvig Frisch (1947-50), together with the teacher's organizations, placed the problems under debate; Mr. Julius Bombolt (1953-57) succeeded by intensive negotiations in promoting proposals on which three of the parties in the Folketing could agree; and the present Minister, Mr. Jorgensen piloted the Bills through. They had the support of a large

majority in the chamber and were backed by primary school organizations, but opposed by secondary school organizations.

A little background information is necessary in order to understand this legislation. As in most Western countries, there were originally two separate educational systems. One provided an academic education leading, in the case of the ablest pupils, to the University. Its pupils came chiefly from the upper classes, who thus tended to monopolize the leading public offices and looked upon themselves as

the sole repositories of culture. The other was the elementary school providing primary instruction for the general population, and was inferior in status to the academic school.

The establishment of parliamentary democracy led to the Secondary School Act of 1903, which linked the elementary and the academic school by admitting children between eleven and fifteen to secondary education by means of entrance examinations. The opportunities for higher education were thus formally equal to all; but in fact there was still a long way to go, because academic education was costly. Since 1903 a great deal has been done to ensure real equality of opportunity in further education by abolishing fees and providing free teaching materials, as well as by general social measures. This aim has not been fully achieved, but there has been a great advance and it is no longer the main educational problem.

One of the worst anomalies of the education system before the introduction of the new legislation was the fact that the examination schools were the only schools providing further education which were directly connected with the primary schools, and they were the only schools which gave the privileges of an examination certificate. This had a detrimental effect on the primary school, because too many pupils—suitable and unsuitable—sought to enter those schools for the sake of the privileges. And though an attempt was made in 1937 to give the general school greater attraction, it remained over-shadowed by the examination school because it did not lead anywhere—either educationally or vocationally.

Another unfortunate aspect of the old system was the inferior position of the village school to that of the town school. In the country there were no publicly provided examination schools for or further education. Children seeking such an education had to go into the towns or attend private schools.

Most of these defects were remedied by the new Education Acts of June 7, 1958. In future, primary education in town and country will

take place in seven-year comprehensive schools with differentiated education in English, German, and mathematics in the sixth and seventh years. In schools with fourteen or more classes there will be "mild division" of the pupils into academic and non-academic streams, though the local authorities may insist on the maintenance of the comprehensive system even here.

In continuation of the seventh year of the primary school there will be a three-year *Real* school preparing for commercial and similar vocations—in the country through co-operation between several local governments. By means of public examination at the end of the second *Real* year, a pupil may either proceed to the third *Real* class, which concludes with a *Real* examination, or may enter a three-year stream-divided *Gymnasium* (grammar school), ending with the *Studentereksamen* (certificate of education), which admits to the University. Alongside the *Real* school, if there are at least ten pupils who so wish, there will be voluntary eight-and ninth-year classes with stream-divided education of varied vocational character. In the interests of these classes it is regrettable that it was not found possible to raise the school-leaving age; for the success of the new Education Acts will greatly depend on an adequate intake into the eight-and ninth-year classes and on the ability to give them sufficient educational content and respect that employers will recruit a large proportion of their labour force from these classes. Only thus can there be real balance in the educational reforms and settled conditions in the primary schools. But the task is a difficult one, for there is little experience to build upon, and teachers and employers have hitherto been rather isolated.

Fortunately, a radical change has recently taken place. The New Education Acts require that school should provide suitable vocational guidance from the seventh year upwards; and it is realized that it is to some extent an educational task to make pupils vocationally min-

ded before leaving school. For their part, leading employers are prepared to enter into active co-operation with the schools; and if employers can also be persuaded to grant special opportunities for pupils from the eighth and ninth-year classes with regard to apprenticeships and training jobs, then parents who are anxious to provide for their children's future will not feel compelled to get them into schools giving a theoretical education for which they may not have the aptitude. Any such trend would be an advantage to these schools, because it would relieve them of some backward pupils; and it would especially strengthen the primary schools and the succeeding practical streams, by winning the respect of parents and children.

The old eleven-plus examination has been abolished, and there will be no public examination before the conclusion of the second *Real* class. The division which will take place in schools with fourteen classes or more, and at the end of the seventh year, will be based entirely on person's wishes and school assessments.

The system has also been made more flexible, as throughout the school period there will be wide opportunities for transfer from one form of school to another—also from the eighth and ninth-year classes to the examination school. To the *Real* school and *Gymnasium* the new structure will mean that they will be concerned only with children of over fourteen. As it is laid down that there must be no deterioration in the value of the two examinations, another consequence will be that the education given at the examination schools must be changed to suit the new conditions.

The new Education Acts may not have solved all our education problems—the raising of the school-leaving age is one which remains. But they have given the village school equality of status with the town school; established the principle of the comprehensive school; and provided the facilities for a reasonable balance between theoretical education in the general school system and the new practical streams identified with compulsory education in the primary schools. The result is both an educational and a social advance.

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Productivity Movement in India

By

Dr. R. S. GUPTA, M.Com. Ph.D.

TO-DAY India is struggling for her economic emancipation. The task is a stupendous one and calls for, *inter alia*, an all-out effort to utilize properly, fully and efficiently all the available resources of men, materials, money, power etc. This naturally implies the elimination of waste of every type and in every sphere so that more and better goods are produced at a faster rate and lower cost. Technically speaking, it means the increasing of productivity of the available resources. Improvement of productivity envisages not only standardised and improved techniques of pro-

duction and avoidance of wastes of all types but also better personnel training and management and improved human relations.

It is evident that full and efficient utilization of various resources will result in increased national wealth and reduction in the cost of production which, in their turn, will raise the per capita income and the standard of living. The recognition of these benefits accruing from productivity-drive induced a number of countries to set up organisations to deal with the problem of productivity. In Europe the Organisation for European Economic Co-

operation (OEEC), with its subsidiary European Productivity Agency (EPA), was established in 1948 and has to-day eighteen countries as its members. The Productivity Centre of Japan is also well-known.

In India the need for some central organisation to promote productivity in industries was felt especially in view of her dependence on foreign exchange, and its shortage, for capital equipment. An increase in the productivity of the existing equipment would serve as a useful alternative to fresh investment. This point was well illustrated by the I. L. O. Mission during the course of its study of the Delhi Transport Authority Workshop. It was shown that improved methods of bus-overhauling reduced the time taken to such an extent that it was thought possible to increase the number of bus in service by 50 per cent without purchasing additional vehicles. Thus increased productivity of the existing equipment would make more capital available for investment in new spheres, which in the long run would provide more employment.

Moreover, the reduction in the cost of production would bring the prices down and help the industries to expand their markets within and outside the country.

The recognition of the important role that productivity movement can play in the industrial development of the country led the Government of India in 1952 to invite a team of I. L. O. experts so that ground could be prepared for the establishment of a productivity centre in the country. At that time there did not exist any central productivity organisation in the country and the team worked in consultation with the Government and the representatives of employers and trade unions. It carried out demonstrations in five Calcutta engineering firms, two textile mills in Bombay and a few textile mills in Ahmedabad.

Prior to the demonstrations of the I.L.O. team, productivity was considered in terms of labour productivity only. Moreover, many employers and trade union leaders looked

rather critically at productivity movement because they thought retrenchment inevitable and new capital investment necessary. But the team demonstrated how productivity and the earnings of workers in Indian industries could be raised, without any retrenchment of labour, by keeping systematic production records, better organisation of work, reduction of material wastes, improved maintenance of machines and introduction of suitable systems of training the workers.

The first I.L.O. team was followed by another team in September 1954, which followed up the work of the earlier team. Its activities included convening of meetings of employers, workers and Government with a view to spreading the idea of productivity; arranging a course for top management in Bangalore; productivity project in the Bombay Government Transport Workshop at Poona; and 'community-wide' project at Baroda.

The outcome of the work of the I. L. O. teams was the establishment of a Productivity Centre at Bombay in 1955. It has been providing facilities for training personnel at various levels and has undertaken several productivity projects both in private and public undertakings.

The productivity-drive received a fresh impetus by the visit of Indian Productivity Delegation to Japan in Oct.-Nov. 1956 sponsored under the auspices of the Colombo Plan. The Delegation was required to study the constitution, organisation, the programme of work and the mode of operation of the Japan Productivity Centre and to recommend to the Government of India steps necessary to establish an organisation of similar nature. It was also required to make a special study of the large scale industries of Japan dealing with iron, steel and engineering chemicals and textiles.

The Delegation, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Vikram A. Sarabhai, toured Japan for five weeks and submitted its report in March 1957, recommending the establishment of a

non-official body known as National Productivity Council with representatives on it of employers, labour technical experts, research workers, and technical consultant and the Government. The Delegation also recommended the convening of a Seminar on Productivity to which should be invited representatives of all the above interests so that a scheme for the establishment of the proposed N. P. C. may be worked out.

The recommendations of the Delegation were considered and endorsed by the Central Advisory Council of Industries in July 1957. In Sept. 1957 a preliminary meeting of experts representing the various interests was convened and finally on November 2, 1957 a Seminar on Productivity was conducted under the auspices of the Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The Seminar approved the principles of productivity-drive and decided that over-centralisation of activities should be avoided and that both the National Productivity Council and the Local Productivity Councils, to be formed on the model of the NPC, should be autonomous and their field of activities should be spread to the entire economy.

The Seminar laid the following principles which were considered fundamental to the success of productivity-drive in the country?

(i) In the productivity-drive, the objective should be to increase production and improve quality by improved techniques which aim at efficient and proper utilization of the available production factors; raise the standard of living of the people; and improve the working conditions and welfare of labour.

(ii) Increased productivity in a growing economy will ultimately help in increasing employment opportunities. The notion that improved techniques will result in redundancy should be dispelled and specific measures should be taken to obviate any unemployment.

(iii) Benefits of increased productivity should be equitably distributed among capital, labour and consumers.

(iv) Productivity-drive, in the field of industries, should cover the large, small and light industries, both in the public and private sectors.

(v) To secure the unqualified support of employers, workers, Government and other interests for the success of the productivity-drive, it is necessary to encourage joint consultations, workers' participation in management and promotion of mutual understanding between management and labour in each industry and in each individual enterprise.

The recommendations of the Productivity Seminar were accepted by the Government of India and an autonomous body named "National Productivity Council" was registered on February 12, 1958 under the Societies' Registration Act of 1860.

The total membership of the NPC is about 60 and the number of representatives of employers' associations, workers' organisations and government departments are eleven each. The remaining members have been co-opted by these representatives from amongst other interests like technicians, scholars, experts, consultants, small-scale industries, consumers and local productivity councils. The Council has a Governing Body of 24 elected members. The Union Minister of Industry, Shri Manubhai Shah, was nominated as its first President and Dr. P.S. Lokanathan the first Chairman of the Governing Body.

As the first meeting of the NPC a far-reaching and broad-based eight-point programme was decided upon. Under the programme, training of personnel in the industries in various techniques of industrial management, industrial engineering and industrial relations is to be undertaken. Among other things, the programme aims at dissemination of useful information; providing consultancy service to industries; undertaking of extensive and intensive research in methods and problems of productivity; encouraging inter-factory visits for exchange of experience; sponsoring visits of productivity training abroad and inviting

foreign technicians and productivity experts for guiding and assisting various sectors of the Indian economy in increasing productivity. These programmes are to be financed primarily out of grant-in-aid from Government of India and out of substantial contributions from international agencies.

The National Productivity Council was entrusted with the task of stimulating and facilitating of local productivity councils. Six local productivity councils have already been set up in Bombay, Madras Coimbatore, Bangalore, Kolhapur and Kerala. Efforts are being made to set up these councils at twenty more places. These include Calcutta, Delhi, Baroda, Indore, Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jullundar, Mysore, Nagpur, Poona, Hyderabad, Dhanbad, Quilon and Calicut.

The National Productivity Council has already agreed to give the local productivity bodies matching contributions equal to the amounts collected by them as membership subscriptions. The Local Productivity Councils have been organised on nearly the same pattern as the NPC and the State Governments are represented on them. Industry-wise or region-wise productivity services are to be made available through these local councils.

Soon after its establishment the NPC set up a Productivity Survey Committee with Chief Adviser of Factories, as Chairman to conduct a comprehensive survey of the availability and future requirements of technical personnel. The fields covered by the Survey will include scientific management; work, time and methods study; human relations; industrial engineering and documentation.

The Productivity Service is to be organised through Regional Productivity Units of Specialists at different places. Their services will be made available through the Local Productivity Councils or industrial units whenever there is demand from employers and labour. In the first stage, five regional directorates of the NPC, manned by specialists, have started functioning at Kanpur, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore. These Regional Directorates will seek to stimulate and facilitate the establishment of local productivity councils all over the country with the object of carrying

productivity drive to individual industrial units and the establishment of joint labour management councils and productivity committees.

In September, 1958, an Eight-member Productivity Team, sponsored by the NPC, left India for West Germany, the U. K. and the U.S.A. The Team visited factories in these countries and made a study of the productivity techniques and processes. Seven more teams are proposed to be sent to West European countries and America.

There are also a number of organisations and institutions in the country which have undertaken programme of various types which are likely to contribute to productivity increase. Mention in this connection can be made of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, for holding Seminars and setting up quality control units at Bombay and Bangalore; Ahmedabad Textile Industry's Research Association (ATIRA) and South India Textile Research Association (SITRA) for providing a service for the application of statistical quality control techniques in textile industry; Administrative Staff College of the Government of India for providing facilities for personnel training; Productivity Centre at Bombay for conducting comprehensive productivity projects in various areas; and the Small Industries Training Institutes for imparting training and trying to improve techniques and disseminating knowledge on matters pertaining to cost-control, marketing and personnel management. Besides these, the problem of productivity improvement has engaged the attention of several research units and management associations in several important industrial centres of the country.

It is evident that productivity movement has an important role to play in increasing the industrial production of the country and the growing consciousness of the productivity problem augurs well for the future. It may, however, be observed that at present there is not much of co-ordination between the activities of the different groups. If the work done by different agencies is properly co-ordinated and integrated by the National Productivity Council, not only unnecessary duplication can be avoided but fresh impetus can be provided for further advancement.

Newman, the Lonely

By

PROF. P. L. STEPHEN, M. A.

LIONS live apart. Great minds are lonely. This is the thought that comes to one's mind when one thinks of the details of the great Cardinal Newman's life. Not that he did not have friends and many of them too. He was the leader in a great movement in which many men associated with him namely the Oxford Movement. Again he was associated with many men in his efforts to establish the Catholic University of Ireland. More than that, in his later years he was closely bound up with a religious community, the Oratory of St. Philp Neri. But in spite of all that one feels that Newman lived alone, with his own spirit, and in his close association with his God.

This started with his great spiritual conversion at the age of fifteen. Somehow it is in the teens that such conversations often take place, whether in the lives of the great Christian mystics or of the Sufis, or of Rabindranath Tagore and other poet-mystics. In Newman's case the financial difficulties of his family made it necessary to leave him at his boarding school for the long summer holidays. Those lonely days were days of reflection, and he had a "sense of the heavy hand of God", perhaps because of the family difficulties. The ultimate result of that was as his latest biographer, Louis Bouyer, says: "The young man in the fullness of his intellectual pride and self-sufficiency, now becomes aware of something, of some power, which he had dimly guessed at, even when he turned away from it. Something, Some one, stronger and more wise than he, Some one who subdued him to His will, even in the proudest hour of his intellectual self-reliance." Newman himself refers to his realization in the *Apologia* when he says that he was made to "rest in the thought of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings myself and my Creator." And

this indicates something of that loneliness which lasted through all his life.

But of course there was also the influence of his nature. Studious disposition, often working so hard that he stopped only on the verge of breakdowns, interested in the deeper questions of human life so that small talk and society news were alien to him, and devoted to real introspection, he remained apart even in the company of friends and associates. As a student at Oxford, and as Fellow and Tutor he easily enjoyed a leadership that again kept him in a sense apart from the rank and file. His association with his people at home was no doubt intimate and particularly affectionate as the letters and diaries show; but they also show that they all looked up to him in a special way. In his own time and among his contemporaries this would not have been noticed as clearly as we are able to see as we stand at a distance and without direct contact.

The aloofness that seems apparent to us in Newman's life takes on a touch of sadness as we see him proceeding with a certain bewilderment in undertakings entrusted to him by others, who, however, fail to support him as he earnestly labours to carry out his duties. This is especially seen in his work for the Catholic University of Ireland. That work had been entrusted to him by Dr. Cullen, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, who had specially called on him for the purpose, and yet when Newman took up the work seriously and addressed the Primate on important connected matters Dr. Cullen did not care even to reply. The fact was that the idea of the Catholic University was started by the Irish bishops merely for the purpose of sabotaging the State's interference in education, while Newman's idea was to work up a real university for Catholics on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge. Newman, ignorant

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of the true aims of his employers was bewildered and confused by their silence and unhelpful attitude in the work they themselves had entrusted to him. But that work resulted in a greater blessing for future generations, for it produced the masterpiece. The idea of a University, which is unsurpassed in the expression of the aims and methods of university education. One paragraph may be quoted here as the basic idea of that noble book:

"It is the education which gives a man a clear, conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to detect what is sophistical, and to discard what is irrelevant. It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility. It shows him how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them."

This is a paragraph that deserves the special attention of all interested in education at the present time when there is so much talk and writing about education being primarily for the purpose of giving technical skill. Evidently Newman's idea is quite different. His attention is focussed on the basic development of of the inner man, which will fit him for all things in their essentials, and not for any particular thing. To see things as they are, to go right to the point, to master any subject, to throw himself into others' minds, to come to an understanding with them—these are the

essentials of all trained and cultured minds in any walk of life.

These are also the fundamentals in his idea of a gentleman—an idea that has not been surpassed either, in the wonder of its expression. The main thing in it is the ever present consideration for others. It is in a way the highest expression of the modern conception of true chivalry. Only the fine flower of a culture produced by the cultivation of the mind and spirit equally can conceive of such an idea of a gentleman. It is the same spirit that made him so different from other converts. Usually they turn and tear the members of the religious or other community that they had earlier belonged to. But Newman though he became a Catholic did not turn any fangs on the Protestants. This was not only because of his wise view that the common foe was the atheist more than any religionist whatever, but because it was against his spirit of consideration for others.

That consideration arose from his deep understanding of man's relation to God. It is remarkable that all his spiritual quality may be seen in little most effectively in that one universal favourite, the hymn, *Lead Kindly Light*. The encircling gloom in the midst of which he flounders along, his perfectly contented declaration. One step enough for me, his sense of his home being far away, and his earnest cry to be led along by the *Kindly Light*—all these are so intimately true of his life and spirit. Newman might have been a lonely spirit, but there is no doubt his noble and beautiful spirit always attracted and will continue to attract all who have an yearning for the highest in human character.

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Puli Thevar--The First Hero of the Freedom Struggle

By

PROF. N. SANJEEVI, M.A.

(Continued from the last issue)

YUSUF Khan the mighty agent to the British hearing the news of the defeat of Puli Tevar, rushed to the South from Trichinopoly and found Mahfuzkhan in great distress, although he had just succeeded against Puli Tevar. This was so because Mahfuzkhan knew

well that his success would not last long. Yusufkhan left Kayattur for Ettayapuram. There he was received by Kattabommu and Poligar of Ettayapuram. Then he made a series of attacks on the rebellious Poligars and extracted tributes from them and lastly arrived

at Srivilliputtur. Puli Tevar who knew Khan Saheb to be worse than a devil managed the situation diplomatically and diverted his attention away from him.

In these circumstances Tinneveli was rented to one Mudaliar by the East India Company. He began collecting taxes under the flag of the company. Mahfuzkhan felled against the new entrant. On account of all this a lot of confusion prevailed in the state. Finding the situation going from bad to worse Poligars under the leadership of Puli Tevar united once again and as on a former occasion the Pathons and Travancorees also joined Puli Tevar. Now they made such a diplomatic attempt that they turned the tables against the Company and the Nawab with the help of Mahfuzkhan himself. Mahfuzkhan who was disillusioned by the appointment of a Mudaliar as a renter of Tinnevely walked easily into the fold in a mood of frustration. A Poligar force of 10,000 men was organised and marched straight towards Panchalamkurichi, which threatened Kattabommu and compelled him successfully to join them. As a result of this, Tinnevely was in the hands of the rebels. Hearing the news Mudaliar, the renter and Yusuf Khan rushed to the spot from Madura. The Poligars under the leadership of Puli Tevar and the company forces fought against each other at Gangaikondan and in this battle success was on the side of the Company's forces.

After this incident the Poligars were brought to the serious realisation that the force they had under them was not enough to overthrow the enemies and therefore they tried to contact Hyder Ali, the most powerful enemy of the English at that time. Puli Tevar took the lead in this matter and he promised Hyder Ali five lakhs of rupees in return for his help to drive out the Company's forces. On the side of Mahfuzkhan it was promised that he was willing to part with Chola-wandan, in favour of Hyder Ali. In return it was suggested that Muhfuzkhan should be given a place of distinction in Mysore. When the news of the agree-

ment reached the East India Company, Yusuf Khan, Mudaliar, the renter and the forces of the Company rushed to the spot to save the situation. Fully realising the enormous strength of the united Poligars they even tried to tempt and trap Puli Tevar, the uncompromising enemy of the English and the Nawab. Puli Tevar played his game and paid back his enemies in the same coin and successfully diverted their attention for sometime. Meanwhile with his usual diplomacy and sagacity he sent his men to Srivilliputtur asking them to keep watch over the movements of the enemy. Somehow Yusuf Khan smelt this and killed five of Puli Tevar's men, shattering them to pieces with cannons. Puli Tevar was much outraged over this and vowed to revenge the enemies. But even in this moment of great excitement, he did not lose his balance. He was careful enough not to lose Mahfuzkhan who was virtually a prisoner under him. With the help of Puli Tevar, Mahfuzkhan then attacked Palayamkottah thinking that it would enhance his military strength. Palayamkottah was at this time in the custody of one Vasavappa Nayakan. He did not dare resist Mahfuzkhan who derived all his strength from the great Puli Tevar. Hence he invited Kattabomman of Panchalamkurichi to help him promising him to reward him with assignment of certain lands. It is understood from the military correspondence of that day that Vasavappa Nayakan even gave his own elephant and horse as presents to Kattabomman. The most weak and vacillating men of that time Kattabomman threw as usual his weights and that of the English forces on the side of Vasavappa Nayakan against Puli Tevar and Mahfuzkhan. It is strange indeed that Veera Pandiya Kattabomman of Panchalamkurichi, who fought against the foreign domination later, should have descended from Kattabommu of Puli Tevar's days.

Although Palayamkottah defended herself successfully against the forces of Puli Tevar this time, its future was not secure. Yusuf

Khan also realised that it was useless to expect anything helpful from Mahfuzkhan. Hence he tried through the Arcot Nawab to get Mahfuzkhan, his brother. But nothing came out and Muhfuzkhan was completely in the grip of Puli Tevar.

While this was the situation in the south, the French besieged the City of Madras which was the seat of the English East India Company. In the words of Sir John Malcolm, Yusuf Khan, the bravest and the ablest of all the native soldiers, that ever served the English in India, rushed to Madras to save the English, forgetting for the time being the troublesome situation prevailing in the district of Tinneveli. Inspired by the fact that Madras was besieged by the French and of their small successes in the Carnatic, the Poligars of Tinnevely District became jubilant. Added to this, in the year 1760 Pollappandia Kattabomman died and was succeeded by his son Jagaveera Kattabomman. Puli Tevar breathed a sigh of relief at the demise of Pollappandia Kattabomman, the most untrustworthy Poligar alive then. Nearly for ten months the District of Tinnevely was practically in the hands of Puli Tevar. Having finished his duties at Madras Yusuf Khan thirsting for revenge rushed to Tinneveli, unsheathing the sword with great anger and before his wrath many a fort was reduced. He also successfully made attempts to screen away Panchalamkurichi and Ettayapuram from helping Puli Tevar's forces. Shocked by the unexpected turn that was taking place in favour of Yusuf Khan, the powerful agent of the English, Mahfuzkhan sent word of reconciliation and begged for help to get released from the strong custody of Puli Tevar. Having succeeded in controlling the Eastern Poligars, Yusuf Khan at first succeeded also in driving a wedge among the western poligars. He created enmity between the Travancore and Vadagaraipalayam and joined hands with Travancore forces in reducing Vadagarai Palayam which was a powerful ally of Puli Tevar. Having failed to withstand

the onslaught of Yusuf Khan and the Travancore's the Poligar of Vadagarai took shelter under Puli Tevar. This is a further and more concrete evidence of Puli Tevar's leadership and strength at that time.

Puli Tevar was much distressed by Khan Sahib's activities that was calculated only to establish the English power on our soil. But he had some consolation when he heard about the defeats of English in the northern parts of Tamil Nad. He also received a letter from Dupleix, saying that he would help Mahfuz Khan against Mohamed Ali in their struggle for the Nawabship of the Carnatic. This letter was sent by Puli Tevar to Travancore with a request to the Travancore people to support him against the English company. But the Travancore people played a double game. They simply sent the letter received from Puli Tevar to English Company and threatened them saying that they would join Puli Tevar unless they were properly rewarded for not doing so. Consequently Yusuf Khan, the agent of the English, gave them the territory of Kallakkadu and enlisted their support in favour of the company.

This time Yusuf Khan decided to reduce Puli Tevar first in order to maintain peace in the Tinneveli district. As a result a serious and severe battle took place on the 6th of November, 1759, four years after the first expedition of Colonel Heron against Puli Tevar. For nearly a month there were exchanges of fire and on 4th December, 1759 Puli Tevar's Vasudeva Nallur fort was besieged. That fort was one of the biggest and strongest of all the forts of Puli Tevar. A beautiful description of this fort is found in Orme's 'Indostan.' The great historian has described vividly the war also that ensued between Yusuf Khan and Travancore on one side and Puli Tevar on the other side. The following is his description :

The importance of Washnelore, and the great force which has come against it, brought some thousands of collieries to its relief, but

all, excepting 800 or 900 chosen men allotted to defend the walls, kept in the woods; from whence every day and night parties sallied and alarmed or attacked one or other and sometimes both the camps and great bodies on three different days made general attacks on the batteries, of which these continued interruptions retarded the construction, inasmuch that they were not finished until the 26th, 20 days after the arrival of the armies, but the howitzers had commenced before. The only efficacious gun was the 18 pounder, which Mahomed Issoof had brought from Madura, for the rest were only 6 pounders and lower, but from excessive firing, the 18 pounders burst the day after it was mounted and by this time all the ammunition, as well of the batteries as troops excepting the quantity which prudence required to be reserved for defence, was expended. However, part of the parapet of the tower fired upon, was beaten down, and Mahomed Issoof resolved to storm the next day. Many troops of both armies waited on the assault; and as soon as it began, Puli Tevar, with 3000 chosen collieries, who had marched in the night from Nellitangavaille, issued from the wood and fell upon the camp of Mahomed Issoof drove away the troops that guarded it and began to commit every kind of destruction. Mohamed Issoof instantly sent back a large body to repulse them, and continued the assault but the garrison within received double animation from Puli Tevar's success, which was announced to them by the usual war cry and sounding of their conchs. All the other collieries collected in the woods appeared likewise, as if in the same notice, and in different bands attacked the troops at the batteries and at the fort of the breach and although continually repulsed, continually rallied, and with the resolution of the garrison saved the fort until the evening and they waited in the woods to interrupt the renewal of the assault in the night; but so much of the reserved ammunition had been expended in the day that Mahomed Issoof deemed it dangerous to re-

main any longer before the fort and drew off his artillery. Two hundred of his troops and of the Travancores were killed but more of the enemy. The next day he moved to a distance and dismissed the Travancores, who proceeded through the pass of Shencotta to their own country, and Mahomed Issoof returned with his own troops and those lent him by Tondaman and the Moravers, to the town of Tinnevely.

This was a great defeat to Yusuf Khan who was at that time the greater defender of the English interest in the Carnatic. He was such a powerful man that he was a terror to Hyder, the dreaded enemy of the English. He was also feared very much by the French. Such a man being defeated terribly by Puli Tevar's arms was of no mean significance. That showed the great powers of Puli Tevar. S. C. Hills who has written a memorable book fully documented on Yusuf Khan, rightly admits the fact that 'Vasudevanallur was the only failure of Yusuf Khan.' No greater tribute can be paid by such a great historian to such a great hero of Freedom.

The struggle to capture Vasudevanallur lasted two months. Yet, as we have seen, it was not possible for Yusuf Khan to reduce it. It was a great defeat for Yusuf and a great success for Puli Tevar. Along with Yusuf Khan the Travancores also withdrew. The success of Puli Tevar had far-reaching reactions. It was a matter of great surprise to the English and the French alike that there was a man strong enough to defeat Yusuf Khan's forces.

The evil mind of Yusuf Khan became more active than ever before. He tempted away thousands of men from the Puli Tevar's forces with money. Exactly a year later Yusuf Khan once again attacked Puli Tevar. On this occasion target was the fort at Nelkkattumeeval which also belonged to Puli Tevar and he attacked the fort with much more equipment. From Anjengo and Tuticorin he had enough help. But again Yusuf Khan was thoroughly

defeated. This was a great and grand success for Puli Tevar.

Meanwhile many unfortunate things happened in the Carnatic. To mention only a few, Mahfuz Khan who went to contact his brother, the Nawab of Arcot, did not return. The Kottabomman known as Pollapandi Nayakan died and his son Veerapandia Kottabomman succeeded to the throne at Panchalamkurchi. This new entrant unlike his father was not a slave of the English. Yet it cannot be said that he was as valiant and strong and diplomatic as Puli Tevar. All these things went a long way to discourage Puli Tevar. We hear from certain correspondences of that time that Yusuf Khan mustered all his strength and tried to reduce Puli Tevar, the undaunted hero of freedom, even till May, 1761.

However we read in history that in the year 1767 the British forces made a drastic attempt to demolish the fort of Vasudevanallur. Here is an extract from the Tinneveli gazette which speaks about the fort, the attack on it and the result. 'Colonel Campel laid siege to the place with a special force. For a whole week the besieged were founded in shot and shell cooped up in an enclosure 650 yards long by 300 broad. Throughout the bombardment, the garrison conducted the defence with such gallantry that they earned unfeigned admiration of Colonel Campel and astonished him by their contempt of death and by the cool and prompt manner in which under hot fire they went on quietly repairing the palmyras and straw break after break. At the end of the week, one early morning the garrison resolved to abandon the fort.

Well, it only remains now to end the story. Puli Tevar fought against the first expedition of the English headed by Col. Heron in the year 1755 and later withstood many an onslaught by the forces of the company and their agents. Poligars and kings of his time were not united and were not as patriotic as Puli Tevar. As a result he suffered like all the mighty heroes of freedom.

Yet in certain interested circles it is argued, that it was Kattabomman who fought against the British imperialism and not Puli Tevar because British reign commenced in the Carnatic only with the treaty of 1792 between the Nawab of Arcot and the British. The utter falsehood of this argument can easily be realised by those who do not forget the facts of the history of the Carnatic. The treaty of 1792 made between the Nawab and the East India Company did not transfer the sovereignty of the Nawab of Arcot over the Carnatic to the hands of the East India Company. A careful study of the text of the treaty will convince anyone the truth of this statement. In fact the treaty of 1792 is the result of the century old British domination in the Carnatic whose foundation was laid in the year 1751 by Robert Clive in his Arcot victory. This fact is well established in the words of Annie Besant, the great scholar-patriot, in her monumental book "How India Wrought for Freedom." In the chapter on "Historical Introduction" one observes as follows:—

'Robert Clive.....offered a bold plan of attack, and was bidden carry it out; marched rapidly to Arcot (1751) with 200 English and 300 sepoy, seized it, held it against all commands, struck here, struck there won everywhere and laid the first stone of the British Empire in India.'

Considering carefully these facts of history one can very well understand how it was Puli Tevar who resisted the British forces in 1755 is the first to fight against the British.

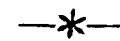
Puli Tevar's life and career, the fragments of which are found to a very great extent in the monumental work of Robert Orme's history of the "Military transactions of the British nation in Indostan" and to some extent in the Tinneveli gazette edited by H. R. Pate and Dodwell's edition of Anandarangam Pillai's Diary and the French work by Marchand named 'precis historique.....Madura' and other unpublished documents available in the Madras records office. But

unfortunately we know little of the personal life of Puli Tevar and much has to be unearthed with the heap of unpublished documents and folk songs about him which are just coming out to see the light of the day.

However, it is hightime, therefore, that the historians of India remind themselves of Puli

Tevar's name and fame and make the people of India realise their duty of paying their unstinted though humble, tribute to that great soul, who refused to pay even a single rupee as tribute to the English and fought and died for his love of independence.

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Psychiatric Nursing

By

Dr. T. BASAPPA

MENTAL illness is a problem that confronts us in our programme of achieving the goal of a welfare state. It is estimated that in the country at least two persons in every thousand suffer from mental disorders. This figure does not include the large number of mental defectives and epileptics needing psychiatric help.

An important aspect of this problem is to provide nursing care to the mentally ill. This idea is of recent origin in India. In some mental hospitals, nurses usually care for the sick among the mental patients. Even where the nurses look after patients, their care is confined to the custodial aspect, though their attitude towards the patients may be kind and sympathetic. But most of the mental hospitals do not have nurses who can attend to the needs of the patients. The other personnel in the mental hospital is not trained, but may have sufficient experience to cater to the basic physical needs of the patients. They restrain the patients and some times force them either to eat or work. In short, they are acquainted only with the methods of discipline, restraint and force.

Progress in psychiatry and the rapid changes in the concepts of mental illness have enabled us to understand mental diseases better. Today, we are more confident about the treatment and rehabilitation of the mentally ill.

Modern concepts require that the psychiatric nurse should be sufficiently trained to meet the demands of therapeutic programmes. If we understand why a patient goes to a mental hospital, we may be able to understand better the role of the psychiatric nurse. In the community, the patient is not accepted; he finds it difficult to adjust himself to society at large and feels insecure everywhere. Often, he is ridiculed and even ill-treated. Therefore, he enters a hospital to get over these difficulties, remedy the defects and learn to live effectively in the community. So he needs to be treated in hospital in a different way; he must be accepted and protected against disease.

The hospital must provide an environment which gives the necessary re-education and recognition to the patient. The nurse, as a member of the psychiatric team, is partly responsible for the creation and maintenance of such an environment. She stays with the patient longer than the other personnel and forms an integral part of the therapeutic environment. In this respect, she differs from a general nurse. The emphasis in general nursing is on the techniques of nursing, while in psychiatric nursing, the accent is on inter-personal relationships and group techniques. The way the nurse relates herself to a patient may improve or retard his condition. She uses her skill in group techni-

ques to handle patients in groups in a therapeutic way.

A psychiatric nurse must first be able to look after the physical need of the patient; she must see that he eats well, dresses properly and has sound sleep. The patient and also others around him must be protected from his illness. The nurse must be able to help in special therapies, such as Electro-Convulsive Therapy. These techniques put the nurse into proper relationship with the patient, and help her to understand and acquire a deeper insight into the cause of the patient's trouble.

The psychiatric nurse must also be able to satisfy the patient's social needs. This entails meeting and participation with others. The mental patient needs work, recreation and rest just as much as any normal man does. He must feel secure in company. But he needs training to live in companionship with others and this is given by the psychiatric nurse. Thus, she plans and works with the patient.

Her essential function is to give activity therapy. She helps to modify his behaviour through her relationship. She creates opportunities for the patient to mix with other patients and learn to behave in a socially accepted

way. Activity-therapy includes occupation, recreation and games. The nurse by her stay with the patient throughout these activities develops confidence in him and guides him towards recovery. It is important that the nurse should know the patient's cultural and social background to provide suitable activity.

Another important aspect of psychiatric nursing is establishment of inter-personal relations. The ability to develop relationships depends on her knowledge of psychology, development of personality, etc. She must learn to regard the mental patient as a person and respect his rights and individuality.

The psychiatric nurse must be a good observer. Through observation she anticipates outbursts in patients and handles them effectively. She must be able to observe accurately and objectively although involved in some situations herself. She employs her observations to intervene in and modify the Patient's behaviour and to develop constructively relationships. Her observations are communicated to other members of the team and will help—in diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation of the patient. She works as a member of the therapeutic team consisting of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, a social worker and a nurse.

Berlin – The Capital of GDR

BY

MR. A. FLEISCHHACKER

SOME time ago, the administration in the democratic part of Berlin (East Berlin) celebrated its tenth anniversary. After the war, Berlin had only one administration and one City Parliament. The two working class parties, the Socialist Unity Party and the Social Democratic Party had the absolute majority. Quite a few progressive laws were passed by the City Parliament through their actions. For instance, one to disown the factories of the big monopolies, which had

financed Hitler and granted him the economic help for his war. The Western occupation powers prevented the carrying out of this law. In June 1948 they suddenly issued a separate currency for the Western districts of Berlin, occupied by them. Finally at a Foreign Ministers' Conference held in September 1948, they agreed on splitting up Berlin. The Christian Democratic as well as the Social Democratic Party leaders gave their hands to this plan. In consequence the Western parts

is the universal tenor of Sarojini Naidu's letters to him.

The most important series of letters are those between him and Mahatma Gandhi. That it was Pandit Nehru who influenced his father to join the Congress movement, or rather, who created the climate in his mind which facilitated his entry to the movement, is, by now, generally accepted. Glimpses of these early days are seen in some of the letters. The correspondence between Gandhi and Nehru also shows the wide differences of opinion between the two. When powerful personalities meet, it is too much to expect blind devotion from the one to the other. So, in respect of many issues concerning Congress politics, Gandhi and Nehru held different opinions. These came to a head during 1936 and 1937, when, after returning to India from Europe, Pandit Nehru showed a distinct Socialistic bias, and was very keen on what came to be known as the constructive programme of the Congress. It is true that he acquiesced in fighting the elections and accepting Minister-ships in the Provinces, but within a short period of these events, he was greatly worried that the revolutionary aspects of the Congress Movement were receding into the background and the Ministers were tending to acquiesce in the *status-quo* as if the object of the movement had been attained. He expressed his fear frequently and with force; with such force in fact that at one stage Mahadeva Desai had to write to Pandit Nehru to say that Gandhiji had been very much hurt.

There are two sets of letters which will interest students of the Indian Independence Movement from the Indian and British angles respectively and the need for Socialistic ideology in Indian affairs. The first set of letters are between Lord Lothian and Pandit Nehru; the second set are between Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Nehru. The former set are long and detailed and read like political pamphlets rather than personal letters. The latter reflect the differences that were creeping into the Congress at the time of the controversial election of Subhas Chandra Bose to the Presidency of the Congress.

The later letters, that is those written during the War are shorter and nearer contemporary events. The letters between Shaw and Nehru have an intense human interest. Shaw refers to himself as "a doddering old Skeleton who should have died years ago." They seemed to have missed meeting each other. There is something grim in Shaw's reference to Nehru as "the only Asiatic equivalent to Stalin."

The Bunch of letters ends with a sad one from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. He was then a dying man. He was a great and erudite Persian Scholar, and he did not like the artificial propping up of Hindi at the expense of the more natural lingua of Urdu. Indeed, he went so far as to state that he expected that the movement will lead to trouble. Though he was then dying, he concluded his letter by saying "I must bless my stars that I have seen the freedom of India with you at the helm."

—*— The Value of Sport in National Life

BY
DR. P. SUBBAROYAN, M. P.

THERE is a general feeling that skill in all sports has deteriorated after independence. The chief reason for this is the fact the patrons of sport came chiefly from our Ruling House. The House of Patiala was interested in the advancement of sport, especially cricket.

The late Maharaja of Patiala brought out Hirst and Rhodes, the famous Yorkshire all-rounders, who were responsible for coaching many Indian cricketers and thus advanced the standard of cricket in India. Later His

Highness brought out the famous Australian Middlesex all-rounder Tarrant who remained a long time in India and was responsible for bringing forward many young exponents of the game.

The House of Navanagar also contributed a great deal to the advancement of Indian Cricket. They also brought out Wensley, the Sussex all-rounder, who was responsible for the advancement of Mankad, the greatest all-rounder, Indian Cricket has seen. He is the only Indian Cricketer who has made 2000 runs

and taken a 100 wickets in Test Matches for India. Mankad himself, though past his prime, is considered to be a good coach and I trust his services will be used for coaching under any coaching scheme we may devise.

After Wensley, later, Hitch was brought out by Madras Cricket Association as a coach and he was responsible for getting many Madras players upto first class standard. He was, again, succeeded by Wensley, who is responsible for Gopinath and Kripal Singh, the latter of whom is now with our team in England.

Though many of our cricketers have not been coached, they have learnt from those who have been coached because the improvement in standard helped them to attain prowess in the game. Men like Gupte and Borde have been prominent in Indian cricket because of the rise in standard.

I do not think we can say that the standard of Indian cricket has deteriorated though our performance against the West Indies tour came in for criticism even in Parliament. As Mr. Neville Cardus has pointed out in a recent contribution of his it is rather curious that Parliament should have debated this and if such a thing had happened in the British House of Commons over the performance of May's team in Australia, many eye-brows would have been raised. I myself felt that it was a wrong approach to the game and hoped that once a team of our young cricketers are in England, all criticism will end and the team will be encouraged to give of their best during the present tour.

Win or lose, if our team could only play brighter cricket, they would have advanced the cause of cricket not only in England, but also in other cricketing countries. I trust we will be able to build up side for the visit of Australia next winter. I hope this tour of England will teach our one pace bowler, Desai, how to make use of conditions that will prevail on the English pitches.

Passing on from cricket to other realms of sport, with the Rome Olympics in view, I

hope we will be able to turn out a hockey team which will do credit to India, who have been the World Hockey Champions for many years. There is a feeling in this country that our Hockey standard has deteriorated because of what our team did in the recent Asian Olympics at Tokyo. There was certainly some mismanagement, but with Dhyanchand as coach, we will be able to build up a strong side before the Rome Olympics and they will be able to render a good account of themselves at Rome, but before that our selectors should be on the look out for a team with men who will be able to find the proper places in this side. In a team game like Hockey, what is needed is to knit our men into a team and not allow them to continue merely as individuals. It is this aspect which will have to be paid great attention to in the building up of our side.

I trust the Indian Hockey Association will set themselves to this task from now onwards. The Railways and the Services must be the recruiting ground for the future teams. The Railways have won the National Championship three years running and the Services were in the finals this year. This certainly points to the fact that our team should be built up from among these two teams though there may be other players whose form will justify their inclusion in the side that is to go to Rome. The form in Beighton Cup and the Bombay Tournament should be a pointer in picking up the right kind of players.

In football we did quite well in the Melbourne Olympics, and Bengal which has been the home of Soccer has contributed greatly to the advancement of the game. Here again the Services the Railways and the Police, specially the Andhra State Police, have done their best to maintain standards.

In the *Athletic Field* we have not got many star performers. The Services have in Milka Singh, one who may win a gold medal for us at Rome in the 400 meters but much leeway has to be made and I cannot see our finding

were split up from the East. They set up their own administration, City Parliament, Police force and all that goes with it in those sectors of Berlin under occupation of the Western forces.

For weeks the administration did not work properly in the Eastern part of the City, till the 30th of November 1948. That day was the beginning of a new Berlin Council, headed by its Lord Mayor, Friedrich Ebert, who has been in office ever since. From this day on, the construction in that part of the town began; at first rather slow, later on, the speed quickened. What has been achieved since then? First of all a new administration has been built and it is being run by people who have worked in factories, in shops and offices all their lives.

Berlin is the Capital of the German Democratic Republic. It is one of the biggest and most widespread industrial areas of the Republic. Here the electrical industry has got huge plants in which thousands of workers and technicians find employment. The equipment produced is being installed in ships, planes, machines and sold to various countries in all four directions of the horizon. Industrial output has risen to 158.3% in 1957 compared to 1936. In 1948, when the democratic City Council began its work, we had 40,000 unemployed. Today it is extremely difficult to find personnel for all vacancies open in the various factories. Last year the 45-hour week has been introduced in all industry and the average wage rose from 303 Marks per month in 1950 to 439 Marks. The average income of a worker in West Berlin amounts to 376 Marks per month.

A few words about the building industry. When the war had ended, 185,000 flats had been utterly destroyed. But the end of 1958, 52,000 new flats had been constructed. Quite new districts and streets were built up. For example the Stalinale and many others. Another 71,000 flats were built up by repairing partly destroyed houses. In this year we

will build more than 11,000 flats, in 1960 the total will be more than 13,000 and by 1965 at least 50,000 new flats will have been erected. At the moment we have got about 37,000 families looking for accommodation. So it is obvious that the problem of accommodation will be solved in Berlin within the next few years.

One can hardly find a more enthusiastic theatre audience than the citizens of Berlin. In the last year more than 100,000 inhabitants booked theatre tickets for the whole season. The State Opera was reconstructed and the first night took place in September 1955. In the democratic part of Berlin we have got nine theatres, including two opera houses.

As far as the health service is concerned, it is one of the best. From 1952 to 1957 the City Council spent more than 31 million Marks for the reconstitution and new planning of hospitals. We have now got 15 hospitals, ten out-patient centre, 13 health centres in factories and more than 300 first aid points with doctors and nurses.

As will be known, the Soviet Government proposed in November last year that West Berlin be turned into an independent political entity—a demilitarised free city. The free city of West Berlin could have own government and run its own economic, administrative and other affairs. The Soviet Government further suggested to withdraw all occupation troops from all parts of Berlin. After 1945 the four powers decided at the Potsdam Conference to end once and for all fascism and militarism in Germany. Decisions and laws, as for instance, the one mentioned above were to become effective in all Germany. A peace-loving German State was supposed to develop. Yet not a single of these agreements has been fulfilled by the Western occupation powers.

Within the last few years West Berlin has become a bridge-head in the cold war, which is being waged against the German Democratic Republic and its Capital, Berlin. The City Council, under its Lord Mayor, Friedrich

Ebert, has made 34 proposals to the administration in West Berlin to begin negotiation to end the cold war and to make life normal again in West Berlin. Every one of those proposals was turned down. The Western occupation powers and with their help, the administration in West Berlin have broken the principles of Potsdam daily and hourly. Instead of demilitarisation and denazification, they changed West Berlin into a stronghold against the German Democratic Republic.

The West German Chancellor declared at the beginning of December in Berlin: "Western Berlin is the most important stronghold of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. If we give up this stronghold, the whole Treaty Organisation will be of no value to us any longer." Under the guiding eyes of the occupation powers war production is going on in West Berlin factories and the permission for their troop transports to West Berlin were misused to transport war material, which is intended in the last consequence to serve as dynamite against the German Democratic Republic. In order to end this state of affairs the Soviet Union suggested to end the occupation

of Berlin by all four powers and give West Berlin the status of a free city. Perhaps it is quite interesting to quote the opinion of the Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon to this problem. He is of the opinion, that West Berlin should be adapted to its environment.

Berlin, as the old Capital of Germany and now as the Capital of the German Democratic Republic has always been and will always be linked economically with the territory by which it is surrounded. Trade and other agreements could be signed between the administration of a free city of West Berlin and the Government of the GDR as well as other countries, which would end all unemployment in West Berlin within a few weeks. At the moment there are 100,000 unemployed in West Berlin. All the traditional links between the whole of Berlin and its surrounding territory, which were severed by the West Berlin administration could be restored within days, if West Berlin will stop being a centre of cold war, sabotage and espionage against the German Democratic Republic. Peace in Europe will rest on more secure foundations, if the Berlin question is solved in a sensible way.

A Bunch of Old Letters

BY

Mr. S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY, I.C.S. (Retd.)

THIS is a collection of letters* from 1917 to 1948. Though there are very few letters in this collection from Pandit Nehru himself, and most of them are letters written to him by other eminent men from all over the World, yet, from the context it is possible to read Pandit Nehru's mind on the leading problems that confronted the country on each occasion, and his own reactions to them.

These letters, without exception, show that

as a human being Pandit Nehru was held in the highest esteem by practically every one with whom he came into contact. Everyone seems to have recognised right from the beginning that Nature had so fashioned him that he was a man of destiny bound to play a great part in the affairs of his country. Not all of them expected that India would achieve Independence in 1947; nor that Pandit Nehru would become India's first Prime Minister. What they did forecast for him was, therefore, a life of struggle and sacrifice, of pain and suffering, in the cause of the country. That

* A Bunch of Old Letters Written mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and some written by him (Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1958) (Price Rs. 12.50)

many athletes who will be able to stand up to the standard that is being set up in the athletic field. For instance, in the High Jump no one will be able to compete unless he is able to get over the bar at least 6 feet 6 inches. The same applies to most track events. Though we must aim at attaining world standard, I cannot conceive of our sending many athletes to Rome. Much has been done to Milka Singh by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur Coaching Scheme and he is a product of it and I hope many more will come out of the coaching institute that we may establish.

In wrestling, we may be able to find one or two like Leela Ram of the Services, who won a gold medal at the Commonwealth games at Cardiff. In Basket Ball, because of the coaches who have been brought under the Rajkumari Coaching Scheme, we have attained a standard comparable to the standard set by the Russians, and can render a good account of ourselves. This shows that with proper coaching, we may produce athletes of the right type.

In Table Tennis also though we have not come to the world standard like the Japanese and the present Chinese Champions, we have some players of repute, who have come on because of the coaching we have given by bringing out Barna, a former world champion under the Rajkumari Coaching Scheme.

What is needed is the coaching of the right type, which can only come by our producing our own coaches, who will be able to impart their knowledge to the young. The new scheme of a coaching institute to be set up in India by grants from the Government of India through the Sports Council will fill a long felt want.

This is only the beginning. And once we produced coaches we will be able to get the talent from our schools, colleges and the Services, the Railways and the Police. But

much will depend on how the Institute works for the production of future sportsmen and athletes in all fields of sport. What is needed is to set up a proper coaching college or school as the case may be who will be able to train future coaches not merely from the point of view of Olympics, but also from the point of view of general standard on athletics.

In lawn Tennis though we have yet to produce a Wimbledon winner, Krishnan has done well in the tournaments. He has taken part in so far and our recent victory in the Davis Cup has been entirely due to him though Naresh Kumar has helped him in the doubles to a great extent. And against the Phillipines, Naresh Kumar also proved a good singles player, Krishnan and Naresh Kumar managed to beat a strong doubles pair the holders of Wimbledon last year in Mullay and Patty. In Premjittal and Jayadip Mukherj, we have two young players who might make good with mere experience. I am glad they are being sent to Wimbledon this year which will give them the needed experience. Unfortunately the standard of women players has gone down and one hopes we shall be able to get better exponents in the near future and another Leela Rao will arise.

In my opinion there is no use merely crying against the deterioration of standard which seems to be the pattern at the present time. This cry does not lead us anywhere. What is needed is more attention to coaching and more production of athletes from colleges, schools and the Services. The object should not be victory as victory has never been the aim of any side but teaching the young the value of sport in national life as that alone can make great sportsmen in the country and proper physical fitness. This alone can build a healthy sporting nation and I hope the All-India Sports Council will be able to do its best to bring about what is needed in the country to make a sport loving nation.

—O—

Women Litterateurs in Tamil

BY

VENKATALAKSHMI RAMAKRISHNAN, B.A., B.Ed.

IT is a well-known fact that South India has produced some of the greatest literary figures in Tamil, amongst whom a number of women stand pre-eminent. The modern world knows a good deal about Tiruvalluvar and Kamban, Ilanko and Barathi, Appar and Periyalvar, but very little, if not nothing at all, about some of the greatest women Litterateurs of the south, whose literary output has been of no mean merit.

The greatest of these writers, *Avaiyar*, whose name is a household one among the Tamils, was not only a literary genius, but also a great diplomat. It is said that a Chera ruler by name *Adhiyaman Nedumananji*, whose capital was at Thakadur, was a great patron of Tamil, and he requested the Tamil poetess to reside at his capital. It so happened that once when he went out hunting, he was blessed by Lord Subramanya, who gave him a celestial fruit, the quality of which was to bestow longevity on the eater. *Adhiyaman Nedumananji* had so much respect and admiration for the great Poetess, that he gave that fruit to *Avaiyar*, because he thought that a great genius like her should eat such a fruit, so that she could live long and strive for the uplift of humanity.

There were many other petty rulers of the south, who were jealous of the valour and noble qualities of *Adhiyaman*. One of these was *Thondaiman* of Kanchi, who wished to declare war upon *Adhiyaman*. The Chera ruler, as a great lover of peace, requested *Avaiyar* to go and meet *Thondaiman* on his behalf, and stop the impending war by her great gift of speech. The old scholar was received with respect and admiration by the ruler of Kanchi, who was very quickly persuaded by the great poetess, to give up his ideas of war. This great poetess has endeared herself to the Tamils by her simple poetry which is read and admired by all.—e.g., *Athichoodi*.

Among the Vaishnavite saints of the South, the name of *Andal* is known far and wide. This lady poet was a great devotee of Lord Ranganatha. By her devotion and love she won the Lord himself for her lover and husband. She is known by the names of *Kodhai*, *Choodi-kodutha Nachiyar*, etc. Her great work *Tiruppavai* contains a set of thirty poems all set to music. These are usually learnt and sung by young maidens during the month of Margali. In the early morning these maidens after a bath, sing these poems in praise of Lord Ranganatha, who it is believed, blesses them with choice husbands. The literary value of these poems is beyond praise; and one and all agree that they are gems of Tamil literature. Except perhaps, *Meerabai*, the poetess saint of Mewar, no other can be compared to *Andal* the Poetess Saint of the South.

Cholan Mahadevi, the queen of Kulothunga Chola, was a very great Tamil scholar. She was the daughter of the Pandya King, and when she left for her husband's Kingdom, her only great sorrow was, the impending separation from her revered Tamil teacher, the great poet *Pugazhendi*, who later on composed the celebrated *Nalavenba*. So sad was she that the Pandya King agreed to send *Pugazhendi* with her as part of her dowry. The poet accompanied her with great joy—and some years later, left the Chola Kingdom due to the jealousies and intricacies of the court poet *Ottakoother*. *Pugazhendi* was given asylum and patronage by the Malwa King, *Chandran Suvarki*, at whose court he composed and brought out his *Nalavenbha*. Meanwhile Chola Mahadevi mourned the disappearance of her beloved teacher, and her joy knew no bounds when she heard of *Pugazhendi's* fame as the author of *Nalavenbha*. The poet was prevailed upon to return to the Chola Kingdom, where the *Nalavenbha* was again brought

out and approved of, by a great galaxy of Tamil poets who congratulated the Chola queen for the brilliant work of her teacher.

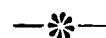
Another well-known and celebrated poetess was *Nachelliar* who belonged to the warrior class of the Maravas. She took for a poem the simple theme of a crow cawing, and hence was known by the name of *Kakaipadiniyar*, Kakai in Tamil meaning crow. The story goes that this poetess once arrived at the court of *Adukotpadu Cheraladhan*, and described his chivalry and courage in a number of musical poems. The king was so charmed by the beauty and charm of those verses that he presented her with nine caskets of gold, and a hundred thousand gold coins.

Nappasalaiyar was a great scholar of the Sangham period. She was patronised by the Chola King *Killivalavan* and *Malayanar Thiru-*

mudikari, and sang of the prowess and generosity of those two kings.

When *Killivalavan* died, her elegy on his death is said to have made her listeners weep.

Thus, history gives us innumerable accounts of women scholars in Tamil, ranging from all classes of life. Women of royalty, warrior class, labouring Classes, Devadasis, all had the power of composing fascinating verses—on a variety of themes. Hence it goes without saying, that education of women is nothing new to our country, for we come to know that our ancient women-folk were highly educated and possessed the power of composing gems of literature, which have been handed over to posterity. Let us hope that the modern woman who believes that the mark of education is only an academic degree, would take an example from them and make herself really educated.



Chinese Drama Today

BY

Mr. TIEN HAN

Chairman, Union of Chinese Dramatists

FIRST I must make clear what I mean by modern drama. I am not referring to modern developments of the many types of Chinese opera with their distinctive blend of speech, song and dance which are a time-honoured tradition in China. I mean plays with plots and dialogue, with scenes and acts, realistic decor and lighting, mirroring contemporary life or founded on historical fact. Such plays reached China from Europe little more than half a century ago.

In the years that followed the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, patriotic young Chinese intellectuals were quick to voice their pent-up indignation against imperial misrule and foreign aggression, and strove to rouse public opinion through all sorts of traditional forms such as Kunshan and Peking operas, and the rhythmic

and patter ballad, all of which served their purpose to some extent. But in modern drama they found a fresh keen weapon, a new vehicle to express their political sentiments. Before that, missionary colleges in Shanghai, Canton and other places had staged Shakespeare and Moliere, but such productions had little obvious effect. It was the Spring Willow Club, organised by Chinese students studying in Japan, which really started to introduce drama in Western style to the Chinese people.

In 1907, the year after the death of Ibsen, Tseng Hsiao-ku, Li Hsi-shuang and others, all Chinese students studying the arts in Japan, staged Dumas Fils' *La Dame Aux Camelias* in Tokyo. A student studying commerce saw the performance and said admiringly, "Fancy there being plays like that in the world!" He

promptly joined the theatrical company and became one of its most important members. That student was Ouyang Yu-chien, who was later to become the director of the Central Institute of Drama in New China and honoured as one who had devoted fifty years of his life to modern drama in China.

A still more powerful influence was the performance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which they staged the same year. Tseng Hsiao-ku had turned Mrs. Stowe's novel into a seven-act play. The righteous indignation it expressed against national discrimination and oppression was completely in accord with the sentiments of the students pursuing their studies and the revolutionaries in exile in Japan. In 1911, on the eve of the revolution, Jen Tien-chih, a member of the Spring Willow Club, returned to China and produced the play in Shanghai. The effect was electric. New theatrical companies sprang up all over the country. After the success of the 1911 revolution, the Spring Willow Club itself returned to China and put on plays. The "new drama" swept the country, and the traditional opera was relegated to the background as "old stuff." In fact, traditional opera was, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by the "new drama," and took over from it a certain amount of stagecraft and gesture. Mei Lan-fang staged new productions of the Peking operas *Teng Hsia-ku* and *A Piece of Hemp Thread*, obviously modified by modern drama.

Yuan Shih-kai, who betrayed the revolution, suppressed most of the new, progressive theatrical companies. The new theatre movement with Shanghai as its centre was baffled. But even so, some companies managed to stage two plays, *Spring Dream inside Hsinhua Gate* and *Dream of an Emperor*, which held the traitor up to ridicule.

After 'May the Fourth Movement' of 1919, the new drama movement revived. Unfortunately, and quite wrongly, the traditional operas were criticized indiscriminately as feudal and obscurantist, while modern drama was

regarded as necessarily democratic and scientific. Ibsen, Strindberg and Shaw were translated into Chinese fairly systematically. In an attempt to stop the theatre being commercialized and vulgarized, many dramatists advocated *aimei* (beauty loving) drama, a term ultimately derived from the word "amateur." The Jenyi School of Dramatic Art—the earliest school in China for training new talent in modern drama—was founded in Peking.

A flourishing dramatic literature always accompanies a revival of the theatre. After 'May the Fourth Movement' there was a spate of modern plays like Kuo Mo-jo's *Nieh Yung*, Ting Hsi-lin's *Oppression*, Tien Han's *Night of the Tiger Hunt* and Hung Shen's *Chao, King of Hell*. Later, in the thirties, came Tsao Yu's *Thunder and Rain* and *Sunrise*, and plays by Hsia Yen, Yu Ling and Chen Po-chen. In Shanghai, the centre of the movement, organisations like the Drama Club, the South China Club, the Hsin Yu Theatre Club and the Art Theatre Club were active, specializing in European plays presented in a more conventional way. One outstanding success was Hung Shen's production of Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan*. Theatrical circles began to pay more attention to the technique of acting and stagecraft.

The early thirties saw much repression from the Kuomintang on the left-wing drama movement. The Art Theatre and the South China Club were closed down. But new clubs sprang up. Juikin in Kiangsi, the Red Army Club and the Workers' and Peasants' Theatrical Company were formed, and then, in the winter of 1932, the Central Theatrical Company and the Gorky Dramatic School. These organisations performed quite a number of plays, including *I, the Red Army* (a collective effort) Hu Ti's *Red Spy*, Sha Ko-fu's *To Arms*, Li Po-chao's *Victory at All Costs*, and *Nanchang Uprising*, another collective effort. After the main force of the Red Army set out on the Long March, the actors and playwrights in Juikin were regrouped into three theatrical

companies under the leadership of Chu Chiu-pai. They lived right among the peasants and soldiers, and put on plays for them. Early in 1935, the three companies returned to Yutu, Kiangsi, and held a festival. Chu-Chiu-pai watched the performances under an umbrella in the pelting rain, patiently guiding and enthusiastically encouraging the actors.

On the 8,000-mile Long March, the three army corps each had its theatrical company. These companies did a magnificent job of entertainment, agitation and propaganda, but they also paid dearly for it. Hu Ti, the most prolific playwright in the central revolutionary area in Kiangsi was murdered by a traitor; Chien Chuang-fei was killed by an enemy plane, and Ma Po and others in the third company were trapped by the enemy in the Kansu Corridor, west of the Yellow River, and all of them killed. Only one of the three companies was still in existence, its strength reduced to eight when the Red Army arrived at Yen-an.

On August 13, 1937, resistance to the invaders became nation-wide. The National Salvation League of Dramatic Groups in Shanghai organised the actors of the city into thirteen teams. Two of them remained in Shanghai, one went to Eastern Chekiang, and the remaining ten made their way to Nanking, whence they fanned out to different places north and south of the Yantze and put on agitational plays. These teams drew in the cream of the Chinese theatrical world. They toured city, town and country in the hinterland, rousing people to action and at the same time

educating themselves. Amid the holocaust of war they ran into frightful difficulties, but managed to thrive despite the complex political situation. Plays like Lao Sheh's *Our Country Comes First*, Tsao Yu's *Metamorphosis*, Sung Chih-ti's *Foggy Chungking*, Kuo Mo-jo's *Chu Yuan*, Mao Tun's *Before and After Chingming Festival* and Chen Po-chen's *Jobs for the Boys*, were produced as a clarion call for national liberation, democracy and freedom. This lead was followed by theatrical workers in Kweilin, Kun-ming and other places under Kuomintang rule. In July 1949, with liberation, the first national congress of artists and others active in the cultural field was held in Peking. It brought together artists and writers from the old and new liberated areas, and even from areas still to be liberated.

Modern Chinese drama is now, as it was before 1949, closely related to the people's aspirations for national liberation and for freedom and democracy.

In Chinese the word for drama is *hua chu* (dialogue play) and it does, in fact, stress the importance of speech. But etymologically speaking the word *drama* implies action. It is true that our *hua chu* set out to convey ideas, but it is perhaps a weakness that they tend to make characters speak too much and act too little. We have to admit that our artistic level in both respects leaves much to be desired. Our actors and directors are now making a real effort to master the Stanislavsky tradition of realistic acting and staging.

Lal Ded

By

Mr. J. L. KAUL

KASHMIR has an unbroken tradition of saints since the mythical times when the waters of what was then *Satisar* a huge mid-Himalayan lake were drained; and *Satisar* became *Kashyapamar*, the abode of Kashyapa Rishi, or later, *Kasheer* or *Kashmir*. After partly subduing and partly pushing out the Naga aborigines, the Indo-Aryans appear to have built up a vigorous Vedic Society. Later when Buddhism spread over northern India, Kashmir became a famous seat of learning and an active centre of Buddhist missions;

but when Buddhism declined, Kashmir saw a powerful revival of Vedanta but with a significant difference. An indigenous philosophy grew up here in about the ninth century, that of Trika or Shaiva Monism which did not accept in its entirety the Vedanta as interpreted by Shankara. Maya is a *shakti*, not an illusion; and the universe is a Becoming, the Experience of the Experiencer, an unfolding, an out-volution or, varying the metaphor, again, a derivative of Mula-Prakriti the Matrix in which "the eggs of Brahma"

(Brahmananda) are laid but which, in truth, is Herself the other aspect of Shiva-Shakti-Tattva, "*ardhapallavitashankarararupamudra*." Then came Islam which began to spread vigorously in the 14th-15th centuries, when Muslim rule was securely established; and the flood-tides of its (at times aggressive) proselytizing fervour almost completely submerged Hinduism in the Valley, leaving behind Kashmir Pandits as the floatsam and jetsam on the backwash of the flood. With Islam Muslim saints grew up among the local people.

It was in this socio-religious milieu that Laleshwari, affectionately and popularly known as Lal Ded (Granny Lal), was born about the middle of the 14th century. Little is known about her life; but tradition has endured and, though much legend has grown round her name and many miracles are told of her, one can with some certainty say a few things about her life. She was married at an early age in a Pandit family at Pampore where she (now named Padmavati) was badly treated by her mother-in-law and even accused of infidelity to her husband. The truth was found soon however and what was suspected as a secret assignation turned out to be her daily trust with God on Whom she used to meditate at a quiet spot away from home. She bore all wrongs done to her with exemplary patience and without ill-will; and time came soon when, in an irresistible mood of divine *tyaga*, she left her home for ever and wandered about the Valley in a semi-nude state. Henceforth she became known as Lal (Lalla) because her abdomen (*lal* in Kashmiri) increased in size and hung loose over her pubic region. We know from her verses that she was upbraided by some and respected by others, but neither praise nor blame affected her. Tradition is persistent also about her having met with Shah-i Hamadan, (Amir-i-Kabir, Ali Sani Mir Sayyid Ali of Hamdan) who was in Kashmir from 1379-80 to 1385-86 A.D., and she is said to have inspired with her

teachings "the national saint of Kashmir," Shekh-ul-Alam, Shekh Noor-ud Din of Tsrar-i-Sharif. What is undeniably certain is that she has wielded a remarkable influence on the popular religious thought of both Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir; and there is hardly any comparable figure anywhere of a Hindu saint being held in such great reverence by so many Muslims. Muslim chroniclers have written of her as "'arifa kamila Lalla majzooba" and "'arifa kamila sani Rabi'a". Indeed the recent tendency has been to insinuate that she was not only influenced by Islamic Sufi thought (and she did preach eclectic doctrine too), but that she was converted to Islam by Shah-i-Hamdan himself. Untroubled by a historian's scruples, some assert that she died at Vejibror outside the courtyard of the Jami Masjid and believe that it is her grave that may be shown there even today.

It is important to understand why Lal Ded has had this mighty hold on people's thought and affection. There are two main reasons. Firstly, while she continued the tradition of the indigenous Shaiva philosophy, she gave expression to it not only in a popular form in which people at large could understand it but (much more significantly) in the real language of the people themselves. Perhaps for the first time in Kashmir history were mystical truths and the disciplines relevant to their realization made available to the people, then mostly unlettered here as elsewhere in the world, in the language they spoke and not in Sanskrit which much fewer people could understand. It is however not the abstruse truths of philosophy nor the discipline of vital airs and of *Kundalini* and *Nada-Bindu* yoga that made her the poet-saint of the people. It is rather the intensity of conviction and faith, the stamp of sincerity of her mystic experience, and the authenticity of her poetic expression revealed by an energy of idiom and terse imagery, unsurpassed till the present day, that gives her verse sayings a lasting eminence both in the people's minds and in the literature of Kash-

mir. Her sayings have become current coin even in the speech of today and retain their freshness of appeal for all alike, whether Hindu or Muslim, scholar or peasant. In her verses we find a passionate apprehension of mystical truths which is the mark of a God-realized saint.

Secondly, Islam spread too rapidly in Kashmir to strike deep roots during these early centuries or to transform completely the entire body of mystical tradition, religious belief and observance which the people had inherited. We have in Kashmir two kinds of Muslim saints: one native to the soil, the *Rishis* or *Bobas*; the other, the saints who came to Kashmir from foreign lands. The well-known chronicle of Akbar's time, *Ain-i Akbari*, says that the *Rishis* "are the most respectable people," who "do not suffer themselves to be fettered by traditions, are true worshippers of God, and revile not any other sect." Even as late as the last decade of the 19th century, Sir Walter Lawrence, who knew the Valley intimately, observed that the rural Muslim population was very unlike other Muslims in the matter of tolerance for Hindus and reverence for the shrines of the *Rishis*. The most distinguished of the *Rishis* was Sheikh Noor-ud-Din (Nund Rishi) of Tsrar-i-Sharif. There is strong evidence that Nund Rishi was influenced by Lal Ded's teaching, and that the cult of the *Rishi* contained much that came down from Buddhist and Shaiva mystical systems; and, indeed, similarities have been found even between the yoga exercises of Shaiva saints and the tenets and spiritual exercises of Muslim Sufi saints who, like Shah-i-Hamdan, came to Kashmir from outside. It is in the context of these circumstances that one can understand the reverence in which Lal Ded is universally held in Kashmir.

Lal Ded's *Waakh* (Sans. *Vakya*, word), that is, her teaching as given in her gnostic verse, shows her to have been a Shaiva Yogini of the Kashmir School of Shaivism. Says she:

When by oft-repeated Discipline the wide expanse of the manifested universe is lifted to the Void;

when the *soguna* becomes merged in the *akash* with a splash like water falling into water; and when the ethereal Void itself is dissolved, and nothing remains but the Weal; then, O Bhatta (Pandita), learn that this is the true doctrine for you.

Here, there is no word, nor thought, nor non-transcendent or transcendent; nor can one gain entry here by vows of silence, or mudras betokening mystic attitudes; here not even Shiva-Shakti (—Tattva) remain; That Somewhat Which remains is the true doctrine for you, O Pandita.

How did Lalla attain to this Ineffable Somewhat, this *param Shiva* or *Parasamvit*? There are continuous references in her verses to the disciplines she practised, mainly the mastering of the vital airs, *prana* and *apana*. These, for instance:

I worked and worked at the bellows-pipe,
and lighted my lamp of knowledge revealing
my true nature unto me;
then my inner light spread out suffusing
me and all that is.

Or,

The steed of mind speedeth over the sky,
and a lakh leagues traverseth he in the twinkling of an eye;
yet the man of true intelligence can rein
in the curvetting steed,
and on the wheels of *prana* and *apana* guide
the chariot aright.

There can hardly be a more succinct statement than the following of the stages that Lalla had to cross to reach her God:

Mastering my vital airs, I cut my way
through Six Forests,
the Digit of the Moon awoke for me and the
world of Prakriti dried up and disappeared.
Then in the fire of love I roasted my heart,
and thus came I to where I Shankar found.

Lalla is a staunch believer in the Monist Advaita, who sees the Supreme in all and all in Him and to whom the Supreme and Nature as well as the individual self and the Universal Self are one.

"Who hath seen the Lord of all the lords?

He that from Duality is free:

He that knows how Day with Night accords,
Seeing one Self in all selves that be.

"Lord that I am Thou I did not know,
Not that Thou art I, that one be Twain.

'Who am I?' is Doubt of doubts, and so
'Who art Thou?' shall lead to birth again."

Ice and snow and water seem separate but are really one, likewise the Supreme confines

"In One Shiv and Universe and Soul."

Lalla is no stickler for names and has a Hindu's catholicity for different creeds. It does not matter by what name we call Him,

Shiv wa Keshav wa Jin wa

Kamalazanaath naam daaryan yus

What matters is following the right path in the right spirit, the recognizing *Brahma-randhra* as the shrine of the Self-God, and hearing the "Unobstructed Sound of *anahata*." Then are all vain imaginings fled and, stirred by the power of yoga, the *Kumbhaka* exercise forms a bridge to the *Brahma-randhra*, and OM, the spell of spells, rises through the life-beats of the heart; and all is well with the seeker.

Lalla did not believe in worshipping idols or offering animal sacrifice. "An idol is but stone", she declaims, and it is the height of folly "to offer a living sheep to a lifeless stone." Nor can mere ritual, pilgrimage or formal worship help. He alone is fit to seek the true Lord who has slain the three highway robbers—Desire, Lust and Pride. A true seeker, in his humility and loving kindness, learns to be the servant of all—

"*watanae : sh mae : rith ta loagun daas*"

One has to abandon all vain imaginings and to meditate on the True Self. This is hard to do and rarely done—

"*loob maarun sa haz vetsaarun
drog zaanun kalpan traav*"—

for the knowledge of the Self cannot be gained by mere quietism or self-suppression nor by mere wishing.

"*sahasas sham ta dam naa gatshey
yetshi naa praawakh mukti-dyaar*."

And Lalla bears witness to what she had to go through. In a picturesque succession of metaphors, she tells us how on her way to the Supreme she has had to undergo all the processes that a newly-picked cotton-flower undergoes from the moment when the cleaner and the carder kick it to the time when, spun into "gossamar yarn" and woven into cloth and dashed on the washing-stone, the tailor eventually works his scissors on it. In moving imagery and idiom, racy of the soil, she tells us of her passionate longing for God. In this world she feels like one towing a boat with a thin rope of untwisted thread; she is here wasting like water in a cup of unbaked clay; the sling of her sugar candy load is become loose and it galls her back; the truths she has heard from her *Guru* have hurt her heart like a blister; her flock has lost its shepherd; and, almost in helpless despair, she cries to God:

dewa boazi day myoan meti diyi taar."

Would that God heard the prayers I have said!

God heard her prayers since, her impurities burnt away and all desire slain, she knelt, just there, on bended knees, and would not stir. She had wearied herself, striving and struggling, and even toiled and laboured beyond her strength; but she had come against a door, bolted and barred. She would not give in however, and, indeed, longed the more to behold Him who was beyond her sight—

"*me ti kal ganey-yi zi zoagmas taety.*"

"Yet as she stood gazing at the door,
Contemplating Him with all her Soul,

Lo! He opened it for evermore:

There, within herself she saw Him whole."

"Teli Lal naav draam," says she. "It was only then that my fame spread." Speaking of her about five centuries later, another mystic-poet of Kashmir, Paramananda, pays her a glowing tribute which she has richly deserved.

"Unique in her yoga of Dvaadashaanta Mandala,
Laleshwari realised *anahata*, *nada*, *binda*,
and OM (stages),
and attained to the Supreme Ananda."

Fountainhead of Religion, by Ganga Prasad, Retd. Chief Justice Tehri Garhwal State Price Rs. 4. Arya Sahitya Mandal Ltd. Ajmer.

This is the Sixth Edition of a Book which originally appeared nearly half a century ago in 1909. Postulating that Mahomed based himself on the Old Testament, Christ on the Old Testament and the Buddha, Buddha on the Vedas, the Jews on Zoroastrianism, and Zoroastrianism on the Vedas, the author has little difficulty in concluding that *all religions are traceable to the vedas*, and the Vedic Religion is not traceable to any older religion. Contrasting the approach of Doctor Conger in his "Towards the Unification of the Faiths," one wonders whether Matter is not more important than Time and whether it were not better to travel beyond the provincialisms of the various religions to a synoptic naturalism of Universal Religion. As the Author confesses his book is not an "original work" but it is undoubtedly an excellent source book. The Chief Justice has in a metaphorical sense resumed practice at the Bar and is very eloquent and learned but cannot hope to convince members of the Proselytising Jewish, Muslim, and Christian Faiths, as the Appendices show.

A Survey of Recent Studies of Modern Indian History, by Doctor K. K. Datta of Patna University. K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Publishers, Calcutta-12.

This is a compendious monograph prepared with financial assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation, New York, by Professor Datta. Starting with Jadunath Sarkar's Fall of the Mughal Empire, it practically includes both major works and minor periodical publications and publications in periodicals and journals up to the date of publication in 1957. The analyses are detailed and discriminating without being prolix. The present is based on the past and makes the future and any student wanting a ready referencer and index to recent studies should at once apply for and obtain a copy of this most useful compilation.

Founding the Life Divine, by Morwenna Donnelly. Jaico Publishing House, Madras-2. Price Rs. 2.

This is an introduction to the Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo. The author has ably discussed the background and the important principles of Yoga—"a teaching based on Joy and affirmation of life and at the same time setting a great spiritual goal before the aspirant."

Planning Power and Welfare. By Daya Krishna. Price Rs. Two. Congress for Cultural Freedom, New Delhi.

Professor Krishna of the Saugar university has collected some of his contributions to Commerce, Economic Weekly and Eastern Economist, added the comments of Professor Vu Quoc Thuc of Saigon and Doctor Nurul Islam of Dacca and added his reply to those comments. In his opening thesis on Planning, Power and Welfare, he asks people to distinguish Planning for Power or total product and Planning for Welfare or Per Capita Income. Professors Vu Quoc Thuc and Nurul Islam have defended our Prime Minister's plea for Present Sacrifice to promote Distant Welfare. Krishna has wondered whether we may not fall between the two stools finally. In the succeeding papers on Democratic Freedom, Socio-Cultural Perspective, Mechanisation, and allied subjects, he still persistently reiterates the Welfare Aspect of Planning. In India, we will have Dams and Heavy Industries, and Gigantomachy in statuary. But, if finally, Pakistan gets "Dam Buster Fighters from America to destroy the Bhakra Nangal, the Damodar Valley, and the Hindustan Steel, there will only be modern monuments to show for all our PLANS."

Scientific Research. Publication Division, Ministry of Information, Delhi, 8. Price Re 1.

This is a concise account of the achievements of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research started in 1940. There was good planning and it was followed by setting up of the National Chemical and National Physical Laboratories. Followed Sponsored Research in existing institutions and consequential Development and Utilizations of results achieved. Atomic Research could not be neglected even by a country devoted to the ideology of Ahimsa. Scientific Publications are dealt with in a separate chapter.

Studies on the Soviet Union. Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. Munich.

Messrs Poppe, Yurievsky, Popluiko, Yur, chenko, Mertsalav, Stahl, Stackelburg, Gaev, Glebow, Uluktuk, and Mittal, practically all of them refugees from Communist countries have made an efficient job of saying that the Communists vilify Gandhi, that economic progress has been impeded by Soviet dictatorship, that there is no freedom of thought or action or of the Press in Russia and China and so on and so forth. It is the Other Side of the Medal to the propaganda of the Communist Party.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

INDIAN PROBLEM

Mr. C. A. S. Marikkar, Ceylon's Minister for Information and Broadcasting, in an interview to the *Hindu* last month claimed that a majority of the applications from Indians under the Citizenship Act of Ceylon had been disposed of and any further question of reviewing the Act by the Prime Ministers of Ceylon and India would have to be considered only after disposing of the remaining applications.

The Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike told the visiting Indian newsmen at Colombo on June 21 that he proposed to take up with Prime Minister Nehru at an early date the problem of citizenship of Indian settlers in the Island and reach a satisfactory solution.

He said that there were about eight lakhs Indian settlers in the island the bulk of whom were plantation workers. About 100,000 to 150,000 of these people had already gained Ceylon citizenship, he added.

S. AFRICA

BISHOP HURLEY'S WARNING

The colour bar in South Africa will have to go in 10 years peacefully or violently, if the country is to avoid total disintegration and collapse according to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev. Denis Hurley.

Addressing the Durban Parliamentary Society on June 18 he said the crisis would probably not occur as a centrally planned and directed revolution but might develop as a series of disturbances increasing progressively in size, frequency and intensity until the fabric of the social and political order would begin to disintegrate.

He said that *apartheid* hit at the foundation of freedom the source of a man's rights, the essence of his being and his humanity.

He warned that by maintaining *apartheid* South Africa would lose the support of the rest of the world, which might issue economic sanctions against the Union in the form of trade boycotts and denial of transit and airport facilities.

"South Africa, without a friend in the world will have to try to maintain its colour bar position in the face of violent hostility from all quarters," he added.

U. S. A.

INDIAN STUDENTS

India with 3,198 students, had the third largest foreign student body in the United States during the 1958-59 academic year according to the just published report of the Institute of International Education (IIE).

The report on educational exchange during the past year notes that the 47,045 foreign students who studied in the United States during the 1958-59 academic year represents the largest foreign student population in any country of the world.

The IIE is a non-profit agency which administers exchange of persons programmes both Government and private, between the United States and other countries.

The report notes that the students came from 131 countries and areas of the world. It says that the number of foreign students from India last year increased nine per cent over the previous academic year and 38 per cent in the last five years.

The countries with the most foreign students in the United States are: Canada, 5,432; Formosa, Hong Kong and Macao, 3,837, and India, 3,198.

MALAYA

CITIZENSHIP OF SINGAPORE

The Indian Chamber of Commerce, Singapore, at its meeting last month urged that the Island's Immigration Ordinance should be amended urgently in one aspect. It pointed out that according to existing regulations "all entry permits issued (even if their period of validity extends beyond December 31, 1959) would automatically expire at the end of the year. This, the Chamber observed, affected the children of Singapore citizens studying overseas. "Parents cannot reasonably be expected to bring back their children from far away places like the United Kingdom and Australia just for the sake of renewing their entry permits under the new regulations. This will not only be an unnecessary economic burden but will upset the continuance of educational arrangements already made". For students born of parents who are Singapore citizens or those permanently resident in this country, re-entry privileges should be extended to cover their period of education abroad, the Chamber urged.

WORLD OF BOOKS

The Time-Garden, by Edward Fager. Drawings by Bodecker. Macmillan and Co., London W. C. 2. Price Twelve Shillings Six Pence.

This is a delightful book in the best Alice-in-Wonderland style translated to the U. S. A. and aided by a Natterjack as *deus ex machina*. It is a regular eagre or tidal wave of Magic Marvellous Experiences, Travels in Time Is-Was-and-Will-Be. There is comedy and tragedy and tragic comedy, all laced with compunction and charity. Not only children but also childlike seers like Master Baron Lindsay of Balliol who used to read Alice-in-Wonderland at least once a year will become faithful fans of this charming composition. The printing is excellent and the illustrations are ravishing.

The American Woman, by E. J. Dingwall. Signet Book. Price 50 Cents.

This "Historical Study" of the American Woman with her paradoxes and contradictions, her Puritan origins, her chequered outlooks in the Nineteenth Century and her final multiphased activities and recreations has to be read to be believed. The authorities range from the Bible to cheap criticism in contemporary journals and give an appearance of substantial undercurrents of truth, terrifying to sensitive minds. Doctor Dingwall who is an Anthropologist and Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum comes to the conclusion that the American Man has become a doormat to the American Woman and hence infantilism and immaturity has spread among considerable portions of the American population. Hence, the neurotic restlessness of the rising and recently risen generations of American men and women, says the author. A most thought-provoking book.

Green Gold Stories and Poems from Bengal. Edited by Humayun Kabir. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1. Price Rs. 8 25.

This volume is fresh and green and real gold. As Kabir says in his erudite introduction, one "may find in these stories and poems a reflection of the questioning and brooding spirit which is driving resurgent India to attempt in Literature and in Life a new synthesis of ancient traditions and modern values." Every contribution is both full of good meat and strange thrills. The short notes on the Authors at the end are clear and helpful, in understanding the emotional and spiritual background of the writing. A real feast of life and magic.

Problems of Economic planning in India, by O. K. Ghosh, Kitabistan. Allahabad. Price Rs. 5 50.

It is generally not given to Accountants-General to write inspiring books though they may write classic studies like Wattal and Income Tax Manuals, like Sundaram and a abstruse theory like Newmarch. But Mr. Ghosh with his background in the Planning Commission and with the State Re-organization Commission has achieved the almost impossible by combining in his writing the enthusiasm of the poet, the severity of the prose writer, and the application of the man of business. Like the Indian Constitution, he breathes a "materialistic democratic-humanistic" air. He calls for right thinking and right action. He selects hard facts and figures but while warning us not to be over-optimistic guards us by explaining the example of Russia against falling into the opposite error of over-pessimism. His thesis in brief is that Quality must not be sacrificed for Quantity and Quantity must not be lost sight of in fixing too high a standard of Quality.

Indian Economics. An Introduction. By A. N. Agarwala. Head of the Department of Commerce. Allahabad University. Kitab Mahal, Publishers, Allahabad 3. Price Rs. 5.00.

It is a far cry from "Economics of British India" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar to this masterpiece of compressed writing. It is both historical and traditional while attempting to be novel and factual and up-to-date. It is a healthy and helpful text-book not only for students of economics and commerce who are at college but also to politicians, publicists and foreign observers. The only defect if it can be called a defect is excessive compression of writing accompanying a heavy overload of facts. But this cannot be helped, I expect, in a book to help a Nation and a People trying to overtake more "advance" countries and peoples.

A Gandhi Anthology, Book II. By Valji Govindji Desai. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

The extracts alternate between extracts from Gandhiji's writings and exclamations against departures from his instruction. Thus he preached Swadeshi at least in cloth and cotton and textiles worth hundreds of crores of rupees have been brought. He preached Prohibition but the deadly river of Drink threatens to overwhelm the nation's capital.

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WORLD OF BOOKS

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Topical Essays, by Tribikram Pati, M.A., D. Phil., D. Sc. Price Rs. five and Np. 50 P. C. Dwadash Sreni and Co. private Ltd. Aligarh, Allahabad, and Hyderabad.

The author is a Spencerian who has set down in short crisp essays his Credo that India is passing from the Fatalistic Unanimity of the Ignorant through the Agnostic Disagreement of the Enquiring into the Synthesizing Unanimity of the Wise. Of Science, of Life and of ourselves he talks ranging from Science on Trial to Atoms for Peace, Revivalism and Internationalism, and India Planning her Destiny. As he says in a quotation, "A Teacher affects Eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops." Like Vishnu in his Trivikrama Strides, Doctor Pati in Baconian sallies makes all discussion his province, enlivened by sallies of wit and enriched by apt and quaint quotations from Adams to Wyatt to use his Alphabetical Quotation Index. For those whose taste still craves these loose sallies of a well-stored mind and whose leisure has not been destroyed by the pre-occupations and distractions of "Modern Civilized Life," this book can be confidently recommended.

The Religion of the Buddha and Its Relation to Upanishadic Thought, by Bahadur Mal, M.A. Vishvaswaranand Vedic Research Institute, HOSHIAIRPUR, India. Price Rs. 4 Np. 50.

The major portion of this book is a careful well-documented rewriting of the existing information about Buddha and his teachings in various books by eastern and western scholars. In spite of an occasional inanity like the statement that if Buddha's father had not listened to the astrologers and sheltered the prince from the world's ills, he would have been a normal human, the account is substantially accurate and very well written. The individuality of the rest of the book is about its comparing Buddha's approach with the Upanishadic approach with a bias in favour of the latter. The rationalistic purely humanitarian approach of the Buddha may appeal to Nehruji who hails from the temperate zone to the north of India but not to those inspired by Swamis Dayanand and Sarvanand. How pure doctrine becomes encrusted with Miracle, Superstition, and Mythology and how they should be ignored in getting at the fundamentals is well set-out. The conclusion that historically and philosophically, the Hindu should understand Buddhism as he should understand all other Religions is theosophically sound.

Two Plays of Ihasa. By A. S. P. Ayyar, I.C.S. Retd. Price Rs. Three or 4sh. 6d. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, 292, N. S. C. B. Road, Madras 1

This is a second, enlarged, revised edition. The introduction is 107 pages long, and is in the best style of the Variorum and other editions of Shakespeare. The controversies as to the genuineness of the Trivandrum "Discoveries" are "judicially" dealt with by selecting for translation only "Yaugandharayana's Vows" and "The Vision of Vasavadatta" which are less open to dispute. In spite of the great difficulties of translating from Sanskrit into the fifteenth language of the Union of India that is Bharat, Mr. Ayyar has made a good job of it. Phrases like opinionatedness of Vatsaraja, "drinking liquor" are unavoidable to maintain fidelity to the original. The printing and get up are good and the volume should be a welcome addition to any private or public library.

Great Thoughts of Great Men or Ideals, by Sain Das, Ex. Principal, D. A. V. College, Lahore, Price Rs. 3 Np. 50. Vishveshwaranand Book Agency, Hoshiarpur, India.

A Commonplace Book reveals a man as much as an autobiography or a creative piece of literature. The author, a Cambridge Chemistry man, who presided as Principal over D.A.V. College, from 1902 to 1931, then spent 26 years on spiritual and educational preaching, desired the publication of his commonplace book containing both extracts from others and also his reactions. Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" appeals to him as an "Echo of Yogic Samadhi." Wealth is sometimes fatal as in the case of the shipwrecked man who tied two hundred pounds of gold round his lifebed and jumped into the sea. We bury or burn the body but we may not bury or burn the spirit or the soul. Altogether, the collection is delightful, instructive, and handy.

Concise Dictionary of Judaism. Edited by Dagober, D. Runes. p.p. 237. 1959. Philosophical Library, New York.

This is a timely publication containing concise, sometimes very very concise, notes on the basic concepts of Judaism in its religious, historical and cultural aspects. From Aaron the original High Priest to Zunz the High Priest of abbreviated vernacular worship and fuller religious rights for women, every item is short, sharp, and to point except the longer notes on Spinoza etc. The beautiful photographs of Jewish Leaders and Judaic Ceremonies are superb.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- June 1. Nepal withdraws permission to Pak planes to land at Kathmandu.
—Iraq Government renounces all previous agreements with U.S.A.
- June 2. Indonesian Assembly fails to endorse President Sukarno's request for a return to the revolutionary constitution of 1945; Army bans all political activity in Indonesia.
- June 3. Emergency is declared in Khartoum, 22 Civilians, 18 officers and five NEO's are arrested.
—The new State of Singapore comes into being from to-day.
- June 4. Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee decides at its meeting at Ernakulam to launch a statewide movement for the "removal of Communist Government from office."
- June 5. Dr. Konrad Adenauer decides to remain Chancellor of West Germany and reverses his original decision to stand for the Presidential Election.
- June 6. Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, former Governor of Bombay is dead.
—Mr. Khrushchev threatens that Russia would set up rocket launchers in East Europe if his proposal for a Berlin "Zone of peace" is rejected.
- June 7. A new Opposition Party (Conservative) called "Swatantra Party" is inaugurated in Madras.
- June 8. Secret session of the Foreign Ministers' conference at Geneva is held.
- June 9. Pakistan accepts World Bank's proposal re-canal waters dispute.
- June 10. Kerala Land bill is passed.
—Acharya Vinoba Bhave meets Sheik Md. Abdullah in Jammu.
- June 11. Mr. Nehru arrives in Kathmandu.
—Over fifty per cent of Schools re-open in Kerala.
—Prof. N. G. Ranga resigns from the Congress and takes up the leadership of the newly formed Swatantra Party.
—Western Powers reject Russia's latest Berlin proposals calling for withdrawal of troops.
- June 12. Britain gives a loan of £ 13 million for laying oil pipe line in Assam.
- June 13. U. S. S. R. withdraws ultimatum East-West Foreign Ministers Conference continues.
- June 14. E. M. S. invites Mr. Nehru to Kerala.
- Mob resorts to violence near Ernakulam and 5 are killed and 22 injured when the Police open fire
- June 15. U. N. Secretary Mr. Das Hammarskjöld convenes International Supervisory Commission on Laos.
—Troops move in Kerala to protect government property.
- June 16. President Prasad arrives in Colombo; Enthusiastic welcome is accorded to him.
- June 17. West's last offer to Russia regarding Berlin is resumed.
—Mr. De Valera resigns as Eire's Premier.
- June 18. President Prasad inaugurates Vidyalankara Varsity at Kelariya near Colombo.
- June 19. The Mayors' Conference meets in Ootacamund.
—Mr. De Valera is elected President of the Irish Republic.
- June 20. U.S.A. urges Pakistan to cut down its armed forces.
- June 21. Pt. Nehru rolls off the first military vehicle at Jubhulpore.
- June 22. Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu* passes away.
—President Prasad left Ceylon for India.
- June 23. Mr. Sean Lemass is elected Prime Minister of Irish Republic.
—President de Gaulle visits Italy for a five-day state tour.
- June 24. A party of nine state Governors of U.S.A. arrive in Moscow for a 3-week fact finding tour in Soviet Union.
- June 25. Heavy floods in upper Assam cause extreme damage by the overflow of Brahmaputra.
- June 26. Queen Elizabeth and President Eisenhower open the St. Lawrence Seaway.
—Mr. De Valera is officially declared President of the Republic of Ireland in succession to President O' Kelly.
- June 27. Pope receives de Gaulle.
—Queen Elizabeth pays a brief visit to United States for unveiling an international friendship monument at American Canadian Dam.
- June 28. Hawaii votes for statehood: It will become the 50th state of the United States.
—Mr. J. P. Narayan meets Nehru and discusses Tibetan issue.
- June 29. Central Parliamentary Board which met at Delhi for discussing Kerala situation concluded its sitting.
- June 30. Pak forces fire across truce line in Kashmir.

READERS' DIGEST

THE KERALA CONGRESS

"The Congressmen of Kerala are laying the axe at the root of parliamentary democracy by what they are doing," says Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in a reference to the direct action launched in that State.

Writing under the caption "The Kerala Satyagraha" in *Swarajya*, he says: "When there is a remedy open according to law and the grievance can be brought under examination and remedied, it was not contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi that Satyagraha might be resorted to. Much less justifiable indeed would it be to resort to satyagraha to reverse the decision of the electorate as to which party should have the governance of the State for the time being.

"Not only by the test of doctrine but even as a matter of expediency, the present policy of the Congress in respect of the Government of Kerala is wholly wrong. A million votes may place a party in power in accordance with the Constitution, but 20,000 men who dislike the decision can create a situation by the methods now employed, under which no Government can function without the use of ugly force. And the use of such force will bring in its train passions that will destroy order, and make Government impossible.

"The slogan of non-violence is irrelevant and serves no purpose in this context. The condition of non-violence is attached to disobedience and non-co-operation where these are the only ways open to one who suffers a wrong. Where the Constitution or the laws provide a remedy, Gandhiji would not tolerate resorting to Satyagraha and this even in the case of individuals and their grievances. Much stronger would be his objection to parties and groups seeking to seize power resorting to the methods which he reserved for causes which could not be otherwise furthered."

"That the Congress organisation did not itself accept the responsibility of satyagraha

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against the Kerala Government," he said, "shows that they smelt something wrong in the process. Permitting Congressmen on their own responsibility to do something which the Congress as such could not rightly undertake is an unworthy and unwise evasion.

Much better would it be for the Congress to obtain a law from Parliament that where any party other than the Congress wins in any general election, the Governor can order a new election after such time as he thinks fit without awaiting a vote of no confidence, or the expiry of the period fixed for a fresh general election according to the Constitution. Such a law could be easily passed with the Congress majority in Parliament. It might be indecent, but it would avoid the disorders we now see in Kerala."

Rajaji continues: "This wrong and short-sighted adventure on the part of Kerala Congressmen will have far-reaching evil consequences for the future of parliamentary Government in India. Democracy would rest on a feeble foundation if the provisions of the Constitution are to be by-passed by so-called satyagraha offered by any group that feels strong enough to put sufficient demonstrators in the field. The Constitution contemplates the possibility of peaceful Government even on the basis of a majority of one at an election. It would be completely negated by the doctrine now permitted by the Congress and the Congress Government at the Centre to shake the foundation of the State Government in Kerala.

He concludes: "I do not like the Communist Party, but this is not the way to deal with them. It is through the Constitution and the Constitution alone that we should deal with them."

"The introduction of President's rule now after all that has happened would make it appear to be a trick or conspiracy," the elder statesman adds.

THE KERALA CAULDRON

In a closely reasoned editorial, *Thought* observes that so much has been heard about the irresponsibility of the managers of private schools in opposing a regularly passed law called the State Education Act that practically no attempt is being made to understand the popular opposition to it as also the list of grievances and excesses the various non-communist political parties have compiled against the State Government. First, about the controversial Education Act, let us try to put the issue in perspective.

Kerala, which boasts of the highest literacy in India, has been depending on 11 000 odd schools for the education of its children. Over 7,000 of those schools are privately managed. In other words, a larger amount of credit for the State's proud achievement is due to private institutions than to Government-run schools. So far as we know, apart from a black sheep here and a black sheep there the privately managed schools in Kerala have been functioning as efficiently and satisfactorily as the Government schools, if not better. Some of the Kerala Ministers themselves have been products of those schools. It would thus seem the controversial Education Act was rushed on to the Statute Book by the State Government, based on a precarious majority of two votes in the State Legislature, not with a view to correcting any manifest abuses but to dragooning those schools into Government—read Communist Party—discipline. Any one who has cared to look closely at the various moves and measures adopted by the Communist Government ever since its inception would not be surprised that here too as elsewhere the primary motive was political—to increase the Party's stranglehold on all popular institutions."

The plea that since the Government gives aid to those schools it has a right to interfere in their functioning, is at best tenuous.

"For aid to a school given not as a piece of generosity by benevolent authority but as the ordinary duty of a responsible Government. The most that the Government should insist upon is efficiency and social utility of the institution concerned. Those whom the private schools of the standing and reputation of the schools in question in Kerala serve are also citizens and tax-payers and therefore entitled to Government aid. The mere fact of aid is therefore no justification

for the Government to steamroller the private schools in Kerala into conformism of dubious character.

Now that the managers of the 7,000 private schools in Kerala have decided to close them down rather than run the risk of allowing them to be converted into instruments of alternative patronage and coercion, the question that calls for attention is whether the Government is advancing the cause of popular education by its mulish obstinacy.

"The danger of picketing by the supporters of private schools which is alleged to make for violence *ipso facto*, could easily be neutralized if the State Government tried to be a responsible Government first and a communist agency afterwards. Negotiation rather than threat, was the obvious course for it to adopt, especially when its moral authority to remain in office is not wholly beyond question. But logic and commonsense are perhaps bourgeois and therefore expendable virtues where Communist plans and prospects are concerned."

There is undoubtedly a danger of breakdown of normal administration in the State if the Government remains bent upon using force and not persuasion on an issue on which popular feelings are running so high.

"When one adds to this the manifest determination of all the non-Communist political parties not to take the Government challenge in other spheres lying down, the danger to normal administration becomes a danger of a veritable civil war. And this is a contingency too dreadful for the rest of the country to remain indifferent to."

COMMUNISM IN HURRY

Concluding his thesis on "The Time-Factor in Soviet Economics" Prof. Crossman of the University of California observes in a recent issue of *Problems of Communism* that the Soviet economy is in a hurry; it is pressing hard against its means.

This more than anything else is pushing its leaders toward more prudent (*i.e.*, rational) techniques of husbanding and utilizing resources. Thus the "time factor" in economic calculation is now receiving formal attention and official obeisance. Whether greater economic rationality in this sense must eventually remould the spirit of the society and thereby affect benignly the very ends the Soviet regime seeks and the values it professes—whether, in

effect, the servant will humanize the master—remains to be seen. Those who so believe cannot overlook the fact that more rational paths are also more direct and speedier paths to the posited goals. In the meantime, the commitment of Soviet to an all-out economic contest under dictatorial direction, the thoroughgoing enlistment of the population's energies and minds to this end, and the staking of so much by the regime on the race, do not seem to be especially favourable conditions for accelerating the transformations in the body politic for which economic rationality is reputedly a catalyst.

THE NEW VALUES

In the course of a paper published in the *Theosophist* Mr. Sri Ram, President of the Society, observes:

If we really desire that humanity should enter an era of peace, of real Brotherhood, of complete freedom for everyone to express what is good, what is precious, in himself, then there must be the attitude of mind, the tolerance, the respect for freedom which will lead to the discovery of new values in ourselves and others. Unless there is in a section of humanity this new approach in thought, this new spirit, there will not be the possibility of a new era taking the place of the old; there will merely be the old somewhat modified, patched-up, white-washed to some extent. There must be at least some people to pioneer the new way, some who believe in freedom from the bottom of their hearts, who are different from the crowd, who recognize the new values, and are willing to order their lives in accordance with that recognition, not minding what other people think or say about the way they go.

INDO-VIETNAM LINKS

The ancient glory of Indo-China, whose cultural parents were India and China, reads like a fairy tale, writes Mr. H. I. S. Kanwar in the *Aryan Path*.

"Subject to foreign incursions and mandarin exactions in the days of yore, Indochina emerged over a thousand years ago as the hub of a vast empire extending from the Bay of Bengal to the China Sea, prosperous and thickly populated. Under the rule of such great builders as Jayavarman Suryavarman, Yashovarman and Indravarman, Indochina was covered with wonderful network of roads, which have since vanished through the ravages of time, and much of the area through which they wound is now a wilderness."

Consequently little remains of the great and glorious Hindu civilization, except the charming and romantic court of Cambodia.

"But there are several historic monuments of Hindu architecture and sculpture, and a royal school of ballet dancing, whose sacred performances are a challenge to those of immortal Bali. The ancient Hindu temples were dedicated to Shiva and Krishna, whose complete life is depicted in stone sculptures in the Misong Temple; but the biggest Buddhist Temple is located in Dongduong, famous for its exquisite standing bronze Buddha, an exact replica of that existing in Amraoti in India. The sculpture of all temples is Gupta in style, and from its detailed nature it is evident that Indian Brahmins supervised its construction.

Angkor Vat is to Indochina what the Taj Mahal and the Sanchi Stupa are to India, a living memory of the Khmer genius which produced it in the twelfth century in the reign of the "Varman" kings.

"About a furlong in length and 270 yards wide, the main temple is formed in terraces one above the other, and has five towers of which the centre one takes the form of a lotus-bud rising over 200 feet in height. As elsewhere, the sculpture of Angkor Vat predominantly depicts stories from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* and of the incarnations of Vishnu and other Hindu deities. Every inch of stonework is finished to the smallest detail.

The environments of this great edifice, the largest of its kind in the world, comprise a vast area of mighty ruins and artificial tanks and pools. Life-size elephants sculptured in stone figure along the whole length of one terrace. The five gates are also in the form of elephants picking lotus flowers with their trunks; another favourite subject of sculpture here is that of female dancers and goddesses, whose marvellous dress and postures are to this day adopted in all dances and rituals in Indochina."

SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH

An official Nato pamphlet entitled "Nato-insurance for Peace" issued last month said Russia has 20,000 front-line aircraft, plus a modern force of heavy atom-bombers. It says that the Soviet Navy is the second largest in the world to-day, the pamphlet said, and at the present rate of construction Russia will have about 700 submarines by 1960. Despite various man-power reductions announced since 1955, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries have more than 6,000,000 men under arms.

Russia's ability to strike swiftly and ruthlessly was demonstrated by her suppression of the Hungarian revolt in 1956, the pamphlet said. It added that conscription is still for three or four years, depending on the service.

The USSR has a spearhead for rapid advance into Western Europe, consisting of 22 Soviet divisions in the Soviet zone of Germany and 860 Soviet divisions in Eastern European countries and Western Russia, the pamphlet said. Since 1952, the Soviet Army has been drastically reorganised to enable it to fight under atomic conditions. Old equipment has been replaced by modern weapons and vehicles. Russia has obtained significant result in the field of missiles and possesses operational quantities of these weapons.

The Soviet Air Force comprises 800,000 men and 20,000 operational aircraft. All fighters and light bombers and the majority of ground attack aircraft are jet-propelled. The Soviet Air Force is also equipped with jet medium, jet and turboprop heavy bombers of higher speed, greater combat altitudes and with intercontinental range. The pamphlet said the "satellite" air forces possess 2,500 operational aircraft, 75 per cent of which are jets.

The Soviet block ground forces number about 4,500,000 men, of whom three million are in the Soviet Army.

LAUNCHING MAN INTO SPACE

All is now ready for the first-ever launching of a human being into space according to a writer in *New York Times*:

U.S. officials state that X-15, half plane half rocket missile, is standing by for an imminent bid to take a pilot, Mr. Scott Crossfield. 37-year-old father of five children, on history's greatest adventure 150 miles above the earth's surface and far beyond its atmosphere.

With initial ground and air tests completed, the missile plane, which is 50-feet long and has stub wings and rocket motors, is ready to be lifted to 60,000 feet. At that altitude it will be launched from the belly of a jet bomber to start its four-minute dash towards realm of the Sputnik where no man has yet approached—reaching a speed of 4,000 m.p.h. At the end of the four minutes, the duration of the rocket engine, Mr. Crossfield, enclosed in a steel capsule in the nose of the missile and wearing a refrigerated space-suit, will have journeyed 100 to 150 miles.

Returning to the earth, his ship will risk a burn-up on re-entering at an immense speed the thick atmosphere from frictionless space, but the plan is to "bounce" the missile to graduate speed reduction.

The exterior of the plane will still become red hot but the special alloy from which it is made resists a temperature as high as 1,200 degrees Centigrade and is calculated to bring Mr. Crossfield safely through while experiencing, in addition to other hazards, the condition of weightlessness for most of the journey which no man has known except for brief periods created in fast-diving aircraft.

THE REDS' CHARGE

The Communist Party of India has returned to the charge that Kalimpong was and is being misused by the Tibetan rebels and their supporters and called for an investigation into "this misuse of Indian national soil."

The Party's views have been set out in the editorial of the latest issue of its organ, "*New Age*", which also alleges, "The net (of imperialist intrigue against China) covers not only Kalimpong, but Calcutta, Bhutan and Sikkim."

"Are we wrong when we demand that this serious matter be investigated?" asks the journal. "We communists, do not want our border town and communication system to be used for imperialist reactionary purposes."

Remarking that the Chinese had no option but to put down the Tibetan revolt for "independence" it has drawn a parallel between the situation in Tibet and that in the Nagaland and Kashmir.

"What would any Government in the world have done in such circumstances? What did we do in the Naga area when Phizo and his National Council declared the "independence" of the Nagaland and took up arms against our Central Government? What did we do in

Kashmir when Sheikh Abdullah was barely planning to declare Kashmir's independence from the Indian Union?"

The Party journal also observes that those who are behind the "Tibet agitation" in India are the same "reactionary set" which "opposes the country's foreign policy, the expansion of the public sector and the Nagpur Congress resolutions on agrarian reforms."

These sections, in its opinion, are exploiting "the Tibetan tragedy" to bring about a change in India's policy towards China and thereby in the world alignment of forces.

The same U.S. imperialists, who tried to intervene against China from Quemoy and Matsu, tried the game through their agents in Tibet but failed, the weekly observes. Now they sought to kill two birds with one stone—and attempted to influence the India Government to champion the cause of the Tibetan rebels against the Chinese.

U. S. AID TO PAKISTAN

The General Accounting Office, Washington in a report sent to Congress in April said U. S. aid to Pakistan of over \$600 million had been "more costly and less beneficial" than it should have been.

The report said the aid from 1952 through 1957 had totalled \$604 million, including surplus agricultural products.

The report added that investigation by the General Accounting Office indicated serious mistaxed in the administration of the aid programme.

The report added that assistance given had been beyond the technical and financial capacity of the country to absorb. It said the aid efforts were spread over such a wide range of projects that effective administration has been difficult if not impossible.

The International Co-operation Administration was accused in the reports of having "denied us access" to a special study made of the administration of the Pakistan programme of 1957.

The report added that its own examination showed that too many projects were initiated, planning was insufficient, money was obligated prematurely and equipment was not effectively used.

The report said, as an example of the lack of co-ordination, a number of irrigation pumps costing \$650,000 had remained unused, and expensive earth-moving and transport equipment financed by the U. S. had been idle.

THREAT TO FREE WORLD

Mr. Walter Robertson, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East says that the Chinese policies posed "deadly threats to the collective security of the free world."

In an article in "*Christianity today*" a Protestant fortnightly journal, he said: "General diplomatic recognition of Communist China and allowing it to shoot its way into the United Nations would have a dramatic psychological effect through Asia. It would appear as a major Chinese Communist victory a sign that we had capitulated before the Communist pressures. This would discourage resistance to Communism throughout the area and deal devastating blows to the morale of non-Communist Asian nations."

He said it was unlikely that a policy aimed at overcoming the Chinese Government's "basic hostility" would succeed. China rejected all compromise on Formosa, he stated.

NEHRU'S CAUTIOUS POLICY

Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of the British left-wing weekly *New Statesman* commends the caution of Mr. Nehru, India's Prime Minister, in the "new and dangerous chapter in Asian history" opened by the "Tibetan revolt and its suppression by Peking."

Mr. Martin says in an article headed "Reflections on Tibet" that responsible commentators had begun to understand the reason for Mr. Nehru's caution.

"No wonder that he avoids uttering irrevocable words of condemnation about China or that.....He places good relations with China at the head of his admittedly conflicting priorities," Mr. Martin said.

"For him to abandon his Panch Shila agreement with Chou En Lai and to give up hope of peaceful relations with Peking would be the most tragic of decisions for India and the World," he said.

Mr. Martin says if all the 2,000 miles of her frontier had to be fortified, if India had every day to fear invasion from China, then she would have to spend more on arms and there would be little hope of India continuing to base her industrial development on democratic principles or making her chief object the improvement of her miserable standard of living.

"Instead of a peaceful and constructive democracy offering the alternative to both colonialism and Communism in the East,

India would become a country divided between frightened people of property demanding American bombing bases, and Communists exploiting the shocking facts of peasant poverty," he said.

THE LAW OF CONTEMPT IN U. K.

The English Law of Criminal contempt is "Chaotic and a serious handicap to free discussion" according to the Report issued by the British section of the International Commission of Jurists. It has been drawn up by a committee of legal experts headed by Lord Shawcross, Attorney-General in the first post-war Labour Government.

The report says that the present law of criminal contempt tends particularly to impede free discussion in the "most responsible" newspapers.

It declares that the most urgent need is for the right of appeal against any conviction or sentence by the High Court for contempt. This could be done by adding only five words to the Judicature Act of 1925.

This right—at present denied—would enable a substantive body of law of criminal contempt to be built up.

Decisions of the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords would then establish a fair balance between the needs of the administration of justice and other elements of the public interest without any further reform by legislation.

The report recommends that criticism of a Judge should not amount to contempt of court unless prejudice, corruption or other improper motive was alleged against him.

In general, it should be a defence to any charge of contempt where published matter was alleged to have prejudiced judicial proceedings and the accused neither knew, nor had reason to suspect that such proceedings had begun.

Similarly it should generally be a defence to any charge against a distributor of publication and had no reason to suspect that it contained contemptuous matter.

Matter relating to someone suspected of crime—published before an arrest—should be capable of being treated as contempt when :

(a) it was a matter of which the law forbade evidence being given at the trial or (b) when the alleged contemtor knew that an arrest was imminent. No prosecution of a criminal contempt outside the court should

be initiated except by or with the consent of the Attorney-General.

The power of the Court of Appeal, the High Court and Quarter Sessions, to punish summarily for contempt committed "in face of the court" should be limited.

Every person charged with contempt should be entitled to give oral evidence in his defence.

Commenting on sentences the Report has something very important to tell. It says that the law of contempt should not be invoked in the case of comment on sentences in such a way as to discourage public discussion in this matter.

"In all cases of alleged contempt the element of prejudice to the administration of justice should be weighed against any other public interest which might be affected by treating the act complained of as contempt."

It declares that decisions of the courts in 1956 and 1957 sparked off "a wave of complaints" that Judges were acquiring new powers and that criticism of the courts by the Press was being silenced.

It was said that a man might be convicted by the very court which considered itself aggrieved—and sentenced to unlimited prison or fine without a jury or right of appeal.

Journalists had protested that the law was "fraught with perils" for them. Lawyers had swiftly followed the Press in pointing out further alleged injustices in matters of procedure.

The committee believed however, that it was essential that the court should have ample powers to enforce its orders, and to protect itself from abuse.

In particular, in the case of published matter prejudicing pending trials, the committee stuck to the principle that trial should be by the court alone and that there should be no "trial by newspapers."

The committee believed, however, that there were cases when "prejudice" was not substantial enough to warrant its treatment as a crime.

Press comment on sentences should be weighed with the wider interests of justice and public confidence in it, before it was condemned as contempt. It was difficult to discuss topical questions...such as whether attempted suicide should be punishable—if comment could not be made as individual cases arose.

PARITY IN CRITICISM

Under the above heading Mr. C. Raja gopalachari writes in the *Indian Express* :

I have a moving letter from a Western Buddhist friend. He points out that what India did in the case of England's blunder over Suez we should not hesitate to do in the case of Tibet. He argues that as our action in that issue and that of other national governments halted Britain's wrong policy and brought about U. N. intervention, the same procedure can well be adopted against Communist China now.

The policy of neutral nations must be understood to follow from their conviction that the cold war is bad for the world and must be starved out and therefore that it should not be fed with support to one side or the other. This is the basic and preeminent point to be kept in mind when judging the foreign policies of neutral countries.

What follows from this fundamental may often seem to be a lapse from impartiality. The indictment of a 'double standard' is often made on a wrong and superficial appraisal. It is possible to criticise or condemn a particular policy or action of a nation with whom we have long and intimate cultural and political contact without its resulting in a break of the bonds of goodwill and friendship with that nation. We cannot do the same with a nation with whom we have not had such long-standing contacts. In the case of the latter harsh criticism is likely to terminate the very means of persuasive action on which we must necessarily continue to depend. Walking on the tight rope we have sometimes to put out the pole more to one side than the other. This does not mean that we wish to fall that side.

This is the position we are in with respect to this wretched cold war of the world when we find one side or the other doing some thing which we dislike and wish to condemn.

The difficulty and difference which I have pointed out above are often ignored and India is charged with unduly soft-peddalling one side, and accused of partiality and pusillanimity. Neutrality in this relative world of affairs is a hard job harder than the task of those who are definitely on one side or the other. The middle way is not the easier but indeed the more difficult way. The relativity of things is easily overlooked by critics both Indian and foreign. To put it in commercial jargon, the ratio of foreign exchange in international goodwill varies from country to

country. The same criticism and the same degree of bluntness of expression would in one case be considered as a gesture of honest friendship while it might snap the chord of goodwill in another case.

Apart from this fundamental point there is the great and outstanding difference between the two cases that while France, Israel and Britain were all members of the U. N. and as a result the proceedings and feelings of that club had powerful influence over those governments, Communist China has not been allowed membership in the U. N. China has been provokingly black-balled in spite of every direct and indirect approach for membership. Exclusion has its disadvantages as well as satisfactions.

Condemnation by the world in general is no doubt available and is a great force. But condemnation by the U. N. cannot be expected to have any effect on Communist China whose company has been spurned by that body. As for world opinion, the more spontaneous and the less engineered it is, the greater will be its salutary effect. Without any cold war lead, the whole world sympathises with the people of Tibet and is expressing that sympathy. Any lead from the great Western powers who are daily and hourly trying in their own interest to shape the policies of the Middle East Countries, would give an unhealthy turn to the development of world opinion as regards what is done to Tibet. The moral effect would be considerably reduced if the growth of opinion is attributable to the self-interests of the Western powers.

The plight of Tibet does not really need the moral support of the Western powers who, it is obvious, are not in a position to give material assistance and enter into open military conflict with the Communist world. World opinion will rapidly shape itself against injustice to Tibet, without any assistance from the press or the Governments of the Western nations. Tibet should, indeed, now be saved from her friends. The people of Tibet are a separate nation from that of China and cannot without great oppression be reduced to subjection. Tibet's claim to separate national existence is incontestable and we may hope this as well as the trend of world opinion will be perceived and shape China's policy towards Tibet. If Asian opinion and Asian fears will not be ignored by the Communist powers, but given due place in their international policy, there is hope for Tibet."

THE THIRD CAMP IN WORLD AFFAIRS

A writer in *Mankind*—Shri R. L. Chandapuri urges the need for a third bloc to counter the mischief wrought by the two contending blocs—the capitalist and the communist blocs. According to him both are pressing, in different ways, the same policy of colonialism and expansion and domination in the context of these two powerful blocs the only hope for peace lies in the emergence of a third bloc.

“Only the effective opinion of a third camp can compel the two warring camps to pursue a policy of peace and disarmament and non-aggression in respect of weak and under-developed countries of the world. On the one hand people all over the world who denounce militarism and expansionist policy of these blocs and have faith in the creation of a third force of world opinion for combating them should be mobilised, and on the other hand all such nations which are free from the influence of the two blocs should be brought together. All those nations comprising the third camp should keep aloof from either of the two camps, and maintain neutrality in their conflicts, and voice their effective protest and indignation at their military designs. Those countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which are passing through a period of renaissance, pulsating with new life and vigour and not involved in the mischievous clutches of powerful blocs, should show the way. Col. Nasser who has shown rare calibre and political maturity in forming the United Arab Republic should show his mettle by sponsoring the move for a third force in the existing world order”.

“The foreign policy of the Indian government he goes on to add, has belied all hopes and aspirations of India by its impotent behaviour of playing a subservient role to both the blocs and appeasing them alternately.”

“Even to-day the overwhelming majority of Indians would support any attempt in the formation of the third camp, if vigorous propaganda is carried out inside the country and similar forces from outside also interact.”

“WORLDS IN THE MAKING”

Russia claimed that her scientists had proved “the eternal youth of the universe” by discovering vast new galaxies where new stars were being born and powerful cosmic rays apparently had their source.

The discovery of these galaxies, where physical processes were more intensive than in any previously known, was announced by

Astronomer Viktor Ambartsumyann, President of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

It described him as the first man to prove the existence of groups of young stars, so called stellar associations, which it said was believed to be one of the most important discoveries of the past few decades.

Mr. Ambartsumyann was quoted as saying that the new type galaxies, which he had dubbed “non-stationary” or “blue,” consisted largely of gas which apparently went to make new stars. They were “worlds in the making,” he said.

PAPER-BACK REVOLUTION

The Lenin of the paper-back revolution was Sir Allen Lane, says the writer of the Miscellany in the *Manchester Guardian*. Who was the Stalin “might be left to personal taste or prejudice, but nobody could deny that a revolution was started even if it was not planned when the Lane brothers in 1935, on a capital of £100, began to offer their “Penguin” books to shops up and down the country. As with other revolutionists the Lane idea was not entirely new—but it differed crucially from the Continental conception of books bound in paper rather than cloth. The “Penguin” was a book specially designed to be sold at the minimum price to the maximum readership.”

Sir Allen must have been an optimist from the very beginning, for all the theories of British publishing were against him. “Even when he succeeded his bandwagon was left strangely undercrowded. There were still the wise old ones with their talk of flashes in pans. But nowadays there is hardly an inch of spare room on the same wagon.”

In England and in the United States the satellites and fellow-travellers of the revolution have shouldered their way into the market, and sometimes seem to have swamped the originators. “But Sir Allen, almost like a nineteenth-century capitalist, smiles benignly at the mention of competition and says that in some directions it cannot do anything but good to Penguins. Of course, he says, he does not speak of competition in making the covers look more attractive than the contents: “I’m content to leave bottoms and bosoms to others.” Neither he nor anybody else in the publishing world twenty years ago could have conceived sales in tens of thousands for books about philosophy, archaeology, or nineteenth-century French poetry in translation. That, rather than profits on popular prose, is the measure of the paperback revolution.”

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

The Big Four Foreign Ministers met for the last time on June 20 and wound up six weeks of talks with a communique agreeing to meet again on July 13.

The communique said that in the 41 days of talks “a broad range of views took place and the Ministers believe that further discussions and negotiations are necessary.” A Sun mit Conference was not mentioned.

The Conference, which at times threatened to end in hostile ruin, wound to a quiet halt. The recess was suggested by the West and the weary Ministers amicably agreed to pack it up for three weeks “to get some fresh air.”

The talks, deadlocked for 10 days had made virtually no progress over Berlin, German re-unification and European Security.

They finally foundered on the obstacle which has hampered progress from the outset—whether a time limit should or should not be set on the Western Power's occupation rights in West Berlin. Russia has refused to agree to allow the regime to continue without a time limit and the West has refused to abandon it until divided Germany is reunited.

So the adjournment of the Foreign Ministers' Conference has caused disappointment but neither surprise nor dismay in London.

So far as the Summit Conference is concerned, the situation seems to be more or less the same as it was before. The adjournment has certainly not destroyed its chances. It is still considered desirable and likely to take place, though it is still not very clear when and how it will come about. In any event, a Summit—unless it be a purely “Western Summit”—is out of the question before the Foreign Ministers get together again this month.

The conference has been useful in that it has finally narrowed down the issue to Berlin and clarified the differences of opinion on this point. There have also been numerous private talks, about which nothing much is known, but they may bear fruit some day.

On Berlin itself the proposals and counter-proposals have made it clear that the Soviet aim is to terminate the occupation regime as

the first step towards consolidating the position of the East German Government. The Western Powers, on the other hand, are determined to hold on, if not for ever, at least until Germany is reunified. These conflicting policies underlay the concessions offered by each side. The West was prepared to reduce its garrison and limit its various activities in Berlin,—but only on condition that Russia recognised the former's occupation rights. Russia was prepared to recognise Western occupation right but only on condition that they should be brought to an end some time, regardless of whether, Germany was united or not.

The question of fixing a time-limit, thus became the crucial point in the final phase of the negotiations. Mr. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, said he would agree to an interim arrangement and confirm Western rights, provided it was for a specific period, whether one year or eighteen months, or, perhaps, a little longer. But, this was unacceptable to the West. The matter could, no doubt, be reviewed and re-negotiated at the end of the interim period but then, the situation would have changed entirely, and they would have to take their stand not on the right of conquest, as at present, but on the temporary agreement with the Soviet Union, which would have just expired.

There is no obvious reason why this nut should be any the easier to crack in July than it has been so far, but British circles appear to be hopeful.

Mr. Christian Herter, the Secretary of State, told the American people at Washington on June 23 that the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference had revealed possible areas of agreement concerning specific arrangements for Berlin.

Mr. Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister, said on 26th June he still hoped the Geneva Foreign Minister's meeting would lead to a Summit.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry on the 28th June issued a statement on the Geneva Conference expressing the hope that the West would use the current adjournment period to reach a more realistic position on the German and Berlin questions.

Utterances of the Day

MR. CHAGLA ON MODERN INDIA

Mr. M. C. Chagla, the Indian Ambassador, described India as a country "throbbing and pulsating with a new life. 'Freedom has led to an awakening of the people, and the common man in India realises how abject his condition is and how poorly it compares with conditions in this country or other countries in Europe,' he observed in an address to Hartford University on June 7 where he received an honorary Doctorate.

"If we succeed in transforming our country from an underdeveloped to a developed country and in eradicating poverty, and if we could do this by democratic process then we will have proved not only to our own people but to millions of other peoples in Asia and Africa that it is not necessary to sacrifice individual freedom in order to achieve economic prosperity," he observed.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S APPEAL

Queen Elizabeth, opening the 650-delegate Atlantic Congress of 14 NATO countries at London last month appealed to "any who are disposed to quarrel" to think twice and make a determined effort to agree.

"It is in the light of this new concept that I would ask you to frame your ideas and your resolution," the Queen said. "It is the ordinary people of this Atlantic community who want a clear lead. There is an unmistakable longing among peace-loving people of the world to create a happier and an easier international atmosphere, but, there is no simple guide to point the way."

MR. RAMA RAU ON CONGRESS POLICY

Mr. B. Rama Rau, the former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, stressed the importance of creating an effective democratic opposition party in a parliamentary system of Government.

Mr. Rama Rau who was addressing the Rotary Club at Bombay on June 23 said there was no doubt "that there had been widespread dissatisfaction and disillusionment in regard to some aspects of the policies of the Congress and its achievements during recent years. Until a few months ago public feeling was not, unfortunately finding adequate expression through the Press. They were unhealthy symptoms in a democratic system and were more characteristic of a developing totalitarian regime. They could only be curbed by an effective democratic opposition."

MR. BUNKER ON INDIA'S STAND

Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, the United States Ambassador to India, said that the recent events in Tibet had shocked India, but had strengthened India's attachment to democratic principles.

Events in Tibet came as a great shock in India, he said in an interview in New York last month. "They strengthened India's attachment to and belief in and adherence to democracy and their determination to proceed along those lines. The Indian Prime Minister and all of the Government are dedicated to democratic principles. I don't think there is any doubt about that."

POPE JOHN'S APPEAL

Pope John on June 16 prayed in Saint Peter's Basilica that the world's leaders might reach a "good understanding which would help to solve the difficulties oppressing people's lives.

Descending into the crowded Basilica for a "holy hour" marking the feast of the Sacred Heart, the Pope asked those present to pray God to "sustain the wills and intentions" of statesmen and make a sincere spirit of collaboration "which alone can guarantee true peace" reign in the world.

MR. MUNSHI ON DEMOCRACY

Mr. K. Munshi addressing a public meeting at Madras on June 24 analysed the crisis through which democracy was passing throughout the world. Referring particularly to India he said that "the crisis here is created partly because our democracy is becoming weak on account of the verbal hypnotism of the Communists and partly because of the moral decay amongst our thinking people."

Mr. Munshi urged that if the democrats led dedicated lives and offered to the antagonists the resistance of higher ideals and aims then and then only would democracy live and not otherwise.

MRS. GANDHI ON COMMUNISM

Inaugurating the Madras District Congress Committee Political Conference at the Congress grounds on June 7 Mrs. Gandhi said:

"The poor Indian people expected something of their leaders, and if they felt the leaders were leaning towards the right and were favouring the 'haves' then there was the danger of the people leaning towards Communism, and that is the real danger of any rightist movement in the country."

Political

TROUBLE IN KERALA

A declaration listing the various acts of omission and commission on the part of the Communist Government of Kerala—forming the summary of the "charge sheet" framed by the Opposition parties against the State Government—was released on June 11, by the joint Standing committee of direct action.

The 37-clause declaration, was adopted at all public meetings held by the Opposition parties in observance of a Deliverance Day."

The declaration said the Communist Ministry by "its unjustifiable and anti-democratic activities" had forfeited its right to continue in power and it called upon the people to take a pledge for "a peaceful and uncompromising struggle for liberation" if the Ministry did not resign immediately.

The agitation took a serious turn from the 12th June when the opposition parties resorted to direct action by picketing schools and public offices and obstructing people from entering all government offices. Thousands joined the movement and when the mob was said to have resorted to violence the police shot at the crowd in four places. Charges and counter-charges were levelled against each other. In the agitation started by the Congress, Praja Socialists, the Nair Samajam and others, a first-class political crisis has been created. Over 15,000 people were taken into custody by the police in connection with the direct action and school closure movement in various parts of Kerala since June 12 when the Opposition agitation started with a State-wide hartal, according to figures available till the time of our going to press.

Of these over 4000 people were sent to jail for various terms of imprisonment and others let off after warning.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as Congress president deputed Mr. Dhebar and Mr. Siddiq Ali to report on the Kerala situation. They toured the State for a week and sent their report to the Congress Central Parliamentary Board. On the invitation of Mr. Nambudripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, Mr. Nehru also came to Kerala to study the situation. After three days' stay there (23rd, 24th and 25th June) he revealed that certain suggestions had been made for meeting the charges made by the Opposition against the Communist Government. He said that suspension of the implementation of the Education Act till all points of differences were ironed out, institution of a

judicial enquiry into the cases of police firing and sitting round a table to discuss specific charges against the Government had been suggested.

Mr. Nehru, however, admitted that an election was the obvious way out of the present situation.

On the 26th June the Congress Parliamentary Board met at new Delhi and after 4 days, discussion resolved that "the democratic way of meeting the situation in Kerala where the Government is challenged and is facing widespread and intense opposition is to make the State Government agree to fresh elections." Such a course of action which would direct popular energy into proper democratic channels is the right course to be followed in the existing circumstances.

The Chief Minister of Kerala, Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, has announced the Government's willingness to suspend the operation of the controversial Clause Eleven of the recently enacted Education Act.

The Chief Minister has further said that his Government has also agreed to an "examination" of the specific complaints made against the Ministry along with representatives of the opposition.

In a statement issued soon after the departure of Prime Minister Nehru, Mr. Namboodiripad said that where there was any disagreement, the matter would be referred to the Prime Minister again for his "examination and advice."

About ordering a judicial enquiry into the Police firings, the Chief Minister hinted that it might be considered if the direct action was withdrawn. But the opposition refused to meet. The agitation is going on. What the Centre will do next is awaited.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

The *New York Times* hails the formation of the new party as an encouraging development and views it as a "truly Conservative Party although it had rejected that name". It said:

One reason for gratification is that this new group is led by a distinguished statesman, Mr. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. "C. R." as he is affectionately called, is a man of wisdom, integrity and ability. He was the first Indian Governor-General after Independence—claiming a long and useful career in public life."

"India, like other countries, needs two strong parties if responsible democratic Government is to work to the best advantage."

EXPANSION OF EDUCATION

Dr. K. S. Shrimali, Union Minister for Education said that the Union Government proposed to train one lakh teachers in the next two years under a scheme for the expansion of education in the country.

He said the training programme was estimated to cost the Union Government about Rs. 8 crores.

Dr. Shrimali was inaugurating a two-day educational conference at Pachmarhi on June 16.

The conference was presided over by Dr. K. N. Katju, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

Dr. Shrimali said that free and compulsory primary education would possibly be introduced in the country by the end of the Third Plan period, although the task was a "stupendous" one involving "enormous expenditure".

But, he said, provision of free primary education was not enough. It should be remembered that lakhs of children did not even get two square meals a day.

Dr. Katju emphasised the need for greater attention to be paid to women's education.

AGA KHAN'S GIFT TO HARVARD

The Aga Khan, spiritual leader of 23 million Moslems, has given the Harvard University 50,000 dollars to establish a 10-year scholarship programme to assist students from India, Pakistan, Iran, the Middle East and East Africa, it was announced on June 19.

The youthful Aga Khan returned to the University to complete his studies there last autumn after succeeding to his grand-father's title on the old Aga Khan's death.

Announcing the Scholarship Fund, a University spokesman said the 50,000-dollar gift will be combined with at least as much again in Harvard's own scholarship funds.

PHILOSOPHERS' CONFERENCE

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, one of the principal lecturers at a six-week conference of philosophers from Asia, the Western Hemisphere and Europe, which began in Honolulu on June 24. Dr. Radhakrishnan reached Honolulu on July 8 and stayed there for four days. The topic of his address was "the present crisis in faith".

The aim of the conference, the third of its kind, is to bring cultures of various parts of

the world closer together. Philosophers from 11 nations were represented.

DOCTORATE FOR H. J. BHABHA

Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, was among the eight distinguished men who received honorary degrees at Cambridge University on 10th June. Dr. Bhabha, an honorary Fellow of Gonville and Caius College Cambridge received the degree of Science.

Among the others who received degrees were Le Corbusier, the great French architect of Chandigarh, Sir Vivian Fuchs, leader of the British Trans-Antarctic Expedition of 1957-58, Mr. Benjamin Britten, leading British composer, Mr. Henry Moore, famous British sculptor and prizewinner at Japan's recent International Art Exhibition, and Sir Thomas Williamson, general secretary of Britain's National Union of General and Municipal Workers.

The eight recipients walked in the traditional procession round the Senate House court, headed by the University's Chancellor, Lord Tedder.

TRAINING OF ENGINEERING GRADUATES

The Practical Training Sub-Committee appointed by the Southern Regional Committee of the All-India Council for Technical Education met at Madras on June 20 and approved the procedure for placing engineering graduates and diploma holders for training in private industries and Government establishments for the period commencing from Aug 1, 1959.

Under the training scheme about 300 graduates and diploma-holders are to be accommodated in various industries.

Details of the scheme are available with the various institutions, and necessary forms have also been sent to the institutions.

The scheme also makes provision for students who passed some years ago, but missed proper practical training.

ON EXAMINATIONS

Mr. Mallaradhy, M.L.A. who was delivering his Presidential Address to the Karnata Secondary Teachers' Conference at Dharwar on July, 1, said: "Our chief concern is to secure a method for examining the results of teaching efforts made by teachers and the results of the learning efforts by students, a method impartial in its application, and comprehensive in scope."

GENOCIDE IN TIBET

The International Commission of Jurists said in a statement issued at Geneva on June 16 that after studying evidence regarding the Chinese suppression of Tibet it had concluded that there had been a "deliberate violation of fundamental human rights."

A report approved by the Commission said: "There is also a prima facie case that on the part of the Chinese there has been an attempt to destroy the national, ethical, racial and religious group of Tibetans by killing members of the group and by causing serious bodily harm to members of the group."

"These acts constitute the crime of genocide under the genocide convention of the United Nations of 1948."

The report on Tibet was prepared, at the request of the Commission, by Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas, Indian member of the Commission.

Presenting a summary of his report at a Press Conference Mr. Trikamdas said the Commission had decided to send the report to the United Nations and to ask it to take such action as it might consider appropriate.

ZONAL RECRUITMENT OF H. C.

JUDGES

Nine Judges had been appointed in seven states till March 1 last in accordance with the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission that a certain number of judges of a High Court should be persons recruited from outside the State.

However, in order to ensure that there was no grievance that appointments were going to persons outside the State, it was agreed that whenever an "outside appointment" was made in a particular state, the next "outside" vacancy within the zone should go, as far as possible to that state provided a suitable person was available.

Accordingly, panels are being prepared, in consultation with the Chief Justice of India, of persons from each State considered suitable for High Court appointments.

MR. NEHRU'S APOLOGY

Prime Minister Nehru in a letter to the Secretary of the Bar Library Club, Calcutta, has said that he was "sorry" that some remarks made by him at a Press Conference should have been interpreted as being derogatory to Mr. Vivian Bose or to any other judge.

The remarks, he said, were casually made and, added: "I realise that I should not have made even a casual remark of this kind and I am sorry for it."

HINDU RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Mr. M. Patanjali Sastri, retired Chief Justice of India, said at Madras on July 5 that any attempt to vest control of administration of Hindu religious and charitable endowments in Government, directly with a body of subordinate governmental machinery, would not be conducive to public interest.

He suggested that, if there was any desire for proper administration of Hindu religious institutions and Mutts in the country, Boards of Management, comprising persons who have a real faith in Hindu religion, should be constituted, under law, and such Boards should be vested with full autonomous powers of administration.

CRIME WAVE IN U. K.

Britain's crime wave reached its post-war peak last year with more and more teenagers turning to robbery and violence, it was officially announced on June 14.

Figures published in a report of police inspectors in England and Wales confirmed recent predictions that the nation's crime graph would soon pass the post-war record year of 1948.

In their annual report, the inspectors reviewed 1957 crime figures and said there was no doubt that 1959 would show an even worse record.

AMENDMENT OF COMPANY LAW

The two-day session of the INTUC Working Committee presided over by its President, Mr. G. Ramanujam, which concluded at Delhi on June 17 by a resolution, requested the Government of India to suitably amend the company law, prohibiting the sale of industrial units in separate lots of land, building and machinery, in the wider interest of maintaining national production and preventing permanent loss of employment to workers.

THE ORISSA HIGH COURT

The President has appointed Mr. Justice Souri Prasad Mahapatra, a Judge of the Orissa High Court, to perform the duties of the Chief Justice of that Court, during the absence on leave of Mr. Justice R. L. Narasimham with effect from June 29, 1959, said a Ministry of Home Affairs Press note dated June 23.

MR. V. B. RAJU

The President has appointed Mr. Vadrevu Bhadriraju, District and Sessions Judge, as an Additional Judge of the Bombay High Court, for one year with effect from the date he assumes charge.

MR. K. SRINIVASAN

We deeply regret to record the death of Mr. Kasturi Srinivasan, Editor, *The Hindu* on 22nd June at his residence "Sibarmati", in Madras. Mr. Srinivasan was 72. He was born in August 1887. He was the eldest son of Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Proprietor and Editor of "The Hindu". After graduating from Presidency College, Madras, he joined the paper when Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar was Editor. He assumed the editorship of "The Hindu" in February, 1934, after the death of Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.

Mr. Srinivasan was the Vice-President of the International Press Institute in 1952 and was Chairman of the Indian National Committee of that Institute. He was awarded the title of Padma Bhushan in January 1956.

Tributes to the services rendered by Mr. Srinivasan to the cause of journalism came from all parts of the country and abroad.

Soon after his death President Rajendra Prasad said:

"He was not only a leading journalist, but also in his own sphere a public man widely respected for his sincerity of purpose and patriotism. The Indian newspaper world has lost in the death of Sri Kasturi Srinivasan a fearless journalist and a man of deep convictions."

Mr. Srinivasan was the supporter of all good causes. Under his stewardship the Hindu maintained a high standard of journalism. In him the journalistic world has lost a noble-benefactor. We offer our heartfelt sympathies to the members of the bereaved family.

SIR MAHARAJ SINGH

Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, former Governor of Bombay died at Lucknow on June 6. He was 81.

Born on May 17, 1878, in the royal family of Kapurthala, Raja Maharaj Singh was the son of late Raja Harnam Singh.

He had been High Commissioner for India in South Africa from 1932 to 1934 and had also been Prime Minister of Kashmir and Jodhpur States.

He had been the member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations from 1946 to 1947 and in 1948 became the Governor of Bombay State. He held this post till 1952.

PROF. M. S. SUNDARAM

The death occurred in London on June 24 of heart failure of Prof. M. S. Sundaram,

Education Counsellor of the Indian High Commission in U.K. at the age of 56.

Generations of Indian students who went for higher studies to the U.K. and the U.S.A. remember Prof. Sundaram for his geniality and helpfulness.

MR. JOHN A. THIVY

The Indian Ambassador to The Hague, Mr. John A. Thivy, died at the Hague on June 4. Mr. Thivy has been Indian Ambassador in The Hague since December 6, 1957.

Fifty-five year old Mr. Thivy was Ambassador to Italy in 1955 also concurrently accredited as Minister to Albania and Ambassador to Greece.

MR. C. V. NARASIMHAN

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, United Nations Secretary-General, on June 10 announced the creation of a Special Economic Policy Board to streamline the handling of Governments' requests for economic and other aid.

Mr. Hammarskjöld appointed Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, a top Indian member of his "Cabinet" to be the executive member of the Board and to act as his deputy in his absence. Mr. Narasimhan is Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs.

MR. N. G. RANGA

Mr. N. G. Ranga announced at New Delhi on June 11 his resignation from the Congress following his acceptance of the leadership of the newly-formed Swatantra Party.

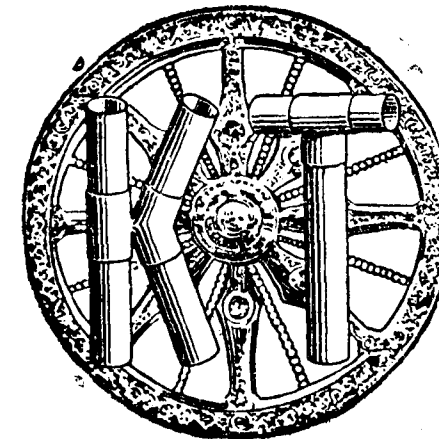
He has sent separate letters to the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee and Mr. Nehru, Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, resigning his primary membership of the Congress.

A. OLMEDO

Alejandro Olmedo 23 year old Peruvian born United States Davis Cup player, on July 4 won the Wimbledon singles title, the most coveted individual honour in lawn tennis. The lithe, coffee-coloured 6 ft. athlete, son of a tennis club grounds-man, beat 19 year old Rod Laver, of Australia, 6-4, 6-3, 6-4, in a final which was always interesting.

ENGLAND WINS RUBBER

England gained a Winning 3-0 lead in the five-match series against India when they won the third Test by an innings and 173 runs at Leeds on July 4. It was the second match running that England won a Test with more than two days to spare.



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U. S. HELP TO INDIA

The United States will lend India a minimum of 200 million dollars for development projects during the final two years of India's Second Five-year Plan, it was revealed in Congressional testimony released.

The estimate was given by Mr. Douglas Dillon the Under-Secretary of State, who testified at a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May. 4.

He also indicated that sales of surplus United States farm products to India would continue at about the current average of 220 million dollars worth annually.

In addition, Dr. Dillon said, the United States expected to go on supplying technical assistance at a rate of approximately 10,500,000 dollars a year, as well as continuing with financial aid for India's malaria eradication programme.

India began the fourth year of its Second Five-year Plan in April this year. The Plan is due to be completed in March 1961.

In the remaining two years of India's Second Five-year Plan, the major elements of assistance to India are expected to include further DLF (Development Loan Fund) loans, Public Law 480 sales, technical assistance, and financing for India's malaria eradication programme.

RAPID INDUSTRIALISATION

Prime Minister Nehru declared that only through industrialisation in a big way could India go forward and solve her problems of poverty and unemployment.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a mammoth public meeting at a Jubulpore on June 21 laid considerable stress on rapid industrialisation and said in firm tones: "There is no other way out except industrialisation to go forward. It is a wrong idea that by industrial progress unemployment will grow. It is only through industrialisation that the ideal of full employment can be reached."

Neither can the unemployment problem be solved, nor can we take India forward without industrialisation. If, however, any industry was badly run, it might result in temporary unemployment. Steps had to be taken to guard against it. But this could not be made an excuse to run down industrialisation. The very concept that employment opportunities will go down as a result of industrialisation was utterly wrong."

THE THIRD PLAN

The A.I.C.C. Seminar on Planning which concluded its six-day sittings at Ootacamund last month to discuss the broad strategy of the Third Five-year Plan, has expressed the opinion that the Plan should give the highest importance to the intensification of agricultural production on the one side and the expansion of the basic capital goods industries on the other. It is envisaged that the investment programme of the Third Plan would be of the order of Rs. 10,000 crores with two-thirds in the Public Sector and one-third in the Private Sector. The Seminar had come to the conclusion that it would be possible to mobilise the required resources through public and private savings and a reasonable measure of external borrowings.

INDEBTEDNESS OF INDIA

India's international creditor position (taking both official and non-official sectors) registered a reversal in 1957, inasmuch as in place of being a net creditor to the tune of Rs. 215 crores in 1956, it became a net debtor abroad to the extent of Rs. 267 crores.

The country's net indebtedness rose further to Rs. 648 crores at the end of 1958.

This is revealed in a study on "Foreign investments in India: 1957 and 1958" published in the latest issue of the Reserve Bank of India bulletin.

INDIAN MADE CARS

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, told a Press Conference at Srinagar on June 3 that the Indian automobile industry had, by and large, fulfilled its undertaking to the Government in regard to the phased manufacture of a complete Indian car. A committee was now going into the progress of automobile manufacture in the country, he said and expressed the hope that a 99 per cent Indian manufactured car would be in the market in the near future.

INDIRA GANDHI'S CALL

Mrs. Gandhi, who was inaugurating the Madras District Congress Political Conference on June 7 said that just as they built up mass movements in 1930 and subsequent years for launching freedom struggles, Congressmen should create fervour among the people and make them actively participate and co-operate with Government in attaining the targets set forth in the Plans.

RITA ZAHARA

A Beautiful 17-year-old girl has caused a sensation at Djakarta last month by leading an all-male football team on to the field against some of Indonesia's toughest teams.

She is Rita Zahara, of Surabaya, who goal-keeps for her own Zahara football team.

Off the football field, Rita is a shy little girl who does not often wear lipstick "because she is too ashamed", and rarely goes out on dates with boys.

But on the field Rita is a fastmoving, hard-kicking footballer who can pack enough punch in her 110 pounds weight to knock a man out and has done so.

MRS. V. L. PUNDIT

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pundit, Indian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, was described as "the most highly distinguished woman in the world today" by Lord Evershed, Master of the Rolls, when she attended a ceremony at Clifton College, Bristol, last month. Clifton is one of Britain's best-known public schools, and Mrs. Pundit is the first woman ever to be invited to be the guest of honour at its annual prize giving.

EUROPE'S OLDEST NUN

Sister Maria Melania Ernst, who claims to be Europe's oldest nun, celebrated her 100th birthday at Rome on June 6.

Sister Maria Melania Ernst, daughter of a captain in the Army of the King of Naples, abandoned her gay social life to become a missionary and travelled widely in Africa, Asia and America, creating religious institutes.

PROTECTIVE HOMES FOR WOMEN

About 60 protective homes, accommodating 900 women and children have been set up throughout India in one year since May, 1958, when the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956, was enforced, says an official Press release dated June 21.

INDIAN GIRL GUIDES IN U. S.

The girl scouts of U. S. have extended an invitation to Bharat Scouts and Guides, India, to send two guides to attend the senior girl round-up to be held at Colorado Springs from July 3 to 12. Miss Veena Agarwal of Delhi and Miss Pushpa Ranade of Nagpur have been selected to represent India. They flew to the U. S. from Bombay on June 24.

After the event they will be guests of the girl scouts of America for three weeks.

SMT. SANTOKBEN GANDHI

Shrimati Santokben Gandhi, widow of Maganlal Gandhi, a close associate and nephew of Mahatma Gandhi, died at Mittapur near Dwarka (Saurashtra), on June 2, a short-while after she was pulled out of sea unconscious following a boat accident.

Shrimati Santokben was a close associate of Kasturba in South Africa and later in India and she was jailed in South Africa during Gandhiji's passive resistance movement. She returned to India along with Gandhiji in 1915.

ETHEL BARRYMORE

The veteran star, Ethel Barrymore, died at Hollywood on June 18. Miss Barrymore, who had been suffering from a heart ailment, died in her sleep. She was 79.

She and her two famous actor-brothers, John and Lionel, had been known as "the Royal family of Broadway." John and Lionel had pre-deceased.

Miss Barrymore was born in Philadelphia in the ninth generation of a famous acting family. She made her stage debut in New York in "The Rivals" in 1894 and her first starring role on Broadway came in the following year in "That Impudent Young Couple".

Her first picture was "The Nightingale". The only film in which the whole acting family of John, Lionel and Ethel Barrymore appeared was "Rasputin and the Empress".

In 1944 Miss Barrymore won an Academy award for her supporting role in "None But the Lonely Heart", in which she appeared with Cary Grant.

MISS BUENO

In torrid heat, Maria Esther Bueno, 19-year-old Brazilian champion, won the women's singles title at Wimbledon on July 4. Her triumph over California's Darlene Hard by 6-4, 6-3, in 43 minutes broke the United States monopoly of this title, which had lasted 21 years.

WOMEN WORKERS IN U.K.

Women who are members of trade unions in the U. K. are equal to men in all respects. There are over 19 million women workers, representing one-fifth of the total membership. But many women are still outside the unions. In the textile industry, women outnumber men. Women members have increased since the war. There are few women in the agricultural unions.

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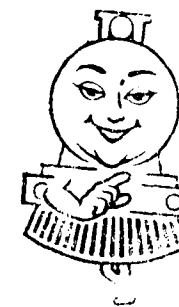
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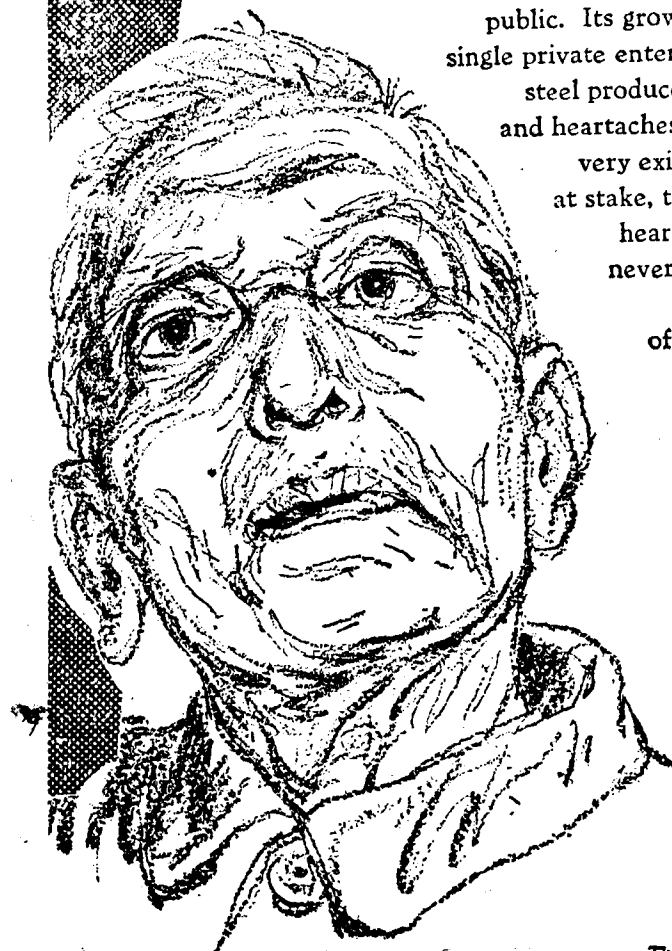
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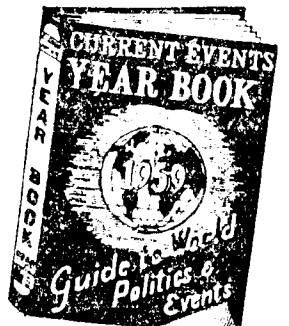
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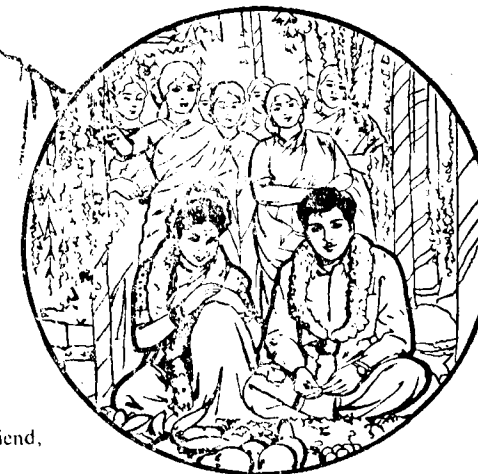
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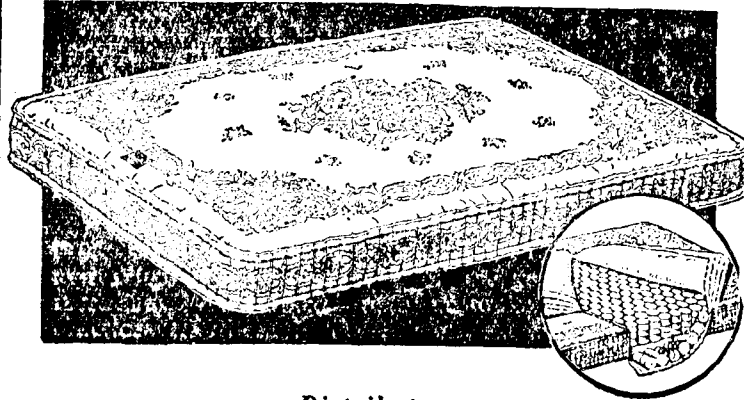
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Indian Freedom Movement and the Cult of Violence

By

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

IT is an undeniable fact that the ideology of violence as a political creed did not completely die out after the Great Rising of 1857. Though the British Government apparently crushed the outbreak of violence, the inner spirit underlying the rebellion persisted and smouldered. But, it was in the last years of the nineteenth century that the cult of violence had a fresh lease of life. During the plague agitation in Bombay and Maharashtra the murder of Europeans came to be looked upon as a necessary patriotic act. The first political murders by two youthful Chitpawan Brahmins named Chapekar set the ball rolling in the history of terrorist movement in modern India.

It was, however, in Bengal as a result of the stormy agitation against Curzon's partition of this province that Indian revolutionary movement was initiated in right earnest. Nowhere did Tilak's extremist ideas and militant schemes create more respectful admiration than in Bengal. Tilak's bitter diatribes against foreign rule produced an immediate reaction in the minds of the Bengali youth. Extremist thoughts in Bengal itself accelerated the growth of the revolutionary movement. The consequence was that secret societies gradually became active in Bengal and elsewhere after 1905. The first outburst thereof continued unabated till 1922 when the rise of Mahatma Gandhi's Non-cooperation movement acted as a damper to

revolutionary activity. Even then, the cult of violence did not totally die out and continued in a sporadic form in different parts of the country, particularly Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Maharashtra. Subsequently, during the First World War the revolutionary effort of the Indian political exiles in Europe, America and Asian countries gave revolutionary effort a new direction. Subhas Bose's Azad Hind Movement during World War II is the final transformation of what had begun as a secret and underground movement in the early years of the twentieth century.

It is a pity that the history of the revolutionists who are still unfortunately mis-called terrorists has not received the attention it deserves from historians. The average citizen has a hazy or even erroneous notion with regard to their aims and objects and also their methods. There are, therefore, conflicting views about them even at the present day.

A number of reasons are responsible for this popular ignorance. Firstly, as the revolutionaries always observed strict secrecy with respect to their ideology and plans of action the ordinary public could have no means to find out the actual truth about them. The mystery which shrouded their secret activities only aggravated the ignorance of the public. Secondly, the British police could unearth a great deal of information about the revolutionaries, but it also kept the whole matter a

a top secret. Thirdly, the official accounts such as the report of the Rowlatt Commission, which form the main sources of information, are highly coloured, incomplete and unreliable. Fourthly, the Indian Moderate leaders who had no patience or sympathy for the revolutionists had no inclination to sift the truth and ascertain the facts. Fifthly, the advocates of non-violence also were very little inclined to assess the role of the revolutionaries with a measure of understanding and sympathy. Lastly, the premature death, imprisonment, or deportation of many revolutionary martyrs led to the disappearance of valuable sources of information.

A study of the history of the period shows that the cult of violence was a logical sequel to the fulfilment of British imperialism in India. The loyalist tone of the early Congress also created a deep dissatisfaction in the minds of the younger sections. The mendicant policy of Congress leaders only served to prove the futility of mere constitutional agitation. The opposition to anti-plague measures in the Bombay Presidency and the unpopularity of the Partition of Bengal proved to be a promising background which favoured the demand for direct action. The method of the bomb and the bullet appealed to the emotional youth who was disillusioned and frustrated for various reasons, social, political, and economic. The charge of being "non-martial" particularly rankled in the minds of the youth in Bengal and Maharashtra. British arrogance and repressive policy also afforded sufficient ground for incitement to violence. A natural desire for the country's freedom appeared among the educated classes and this aspiration was obvious and inescapable in the case of the patriotic youth.

It is well-known that the revolutionaries were powerfully attracted by the cult of violence as preached in contemporary Europe, Africa and Asia. The Russian masses were struggling against the Tsar for liberty. The Young Turk Revolution in Turkey was another stirring

example. The career of the Fenians in Ireland had its own appeal. The Boers in South Africa too fought the British Government for freedom. The unexpected victory of Japan over Russia and the Chinese Revolution under Dr. Sun Yat-Sen thrilled and inspired the Indian patriots. Over and above, Indian discontent apart from the influence of contemporary movements in other countries, was bound to give rise to a cult of violence in India. Even though many of the revolutionaries knew that an underground movement could not bring a country political freedom they hoped that revolutionary activity was a serviceable means with which an alien government could be weakened. As such, revolutionary effort only reflected a new spirit of nationalism and self-confidence in the minds of the educated youth.

A dispassionate analysis of the revolutionary movement in India brings out the fact that it was a necessary and valuable phase in the history of the freedom movement in India. The subsequent success of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation movement has served to create a misleading view of the potency of the revolutionary movement undeniably helped India's fight for freedom in various ways. The revolutionists were indeed the sappers and miners of India's political advance and they accelerated the growth of the country's urge for independence. Secret societies like the "Anushilan Samiti" and the "Yugantar" party propagated an ideology which inspired and consolidated the extremist elements in India. In different centres of India it was the revolutionary leaders who created a passionate demand for freedom. What had only been vaguely visualised by the moderate leaders of Congress was given a concrete shape by the revolutionary school. A series of incidents starting from the Muzaffarpur murders not only influenced the youthful minds but had the immediate effect of weakening the illusion of British might in India. In any case, the political murders served to rouse the

attention of the educated classes in an unprecedented manner.

Political dacoities formed another activity of the revolutionaries which went to enrich the coffers of the patriots and brought into being an effective organisation and systematization of the underground movement. The stirring exploits of the revolutionists gripped the attention of India's youth and thereby also created a new youth movement in India. The fact that young men and even immature boys in their teens joined secret societies is too significant to be lost sight of. Where the Congress movement had hitherto failed, the revolutionaries succeeded in organising the youth. And, who will deny that it is Young India which has fought for India's freedom? The revolutionary societies also gave a powerful impetus to the physical regeneration of the youth and encouraged training in the use of arms in secret gymnasiums. It is again the clubs run by the revolutionaries which for the first time seriously inculcated among the educated youth proficiency in lathi-play, sword-play and wrestling.

It was, however, in a totally new direction that the revolutionaries set a historic example. It is they who first started seriously in modern times a policy of enlisting the support of foreign and anti-British powers in the cause of India's independence. It is true that their efforts marked the introduction of a new trend in India's international relations. Revolutionary schemes planned in Europe, America and Asia during World Wars I and II, are a proof of the patriotic spirit which inspired the soldiers of Indian freedom.

In various other directions also the revolutionaries contributed to the national struggle. They gave the much needed fillip to the "Swadeshi" or economic boycott movement. India's economic regeneration was considerably due to their self-sacrifice and national zeal. Being deeply attached to religion revolutionaries were instrumental in consolidating the religious revival among the Hindus. Sri Auro-

bindo and Lokmanya Tilak were the illustrious top-men among those who gave a new and dynamic interpretation to Hindu philosophy of activism or "Karma Yuga". The revolutionaries also idealised the country as Mother and thus evolved and exploited a new ideological weapon of patriotic propaganda. It was they who in reality popularised the *Bande Mataram* song of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and invested the anthem with a romantic appeal which is still growing day by day. It is in the fitness of things that this song is free India's national anthem today. The tragic martyrdom of innumerable revolutionaries who cheerfully courted prison and preferred the gallows for the sake of their cause stirred the popular imagination and powerfully strengthened the newly grown-up feeling or radical patriotism in the country.

The indirect influence of the revolutionaries on modern Indian History is equally undeniable. The joke "no bombs no boons" sums up the significance of the revolutionary movement. It was the cult of the bomb which forced the hands of the British government into conceding the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. If the Bengal Partition was revoked in 1912, it was likewise a result of the indirect pressure of the revolutionary activity. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 were also in no small measure due to the situation created by the revolutionary extremists in India and abroad. If the Congress itself was transformed from a moderate and loyalist body into an extremist national front, it was also due to the unseen influence of the revolutionary propaganda. The final liberation of India has been the result of a multiplicity of factors and forces, yet the share of the revolutionaries is both historic and memorable.

India's revolutionary movement had its weaknesses to which the historian cannot be blind. Firstly, the association of Hindu religious ideology with the cult of violence was unfortunate, for it gave the revolutionary movement a religious colour and served to encour-

age a reactionary revivalist tendency which was repugnant to the Muslims. The worship of Ganapati, the Shivaji festival, the cult of Goddess Kali, and the glorification of the Gita made the whole revolutionary movement Hindu in tone and in outlook. Secondly, there was a woeful lack of unity, solidarity and centralisation among the revolutionaries. A multiplicity of secret societies, devoid of an all-India link-up, weakened them as a whole. Thirdly, the revolutionaries did not produce a convincing national plan which could be acceptable to the country as a whole. A fanatical hostility to the British government was the only link which bound dissimilar and conflicting elements and groups. This ideological weakness was perhaps fatal to their strength and popularity. Fourthly, the indiscriminate enlistment of immature and inexperienced youth was another blunder which ultimately weakened the entire movement. It was realised too late that mere emotional romanticism could not be an enduring basis on which a re-

volutionary movement could grow. Fifthly, the inability of the revolutionaries to enlist the support of the masses was another mistake which kept their movement always underground and as such ineffective. Lastly, financially the secret societies were always poor and as such they could not command sufficient resources to build up a strong military force. Individual heroism could be no substitute for a trained army. And, dacoity alone could not supply the means with which to fight the British Empire.

Time has gone on and India has become free. It is necessary to realise now that to this consummation the revolutionaries have contributed not a little. The ideology of the revolutionary martyrs might have been a symptom of political immaturity yet it was their dreams and aspirations, no less than their sufferings and sacrifices, which supplied in an unpropitious age the much needed momentum to the freedom movement in India.

Realistic Approach to Third Plan

By

PROF. M. H. GOPAL

IN the penultimate year of the Second Plan, the Government and the people have naturally begun to think seriously about the Third Plan. Thoughts now should be directed largely towards the broad approach rather than to the details such as the targets. In this process of thinking, it is very necessary not only to elove a clear, precise and unambiguous policy but also to be essentially realistic. A serious mistake committed in the first two Plans has been the doctrinaire approach rather than a practical one. I, therefore, plead for a realistic and earthy approach rather than one of idealism. For, it is less risky, though more unpleasant, to know what exactly the country can do what it cannot.

The people of India are poor but the country is rich. As may be expected in a young developing democracy, the people and their Government would like a very rapid economic growth. Such an aspiration is both legitimate and desirable, particularly where the needs of the multitude are many, varied and pressing. It is this eagerness to achieve much, and quickly too, that has been at the back of the first two Plans: for instance, the desire to increase the national income by 25 per cent or to expand employment opportunities by 7 or 8 millions or to increase the steel target to 6 millions.

Perhaps these are modest aspirations compared to the needs of the community and its

growing population. But aspirations by themselves are not enough to make any plan successful. For planning requires resources—physical, financial and organizational. It is similar to a person badly needing a couple of shirts but affording cloth enough for only one shirt. That is, mere eagerness to attain something spectacular cannot go far unless it is closely related to what the community can afford. A realistic plan must, therefore, be based very largely on the resources that can be raised—for instance, how much of the national income can effectively be saved and diverted for investment purposes, or how this collection and diversion can be brought about. A neglect of the realistic assessment of the resources in preference to basing the plan on needs would inevitably lead to failure or at least to difficulties in executing the plan.

The difficulties that the Second Plan has had to face in the internal and the external resources position are largely traceable to the apparent over-optimistic estimate, if not the neglect, of the resources position. Thus, something went wrong in assessing the available foreign exchange resources and in anticipating wisely the foreign exchange needs. It is true that some part of the crisis was due to unforeseen factors, such as food and defence imports, but the major blame must rest, on the one hand, with the inaccurate assessment of the resources available, and, on the other, with the unwise use of the limited resources.

Similarly, the over-all requirements of the Second Plan have not been correlated with the over-all resources that could be raised, particularly, by the public sector. This rather unrealistic approach has led to difficulties, compelling the pruning of the Plan to Rs. 4,200 - 4,500 crores, a substantial part of which has come from unanticipated foreign loans and assistance. If the Second Plan had been based more on practical considerations, i.e., a conservative and realistic estimate of what we can afford, the difficulties would

have been fewer, although the targets may have been lower.

(In the light of difficulties encountered in the Second Plan, it is suggested that the Third Plan should be built largely on the resources base rather than on the aspirations base.) This would mean that the planners should assess more realistically, and perhaps conservatively, the savings that in practice are likely to occur in the public and private sectors, through taxation, borrowing and other means, and should also find out as clearly as possible how much of external assistance could reasonably be expected.

No doubt, both internal and external resources are to some extent elastic. More taxation and less scope for evasion, greater economy in expenditure, more efficient working of the public enterprises, greater drive in small savings and proper timing of market borrowings, will certainly increase the funds that could be internally collected.

The Planning of these resource-gathering policies and devices would give us a more definite idea of how much of internal resources in the form of current surplus, public loan, created money and so on could be depended upon. Similarly, as has been done during the last two years. Friendly foreign countries and institutions can be approached for ascertaining how much of external assistance would be more or less certain. In other words, these steps would give us a resource base on which the Third Plan could be built without much fear of failure or difficulties. To some extent all plans and particularly the Second one, did estimate the resources, but since the needs and aspirations demanded the stretching of the Plan lest the people be disappointed even in the beginning, the resources position was not given its rightful importance as a determinant, with the result that the Plan got into difficulties. The plea, therefore, is for greater emphasis to be given to the resources approach.

Such emphasis would lead to two broad consequences, one of which is the toning down

of our aspirations and of the Plan targets. This, is, no doubt, a bit disappointing, but better to be disappointed in the beginning than to be in difficulties in the middle of the Plan. A second consequence would be to facilitate an upward revision of the Plan. That is, since resources anticipated would necessarily be conservatively estimated, the Third Plan would have had a solid foundation to go on with, and, as the Plan progresses, changes in the resources would naturally be in the upward direction, since the investible funds would be larger than anticipated. Such a situation would lead to an expansion of the targets and, thus, ensure upward flexibility.

In addition to approaching the problem from the resources angle, another change is necessary in the approach to the Third Plan. The natural desire for economic expansion led in the Second Plan to the laying of a foundation broader than what could be built upon immediately.

Thus, many multi-purpose projects have been started and huge sums have been invested in them, but the irrigation potential has not been utilised nor has it resulted in greater output because of the lack of ancillary and supporting devices such as field canals. Without the latter the irrigation potential would remain unutilised and the investment therein would be a waste.

Similarly, while steel is necessary as a basic raw material, more production of steel or investment in steel plants would not serve the national purpose immediately, if the steel output is not completely converted into plant, machine tools and so on, which themselves should be fully utilised in producing consumer goods. Broadening or extending the base of the Plan without providing for its consolidation would create an idle capacity. This is what has happened with regard to the Second Plan projects. To the extent potential capacity is created but not immediately utilised the Plan becomes unrealistic and a poor nation can ill afford the wastage of resources.

I, therefore, suggest that the major part of the Third Plan approach should be to utilise to the fullest extent possible whatever base is already available. Thus, for instance, fuller utilisation of irrigation facilities or the steel output or the existing railway facilities would be wiser than merely increasing steel output from, say, 6 to 11 million tons in 1961-66 or multiplying the multi-purpose projects or opening new railway lines. Not that any of the latter is undesirable in itself, but that since the resources are limited, it is wisdom to utilise the limited funds to consolidate the gains made in the earlier Plans rather than to go on expanding the foundation.

Such a consolidation of the available base would also help the price situation in that more of producers' goods of the second order and of consumer's goods could be produced; and this would also act as an anti-inflationary measure. A shift in emphasis from broadening the base to consolidating the gains already made would also be economic advance, though the pattern would be different being in continuous and broken-up stages. This is similar to the military strategy of advance and consolidation, instead of a continuous advance without securing the lines of communication.

There is also a third aspect of a realistic approach. What the community wants is not so much the expansion of the public sector *as such*, that is, a mere increase in the economic activities of the State. The public sector is only a device to augment national income and prosperity. Perhaps, if the state could obtain resources adequate to take over all developmental activity, the expansion of the public sector to an unlimited extent may be desirable. But, in view of the resource difficulties that the Second Plan has come across, it may be wise to view the public sector merely as one of the instruments for increasing the national output, the other being the private sector. There does not appear to be any harm in letting the private sector take over when, where and so long as the State cannot operate effectively. In fact,

this policy is already operating to a small extent: for instance, in permitting the Tata Iron and Steel Company to expand its output even when the public sector is going ahead with its three steel projects and because the public sector cannot do the whole job.

Let us apply this idea to the Third Plan. If we assume that the Third Plan will have to be very much larger than the Second—say, of the order of Rs. 9,900 crores—two-thirds is estimated to be in the public sector and one-third in the private sector, that is, the investment in the former would be about Rs. 6,600 crore. Supposing that the public resources for the Third Plan cannot be of the order of Rs. 6,600 crore—and this is very likely to be the case—then, one of two things should be done. The first is to cut down the size of the Plan as has been done in the Second Plan. Such a step at a later stage of the Plan, as in the case of the Second Plan, would spell confusion and imbalance in investment.

The more desirable alternative is to increase the scope for the private sector and raise its share of the total investment from Rs. 2,300 crore to say, Rs. 4,400 crore, assuming that the State can raise Rs. 5,500 crore on its own. In other words, this would reduce the relative importance of the public sector and increase that of the private effort; but the total investment would remain the same. If the approach

to the public and private sectors controversy can be less doctrinaire and more realistic, the size of the total national investment, *i.e.*, the Plan, need not be reduced. Only the relative roles of the public and private sector would be modified.

Perhaps, at a later stage, the Fourth or the Fifth Plan, when the resources the state could raise would be adequate, the public-private sector controversy might be re-assessed. But, for the next few years, it would definitely be unrealistic for the state to plan for a large public sector when it cannot raise the resources and deny a larger opportunity for a service to the private sector if and when it can do the job. Such a policy would retard expansion by reducing the aggregate investment and at the same time lead to resource difficulties in the public sector.

This, of course, presumes that the private sector can raise the resources necessary and increase its investment from say, Rs. 2,300 to Rs. 4,500 crore. This may be a tall order but when the state cannot raise the resources, I do not understand why the over-all investment target and the interests of the nation should be sacrificed, or at least put in doubt, merely because of ideological considerations. I have a hunch that the private sector can do the job given the opportunity and a more favourable economic and fiscal climate.

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Fundamental Rights: No Curbs on Parliamentary Supremacy in India

By

By Sri. J. C. Johari, M.A.

TEXT-BOOK authors and commentators have displayed agreement with the affirmation that our fundamental rights act as a circumscribing agency on the supremacy of the Parliament. In doing so, they have almost cultivated blind adherence to the language of Art. 13 which says:—“(1) All laws in force in territory of India immediately before the commencement of the Constitution, in so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this Part, shall to the extent of such inconsistency, be void. (2) The State shall not make any law

which takes away or bridges the rights conferred by this Part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of such contravention, be void.”

But if the provision of Fundamental Rights be put to scrutinised examination, it will appear that there exists a sort of self-contradiction in their premises and so through the crevices Parliament has a passage to run on the track of unchecked supremacy, if it is bent upon drinking power. The assumption of such authors is highly fallible in more than one respect for;

in the first place, our fundamental rights are inabsolute and so the Parliament has the power to lay down several restrictions upon them. Art. 19 guaranteeing freedom of speech and expression, peaceful assembly, association, free residence, settlement and motion throughout the country, acquisition, holding and possession or dispossession of property and the practice of any profession, goes without content when further clauses of the same Article entitle the Parliament to impose "reasonable restrictions" in the interests of public order, decency, morality, Scheduled Tribes, professional and technical qualification, etc. and to lay down legislation relating to libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court, etc.

A constitutional protagonist immediately rushes forth and forcefully speaks of their justifiability alleging that freedom lies within restraints. But what pricks us here is not the various restrictions implying inabsoluteness of fundamental rights but the thing that reasonable restriction act as a makeshift of them from citizens to the state. Whether the restrictions are reasonable or not, the burden of proof falls not upon the state but on the citizens. Very apt and reasonable runs the observation of Frank Anthony: "If the state chooses to impose reasonable restrictions on fundamental rights, then the onus should be always on the state to satisfy the courts that the restrictions are reasonable. The onus should not be on the citizens to prove that the restrictions are unreasonable."

Here, therefore it becomes evident that power-drunk parliamentarians, under the garb of imposing reasonable restrictions, can have an ostentation of their whimsical and capricious designs and then employ attorneys to prove their reasonableness, if any citizen or a body of citizens happens to challenge them. "The authors of the Indian Constitution," wisely comments *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, "have permitted the state directly to impose limitations upon fundamental rights."

Secondly, Art. 21 provides; "No person

shall be deprived of his personal liberty except according to the procedure established by law." The words of this article do not stand as happy substitutes of 'due process of law' clause. They only signify that the legislature will "specifically lay down a procedure and nothing is left to interpretation." So our Parliament gets a free hand to determine a procedure through legislation and hence "has the final word to determine law." (C. J. Kania) The hand of equity and natural justice are cut off and the legislators are given a valid title to lay down a special procedure dealing with search, arrest, warrant, detention, trial, etc. under the intoxicating influences of political passions and prejudices.

Hence, we notice that at this moment, the sovereignty of the Parliament is not at all restricted and Nazi legislators, may at any times, tyrannise and oppress the unregimented minorities quite easily, safely and curiously enough under the name and auspices of the Constitution by means of inventing particular procedures. The courts may see these things happen but do nothing save standing like a silent spectator. "The constitution-makers, therefore, took it preferable to place ultimate authority for conferment of this fundamental authority in Parliament." (S. N. Mukerji)

Then, we come to discover another great self-contradiction in the premises of Art. 22 which, on the one hand guarantees protection against arrest and arbitrary detention and on the other validates preventive detention. Frankly speaking, clause (3) of this article serves a convenient cloak wearing which Parliament may run even counter to the spirit of Art. 13. It may thus be alleged with perfect ease that here also the parliamentary supremacy is not restricted in regard to arbitrary arrest and preventive detention. Instead of being handcuffed, dictatorial legislators have been given a subterranean channel through which they may set-aside the ethics of Part III and thereby cause and extinction of our freedom. So "no amount of apology or

extenuation can explain away preventive detention which is the very negation of rule of law." (Frank Anthony).

Besides, the contents of Arts 33 and 34 as well empower Parliament to impose restrictions on fundamental rights in the interests of maintenance of public order or ensurance of proper discharge of duties and discipline among the members of armed forces or to indemnify any person in respect of any act done by him in martial law and in the restoration of order and to validate or sentence passed, punishment inflicted, forfeiture ordered, etc. So, here again, there happens to survive same under-current. Bent upon crushing elements of opposition and thereby strengthening and consolidating her roots, a regimented majority may enact legislative measures in the interest of her own position and the poor and weak citizens may do nothing save submitting their heads.

Then, our fundamental rights are subject to suspension and so if they cause a check on legislative supremacy at all, the check itself becomes weak and of non-permanent character. In the times of emergency Parliament may act in conformity with the Articles 358 and 359 and then make any law and even prohibit judicial intervention in them.

Above all, there is the weapon of constitutional amendment whereby any clause retarding its sovereignty may be put at the anvil of amendment and thereby the pace of supremacy may be accelerated. The various amendments in the past concretely exemplify this allegation. The first amendment dealing with the conferment of special privileges to the members of minorities was out of the necessity created by the decision of Madras Government regarding reservation of seats in technical and educational institutions to some classes and communities. The original text of our Constitution in regard to acquisition of private property in public interest was fully respecting and protecting our property rights and also guaranteeing adequate com-

pensation. But the Parliament changed its character altogether through an amendment and so now there is very little content left in it. Truly speaking such amendments have swallowed up even the fundamental nature of our property right. So what to say of such amendments, all this amply illustrated that in time to come such devices may occur and recur and Parliament may go on setting aside all stumbling blocks from its passage. This imparts us not grief over the loss of our rights but keen anxiety over their recurrence in future, not sorrow over old mother's death but anxiety over the entry of devil.

All this clarifies that Part III of our Constitution may not be ranked amongst those agencies which circumscribe the sovereign role of the Parliament. As a matter of fact, our fundamental rights though enjoying a comprehensive enumeration yet possess a weak backbone and they are not as solid or forceful as the tenets of rule of law in England. Really speaking, they fail to restrict the growth of parliamentary sovereignty in India and so a Parliament mad after drinking power may shatter their backbone as well. Our fundamental rights would have acted as a check on Parliamentary sovereignty if they had been really fundamental; atmost they are purely safeguards on our fundamental liberties.

Practically speaking, the British Parliament shall hardly be in a position to commit an enactment violating the spirit of rule of law, but it is a matter of irony that Indian Parliament may override the premises of fundamental rights or give them a peculiar twist in accordance with its intents. Through so many restrictions and provisos, it lies in a good position to give them from one hand, and take them back from another. Is it thus unfair to argue that our fundamental rights constitute an anomalous agency through which an egotistically powerful Parliament may cleverly and clandestinely gain sovereignty but restrict the sovereign role of judiciary?

Martha and Mary or Gandhi and Nehru

BY

Mr. T. S. RAMACHANDRAN, I.C.S. (RETD.)

THE Treasure of the Sanctuary, a Catholic Book of Devotions, is dedicated to the dwellers in Bethania or the House of Dates, with loving reverence, in the hope that the busy Martha, in her anxiety about Many things, may find in it, a help to pass with Mary a few moments at the feet of Jesus in the Sanctuary of His Heart, and taste there the sweet refreshment, which will prove once again, that Martha and Mary never disagree save when separated. The same unity between Mary and Martha and Gandhi and Nehru occur to one when reminded by the book which provoked the comparison (The way of Gandhi and Nehru by S. Abid Hussain, Price Rs. Twelve. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi, Madras.).

The Dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant Religion have been the subject of dialectical discussion from the beginning of Time like the Conflict of Religions and Races in the most modern and the most ancient civilizations. To apprehend the root of the matter and comprehend the unity in diversity of all Life is a delicate task which only the author of the National Culture of India and a gilder of the Lotus Lilly (Padma Bhushan) like Doctor Hussain can undertake with courage and effectiveness. As the Vedas say he that presumes he has understood all and has nothing more to understand shall not have understood, and that he that, in all humility, feels he is beginning to understand and has not yet understood, shall understand. Similarly, the menstium of the impact of Revolution and Reaction on the minds of the second generation nurtured in Lord Macaulay's decision to impose English Education on the Classes of India produced inconsistent results at various times on two supernormal minds like those of Nehru and Gandhi.

Gandhiji beyond a London Matriculation and a call to the Bar, was essentially a Pilgrim as now set out in his statues, and built and destroyed his own Ashrams and Ideas and Ideology. He could see virtue in absention from non-vegetarian diet and yet consent to the killing of a sick calf and cook meat with his own hands for an "invalid" Muslim guest. Per contra, the Public School type-design training and Cambridge Culture of Nehru produced a certain rigidity of approach which made him denounce Hinduism in Practice as Kitchen Religion, and yet made him give up shooting after killing a hind. Like Mary, Gandhiji gave up his responsibilities as a husband and a father, to run Ashrams like the Phoenix Settlement and Wardha on what Gunther rather unkindly called "Charity" and rode logically to death the ideas of Ahimsa or Non-Violence and Aparigraha or taking no thought for the morrow. Per Contra, Nehru even recently denounced what he called "parasites shielding themselves behind the veil of religion" and laying aside all modesty said "I am sure none of us takes hold of these ministerships just to earn a living. I suppose many of us can earn much bigger amounts in other ways." (As a matter of general report, it is said Nehruji's own income from literary work exceeds a lakh of Rupees (Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling or Twenty Thousand Dollars per annum). As the Gita says in the Twelfth Chapter on Bhakti Yoga, the confluence of the Opposites is resolved by realising that to Work is also to Pray and Grace before Meat is also needful. Humanitarianism transcending Race, Clime, and Time, directly attracted the Greek and Roman tradition of Nehruji's upbringing. Devotional absorption in Works of Service became overpoweringly attractive to the

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Oriental uninstitutionalised soul of Gandhiji. All ritual in Religion is practically Parasitical idling to Nehruji while Evening Prayers and Ram Dhun are indispensable to Gandhiji. Both drank deep of Greek, Roman, and Indian Mythology; to Nehru, it was Imaginative Achievement to be revived in Action by Scientific Development as in calling the Atomic Reaction Apsara; to Gandhiji it was naming India's Political Ideal, Rama Rajya.

So, ultimately, the Truth and Love of Gandhiji the Mahatma become indistinguishable from the Modern Humanism of the Prime Minister of India that is Bharat. The Rama Rajya of the Mahatma is transformed into the Socialistic Pattern of Society and the Welfare State of Jawaharlal Nehru. The First Step towards Rama Rajya was to be taken in the Villages for Gandhiji. But Nehru, while realising the dangers of forced accelerated industrialism as in Germany under Bismarck and his successors, in the First Two Plans calls on the people to donate their blood and sweat in the reasoned hope that Poverty and Inequality of Opportunity may be obliterated.

From the long tradition of service under autocrats in the families of both Gandhi and Nehru, Compromise is in the blood of both of them. Thus in the technique of Satyagraha, Gandhiji insists on moral purity as well as strategic and tactical skill. As Doctor Hussain has summarised Civil resistance should be resorted to only after other attempts have failed. Adequate propaganda must be made. He must refuse to be led by the masses against the prompting of his own judgment. Keep the demand low but consistent with truth and justice. Always seek avenues of co-operation with the enemy on honourable terms. Do not surrender Essentials but sacrifice Non-Essentials. When, as just now, we are inclined to be impatient even with the emotional Nehru regarding Bharat tamely enduring shooting down of Indian Aircraft and trespassing into Indian Territory, let us recall the instructions

of Gandhiji and consider calmly whether the Father of the Nation would agree with us or with Nehru. The most startling surprise to all was when after practically expelling Rajaji from the Indian National Congress for recommending the concession of Pakistan, Nehru yielded to the ultimatum of Mountbatten to accept the Partition of India and Gandhiji acquiesced in it though disassociating himself from it. Who could imagine the fire-eating Nehru of the Nineteen Twenties, champion of all Downtrodden peoples, saying, "The Chinese and Tibetans are different races and because of centuries of conflict between them India had accepted the overlordship of China over Tibet and we stand by it. But I do hope that the Tibetan people will be able to enjoy their autonomy, and not be suppressed or oppressed by others." Now, saying this in Madras on Tamil New Year's Day, 1959, after saying in his historical books that the Dravidians and the Aryans are different races with centuries of conflict between them, it is hoped he will concede Provincial Autonomy as fought for by the Old Indian National Congress, to the Linguistic Tamil Nad Province. For instance, for ten years past, there has been an enormous waste of tree life and human energy and cash in planting trees in July as All-India Vanamahotsava under the mandates of a Munshi from the North though the South pointed out that September between the two Monsoons was the only suitable month for the Madras State. Under Provincial autonomy, this suppression and oppression will not continue.

So Nehru after toying with the Communists and Sinn Fein rushed to Gandhiji or Babuji whenever he had a crisis of the political or spiritual life. The Communists in Kerala practically claim to be truer followers of the Mahatma than the plutocracy which is financing the Congress. Vinoba Bhave practically is introducing Nationalisation of Land and means of production tantamounting to Communism by his Bhooden, Sampattidan, Gram

Dan, Taluk Dan, and Zilla Dan etc. The Ruling Congress under Nehru, disobeying Gandhiji's advice to dissolve it as a Political Body, is preaching officially Diplomacy as against Satya, Vasectomy and Sterilisation of women as against Brahmacharya, Savings Movements and Foreign Aid as against Aparigraha, Jet Fighters as against Ahimsa, and Regimentation and Organisation as against Philosophical Anarchy. As Doctor Hussain concludes, we have to think and rethink and think again to find out how to reconcile the apparent contradictions between the Ways of Gandhi and Nehru and find the Way of Gandhi and Nehru. Nehru, the "manly man" has prescribed that as early as the age of thirty-two, the common man shall voluntarily submit to vasectomy and be content with children already born, and a woman at a still earlier age to such sterilisation. The "godly man" Gandhiji spent

his Last Phase in experiments on Regeneration by Sex Control. Nehruji has finally offered to retire if the People of India say they no longer have faith in him but how without compulsory voting and availability of the Radio to candidates of parties not belonging to the Congress, one is to find out what the People want, is not very clear. Because of this it was that Gandhiji said that Propaganda when fighting for Freedom was essential but the Congress should dissolve itself so that the momentum of past achievement should not protect those who have stolen the old clothes of Congress from being overthrown by constitutional means. Gandhiji's was the Way of Christ; Nehruji's is the Way of the Occumenical Catholic Church. Therefore, does Rajaji call for a Protestant Conservative Party to save Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity

Emerson—Poet and Philosopher

By

"A METAPHYSICIAN"

THE teachings of Indian wisdom in a western "Guru" is how Mahatma Gandhi once described the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the American poet and philosopher.

Emerson's awareness of the fundamental as well as transcendental unity which underlies all earthly existence strikingly echoes the philosophical concepts of ancient Indian thinkers. The "unity" which he visualizes goes far beyond being a "unity in diversity." It progresses into integrity. And looking at life from that perspective, at life with myriad tragedies, he progresses even beyond 'integrity'—into a complete comprehension of the "Virata Rupa" (cosmic image) of God as has been described in the Bhagavad Gita.

The cosmic comprehension of Emerson which finds expression in his writings shows profound influences of the philosophy of the

Bhagavad Gita. So completely and thoroughly did a reading of the great Indian epic permeate his entire being with the profoundness of its revelation of the truth that he rendered some of Krishna's "words" in his famous poem "Brahma."

"If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep and pass, and turn again.
Far or forgot to me is near;
Shadow and sunlight are the same;
The Vanished Gods to me appear;
And one to me are shame and fame.
They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am their wings,
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings.
The strong gods pine for my abode,

And pine in vain the sacred seven;
But thou meek lover of the good
Find me, and turn thy back on heaven."

Son and grandson of clergymen, Ralph Waldo Emerson was born in Boston on May 25, 1803. The story of his life, as that of other great men, abounds with incidents which made a lasting impression not only on his external bearing but on his thinking and writing also. With him it was, by and large, an uphill struggle all the way. He lost his father when he was only eight years old. He worked his way through Harvard University, enrolling in 1817. Leaving Harvard he worked as a teacher for some time and in 1825 he decided to study for the Ministry. While preparing for the pulpit at the Harvard Divinity School he contracted tuberculosis. This, however, was only a passing disability and although he never recovered well enough to opt for a career requiring physical labor, he was "approved to preach" and in March 1828, ordained Associate Pastor of the Old North Church in Boston. Later the same year he married Miss Ellen Louise Tucker.

It was, probably, the death of his wife, whom he loved dearly, three years later in 1831 that awakened the feeling of "Vairagya" (renunciation) in him and leaving the pulpit he set out on a tour which took him to England and Europe.

There he met such literary giants as Wordsworth, Coleridge and Carlyle. This proved to be the turning point in his life and it was during this period that he began to visualize his "mission." His meeting Wordsworth who, as Emerson recorded later, "was so benevolently anxious to impress upon me my social duties as an American citizen, that he accompanied me near a mile from his house, talking vehemently, and ever and on stopping short to imprint his words" left a lasting impression on his mind.

He returned to America in 1833 and settled down to a life of literary activities. In keeping with current trends, he took to the platform,

lecturing to audience throughout America. This career suited him more than did that of a preacher. "I find myself so much more freer on the platform of the lecture hall than in the pulpit that I shall not much more use the last I preach in the lecture room...There...you may laugh, weep, reason, sing, sneer or pray according to your genius."

Emerson stands out among American literateurs and philosophers as a man who strode out fearlessly into any sphere where he considered himself competent to express his opinions. He never cared for what others had to think of him. "What I must do is all that concerns me, not what people think" he said. He was a declared non-conformist and throughout his career he practiced as well as preached originality. "Insist on yourself; never imitate...nothing can bring you peace but yourself."

The curious impersonalism of Emerson's writings has puzzled many a critic. Could a man with his artistic genius and energy have been so untouched by the suffering and pain which are almost unavoidable companions of those who search for truth?

The answer probably lies in the fact of Emerson's having succeeded in translating his spiritual concepts into a code of practicable conduct in everyday life.

As a well known critic remarks, "the most satisfying point of Emerson's thought is not its optimism but its crisp practicality.....It is not Emerson's optimism but his cool common-sense and his sensitiveness to spiritual values, that count....."

Towards the end of his career there is a note of tiredness. In his poem "The Past" he says:

"The debt is paid,
The verdict said,
The furies laid
The plague stayed,
All fortunes made,

Turn the key and bolt the door,
Sweet is death forevermore."

On April 27, 1882 "Sweet...death" claimed him whose mind was free from dogmas, whose soul soared above earthly bondages, whose message still lives.

A Hindu Temple in Azerbaijan

By

Mr. EDWIN GRANTOVSKY

MORE than 100 years ago in the spring of 1847, the people of one of the largest cities of the Transcaucasus—Tiflis (now Tbilisi, capital of Georgia) witnessed a most extraordinary funeral. When a Brahmin traveller died in the city, his funeral was carried out with Hindu rites, according to his last behest. Commenting on the matter, the Tiflis newspaper, *Caucasus* declared: "The Brahmin was cremated according to Hindu rites and his ashes were thrown into the Kura River so that this river which flows to Caspian Sea should carry them to the shore of eternal flames..."

What eternal flames on the shores of the Caspian did the Brahmin's friends have in mind?

Ask any schoolboy today what the Apsheron Peninsula near the City of Baku, the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan, is famous for and he will unhesitatingly say: "Oil". Oil, however, attracted the attention of people not more than 100 years ago, while the fame of Apsheron is considerably older. Flames has been rising from the earth there, not far away from the small modern town, Surakhany, from times immemorial. They were due to the ignited colourless gases which are frequently found where there is oil. These particular fires were worshipped as back as the first centuries of our era by the followers of Zoroaster, the adherents of a wide-spread religion in ancient Iran. As the centuries passed, Zoroastrianism was replaced by Islam and only small groups of fire worshippers remained. These were the Parsees who had fled to India and some thousands of "Hebrews" who had remained in Persia. The fires of Surakhany, however, continued to enjoy the fame. The Arabian savant Masudi wrote about them in the tenth century, and from the twelfth century nearly all travellers in Azerbaijan spoke not only about the eternal flames, but of a temple of

the fire worshippers that had been erected near them. All of them, the Turk Chelebi, the German Kampfer, the Englishman Hanway and the Russian Golitsyn regarded the temple at Surakhany as a holy place of the Parsees and the Hebrews. The same opinion was held by the Russian orientologist Berezin who was sent to Baku to study the temple by the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The older residents of the town advised Berezin to visit the temple late in the evening. "It's far more picturesque then," they told him. The Russian savant accordingly left Baku at twilight and later recorded his impressions as follows: "The light which grew stronger as we approached came fully into view when we ascended a hill. At first, we could only see the chief veins of the fire and it was only when we came nearer that we could see the other flames leaping from the earth.....The fiery columns of all colours were wafted into fantastic shapes by the winds. In the glare we could indistinctly make out the proportions of the building inhabited by the Hindus, the flames streaming like banners from specially erected chimneys."

Berezin was hospitably received by the votaries of the temple and was able to make a thorough examination of the building on the following day when he engaged the priests and pilgrims in conversation. The temple and surrounding structures have been preserved to this day. The temple is a rectangular structure made of grey stone. There is a high archway in each of the four walls. A sacrificial altar stands in the centre of the temple and the roof is topped by a round belfry. The entire ensemble is surrounded by a wall supported within by buildings containing twentyfour rooms for the priests and pilgrims. The simple and severe style of the building served to set off that for which the pilgrims

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had come—the austere beauty of the flames emanating from stone chimneys at the corners.

Berezin's observations proved interesting and his first acquaintance with the inhabitants of the temple produced truly sensational material.

All the inhabitants of the temple as well as the pilgrims were Indians. Many of them could tell from what parts of India they had sprung. All of them declared that they had nothing whatever to do with the Parsees. They lived ascetic lives. They partook of food very moderately. From the walls of one of the cells, Berezin copied a picture done in green of the Goddess Kali with several pairs of arms. The attention of the savant was caught by the funeral rites. The dead body was cremated in the holy fires. A hearth of stone had been built for this purpose over a pit rich in gas near the temple. The body was anointed with ghee.....then placed on the hearth and burned. The votaries of the temple related that the remains of high-born personages from India itself had more than once been sent to Surakhany for cremation. The ashes were subsequently sent back to India.

Berezin also mentioned the inscriptions he found on the walls of the temple and of the cells. He thought they were written in Sanskrit, though it later appeared that only some of the prayers had been written in Sanskrit and the rest in several of the modern Indian languages.

The Russian savant was able to bring many things to light, particularly the fact that the commonly accepted idea of the temple as a holy place of the Parsees or the Hebrews was erroneous. The main work, however, lay ahead.

The temple continued to attract the Russian savants for nearly a century. Soon after Berezin, it was visited by the well-known orientologist Dorn who managed to obtain a long manuscript from one of the votaries, the texts of the Mahabharata and several prayers.

Several fresh articles on the history of the temple appeared in the 1900's and 1920's. Attempts were made to translate some of the inscriptions.

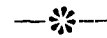
A translation of the inscriptions made in the executive offices of the Director-General of Archaeology in India by request of the Azerbaijan savants was sent to Azerbaijan in 1936. And quite recently the late Soviet Indologist Vorobyov-Desyatovsky translated and published several additional inscriptions. All these inscriptions are deeds and official documents, some of them written in Gurmukhi and others in Devanagari. The earliest was written at the beginning of the 18th century and the latest in the second half of the 19th. And yet the contents of some of them are obscure. Those of them which are written in Gurmukhi contain the first formulae of the prayers of the Sikhs, "Japji Sahib," while the Devanagari inscriptions mention the God Ganesha, etc. One might conclude from this that the temple was regarded as a sacred place by the representatives of various religious sects and trends. From these inscriptions and articles, moreover, one may gather a general idea of the history of the temple.

As is known, there was an increase in commerce between the countries of the Transcaucasus and India in the 16th century. More and more merchants and handicraftsmen from India appeared in Shemakh, Baku and other cities of Azerbaijan. It was among them, apparently, that the deification and worship of the fires on Apsheron Peninsula began. Certain structures resembling walls were erected near Surakhany by the Indians as far back as 1683. When the fires came to be better known more pilgrims arrived from India. Then came a number of devotees and monks who took up permanent abodes near the sacred flames. In addition to them the Indian population of Baku and other Azerbaijanian cities also participated in the religious rites. Indian handicraft men lived in the immediate vicinity of the temple in the 18th century. It is interest-

ing to note that the very first inscription (1713) was made by the carpenter Tarachandra. It was apparently at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries that the temple was re-erected as it stands today. The number of worshippers and votaries varied at different periods. Some sixty to seventy took part in the rites in the 18th and first half of the nineteenth centuries. The ceremonies were usually conducted by Brahmins from India. The number of worshippers began sharply to decline in the second half of the 19th century. The last major ceremony was conducted here

in 1850 in the presence of the Russian Tsar Alexander II. By 1880 the last of the Hindu Brahmins.....felt so lonely that he left the temple.

A good deal has yet to be learnt about the temple. Not all the inscriptions have been translated. The nature of the fire cult and its connection with the religions of India have yet to be established. The further research of the Soviet savants and their Indian colleagues will undoubtedly help fully to clear up this interesting page in the history of the two friendly peoples.



Folk Dances of West Pakistan

By

“A PAKISTANI”

IT was not very long ago that folk dance was discovered by the choreographers and dance critics of the world. With the discovery, this phenomenon no longer remained the monopoly of the anthropologist. It had been of interest and concern to the scientific explorer as to why the hill tribes of a certain region in South-East Asia got together and begin shuffling about, stamping their feet to the accompaniment of their drums. Now the dance academies began to notice as to how they shuffled and stamped their feet and as to what was the time-pattern of their drum. These and many more aspects of the folk dance, its relation to the cycle of seasons, its music and its choreography, were soon spotlighted and thus began the new movement of popularizing folk culture. The folk dance was brought forth on the world stage, and was recognized as a definite art-form.

No other country in the world possesses a greater and more colourful variety of folk dances than the sub-continent of Pakistan, India and Ceylon. With innumerable races and cultures each with their own colourful

history and tradition, their popular dances present an amazing medley of music, rhythm and folk lore.

Most of these folk styles like the Manipuri of Assam, the Garba of Gujrat, or the Santhal dance of East Pakistan have been incorporated in stylised and finished ballets and today no dance programme is complete where a few folk items are not included besides classical numbers. These rural dances have come to the town from remote villages, are danced by school girls and University women, are presented on the cinema screen, and displayed before international gatherings. The folk style particularly influenced the dance-art of East Bengal.

Who are the originals, whose simple art has captured the imaginations of audience everywhere? The basic quality of folk dance the world over is its vigorous rhythm, and abandon, the expression of sheer earthy joy and the zest for life. The only reason why, for instance, the peasants of West Pakistan dance is that the moon is high, the harvest has been good, or the neighbour's daughter is getting married,

or that there is no reason at all. They simply have to dance because they feel like it at the moment.

West Pakistan has been through innumerable phases of history. The historian is interested in the fact that these regions went through some very colourful and dramatic epochs of Asian history. It is like a Chinese Lantern which when turned round reveals the successive images of a very dramatic quality—the Rig Vedic Aryans, Scythians, Greeks, Arabs, Afghans, Mongols, their faces peep out of the lantern and one wonders as to what these mythical people must have been like. But the sociologist notices that history lends a mist of romances to facts which are not at all mythical. These peoples intermingled in the mainstream of humanity, enriching the existing cultures, some left their faint traces on the scene and vanished. But mostly they have maintained their traditions, their racial characteristics and qualities. You still find people with Greek features, or Tartar costumes, or speaking all kinds of obscure dialects inhabiting the mountains, valleys and deserts of West Pakistan. The choreographer looking for novel dance-forms, surprisingly discovers, that these simple people are born dancers—the Pathan rifleman of Khyber, the blue-eyed Kafir girl from the snow-covered alpine-lands of the far north, the cotton-pickers of the Indus Valley, the Baluchi camel driver, they all dance and sing and have been dancing and singing down the centuries.

These dances vary from place to place and different seasons have different special styles. Some of these like Khattak or Luddi are danced all the year round. On any pleasant day in spring, on any night of the full moon the deep and resounding vibration of drum rises out of a cluster of huts, the village lanes echo with some familiar, haunting tune.

For girls behind the haystacks are dancing Luddi. A group of girls are sitting on the cot in the shade, playing on 'Dholak,' singing.

The rest have joined the circle and have begun to dance. This occupies a very special place in their evenings' entertainment. The former Punjab has a rich storehouse of folk lore and music. With this dance they sing, some simple down-to-earth ballad which reflects their joys and sorrows, hopes and aspirations, their own little tragedies and heart-burns. The movement of the dance is not complicated and is full of vigour and strength. Girls move around in a circle stamping their feet and clapping their hands rhythmically. Dancing in a circle is the basic formation of most folk dances of the sub-continent like the Garba, the Jhoomer and numerous other rural styles.

Jhoomer or Ghoomer (which literally means spinning round at top speed), is danced by women of Multan, Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur districts. It is a dance of sheer romance. It begins with a circle, various patterns are formed, broken up, intermingled, in rhythmic succession. Its movements are very lyrical and restful unlike Luddi which is vigorous and full of vitality. Unhurried and leisurely steps are taken by the graceful dancers who wear colourful skirts made of yards and yards of cotton or silk.

Jhoomer danced by men is quite different from its feminine counterpart. It is danced on dark nights by the light of big flickering torches. The drummer stands in the middle and the dancers begin their circular motion at a great speed, singing in chorus. The dance is carried to a terrific hitch with much stamping of feet, clenching of fists and waving of arms. It is truly representative of the spirit of the sturdy peasantry of Jhelum districts. Jhoomer is also the favourite dance of the Baluchis.

Sammie is another romantic dance popular with the women of Jhang district, where Heer and Ranjha loved and sang many centuries ago. The people of this district are noted for their good looks and for their flair for things romantic. Sammie, the dance of moonlight,

depicts the real atmosphere of this region. Its origin is also linked with a legend. It is said that the lovely Princess Sammie fell in love with the handsome Prince Dhola, who (as all princes seemed to be doing in those days) was passing under her palace balcony on his white steed. He too fell very much in love with her and promised to come again. But men being what they are, he never returned and the poor princess pined for him, singing mournful songs.

Sammie perhaps because of its origin in tragedy is danced without music and produce an effect of romantic sadness. It is as a rule accompanied by nostalgic songs remembering husbands or fiancées who have gone on long journeys or unfaithful lovers who have betrayed their love. This is also danced in a circle.

Kikli is yet another moonlight dance of this region. This is very lively in its execution and is usually danced by teenage girls. The partners stand facing each other with their arms crossed, their thumbs interlocked, and the toes of their feet touching one another. Then they stretch themselves bending backwards and start whirling around in full swing. The pet theme of the songs accompanying this dance is that of satirizing the mother-in-law. This is danced and sung in an atmosphere of great frivolity and cheerfulness.

Bhangra is a well-known dance of the men of Wazirabad, Gujerat and Jhelum districts. It is usually danced in April which is the season of harvest. The drummer beats the drum on the village green announcing the harvest celebrations. Soon the menfolk of the village flock around him and begin dancing spontaneously. They sing the favourite 'Dhola' songs as they dance with great gusto and abandon. It is a kind of rural Rock 'N' Roll and is extremely popular all over the countryside.

Gidda is danced by a group of three girls who snap their fingers and clap their hands alternately and clap on the hands of their

partners. This is a characteristic movement of the Gujrati Garba also.

Khattak perhaps is the most famous dance of West Pakistan. The colourful spectacle of dancing Pathans has recently drawn attention of people everywhere in the world. Innumerable books have been written about these people from the age of Kipling down to the present times and today we find a surprisingly large number of foreign explorers who seem to be forever collecting material for their latest book on the Pathans. The Pathans are a very ancient race. They are mentioned in the Rig Veda which was composed about 3,500 years ago, and they have been discussed by the comparatively modern Greek historian Herodotus who lived in the 5th century B. C. According to some legend they are also supposed to be one of the lost tribes of Israel. Whatever their origin may be, they are a picturesque people with their extraordinary qualities of courage, determination and simplicity. In the outside world, to people who have been brought up on Kipling and popular travelogues about the East, the Pathans are a wild, ferocious warriors lurking behind the treacherous mountains of the North-west, dangerous bandits and killers who plunder and ravage territories. Few people know that these chivalrous highlanders have produced some fine poets, have composed lovely music and make elegant and graceful dances. Their famous dance, Khattak, is essentially a dance of the mountains and wide open spaces. It is danced with great fanfare during tribal festivities and in the good old days of romance and in the age of chivalry it was danced before going to the battlefield.

There is nothing soft or sloppy about this dance. Its movements embody the spirit of hardihood and resistance inherent in the Pathan people. They can dance at full speed for hours and are not tired.

Among the Pathans only those clans who wear bobbed hair, dance the Khattak. Their hair is parted in the middle and arranged

neatly with a wooden comb. They wear embroidered waistcoats, baggy trousers, and tie silk handkerchiefs on their wrist while dancing. Each clan has its own special variety of Khattak. The main dance consists of numerous variations. The dancers advance in two columns and begin circling round the group of drummers and the pipers who provide a very thrilling music. The dancers form a number of patterns, sometimes breaking forth in solos and duets, their swift and gliding movements have interludes of exquisite swordplay and all this is executed with a perfect sense of rhythm combined with real artistry; the Khattak dancers are extremely light on their toes and spin and float and whirl round like a group of polished ballet dancers. The drummer and the piper playing highland tunes also join the dance in full frenzy of rhythm, and music as the dance advances towards its climax. The circle grows wider as more and more men join

it and the tempo quickens. It is a community dance in the real sense of term.

Lakhtai is danced by young Pathan lads who also give solo performances. Pathan girls have their own dance known as Dharees, which is in fact another variety of Jhoomer.

The Punjabi-speaking men of Hazara district dance striking together a pair of clappers with bells attached to them. These clappers look something like the Spanish Castanets. Thousand upon thousand of these bells produce a rich and sonorous sound and this is an extremely lyrical and graceful dance quite different from Khattak. This is also danced in various group formations and the dancers beat tune with the bells. While dancing a circular motion a group starts singing some haunting melody and its refrain is taken up by the next group while the dance continues.

The lower valley of Indus has many dances which are popular with the local people. In most of these dances faint traces of Arab and African influence can also be noticed.

—*— Miracle Drugs

By
DR. RENE HAZARD

IT'S normal for man to look after his health. His desire to minister to his own needs is perfectly understandable. But how far should self-doctoring go?

Strangely enough, everyone seems to consider himself qualified to discourse learnedly on medical matters without ever having studied them. This seems to be the rule in all countries. Ailments and treatment are debated with a calm assurance which borders on irresponsibility.

However tempting it may be to prescribe for yourself the wonder drugs whose cure-all powers are vaunted everywhere, and however noble your aim may be in trying to help a sick neighbour, neither is wise. The example of antibiotics alone, illustrates the dangers of the use of drugs by the uninformed.

Antibiotics include all natural or synthetic products which fight the growth of microbes in the body. Generally speaking, they are not bactericides because they do not destroy the infectious germ. Rather, they are bacteriostatics which simply stop the growth of the microbe and thereby enable the body's stimulated defences to complete the destruction.

It is important that the precise and limited action of antibiotics be understood because micro-organisms which have not been exposed to them long enough can resume their growth and virulence. The consequence—as all authorities now agree—is that a prolonged treatment stretching over several days is required even after the disappearance of morbid symptoms in order to prevent the infection from once again spreading.

Therefore the first characteristic of antibiotics is their power to stop, temporarily, microbial growth. But equally important, although generally less known, is the progressive insensibility of the microbe to their action.

This is a phenomenon which should be examined closely. Most drugs retain their therapeutic effects without the body becoming accustomed to them. A drug like aspirin continues to be active without increasing the dosage throughout the user's life-time. It retains its effectiveness even in some cases of asthma and stomach ulcer.

But the opposite is true of antibiotics. The inhibitive effect of most of them on the growth of microbes seems to decrease rather quickly. A number of micro-organisms resist even a constant antibiotic attack and continue to multiply rapidly. The result is the development of races of microbes insensible even to the strongest concentrations of the bacteriostatic.

This brings up the general phenomenon of the progressive insensibility of all types of organisms to all but immediately fatal attacks. Such acquired resistance is not limited only to microbes but is found in insects as well. For instance, when the dose of phenothiazine used in attacking screw-worms fails to kill them all, the descendants of the survivors are even insensible to greater doses of the antibiotic. A resistant race is developed.

Thus one can understand the progressive resistance to insecticides of insect-carriers of disease such as the mosquito in the case of malaria and yellow fever, the flea of typhus, the fly of a variety of diseases). Such resistance raises an extremely serious problem in the prevention of these diseases, a problem that WHO experts already are studying.

But to return to the antibiotics used by man the early outstanding results with penicillin were followed by the discovery that its action on the staphylococcus sometimes became very weak. Microbes of this type which were not destroyed by the first massive treatment be-

came resistant to the antibiotic. The same was true of streptomycin where the Koch bacillus was concerned: it quickly developed resistant strains.

The earlier discovery that the action of sulfamides on the gonococcus became weak after being initially extremely effective taught us what was happening with penicillin and streptomycin.

This phenomenon has important consequences. Microbes which survive an insufficient dose of an antibiotic become immune even to strong doses. Their resistance cannot be overcome except by another antibiotic, administered alone or in combination with the first. This is the procedure in combatting the Koch bacillus, where isoniazide and streptomycin are used together.

Not only do ineffective initial doses cause antibiotics to lose their power, but in some admittedly rare cases they may even stimulate the growth of the microbe in something of a reversal of their normal action. They can also render the body allergic to further treatment with the drug by causing outbreaks of urticaria in the case of penicillin, and of eczema in that of streptomycin.

Another curious phenomenon is cross resistance, by which certain antibiotics cause microbes to become insensitive to others that probably have the same action. This is true of the chloramphenicol-aureomycin-terramycin group.

Therefore it is risky, if not downright dangerous, to take an antibiotic in small, ineffective doses. And yet this is precisely what happens when one takes nose drops and lozenges which melt in the mouth in order to assure the absorption of the antibiotic. The same is true of toothpaste in which the concentration of an antibiotic is so weak and the time of exposure of the micro-organism so brief that if it reacts at all it can only be in the direction of stimulating resistance.

For all these reasons, small doses are definitely ruled out because they are not only

ineffective, but also because they can hinder further treatment with big doses.

The answer is to use powerful doses from the outset providing that is done in full knowledge of the situation and observing the necessary precautions. This will achieve the desired result since the high blood concentrations attained usually produce at least the desired bacteriostatic effect.

Nevertheless, it is more than ever important not to allow the sick person to decide for himself the question of taking strong doses for several reasons.

Inappropriate dosage may hinder subsequent diagnosis, that is, prevent the discovery of the microbe involved. It must be remembered that antibiotics are active only against certain types of microbes which should be identified beforehand in each case. This is a general rule since it is wise, for instance, not to treat a strep throat (angina) with bismuth before the cause of the infection is determined by a throat scraping.

Most antibiotics have direct and indirect toxic effects when administered in strong doses. While the toxic effect may not be very serious, it is never completely harmless—in fact no medicament is completely anodyne. Some may affect the liver, others the cochlear nerve or the kidneys. The effects which several of them may have on the skin have already been mentioned.

Strong concentrations of chloramphenicol (or chloromycetin) in typical cases cause the mass destruction of the microbe, and toxins that result can produce serious accidents by their sudden appearance in the circulatory system.

Another danger is the possibility of the destruction by certain antibiotics of some of the intestinal flora which should be left alone. The intestines harbour good microbes which slow down the action of pathogenic microbes or of toxic yeasts. The disappearance of the good ones permits the others to develop. Cases of severe staphylococcemias are known to have

been produced in this way, while gastro-intestinal and kidney infections have resulted from the growth of yeasts of the candida type that were not destroyed by the terramycin administered.

Strong doses capable of producing microbe resistance therefore may weaken the body's natural resistance as well. All these factors should convince the public of the importance of using antibiotics in an informed way, that is, only when necessary and under proper supervision.

First of all, this means that a deaf ear should be turned to the publicity of antibiotic manufacturers, as well as to the more disinterested suggestions of neighbours and friends.

On the other hand, greater attention should be paid to the advice of pharmacists since their studies have made them cautious. Almost everywhere in the world they are usually called upon to give the first care to the injured. They are also asked for advice by their customers. In France, where this question has been studied carefully, the rule is that advice should be cautious and limited in scope.

At the very outset of their studies French pharmacy students are compelled to follow special courses given by the medical faculty. They are taught to give first aid but at the same time to be careful about suggesting medicines. They are reminded that they know nothing about the practice of medicine and that they must avoid all diagnosis. Then they are taught that some usually inoffensive medicines must be shunned completely in certain cases, such as avoiding a laxative when an attack of appendicitis seems imminent. The students are cautioned to urge their customers to see a doctor and to limit themselves to giving advice on how a drug should be taken, providing the doctor agrees.

No medicine, particularly an antibiotic, should be kept in the family medicine cabinet once the treatment is completed. It must be destroyed not only because it may undergo changes but also because when it is not at hand

there is no temptation to use it under circumstances thought to be similar or simply in order not to waste it.

It is the doctor then, and the doctor alone, who possesses the necessary qualifications for diagnosis and treatment. Consulting him should never be delayed. Certain kinds of treatment imprudently applied at the beginning of an ailment which requires speedy diagnosis only cause dangerous delays in applying the correct treatment. This diagnosis, let us emphasize, is the doctor's concern and his only, and this brings us to what must be called indirect self-medication. For, unfortunately, it is not uncommon that a patient insists on his doctor giving him a highly recommended prescription. Some patients become quite indignant when refused, and the doctor must often be strong

willed and greatly disinterested to resist such pressure.

While indirect self-medication is undoubtedly less dangerous than direct self-treatment, it too must be vigorously condemned.

Of course, the unwise use of antibiotics is only a small chapter in the very long story of the irrational use of all drugs in general. At a time when the number of drugs is increasing at a dizzy pace, it is necessary to emphasize that, in addition to their principal action which is the basis of the therapeutic use, all have secondary effects on the body which are sometimes beneficial and sometimes harmful.

What is particular to antibiotics is that their improper use may result in rendering them ineffective. For this reason, everything should be done to preserve carefully the full effectiveness of these often powerful agents.

The Progress of UAR

By

Mr. GALAL EL-RASHIDI

It is symbolic of the great development and upsurge in the United Arab Republic that on July 23, the seventh anniversary day of the Revolution, President Nasser launched the UAR's new Three Year Plan. Before the year is out, work will be inaugurated on the first stage of the Aswan High Dam, the king-pin of planned prosperity in the UAR. The eighth year of the Revolution will thus be a year of concentrated nation-building endeavour. It will witness the UAR's great leap forward in many spheres of industry and agriculture.

The climate is propitious for this building upsurge. Last year on this day the Arab World was caught in the whirlpool of light and darkness. A new light had dawned in Iraq only 12 days before Egypt's National Day; the Storm over the Tigris heralded the Arab's long-awaited complete emancipation. But there was also a lot of gathered gloom over

the Arab landscape. The Lebanon was fighting for its dignity and unsullied sovereignty; American troops had landed in that ancient Arab land and British troops in Jordan. The Middle East stood on the brink of a great calamity. The Arabs stood firm on their honour and their freedom, and ultimately, victory was theirs. Foreign troops were obliged to pull out of the Lebanon and Jordan. Peace returned to the Lebanon. The Lebanese had the government they desired. Iraq marched forward flying the banner of its own Revolution.

The year 1958 was, thus, a momentous year for the Arab World, a year that will go down in history as one of the deliverance of the Arabs from the traditional forms of tyranny and exploitation.

Nothing is born painlessly, certainly not a new nation. In its labour, the Arab nation is

bound to have its own agonies. Every newly-born nation must find its own feet after a process of trials and errors, after surmounting the obstacles that the new uncharted road is bound to throw up. In a world torn by the cold war, in which rival ideologies and power interests battle for supremacy, the journey of a new nation along its own chosen road is even more difficult. Too many complex forces are constantly at play, and statesmen have ever to tread on a different path.

The march of the Arabs towards stable progress and orderly prosperity cannot, therefore, be without hazards. As old problems are conquered, new problems raise their heads; as old dangers recede, new ones appear.

One such danger is the cold war between the two gigantic blocs. Yet the Arabs are aware of this danger from which they are determined to stand so far. The emancipated Arabs only desire to shape their own destiny in their own freely chosen way, to be friends with all, and satellites of none. This, in the simplest term, is the meaning of Arabism, the primal dynamic of the Arab awakening.

The 1952 Revolution that shook the Arab world is one of those catalytic forces which give a big push to history and accelerate the march of man. In historical dimensions it is reminiscent of the French Revolution, even the earlier American Revolution. In more recent times, it is reminiscent of India's emancipation from domination, and the Chinese Revolution of 1949. All these great events, each a harbinger of creative impulses, followed the respective ways; none could be a carbon copy of another. Even the French revolutionaries who had been so profoundly inspired by the Declaration of Independence, could only have a revolution utterly French. The Arabs, too, brought about their revolution in their own way, with their own tools and their own ideologies and objectives. But it so happened that their ideologies and objectives mingled with those of the larger family of Asian-African humanity, and thus gathered

strength and force which the old masters of Europe could no longer withstand.

The different awakening in Asian and African countries mingled together to make the great river of Asian-African awakening which is the most momentous event of the 20th century. In this great awakening, Egypt under President Nasser played a significant role. Egypt is the geographical and spiritual link between Asia and Africa; and when the United Arab Republic was created, a miracle happened for the first time in history: two limbs of Asia and Africa merged physically and spiritually. At Bandung, the robust role played by the New Egypt astonished many delegates and observers; how different was this role from that of the old and effete monarchist Egypt: The New "Egypt" looked around herself with hope and confidence, courage and quiet resolve. This was the "Egypt" of Nasser, the "Egypt" of the Revolution.

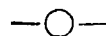
In subsequent years, this courage and quiet resolve made it possible for Egypt (and Syria) to triumph over many combinations of evils. Suez witnessed one of the most splendid victories in history of right over wrong, of the lofty over the mean, of a grim resolve to live over a monster desire to kill. Egypt won, not by her courage alone, but by the combined indignation and courage of Asia and Africa. After Suez came a series of open conspiracies openly carried out: economic blockades political isolation, military pressure, the landings on Lebanon and Jordan, the trouble on the Turco-Syrian border, threats of Israeli invasion. But the New Egypt lived. Not only did she live, she went forward and merged with Syria to make possible at long last the cherished dream of the Arabs for unity; she wrote for herself the first secular constitution in the Arab world; she forged a socialistic philosophy of her own, and set out on the task of building an egalitarian society. The gap between the rulers and the ruled narrowed progressively; new industries came up every year; the fellahin were the first object of the

revolution; land reforms were effectually applied to the benefit of a large number of rural families.

"What we mean by socialism is a system with both negative and positive sides," President Nasser has declared. "The negative value are applied to the eradication of the sordid past while the positive values shall enable us to proceed with the establishment of the future has been taken up. Industrial progress during the seven years of the Revolution has been remarkable. To give a few figures, the production of electric power has gone up by 260 per cent; that of petroleum by 40 per cent; fertilisers by 54 per cent; iron bars by 90 per cent; sugar by 59 per cent; textiles by 54 per cent; paper by 70 per cent and spinning industries by 370 per cent. The U.A.R. has now a series of new industries including the rubber tyre industry, the battery industry, the glass industry and the canned-food industry. It has its own steel plant, its own refineries. The U.A.R. makes its own refrigerators, its own drugs and medicines, its

own wollen fabrics. Soon it will make its own motor cars and trucks. The big land reclamation schemes now in hand are aimed at turning large patches of desert into green pastures and farms.

July 23 is not just a milestone in the history of the U.A.R. It ranks in history with the few days when men have suddenly wakened up from a long slumber to take a long leap into a new dawn. Such was that day in September, 1789, when the French, after their Revolution, adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man; such was July 4, 1776, when the United States of America woke into independence and adopted its great Charter of Freedom; such was the day in October 1917, when the Russians proclaimed their Socialistic Republic; such, again, was August 15, 1947, when India fulfilled her "tryst with destiny". For the Arabs, July 23 is the Day of Awakening. Every year on this day the Arabs wake up to new dreams, new endeavours; new dawns beacon to them, and their sturdy, young hearts respond to the call of destiny.



Paru Shah: A Saint of Sindh

By

MR. G. N. MATHRANI

IN every society there is a fairly large number of moral and virtuous persons, but a very small number of saints. *Saintliness is an extraordinary and a rare quality of human nature.* It is an invincible state of the mind which inspires the most noble and heroic deeds. The highest flights of charity, devotion, trust, patience, bravery, self-sacrifice and other great moral deeds and dispositions of which the normal human beings are more or less incapable, are expressions of saintly character.

Saintliness does not grow in a man, it emerges. Ordinarily virtue and goodness grow in a human character, by stages and through effort and striving. The raw material out of

which moral and virtuous character is built consists of the instincts many of which the human race shares in common with the animal species. Canalisation and sublimation of instincts constitute the dual process of character building. Canalisation of instincts involves the socially approved regularisation of the inherited instinctive propensities, while sublimation implies a good deal of refinement and purification of the natural impulses. Both, canalisation and sublimation, require self-control or conscious and voluntary inhibition of the instinctive urges. In the life of an ordinary man, this triple moral activity of canalisation, sublimation and inhibition of

instincts generally become possible on account of social influence operating through Home training, Education, and Religion. Ordinary normal moral character is a joint product of self-effort and environmental influences; whereas saintliness cannot be characterised as a resultant of any such observable operative forces. It is an emergent quality. Turning point is the only observable phenomenon in the emergence of saintliness. There have been unlettered and uneducated saints. There have been saints who were previously wicked and irreligious. There have also been saints who were born and brought up in broken homes, homes where there was no home life and home training. What can be observed in the life of any saint is that at a certain stage in his life some event takes place and he turns away from the world and saintliness begins to possess him. The austerities that he performs thereafter do not bring out saintliness in him, they only make saintliness an abiding feature of his character.

According to the modern Psychology of Religion, Saintliness involves a total transformation of the Libido. It is necessary to distinguish between transformation and repression of the Libido. Repression very often proves to be a painful experience and may result in a mental sickness. On the other hand a positive transformation of any part of the Libido, in any higher direction, tends to make the individual concerned inwardly stronger, richer and happier. In fact cheerfulness and a growing feeling of inner self-sufficiency constitute the test of the positive transformation of the instincts or the Libido. A man becomes a saint when the worldling in him dies away and all his thoughts and desires are centred on God and Humanity. As distinct from saintliness, ordinary moral conversion implies the transformation of socially undesirable dispositions.

Sindh is said to have produced an unusually large number of saints. Sindh is partly a

desert land and partly a fertile land. The loneliness of the desert and the colourful beauty of the fertile part of Sindh have both contributed to the growth of saintliness in Sindh. The earlier saints were mostly poet-saints and much of the Sindhi Poetry is their contribution. The best poets of Sindh, such as Shah Latif, Sachal Saei, Sami, Bedal, Bekas, and others were also great saints. All of them, in their poetry, have stressed on the immanent concept of God. In their poetic ecstasies they felt the Nature to be the God's own form. Their poetry also reveals their unshakable faith in the goodness of God, which remained undisturbed in spite of the occasional experience of the natural catastrophes like sand storms and floods and personal sorrows and sufferings.

According to the popular concept of a saint, prevalent in Sindh as everywhere else, a saint is not only a seer who directly experiences the presence of God and feels the goodness of God, but also one who can influence the will of God for the happiness of man. In other words, a saint should be able to perform miracles in order to remove the human distress. Sindh has produced this class of saints also. Saints like *Paru Shah*, *Vasan Shah* and others are said to have performed many miracles for the earthly benefits of their devotees. They were called "*Karamati Saints*."

Later on a humanist concept of saintliness came to prevail. A life entirely spent in the devotional prayers to God and the selfless, intimate and personal services to fellow-beings came to be recognised as a saintly life. Sadhu Navalrai, Sadhu Hiranand, Sadhu Vaswani Bhakat Kanwar Ram and others fall under this category.

It may also be mentioned about the saints of Sindh that they were all non-ritualistic and non-communalistic. They all condemned image worship, pilgrimage and ceremonials. It is on account of the social influence of the saints of Sindh that we do not find in Sindh any places of pilgrimage, rich temples and expert Hindu

priests to perform the ceremonies. Nor do we find any big mosques and learned Mullas for the Muslims. The Saints of Sindh always recommended prayers, meditation and Sankirtan in place of rituals, ceremonies and image worship.

No communal distinctions were made either by the saints themselves or their devotees and followers. Hindu saints had Muslim followers and Muslim saints had Hindu followers. The Hindu and Muslim followers of every saint formed an intimate social group. Periodically the Hindu and the Muslim disciples and devotees of every saint would gather at the *Dargaha* of the saint, spend a few days in a common camp, eat together, sit together and pray together. On such occasions they always lived like one intimate community. But unfortunately the socio-spiritual influence of the saints did not prove to be sufficiently strong to prevent the growth of the politically caused communal fanaticism which ultimately resulted in the exodus of the Hindus from Sindh, in 1947-48.

Rohiri, a small town situated on a bank of the river, Indus, is one of the oldest towns in Sindh and many of the great saints of Sindh were born there. Saint Paru Shah also was born in Rohiri, in the family of a goldsmith, in the year 1820. His father's name was Bhai Hansrajmal and his mother's name was Chandi.

Not much is known about the pre-mystic part of his life. As a young man, he became a police sub-inspector and married a girl, named Ganga, from a goldsmith's family of Shikarpur, a town 26 miles from Rohiri. On account of some domestic clash, Ganga had left Paru Shah and was staying at her father's house in Shikarpur. It seems there was nobody else staying with him, and his wife was away, he used to cook his own food.

Sometime during that period of his temporary separation from his wife, one day, after the whole day's hard work at the Police Station he had just reached home and was going to

cook his food, when the D.S.P. sent him an urgent message to return to the Police Station, immediately to take a letter and deliver it to a certain person. In spite of the fatigue he put on his clothes, went and delivered that letter. Again he was called that very evening, before he could cook, eat and rest. This provoked his indignation. He took his Police uniform, belt, whistle, etc., and surrendered them to the Police Superintendent, saying that he was fed up with such a job and that he would no more be a servant to any one except God. The Police Superintendent was taken by surprise and tried to dissuade Bhai Parumal; but the latter was determined to leave his job.

The above-mentioned incident in the life of Paru Shah is of immense psychological significance, as it proved to be a turning point in his life and made him take to the mystic path. After that incident he shut himself up for eight days in the terrace-room of his ancestral house. During those eight days he remained without food, water, bath, etc.

After eight days' complete solitude, he came out and decided to go to his wife, who was staying at her father's house in Shikarpur, to break off the earthly ties with her also. He footed out and within two hours reached the locality of his father-in-law's house. He met his father-in-law, Bhai Jhamandas goldsmith, who rudely inquired of his intention. Bhai Parumal felt that they would not let his wife go with him. So he declared that he wanted to take his wife back. Thereupon Bhai Jhamandas rebuked him for giving up his police job and said that he would not be able to maintain his wife and as such she would permanently stay with him only. Then Bhai Parumal made a special request to his father-in-law to let him have a last look at his wife. Ganga was called and on seeing her, Bhai Parumal addressed her as 'mother' and said, "Mother Ganga, all right, I take your permanent leave now." After uttering those words, he walked back to Rohiri. (At this stage of

his life he was in his 25th year and Ganga was in her 13th year.)

After reaching Rohiri, he settled down on a hillock, at the outskirts of the town, where he spent twenty-five years in spiritual sadhana. Nothing is known of the spiritual methods and disciplines followed by him. The tradition only says that after twenty-five years of spiritual retirement he returned to the town of Rohiri and soon the local spiritual seekers found in him a perfect Guru and the ordinary folks found in him a protector who could perform miracles to alleviate their sorrows and sufferings. It was some Muslim Fakirs who, after witnessing some of his miraculous deeds, began to address him as 'Paru Shah' meaning 'Paru Lord' or 'Paru Bhagwan'. Thereafter the title of 'Shah' stuck to him and he came to be known as Paru Shah.

Once a Muslim Fakir, belonging to the sect of Shah Latif, met Bhai Paru at a local gathering of Fakirs at Rohiri; and invited him to accompany him to Ranipur to attend the annual fair at Darazan (Dargaha of a well-known Muslim Poet-saint, Sachal Saei). Bhai Paru was preparing Bhang-Sharbat (an indigenous intoxicant drink) at that time. So he told the Muslim Fakir, "Sir, you proceed and I shall follow you a little later." Later when the Muslim Fakir, riding on a horse, was nearing the border of Khairpur State of which Ranipur was the capital, he saw Bhai Paru, on a horse, returning from the fair. Both greeted each other and got down from their horses. The Fakir was amazed to witness this phenomenon and said to Bhai Paru, "What is all this that I am seeing? You told me to go ahead and that you would come later and here I see you returning from the fair. *You are indeed Paru Shah.*" Since that day Bhai Paru came to be known as Paru Shah.

Once he went out for a stroll towards the Railway Station. On the way some of his devoted admirers, who were staying that side, met him and requested him to dine at their place, which he gladly agreed to do. They

brought delicious food in a big metal plate covered with cloth. They had brought cooked rice and meat; but as soon as Paru Shah removed the cloth, rice and meat became roses.

One morning a hawker, named Khio, was selling some boiled edibles (locally known as Kohars). Paru Shah, who knew Khio very well, told the latter to prepare Bhang Sharbat for him; Khio kept aside his pot of boiled edibles and prepared Bhang-Sharbat for Paru Shah. Before giving Bhang-Sharbat to Paru Shah, Khio requested Paru Shah to eat some of the boiled edibles which he was selling. Paru Shah feelingly told the hawker, "Khio, you have not yet sold your stuff to any customer. How are you giving it to me without payment?" Paru Shah was carrying a small cloth bag in his hand and from that bag he took out a handful of Jawar grains and gave to Khio and Khio gladly accepted it. In the evening Khio thought of grinding the Jawar grains on the grinding stone to make flour out of them, but Lo! the Jawar grains given to Khio by Paru Shah had become coins.

Many such miracle stories are associated with the name of Paru Shah. It was believed that Paru Shah could do anything and accordingly hundreds of people from the far off villages used to visit him and seek his grace to solve their difficulties. Even after his death and even these days people of all descriptions have been visiting his *Samadhi*, to pray for his grace. The school students, Government servants, shopkeepers, businessmen and others visit his *Samadhi* and write on the walls what they want from him. Every year the walls are repainted and again the visitors spoil them by writing their prayerful requests addressed to Paru Shah. Paru Shah of Rohiri in Sindh is as famous for responding to the prayers of the unhappy people as Sai Baba of Shirdi in Maharashtra.

Of his many disciples, four became reputed saints. They were Vasan Shah, Arbab Ali Shah (a Muslim), Ochiram Sahib and Baba

Nebhraj Sahib. The present writer had the good fortune to visit Baba Nebhraj Sahib twice. For many years Baba Nebhraj resided at the Dargaha of Bedal Fakir (a Muslim Poet-saint of Paru Shah's times). After 1942, on account of Muslim communal fanaticism, Baba Nebhraj was brought to a Hindu locality.

Vasan Shah, like Paru Shah, is known to have performed many miracles. Once a seven year-old boy fell in the Indus river and disappeared in the river water. The boy's mother went to Vasan Shah and cried before him pathetically for many hours. Vasan Shah tried to pacify her and told her that God would give her another son, but she wanted Vasan Shah to bring her back that very boy. Vasan Shah then went to Samadhi of Paru Shah and related the whole story. Paru Shah replied that the woman would get back her son. On the third day (after the boy's disappearance in the river water), many miles away from Rohiri, some persons saw a buffalo coming out of the river with a boy tied to her tail. They immediately ran to release the boy from the buffalo's tail. When they reached there, they found the boy and not the buffalo. The boy told them that he had fallen in the river and then he found inside the water Paru Shah taking him by his right hand and Vasan Shah by his left hand. He said that they brought him out and suddenly left him where he was standing. He then requested them to take him to Vasan Shah's Tikana. The boy's name was Sabhagchand and later on he became a Station Master and died at the age of 66.

The personal habits of Paru Shah were that of a Malang Baba. Such men outwardly appear to be insane, but inwardly they are very much sane and serene. They are completely indifferent to the needs of the body. They never ask for food; not do they take bath and change clothes to keep the body

clean. *They transcend the idea of the decency of the body.* Sometimes they take off their clothes or tear off their clothes and become naked in the presence of others. They ease themselves and answer the calls of nature anywhere. They talk to themselves and talk at random. They would eat anything, they would not discriminate between clean food and unclean food. The present writer saw many such habits in Baba Nebhraj also. Many educated men considered Baba Nebhraj to be an insane person. But there were many others who knew him more intimately and who believed him to be a great saint.

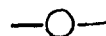
Paru Shah loved loneliness and solitude. At the same time he was full of compassion for those in distress. His apparent insanity like that of Baba Nebhraj was a voluntary insanity, a device to remain aloof and independent. When anyone sincerely needed their advice and instruction, they would come out of their voluntary insanity and become fully conscious, so as to give correct advice and instruction to them.

Paru Shah did not leave behind any written compositions, nor did he hold any regular conversations on religious matters. But from the brief instructions which he gave to the sincere seekers it is clear that he encouraged everyone to believe in and practice the best truths of the religion in which he was born. He saw the *lila* of the Lord in all religions. On the whole, he discouraged pilgrimage and ceremonial ritualism.

In ethical matters he condemned falsehood, dishonesty, cruelty, ill-will and all other vices. But he did not condemn drinking intoxicants and eating meat. In fact he very often took Bhang-Sharbat and indigenous liquors.

He passed away on the 26th January, 1890.

(Vedanta Kesari)



Ethics of Civil Disobedience

By

ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

THE sense of frustration in the heart of the common citizen of India is now eating into his vitals. There is general sense of helplessness and mental necrosis among our people. The backbone of the lower middle class of the Indian nation is broken. The cost of living is soaring higher every day; blackmarketing rampant and corruption widespread in Government and non-government sectors.

Until the year 1947, our main battle was directed against the ruling British clique. But today our battle is against domestic foes, all those vested interests and reactionary forces that stand in the way of India's economic, ethical and intellectual progress. If "that government is the best that governs least," then, that government is the worst, that governs most. That government becomes a thousand times demnable when it thrives on the fat, blood and sauce of the subjects. All totalitarian governments are such shepherds feeding on their flock. Sham democracies that take the name of democracy to make hay while the sun shines also become the deadliest weight on the common citizen of a country, when political power, taxation money and country's resources are all canalised to boost up the government in power, to the detriment of the common tax-payer, the man-in-the-street.

There are two ways of fighting a government that fail to deliver goods to the common man: violent revolution through brute force, when might alone is right, or through non-cooperation with, and civil disobedience to, the unjust and unprofitable laws and measures and policies of a government. The Kerala Government prepares new text-books for the schools to teach the growing children that Marx is the god to be worshipped and that history is to be re-written under the light of communist paradise. But facts are facts and mere white-washing cannot make a crow white. The

Central Government is bringing out so many Five-Year Plans to hoodwink the public, to raise more money from the people to feed the Government, with few benefits trickling down on the people.

Leonine violence characterised the French Revolution, the October Revolution in Russia, the Fascist Revolution in Italy, the Nazi dictatorship in Germany, in China and elsewhere. If, on ethical and humane grounds, we eschew that path, the only course left for conscientious citizens to fight the Government and help to create the order of society fit for humans to live with freedom and dignity, is non-cooperation with the Government and forthright civil disobedience. If there are a large number of individuals and groups courageous enough to court legal sanctions of an unjust government, we can paralyse the government machinery and make them do people's will, what is right and just, instead of what is cooked out and sold as glamorous by the government.

Leo Tolstoi, Henry Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi, through precept and example, have taught us this practical philosophy of civil resistance to an unfair and unjust government. Henry Thoreau says:

"All men recognise the right of revolution, that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think, in the Revolution of '75."

Today also we say that the time for revolution is not ripe. This is an illusion. Wherever there is an unjust law and any trace of injustice in us or in our government we are bound to become revolutionaries, only, not through physical force and violence, as the governments do, but through moral and ethi-

"The Origin of Species": Its Impact a Hundred Years Ago

BY

Mr. D. R. NEWTH

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"IT sets the door of the universe ajar", said a Victorian English mother in urging her son to take Darwin's *Origin of Species* to read on his summer holiday. Sir Charles Sherrington, later to be himself the founder of an important branch of biology, may have had a remarkable mother, but do we today think that she was right? And if so why?

At first sight it might seem to be a grossly exaggerated claim. Darwin's *Origin* was, of course, recognised as a masterpiece within days of its publication in 1859. In it he had assembled with great skill and patience a formidable mass of evidence supporting two simple ideas. The first was that the living plants and animals known to modern man were descended, over great periods of time, from other and quite different forms; that life had evolved. The second was that this evolution had been caused wholly by natural processes, in particular by natural selection, which were still at work and whose operation could be studied by scientific means. Darwin did not, a hundred years ago, press home the obvious corollary that man himself shared a common descent with animals. That was to come later in his book on *The Descent of Man*. In 1859 he was content to suggest that his ideas could be expected to throw light on the origin of man, but his readers took the point.

Yet it was in its relevance to man that the *Origin of Species* did really set the door of the universe ajar. It did so because it challenged that last stronghold of the prevailing theology of its time. Of course the whole argument of the book ran counter to Biblical accounts of the creation and its implied fixity of species. This in itself would not have caused much alarm insofar as animals and plants were conc-

erned. Since Copernicus had shattered the geocentric universe more than three hundred years earlier theology had slowly and reluctantly yielded all serious claim to be a guide to knowledge of the natural world. To extend to plants and animals what was already granted in respect of stars and atoms would not have mattered greatly.

Science, however, is a human activity and scientific method a human creation. So long as man's nature contained elements immune from scientific enquiry, but still within the province of theology, then the whole of science was on probation. It was a method of increasing our knowledge of nature, but not the only method. If pre-Darwinian conceptions of man were true then inspiration from supernatural sources was a possible, and in principle more reliable, path to knowledge. Darwin by claiming man for science threatened to disrupt the precarious balance between the claims of science and religion that had been growing up since the Renaissance.

Of Victorian England it must be said that it took the Darwinian revolution far better than might have been expected, and so in the course of time did the rest of the world. The biologists, of course, quickly became converts because Darwin was obviously right. Indeed it is not belittling his achievement to point that evolution was already in the air before he published the *Origin*. The geologist Lyell and the philosopher Herbert Spencer had already discussed it in well-known books. The anonymous author of the best-selling *Vestiges of Creation* was more than half an evolutionist, while more than fifty years earlier Darwin's own grandfather and the French zoologist Lamarck had both espoused the "doctrine of

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descent." That a brother naturalist Alfred Wallace hit upon the idea of natural selection late in 1857 was, in fact, the stimulus that drove the cautious Darwin to publish when he did. Within twenty-five years of its appearance the *Origin of Species* had won the acceptance of the overwhelming majority of biologists throughout the world.

To the devout non-biologist it presented a more difficult pill to swallow. Darwin's own intelligent and charming wife, for example, remained unconverted to the end. He always avoided public discussion of the implications that his work had for religion in order not to hurt her. But even among churchmen Darwin had early supporters. It is, however, probably still true to say that those Christian theologians who admit that Darwin was right would greatly prefer that he were not.

Darwinism never became a political issue in England. It is true that Disraeli declared that on the vexed issue of whether man was ape or angel he "was on the side of angels." The Liberals doubted it, but were too polite to say so. Within a few decades another leader of

the Conservative Party was to make amends by giving a qualified blessing to Darwinism at a meeting of the British Association. In Germany the cause of Darwinism was, for a brief time, associated with political radicalism, but elsewhere it has only impinged on public affairs when attempts have been made to suppress its teaching in schools or universities. There are still parts of the world in which teachers are forbidden to tell children about evolution.

For biology Darwin was a liberator and an innovator. It is a measure of his genius that biologists still find inspiration for their work in his writings. For science as a whole he was something more, for he provided a retrospective justification for everything that science had attempted. It may seem fanciful to compare the staid, modest, middle-class Englishman with the colourful figures of the high Renaissance. Yet with Darwin the humanism of the Renaissance achieves its culmination. Man is left standing alone in the universe, and knowing it. For what he makes of himself and his opportunities he must take full responsibility. Darwinism allows no other view.

Theatre in South-East Asia

BY

SANTHA RAMA RAU & FAUBION BOWERS

CONTRARY to the Westerner's preconception that the Chinese are inscrutable and expressionless, even the casual tourist cannot fail to notice the theatrical nature of the people and the daily dramas enacted on the streets of China. The simple business of paying a pedicab driver, or buying a handful of melon-seeds, can be made into a beautifully performed miniature drama of anger, pleading, philosophic disgust of all the world and even an imitation fight complete with all the movements and blows although no one is actually hit. That these performances usually improve according to the number of spectators shows a flair for the public, the severest test of the dramatic instinct, and one is confirmed in one's opinion that the Chinese are a nation of actors.

Perhaps, it is this great dramatic vitality of the Chinese that has produced the extensive

and deep influence on the theatre of all the countries of South-East Asia; for anywhere you travel—from Hong Kong to Jakarta—you will see theatre recognizably derived from China's classical Peking Opera.

The stories may vary from country to country but the tradition of the drama, the fact that only men perform even the women's roles, the style of acting and of scenery, and the use of music, are very close to the Chinese. Consequently, to see the theatre in Saigon, Indo-China, you must go to the Chinese section of the city and watch the slow, stylized performances (in which a stick with ribbons tied to it is a horse, or a solemn march around the stage means going on a long journey) accompanied by the crashing of cymbals and drums, with the dialogues between the leading characters sung in the high, piercing style of

cal force as all rational humans do. Thoreau was imprisoned a number of times for his refusing to pay the government taxes, and for not abiding by the government policies and directives which was against his conscience. So was Gandhi many a times kept under prison bars. But their spirits could not be beaten nor conquered even by the mighty American or British governments.

No-tax campaign alone, if organised on a

statewide scale, can make the government mend its ways. Through civil disobedience alone we can force the government to utilise public revenue for the good of the people. Ethics of civil disobedience is based in human values, in the fact that man is prior to state and governments and that all governments should exist only to serve man and his needs, not vice versa. Man is not for the sabbath, but sabbath for man.

What is Socialism?

By

Mr. LESZEK KOLAKOWSKI

MR. KOLAKOWSKI a prominent young philosopher of Poland, wrote this article for the official student newspaper *Po Prostu*. The publication of the article was proscribed because of its anti-Soviet character. It was circulated privately and created a profound impression upon the students of the country. It fell in the hands of an American journalist and was published in the *New Leader* of New York. (Editor, *Indian Review*.)

WE will tell you what Socialism is. But first we must tell you what socialism is not. It is a matter about which we once had a quite different opinion than we have today.

Well, then, Socialism is not :

A society in which it is a crime to be the brother, sister, son or wife of a criminal.

A society in which one person is unhappy because he says what he thinks and another happy because he does not say what is in his mind.

A society in which a person is unhappy because he is a Jew and another feels better for not being a Jew.

A state whose soldiers move into the territory of another country first.

A state where anyone who praises the national leaders is better off.

A state in which one can be condemned without a trial.

A society whose leaders appoint themselves to their posts.

A society in which ten people live in one room.

A society which has illiterates and smallpox epidemics.

A state which does not permit travel abroad.

A state which has more spies than nurses and more people in prison than in hospital.

A state in which the number of officials increases faster than that of workers.

A state in which one is forced to resort to lies.

A state in which one is compelled to be a thief.

A state in which one is forced to resort to crime.

A state which possesses colonies.

A state whose neighbours curse geography.

A state which produces excellent jet planes and bad shoes.

A state in which cowards live better than the valiants.

A state in which the lawyers in most cases agree with the state prosecutor.

Empire tyranny, oligarchy, bureaucracy.

A state in which the majority of people seek God in order to find solace in their misery.

A state which awards prizes by pseudo-authors and knows more about painting than the painters.

A nation which oppresses other nations.

A nation which is oppressed by another nation.

A state which wants all its citizens to have the same opinions in philosophy, foreign policy, economics, literature and ethics.

A state whose government defines its citizen's rights but whose citizens do not define the government's rights.

A state in which one is responsible for ancestors.

A state in which one part of the population receives salaries 40 times higher than those of the remainder.

Any system of government toward which most of the governed are host.

A single isolated state.

A group of backward countries.

A state which utilizes nationalistic slogans.

A state whose governments believe that nothing is more important than their power.

A state which makes a pact with crime and then adapts its ideology to that pact.

A state which would like to see its Foreign Ministry determine the political opinion of all mankind.

A state which finds it difficult to distinguish between enslavement and liberation.

A state in which fascist agitators enjoy full freedom.

A state in which there is private ownership of the means of production.

A state which considers itself solidly socialist because it has liquidated private ownership of the means of production.

A state which has difficulty in differentiating between social revolution and armed assault.

A state which does not believe that people must be happier under socialism than elsewhere.

A society which is very melancholy.

A caste system.

A state which always knows the will of the people before it asks them.

A state which can mistrust the people with impunity.

A state in which a view of history is important.

A state in which the philosophers and writers

always say the same as the generals and ministers, but always after them.

A state in which street maps of cities are false secrets.

A state in which the returns of parliamentary elections are always predictable.

A state in which there is slave labour.

A state in which feudal fetters exist.

A state which has a world monopoly on scientific progress.

A state in which an entire people, through no desire of its own, is moved to a new location.

A state in which the workers have no influence on the government.

A state which believes that it alone can redeem humanity.

A state which considers itself to be always in the right.

A state in which history is a servant of policy.

A state whose citizens may not read the greatest works of contemporary literature, not see the greatest works of contemporary painting and not hear the greatest works of modern music.

A state which is always well pleased with itself.

A state which asserts that the world is very complicated but actually believes it to be extremely simple.

A state in which one must suffer long before and can get a doctor.

A society that has beggars.

A state which believes everyone to be enamoured of it, whereas in truth it is the opposite.

A state which is convinced that nobody in the world can conceive anything better.

A state which does not mind being hated as long as it is feared.

A state which determines who may criticize it and how.

A state in which one must each day refute what one affirmed the day before and always believe it to be the same.

A state which one does not like to see its citizens read back-numbers of newspapers.

A state in which many ignore muses rank as scholars.

That was the first part. But now, listen attentively, we will tell you what socialism is : Well then socialism is a good thing.



Peking Opera. The action is interspersed with sword play and acrobatics.

This is true of all the main cities of South-East Asia, especially where there are large Chinese populations settled. The Siamese *Likay*, which is to be seen in Bangkok, is again Chinese in influence, with the comedy passages in verse full of puns and play on words, and the serious parts in song, while in Singapore one might just as well be back in China because most of the theatrical activity takes place in imitation of Shanghai's famous "Great World". The "Great World" is an enormous amusement park in which eight or ten plays ranging from vaudeville to classical tragedy are performed simultaneously in various sections of the place, and the audience wander from one to the other, getting as much enjoyment from their theatre as Americans get from Coney Island.

In country areas of South-East Asia, the influence is not quite so strong. The village theatres of Cambodia, for instance, have modified this technique somewhat, partly because they cannot afford the elaborate costumes and stage props that such plays require, and partly because they perform their own legends and stories which need a more naturalistic style of acting. The value of the Chinese-influenced theatre, however, is that it appeals to the low-income groups in the cities who would not be able to afford seats in the Western style theatres, but it represents only one of the three main forms of the South-East Asian theatre.

In contrast to this sort of theatrical expression is the second form—the classical dance-dramas which are well derived from Indian sources. The great waves of Indian colonists that swept across South-East Asia, reached the peak of their cultural influence in about the 9th century A.D. In the great ruins of Angkor, in Cambodia, one can see Indian dancing sculptured in the *bas-relief* friezes of the temples.

Today, when Hinduism is lost in Cambodia

and Thailand, Indian dance-dramas still continue to present the stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Unfortunately in both these countries it is becoming more and more of an esoteric art. In Cambodia, for instance, the only troupe that can really perform the old dance dramas are the palace dancers who will give a display to a carefully selected audience perhaps once a year. Even then they prefer to dance on Western carpets of a rosebud pattern and to wear velvet socks to cover their once articulated feet. In spite of the advice of the Artistic Counsellor to the King, the girls sometimes dance with modern Japanese-made fans instead of the traditional accessories.

The old Siamese dance-dramas or *Khon*, which contain both dialogue and narration by a chorus, are now performed only for weddings of the old-fashioned sort, and occasionally for festivals. Bali is perhaps the only South-East Asian region which maintains a lively tradition of dance-dramas.

However, more interesting to the student of modern drama is the third form of dramatic expression—the New Theatre movement which is growing up in the cities of South-East Asia. In that, one sees how the various countries are using their traditional arts as well as foreign influences to build a new and popular theatre.

In Cambodia the movement is still small, but it is healthy. The "Theatre Nouveau" started by Guy Porée has a group of actors drawn from villagers or from coolies, small shopkeepers etc., from Pnom Penh, the capital city. They put on plays, some of which are traditional stories, some allegories, some original dramas and some adaptations. They write and direct their plays themselves, design the costumes and the very simple scenery. Then they tour the villages around Pnom Penh acting on village greens, on temporary platforms or on the village street, and take up a collection afterwards. To begin with they received a subsidy from the State but soon they were getting on their own feet financially.

In Thailand things are on a much bigger and more elaborately organised scale. Bangkok has a large dramatic school financed by the Department of Fine Arts of the Government. Here the students present plays and dances every week in their own theatre. The enrolment in this school of both boys and girls is rising steadily, but some of the old scholars deplore the results. Phya Anuman, former Director General of the Department and a distinguished art critic, told us, "The trouble is that the younger generation seems to forget its classic arts. The only way now to keep alive the old arts seems to be by adapting them to new ideas." And that is what the school attempts to do. In a historical play, for instance, they will keep most of the action in straight dialogue, but will introduce some of the classical dances (modified and cut) as a contrast, and will put in comedy scenes for relief.

"The students", Phya Anuman continued, "now like simple Western dramas which require no special techniques. The old professionals in the theatre were illiterate, and once they had learned a certain sort of drama, could only perform in that way. Now, for students of the arts, the Department insists on an all-round education, so the old system remains only in the *Likay* drama."

But besides the attempt of the Fine Arts Department to produce a combination of old and new theatre, the modern theatre which has broken away from tradition entirely is very popular and takes many forms. Historical plays are acted with great magnificence of costume and decor: gold, satins, sequins and brilliant jewellery, because the Siamese love a spectacular show. On the other hand, Kamut Chandruang, Thailand's greatest theatrical director, has had his greatest success with translations of foreign plays in which the accent is on characterization rather than spectacle.

About 50 years ago the first modern drama troupes were started in Java and Sumatra, but they did only things like *Tales from the Arabian Nights* with a Western orchestra and music for high-income audiences. The New Theatre movement of Indonesia really began in 1925 with "Miss Rieboet", the best of several Indonesian companies which acted original plays rather than translations and

became very popular because they were, as Usmar Ismail, one of Indonesia's playwright says, "a people's art".

Later an even more important group "Pujangga Baru" (new poets), which was part of a great literary renaissance in Indonesia, introduced modern theatre techniques, and brought old stories up to date without destroying their traditional inspiration. Student associations and amateurs gave it wide membership and support.

During World War II, with the growth of national consciousness, the theatre movement also grew. A group of young writers and artists under the name "Maya" formed the beginnings of a truly national theatre. This received some encouragement from the Japanese, who hoped to use it for propaganda purposes. "Maya" took advantage of the encouragement to spread their movement through the Javanese villages, without giving in to the propaganda. For the first time plays dealing with everyday life and acted in street clothes were performed.

For the future, Ismail feels that the theatre will be influenced mostly by American plays, especially by Eugene O'Neill, "because our theatre is parallel to the American theatre. They too had to start a theatre out of nothing something new, with less tradition. We leave the classical theatre as it is and start a new one."

Another director, Moehtar Lubis, added, "We look to England a little bit too, but there are temperamental differences. Here we are more mystic and more emotional, but also more moderate. We do not want a theatre for intellectuals—we can't perform Shaw. We must work for the Indonesian people in two ways, to build the theatre and to keep it at their level."

The objective presents a few problems too, as the Republican Government found out when it formed a special department to organise group theatres in the villages. The Javanese farmer preferred the old escapist stories which he knew, and the tales from the *Ramayana*, to portrayals of his own daily life. So the New Theatre in the villages has had to face the dual problem of keeping the familiarity and the escapism, and still presenting new ideas.

The People of Nicobar Islands

BY

"AN ANTHROPOLOGIST"

NO person here owns property, And nobody either needs any. It is a place where even a policeman dons teacher's role because no one ever breaks law.

Times have known this land, a string of 19 islands strewn in the Bay of Bengal, by the name of Nicobar—*Nakayaram*, the abode of the naked. But not now; today there is hardly anybody in the population of 12,000 who goes even barefooted. Women take after the Burmese in their dress—a sarang and blouse—and men sport a vest and trousers.

But their dresses lack colour as does their weather. All around the languid air swoons to give a sleepy atmosphere. Even the sea does not pound heavily on the coral-ridden shores. And when people talk, they sound rather lazy and low in their tone. This may be because they never have an argument.

Everyone lives on terms of equality with his neighbours. There is no struggle for existence. Coconut, their staple food, is in such a profusion that even a child old enough to climb a tree could support himself without exertion. Plantations are tended individually but they belong to the village, more so to its Chief, *mah*, in whom they jointly confide.

A Chief, responsible for the well-being of every individual in a village, wields influence by force of character. He can command no obedience and enforce no laws, His only weapon is persuasion. But his call seldom goes unresponded,

People obey community discipline, more so opinion, but they live in their own way. They stick to the land. They start ploughing. They carry their own produce to the co-operative—one for every village—to exchange for clothes, etc. They live in separate huts, built on stilts, seven to eight feet high. They have even their own family gatherings which do not, however, keep them away from the village wrestling, canoeing, dancing or feasting.

And they are particular to keep the marriage or divorce to themselves. When a man desires to marry a girl, he contracts a friendship with her family members, assists them in their work and woos the girl. If she is won over, the marriage is a simple ceremony of placing the girl's hand on man's wrist. Similarly, the divorce is a matter only for the two concerned; there are no public proceedings to take place, no ceremonies to undergo. The children go "where they do not cry".

The position of women is in no way inferior to that of the other sex. They take their full share in the formation of public opinion and discuss with the men such matters as are of interest to the village. Their opinions receive due attention before a decision is arrived at.

In the day's work also, the women take a fair share. They do the cooking and help the men in rearing pigs and paddling canoes. They even assist in ploughing and plantation.

The religion, barring 600 Christians in the main island, Car Nicobar, is animistic, based on the belief that all objects possess a natural life or are endowed with indwelling souls. Various superstitions are practised, such as exposing the dead body before burial to sea wind for three or four days or using bull-roarers to scare away devils.

But whatever their beliefs, they never affect their self-reliance and faith in themselves. For example, they do not await the Government assistance or guidance to overcome their needs. They build roads, organise co-operatives and meet several of their requirements, on their own, without any outside help.

What this island territory of India probably needs is equipment for education—teachers and books. But the people here would not exchange them with either hectic activity or civilization's zealots who would spoil their serene and co-operative way of living in the name of tooth-brush or talcum-powder.

WORLD OF BOOKS

Infant Mortality in India—1901-1955. By S. Chandrasekhar. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. London W. C. 1. Price Twenty Shillings.

This is a professional research Scholar's conscientious completion of what the Yanks call an "assignment." He had the alternatives of making a "severely technical and fundamentally statistical study" or "outlining the problem on the basis of crude data" and make an "analysis of suppositions and a dissection of uncertainties." He chose the latter and more congenial task for a world which is in a hurry, and comes to the final conclusions that the problem is mighty and the solutions available but the execution hindered by what he calls "lack of resources." There are plenty of instructions such as that a good mother can save the child in spite of a reckless father. There are analyses by cross-sections as to the relative low rate of mortality among Parsees as contrasted with Hindus and as between the various States. As Old Taussig put it and Professor Bernal has recently re-emphasised, it is not so easy to say whether productivity precedes fall in mortality and population or fall in population will increase productivity. In one sense, the author's ambition to reduce Infant Mortality Rate from 120 per 1000 livebirths to 20 per 1000 livebirths, that is during the first year of life, may transfer and postpone the problem to a higher age group, and make it more difficult of solution. In so far as studies like this in the language of the Anglo-American Bloc will make them invest in India.

The Absorbent Mind. By Maria Montessori. Translated from the Italian by Claude A. Claremont. Price Rs. Fifteen. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The first edition published in 1949 represented transcripts of the English version translated from the Italian lectures as delivered. This second edition represents a translation of an almost independent, fully revised version written in Italian by Doctor Montessori. So, it represents not only a revised version but also a rethinking in her mother tongue by the famous educationist of her ideas on developing the evolution of the Child Mind by direction of natural activities rather than strict control and compulsion. She starts with the Wordsworthian Alexis Carrel postulate that "instead of ignoring the early years, we must cultivate them with the utmost care." Education for Life must let Life evolve instead of forcing it.

There is a spiritual embryo corresponding to the physical embryo, and if damaged, it may bring on more disastrous consequences than the physical ones which a surgeon or a physician can set right. Acuties of Perception such as the "savage" or the silk worker possesses may be lost if there is too much disciplining. Spontaneous activity needs elaboration of Culture and Imagination. This applies even to defects and abnormal tendencies. The Preparation of the Teacher in a religious approach for the task of understanding the Secret of Childhood is not the least part of the Task. As all World Teachers have said, to know what is Right is not too difficult, but to know what is Love is essential for Education as Religious and Social Service. This is a book which every teacher must acquire, then rebind with blank interleaves, and peruse repeatedly, making notes in the interleaves to extract the last ounce of mental and spiritual refreshment from the author's inspiring guidance.

Christian Missions—Their Place in India. by M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad—Second Revised Edition, Price: Rs. 2/-.

Dr. Stanley Jones after professing to prefer vertical conversion of the soul to horizontal conversion of joining a congregation ended in pathos by regretting that Gandhiji did not get himself baptized with holy water. The pendulum always swings and those who followed the Son of God for worldly benefits during British domination now became Harijan-Hindus. On the other hand, those who really were re-born in Christ are indifferent to triumph and disaster and treat those two imposters just the same. This is a collection for both Englishmen and Indians and Christians and Hindus to read and re-read.

Mind, Its Source and Culture. By Swami Narandyan. Price: Rs. Four. N. K. Prasad and Company, Rishikesh. U. P.

This is a Practical Instructor in which the Enlightened Narayananda analyses the nature of the mind, its relation to bodily, moral, and spiritual activity and life, and its Culture by Control. He gives at the end some directions about education of children and the adolescent. An astro-palmist prophecy that this saint born on 12th April 1902 will have the greatness of His Inner Self shine with a glory of Its own in the 5th Year of his life ending on 11-4-59 makes the present volume of special interest.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 1. The Nepal Ministry headed by B. P. Koirala assumes office in Kathmandu.
—Emperor Haile Selassie meets Mr. N. Khrushchev the Soviet Premier at Moscow.
- July 2. Mr. Kozlov, Soviet Deputy Premier meets President Eisenhower and Secretary Herter at Washington.
—Ghana Government appeals to France to stop nuclear tests at Sahara.
- July 3. Police open fire on the unruly crowd at Cheriatura near Trivandrum.
—President Sukarno (Jakarta) assumes full powers by being head of the state and head of the Government.
- July 4. International Trade fair meets at Chicago with India's participation in it.
- July 5. America celebrates her Independence Day.
—President Sukarno dissolves the constituent assembly and decrees the return of the old Revolutionary constitution.
- July 6. Ben Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister resigns.
- July 7. Kerala Branch of Jan Shangh joins the "Direct action" campaign of the other opposition parties.
- July 8. President Eisenhower vetoes a Democrat-sponsored Housing Bill which he dismisses as "extravagant" and inflationary.
- July 9. Prime Minister Nehru goes on a ten-day holiday and arrives at Simla.
- July 10. President of the Kerala Congress Committee Mr. R. Sanker presents a memorandum to President Rajendra Prasad; Mr. E. M. S. Nambodripad, also meets President Prasad.
- July 11. Mr. Daj Hammarskjöld arrives in Geneva and interviews delegates of Russia, Britain and America re. drafting of treaty for banning nuclear tests.
- July 12. Acharya Vinoba Bhave begins his trek across the 13,350 ft. high pass to enter the Kashmir Valley.
- July 13. Foreign Ministers' talks are resumed in Geneva.
- July 14. Gen. Kassem (Iraq) re-shuffles his Cabinet and includes three Communists and a woman in the Cabinet.
- July 15. National Council of the Communist party meets at Trivandrum and votes against Re-election demands.
- July 16. Khrushchev outlines Soviet Foreign policy at Sosnowiec (Poland) by declaring that Russia will never start a war.
- July 17. Cuban Prime Minister Dr. F. Castro resigns.
—The meeting of the National Council of the Communist party concludes.
- July 18. Queen Elizabeth lands at the Canadian Arctic region and creates record as the first monarch ever landed at Arctic.
- July 19. Russia and Afghanistan sign an agreement in Kabul for building several motorways.
- July 20. K. P. C. C's memorandum which was presented to the President is released to the press.
- July 21. Mr. Harold Macmillan announces the setting up of a Commission for studying the future of Central African States like Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation.
- July 22. Pandit Nehru confers with Home Minister Pandit Pant re. situation in Kerala.
- July 23. Russia and Poland announce that they will contribute to lessening of International tension.
—Mr. R. Nixon, American Vice-President arrives in Moscow.
- July 24. American National Exhibition is opened in Moscow.
—Khrushchev invites Eisenhower to Russia.
- July 25. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress arrives in Trivandrum.
- July 26. Dr. Radhakrishnan returns to India.
- July 27. The 17th session of the Indian Labour Conference meets in Madras, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda presiding.
- July 28. Kerala Government's reply to K. P. C. C's charges (presented to the President) is published.
- July 29. 17th International Scout Conference meets in New Delhi.
- July 30. Central Cabinet advises the President to take over the administration of Kerala.
- July 31. The President of India issues a Proclamation taking over the administration of Kerala State.

READERS' DIGEST

A PEOPLE'S UPSURGE

V. B. Karnik, editor of *Freedom First*, justifies the doings of the opposition in Kerala. The people as a whole were ranged against the Communist Ministry, he says. The remedy is another general election. "If democracy is the rule of the people by the people, why should it not be open to them to change a government through the exercise of the franchise even before the legislature has finished its full term?"

"Under the circumstance to compel the people to submit themselves to a communist regime even after a fundamental change has taken place in their attitude towards it is surely not democratic. What the people of Kerala are demanding is a fresh opportunity to express their will. To deny them that opportunity is a gross violation of the fundamental principles of democracy.

Many newspapers and eminent individuals have severely criticised the opposition parties for starting a campaign of direct action, against a democratically elected government. Ordinarily, it is wrong in a democracy to use direct action, even of a peaceful nature, to bring about a change of government.

"The ordinary rule does not, however apply to a case like Kerala where there is a mass upsurge against the Government. Democracy must provide a remedy to the people when, as Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has stated, "they feel utterly suppressed and suffocated as a result of government's policy and when they fear that the party in office is using its power and resources to undermine democracy itself." The obvious remedy is a new election. When the Ministry blocks that remedy by refusing to resign, what can the people do but develop mass action in order to force it to resign?"

The action in Kerala is disfavoured because it is apprehended that similar action may develop in other States. Communists are holding out the threat of initiating direct action in other places.

"As Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has urged: "there is no cause to be chicken-hearted about that. On the contrary, it would be good to call their bluff". He has pointed out: "Ordinarily, the people are law-abiding. It is only when they are deeply and vitally touched that a mass upsurge happens. It is wrong to

believe that any political party can create a mass upsurge whenever it pleases. Stirring up trouble is always possible and it has happened frequently in independent India. But a mass upsurge is difficult."

COMMON LANGUAGE FOR THE EAST

In an article published in *Semarang*, the Indonesian writer Liem Tyong Hie presents the language problem of the peoples of Asia and Africa in the form of nine theses.

After showing that the protection of their national languages (which Asian and African peoples do not want to give up) means the continued existence of the cultures of the peoples concerned, the writer of the article points out that more than forty important languages are spoken in Asia and Africa.

In his view, solidarity between Asia and Africa will be impossible without the link of common language: that language, Liem Tyong Hie continues, must be the international Language Esperanto, which not only guarantees that national languages are respected in other language communities, both large and small, but also makes all forms of communication with the rest of the world feasible.

RETENTION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has expressed the view that, if the mother tongue was used as a medium of instruction and there was no "insistence" on English, the students would gain more knowledge in less time.

In an article in the latest *Bhoo dan*, Acharya Bhave says English literature is no doubt rich and is used all over the world, "but I feel that the way in which English language is being imposed will cause great harm".

It is often argued, the Acharya continues, that the standard of education is going down and therefore children should be taught English from the very elementary stage. There is no other country in the world where a language other than the mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction. The consequence of imparting education to Indian students in English can be well imagined if the students in England are made to take their lessons in Hindi. "Then only will it be realised what strain the students there are put to. It will make them dull and blunt", he adds.

Studies in Asian Socialism. by Asoka Mehta. Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. Two.

Journalist, Economist, and Socialist Leader, Asoka Mehta has brought together, the notes he made in prison and supplemented them with the maturity of experience in the Legislature and the World. The first part on the Ascent of Socialism is a brilliant essay on task of the libertarian Socialist to reconcile historical evolutionary individualism and Socialism. Part Two on the Upsurge of Utopianism shows how the Western Idealism has been tempered by Eastern Spiritualism of Gandhi and Vinoba. In Part III on Proletariat Plus Philosophy, he debunks Marxianism and Communism as final amounting only to a prison-house of principles. In the remaining part of the book, via Revisionism and Peasant Socialism, Mehta comes to Reconstruction and ends with the tenuous wishful-thinking that "in a depressed and oppressed world, Socialism has to be the voice of conscience, it has to touch human thought with the vision of to-morrow and the faith needed to realise it." While Eisenhower following De Tocqueville would say that from 1832 Russia was destined to be the Oppressor of the Peoples of the World and America the Leader of Freedom of Life, Mehta hopes to find a via media of Socialism. Let us wait and see.

Secondary School Administration, by Dr. S. N. Mukherji Professor, University of Baroda. Price Rs. 10. Acharya Book Depot, Raopura Road, Baroda.

This is a comprehensive work discussing the five major aspects of educational organization. Part I dealing with the background gives a Skeleton sketch of the present structure from the School up to the Union Ministry of Education. The Socratic questions at the end are thought-provoking. Part Two on the Principalship goes into elaborate detail with the problems of Management, Office, Budgeting, and even shape of School Desks. Organizational Problems *per se* common to all administrative machinery are analytically dealt with in Part Three. Part Four glances at a variety of subjects including Admission, Education for Leadership, Physical Education, Health Education, School Discipline, and Leisure Employment. The concluding part deals with the School's relations with the non-school World including the Home, the Community, and the State. The Appendices add immensely to the value of the book.

Peace or Atomic War? Albert Schweitzer. Price Rs. Three. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi, Madras.

These are three appeals broadcast from Oslo on April 28, 29, 30, 1958. Weapon is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as Material thing designed or used or usable as an instrument for inflicting bodily harm, e.g. Gun, rifle, sword, stick, hammer, horn, claw. They used to say grass could not grow where the Turk had once set his foot. "Countries like England, West Germany and France, could be finished off with 15 H. Bombs" thrown either by Atheist Russia or Evangelical Eisenhower. But, really, if civilization means exciting yourself sexually at Cinemas and obtain euphoria without possibility of adding to the population by mutilating portions of the human anatomy, Atomic War would be more Moral and Christian and Religious than "Peace". As long as Vain Hope and Immoderate Fear are part of the human constitution, material usable for inflicting bodily harm will be fabricated inspite of saints from the Wilderness of Africa like Schweitzer coming to Oslo to roar on the Ether.

Tribal Democracy in India. By C. B. Mamoria, M.A. Price Rs. Five. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad 3.

This is a conglomerate of information about the various Tribes totalling about 19 millions gathered from various sources. Unfortunately, a clear distinction is not made in the profuse quotations between excerpts relating to India and to particular tribes in India and those relating to Asia and Australasia etc. so that a defined picture is often lacking. After Rubber Revolutionised Morals and the surgical knife as recommended by Doctor S. Chandrasekhar made Free Love Infertile, much of the information about laxness, premarital intercourse etc. will apply as much to the enlightened citizens of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, as to primitive "tribes". Personally, having been in charge of tribals, some years ago, I would undoubtedly call for their being protected from interference by civilizers like moneylenders, etc. but I would equally call for protection of the half-educated town-folk from stupefying propaganda on population problems by doctrinaire mercenaries like Doctor Chandrasekhar. (T. S. R.)



INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

THE CITIZENSHIP PROBLEM

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said at Bombay last month that during the recent visit of President Rajendra Prasad to Ceylon, the Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, had held out the assurance that the problem of people of Indian origin in that country would be solved in "a human and humane way".

Mrs. Menon, who accompanied the President during his visit, was speaking at a reception in her honour by the International Forum. She said that the President's visit to Ceylon was a goodwill visit and he did not intend to discuss political issues. But the Ceylonese Premier himself raised the question of the people of Indian origin in that country because he attached great importance to this problem. This was a problem of thousands of people who had lived in that country for generations, secured jobs in that country and even to-day were not prepared to consider themselves as Ceylonese nationals. They could not also be accepted as Indian citizens because Indian immigration rules stood in the way.

"Mr. Bandaranaike gave us the assurance that this problem, which is to be dealt with in a human and humane way could not be discussed and solved with some rapidity. Therefore the Prime Minister told us that it would be solved but it would take time. It was better that way and not hustle through with it", Mrs. Menon said.

BURMA

PROPERTIES OF INDIANS

The one problem that faces people of Indian origin in Burma is the compensation for large tracts of land owned by them. Burma was implementing a policy which aimed at socialism and India could not ask her to pay compensation to Indians there, says the Deputy Minister for External Affairs.

Under Burmese foreign exchange regulations Indian residents in that country also could not send large amounts to their relations in this country, she said. The Burmese authorities had often complained that Indian residents there violated these regulations by sending five or even six money orders each of Rs. 30, the amount allowed to be remitted to India. Such remittances were a large drain on the foreign exchange resources of that country.

S. AFRICA

RACIALISM IN S. AFRICA

India and 13 other member-States on July 16 requested inscription in the General Assembly's 1959 agenda of the item "Race conflict in the Union of South Africa resulting from the policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa."

A memorandum attached to the request recalled the resolution of the 1958 General Assembly which expressed "regret and concern" that the Government of South Africa had not responded to appeals of the Assembly that it reconsiders "Government policies which impair the right of all racial groups to enjoy the same rights and fundamental freedoms."

TREASON TRIAL

The Indian National Congress has sent last month Rs. 14,000 to the South African Indian Congress Treason Trial Defence Fund headed by the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Eeves, Bishop of Johannesburg.

Announcing this, a Press note issued by the Foreign Relations Department of the A.I.C.C. says that the amount had been sent in response to an appeal from South African Indians for financial help to meet the expenditure on the defence of some South African Indians involved in the treason trial.

MALAYA

REPRESENTATION FOR INDIANS

The leadership of Malaya's ruling Triple Alliance has allotted three seats to the Malayan Indian Congress in the distribution of tickets to the party's three partners for contesting elections to the Federation first fully elected Parliament.

The major partner, the United Malaya National Organisation, has been allotted 69 seats and the Malayan Chinese Association 32.

The quota of seats allotted to the Malayan Indian Congress is much below expectations.

HEALTH OF INDIANS

Indians, of all the races inhabiting Malaya, are the worst nourished and poorest in health according to the annual report of the Perak Family Planning Association just released. The Report said that while the Chinese had still births for every 131 and the Malays one for every 85, the Indians had one for every 24. Again figures for miscarried pregnancies were: Malaya 3.5 per cent: Chinese 3.3 per cent and Indians 6 per cent.

HAWAII, 50th AMERICAN STATE

"Hawaii has been described as a 'showcase of democracy' where people from many countries have built a vigorous, progressive community now ready for full-fledged statehood," says an official release issued to the press on the eve of Hawaii's attaining statehood.

A United States territory from 1900 to 1959, when it was admitted to the Union as the 50th state, Hawaii has been a land of economic opportunity for those seeking a better life. This "melting pot of the Pacific" is regarded by social scientists as a proving ground for the basic principles of democratic living.

While democratic influences and close proximity have gradually worn away the racial and religious barriers, many of the groups there have maintained some customs and practices traditionally cherished by their forbears. Buddhist and Shinto shrines and Christian churches stand side by side in nearly every Hawaii community. The Japanese cherry blossom festival and the Chinese narcissus festival are annual events attended by thousands of all races.

Honolulu, capital of Hawaii, is a cosmopolitan city where racial lines have fused thoroughly. It resembles many cities on the U.S. mainland except for its tropical setting of palm trees, vivid flowers and neighbouring beaches. A spirit of international brotherhood prevails throughout the islands with little friction among its inhabitants, despite the wide diversity of their ethnic backgrounds.

The territory spreads over 20 islands with seven of the eight major ones inhabited. Located in the mid-Pacific approximately 2,000 nautical miles south-west of San Francisco, Hawaii also includes countless atolls and reefs thrust from the sea floor aeons ago by volcanic action.

The island people had been friendly with Americans when they were a monarchy ruled by Hawaiian royalty. Many Protestant missionaries were welcomed after the first contingent arrived in 1820 and some served in responsible position under the Hawaiian rulers. Their descendants were among the pioneers who started the plantation system for expansive cultivation of sugar and pineapple.

The Republic of Hawaii petitioned the United States to be annexed as a possession a re-

quest which was granted in 1898, and two years later the islands achieved formal status as a territory of the United States.

The story of Hawaii's development as a laboratory in human relations dates back to the early 1850's when the plantations transformed the island economy. At that time, there was an estimated population of 84,000. All but 2,000 were Hawaiians descended from migratory Polynesians who had settled there many centuries before British Captain James Cook discovered the islands in 1778.

To staff the plantations the planters had to seek workers from many countries and first to answer the call were immigrants from China. Soon they were followed by wave after wave of labourers from East and West.

Dr. Andrew W. Lind noted social scientist of the University of Hawaii, has estimated that during the ensuing century approximately 180,000 Japanese, more than 125,000 Filipinos, 46,000 Chinese, 17,500 Portuguese, 8,000 Koreans, 6,000 Puerto Ricans, 8,000 Spaniards, 1,300 Germans, 2,500 from other Pacific Islands and 2,000 Russians migrated to Hawaii as labourers.

The Chinese were the dominant source of labour supply during the last half of the 19th century, the largest groups arriving between 1876 and 1885 and between 1890 and 1897.

Then came the Portuguese who landed mainly between 1878 and 1887. They helped raise Hawaii's declining population because they brought more women than the Chinese to rear families, build homes and remain as permanent settlers.

After the signing of a convention between Japan and Hawaii in 1886, Japanese workers migrated to the islands in large numbers. By 1900 the Japanese population had reached a total of 61,000 and in 1920 at their peak, they constituted 42.7 per cent of the total Hawaiian population.

In the early years of immigration, differences in language, food habits, dress and religion were readily apparent among the newcomers.

These distinctions, however, began to break down as the immigrant workers married Hawaiian women who were not prejudiced against foreigners. As inter-marriage increased steadily, the pure Hawaiian population continued to dwindle and is relatively small today.

Children born in Hawaii automatically become American citizens and are educated

in the non-segregated public schools and at the University of Hawaii.

Concentrated in the island cities and towns are members of the rising middle class composed of many ethnic groups. For these people, as for the majority of all the immigrants, the islands have been a land of advancement. Hawaii's development as a trading centre has brought economic wealth to the islands so that the expanded population has found ample means of livelihood within the territory. Hawaii now produces more than a million tons of raw sugar annually and nearly three-fourths of the world supply of pineapples.

In Hawaii today the majority of the 70,000 civilian citizens are of Asian descent with the Japanese, the largest single racial group making an approximately 35 per cent of the population. Other sizeable percentages are reported for the Chinese Filipinos and part Hawaiians. Caucasians of European and American descent compose between 30 and 25 per cent of the population.

Chinese as well as Japanese are taking an increasingly influential role in island politics and the territorial legislature although there is little evidence of bloc voting along racial lines in Hawaii.

Among those of Chinese extraction who have advanced to distinguished positions is Daniel H. Liu, chief of the Honolulu Police Department. He has achieved international recognition for his work in development of an outstanding law enforcement agency.

Herbert K. Leo, also of Chinese extraction, is present of the Territorial Senate, having succeeded another Chinese, William H. Heen, in 1958. Associate Justice Masaji Marumoto, of Japanese ancestry and long one of Honolulu's prominent attorneys, is a judge of the Territorial Supreme Court.

Hawaii's claim to distinction as a laboratory of race relations has thus been based on the apparent ease with which peoples of sharply contrasted backgrounds have come together cohesively welding a prosperous new nation.

LONGEVITY OF MARRIED PEOPLE

Married people live longer than single, marriages are lasting longer, and widowhood and orphanhood are "diminishing as a social problem," according to statistics published in the U. N. Demographic Year Book 1958. It says the average age for brides was 24, and for bridegrooms 27. Ireland had the world's highest percentage (31 percent) of single males aged from 45 to 54, and the lowest marriage rate—only five per thousand.

Marriage prospects, the experts found, were best for women in Alaska, the Panama Canal Zone, and the Falkland Islands, and for European residents in Egypt and Algeria.

Western European countries generally reported 10-14 percent of their women single at the age of 45-54.

At the same time, the report said divorce was on the upgrade in most areas. The highest was in the U. S. (2.2 per. per 1,000), and lowest in Northern Ireland (0.07).

The Year Book says that almost all marriages were for the first time in Latin America and European countries. But in Alaska and Egypt they were only 50 and 62 per cent respectively. In most of Europe, Australia and New Zealand the figure shot up to about 90 per cent.

NEHRU AND ASIAN DEMOCRACY

A book review last month in the *Financial Times* portrayed Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Prime Minister as a statesman whose place in history was secure and as a powerful architect of Western-style democracy in Asia.

The book is "Nehru" by Michale Brecher.

The writer declared:

"His (Mr. Nehru's) refusal to align himself with one or the other of the great power-blocs has at times led to severe criticism of his policies in the West, yet Nehru himself knows that the maintenance of the dignity and freedom of the individual in Asia depends on the outcome of the Indian experiment in Western-style democracy.

"Without Nehru that experiment would almost certainly have failed.

"The Congress is unlikely to survive in its present form after Nehru's departure from active politics.

"If economic progress is slow, Communism could become a major threat. But whatever the future may hold, Nehru's place in history is secure," the review added.

THE KERALA SITUATION

Enumerating the charges against the government of Kerala and arguing for the right of the centre to interfere Mr. J. B. Kripalani wrote to the press as follows :

"It is useless to argue that the Kerala Government has broken the Indian Constitution. They are not bound by it but by their own Marxian philosophy and ideology. If they were not, they will not be Communists but only democrats. They believe in the Constitution as long as it serves them. It served them to get into power. To-day it serve them to call civil disobedience against them in Kerala as unconstitutional, when in every State they have been indulging in campaigns of civil disobedience. The fact is that when people have a God or History-given mission to perform they cannot think of such unimportant things as the Constitution. Further purity of means has no meaning for them. They must have always a double standard of morality one for themselves and the contrary one for their opponents. If a Communist were to betray his party or his nation, he would be a traitor. But the same conduct by a citizen of a democratic State will be applauded. There can be no treason against a Democratic Party or State.

The legalists who are talking about Constitution do not know what they are talking about. The Communist Party has everywhere thought itself above the Constitution. Lenin declared that Kerensky's Government was as good a democracy as anywhere else in Europe. All the governments behind the iron-curtain were installed in power by the support of the Russian army, stationed in these countries, after the last war, even though they had opposed Hitler.

The Constitution, continues Mr. Kripalani, is not something that a party can uphold unilaterally. It is not like a moral imperative that must be adhered to, do what others may. There can be no constitution unless all parties in a democracy believe in its sanctity and are prepared to uphold it. If one party does not believe in constitutional action and believes in revolutionary tactics, the other parties, try as they may, cannot uphold the Constitution. The Constitution has already been set at naught. Anyway, if the Central Government interferes because in its opinion the Constitution for any reason has broken down in general in Kerala,

it will be acting within its constitutional rights, concluded Mr. Kripalani. The question is one of judgment and not of the Constitution being violated by Central interference.

THE NEWSPAPER AND THE EDITOR

"A daily newspaper in the modern world is fairly big business. So, without a proper business methods, no newspaper can have a long life. It should, however, not be forgotten that mere business efficiency cannot make a great newspaper," says Mr. K. Santhanam writing in the *Hindu*. The main functions of a newspaper are, according to the writer, (i) the publication of news; (ii) fair and impartial presentation of differing views on current problems; and (iii) guiding public opinion in forming a judgment upon policies pursued by government and other public agencies. This order of priority is important and the failure to observe it and attachment of exaggerated value to the leading columns and what is called the "editorial policy" has been the root cause of the failure of many of the newspapers started by distinguished political leaders. The newspapers have a vital function to play in the working of democracy. It is a mistake to think that, like the political parties, they should become champions of particular parties and policies. It is the responsible duty of newspapers to function as non-party institutions devoted to the education of the electorate on the merits of all current issues. The failure of party newspapers and the general support which a non-party paper like *The Hindu*, has been able to obtain is one of the hopeful signs of Indian democracy.

Now I come to the third function, namely, intelligent guidance to the public on current and controversial issues. It is possible to hold two different views on this issue. It is necessary for a good newspaper to have among its staff persons competent to think and write with authority on all difficult, political, economic and other matters. While the columns of the newspaper may and should be open to differing views, it is not unreasonable to expect that the editorial columns should give a clear lead to the readers. This is one view and the other is that, as far as possible, the leading article should be devoted to an objective and factual exposition of the issues involved and enable the reader to form his own judgment. Both these attitudes are necessary and justified.

ble as it is not possible to say that, in difficult matters, the newspaper Editor should always commit himself to a hasty judgment or that he should suppress his views when he is convinced that a particular policy or course of action is right or wrong. It is only a question of emphasis. While some papers prefer to be dogmatic and consider it their duty to pronounce definite judgments on every topic, others think it wiser to leave matters open except where a clear judgment is warranted. I have come to the conclusion that, in the long run, the latter attitude is the better one and to criticise a newspaper for sitting on the fence because it tries to look at both sides of a difficult problem is short-sighted.

Mr. Santhanam concludes by saying that a successful newspaper is the result of business efficiency, accurate presentation of views and wise and objective discussion of current problems in the leading columns and special articles. It is the function of the Editor to co-ordinate all these activities. It is not necessary that he should be a great writer himself. It is desirable that he should not be an active party politician. He should be a man of good judgment, capable of recruiting a talented staff and giving them full scope and firmly devoted to the maintenance of high traditions and standards of journalism.

PAK'S MALICIOUS PROPAGANDA

The mass circulation Arabic daily, "*Al Akhbar*", in a series of articles on India, published at Cairo has for the first time made uncomplimentary references to life in India.

The articles are signed by the paper's correspondent, Mr. Anis Mansour.

It is noted that the articles, which smack of the typical line of anti-Indian propaganda spread last month, by the Pakistan Embassy, are published at a time when plans are being finalised for President Nasser's visit to India and Ceylon later this autumn.

Pakistan in the past few months was known to have repeatedly suggested to President Nasser to link his Indian sojourn with a visit to Pakistan, which has been declined by President Nasser.

The writer alleged that a New Delhi restaurant had engaged "a band from Israeli and as soon as members of the band see an Arab that play for him popular Arabic music."

Mansour writes: "In the streets of the Indian capital you find sacred cows moving as they wish, crowding the main streets, and entering any store without being stopped by anyone."

He said cows, buffaloes, monkeys, snakes, crows and birds were held sacred in India.

Mr. Nehru more than once tried to denounce the worship of the cow but the people became furious and he had to apologise. "But the President of the Indian Republic deeply believes in such creeds," the articles added.

The articles which a diplomatic source described as "gutter inspectors' report," bristled with more such references.

The paper had also said in an editorial that Mr. Mansour was in India to watch Mr. Nehru's handling of the Communists in Kerala.

THE SPACE-MONKEY

Life magazine reports that the army hurriedly obtained an American-born Rhesus monkey for last month's journey into space for fear of offending India.

"Little more than a week before take-off the White House became aware of an appalling fact," *Life* reported. "All the Rhesus monkeys being trained to operate the telegraph key (inside the Jupiter nose cone) were born in India, a diplomatically sensitive nation where many people hold the Rhesus monkey sacred."

"The White House, therefore, ordered a change of monkeys: The space primate would have to be a native American. The army hurriedly procured a third-generation Rhesus born in Independence Kansas, but it was too late to train her adequately for the telegram key and that part of the experiment had to be abandoned..."

Col Robert L'Hullinghorst, Deputy Chief of the Army Research and Development Command, told a Washington Press conference that a preliminary autopsy on the space monkey Able which died recently after an operation showed "absolutely no evidence of any injury" from the space flight.

All present information indicated that the little monkey died because her heart "ran away" under anaesthesia, the scientist said it was a rare occurrence.

The preliminary autopsy was followed later by a detailed microscopic examination of the monkey's body, Col. Hullinghorst added.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

A Cooperative joint farming society was recently inaugurated in a village in Coimbatore by the Collector of the District. Thirty-five agriculturists of the village have pooled 97 acres of rain-fed dryland. The administration of the Society is vested in a Board of Directors nominated by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies for a period of three years. Government have sanctioned an interest free loan of Rs. 46,370 and a subsidy of Rs. 22,870 for purchase of agricultural implements, plough-bulls, pump-sets etc. The cost of cultivation is estimated to be Rs. 30,240 annually. The income is expected to be Rs. 78,725 per year. Here, according to S. Y. Krishnaswamy in *Swarajya*, is a concrete instance of wasteful experiment in cooperative farming. The land is likely to be worth a ten hundred rupees per acre, and yet the government have granted an interest free loan and a subsidy of several thousands. It is impossible to believe, says the writer.

"That these 100 acres of dry land will yield an income of Rs. 80,000 per year or on the average a little less than Rs. 1,000 per acre. These figures show the extent of the taxpayer's money spent on this adventure. We can see how much the cost will be if this kind of subsidy is multiplied all over the country."

THE FUTURE OF GOA

The British Prime Minister Mr. Macmillan told the House of Commons that "the United Kingdom would naturally be prepared to give any assistance in their power to bring the two parties (India and Portugal) together though it is not their practice to take such an initiative unless there is clear evidence that this would be welcome to the principals concerned."

The objects of the mediation have not been made clear, says the *Modern Review*.

"On all major international issues, the British Government—whether Labour or Conservative—has been found to oppose India—whether the matter related to Kashmir, Goa or Indian nationals in South Africa. It is an open secret that but for the open encouragement given by the Governments of the U.K., U.S.A. and their NATO allies, Portugal would never have dared to antagonise India over the tiny territory of Goa."

Moreover, the term "mediation" itself, it says, connotes the possibility of some sacrifice on either side. What concessions are expected of India?

"While maintaining—correctly—that Goa is an integral part of India and should be integrated into the rest of the country without any further delay, the Government of India has all along refrained from taking steps which might precipitate armed conflict. The people of Goa on the other hand, have more than once and in more than one way indicated their eagerness to be reunited with their brethren in India. On the face of all this the Portuguese position—which has been upheld by the Western Powers—is that Goa is a part of Portugal. No amount of mediation can be of any use in reconciling these two mutually incompatible views—unless one of the parties agrees to see reason and give up its obstinacy. No one even faintly acquainted with the geography, history and culture of Goa can fail to see that it is only Portugal who can be asked to reconsider her stand in this case."

THE NAGPUR RESOLUTION

"What made the Nagpur decision so remarkable, indeed revolutionary, and outstanding as a landmark in the Congress party's history was that never after Karachi had the Congress committed itself to a specific item of policy. Politically, it represented the first big swing away from the trusteeship concept and a definite move towards the concept of class conflict. For the first time, the Congress had ventured to say against whom its socialism would be directed, writes Mr. Sisir Gupta in the latest mid-year Special Number of the *Economic Weekly* to which many distinguished writers have contributed special articles. Besides there is also a symposium on Co-operative Farming," in this Number. Mr. Sisir Gupta in his article on "The Retreat from Nagpur" says that the resolution adopted at Nagpur furnished a basis for inter-party consensus of opinion on land reform: for another, the task was big enough to be undertaken jointly. But not even all the parties put together can overcome the apathy or antipathy of rural India to such a radical change. India's political parties, dominated largely by the middle class, may draw up the best plans for

India's villages; but they have neither the revolutionary zeal nor the urge for united action which can make them face a disgruntled peasantry.

It is a reflection on the peculiar susceptibilities of our political parties that none of them lay the emphasis on the nationalisation of trading that all of them lay on co-operativisation of land. The sources from which the parties draw their funds have obviously a lot to do with this—as also with the attitude of comparative detachment that party leaders reveal in looking at the problems of the peasant. While this helps them draw the finest possible picture of the future, is also makes them incapable of ever implementing their promises. Faced with determined opposition from India's landowning peasants, the course that is preferred might turn out to be retreat.

Mr. Sisir says having the letter written by the President of India to the Prime Minister, advising caution in the matter of co-operative farming, among other things, is the latest and most significant piece of evidence of the political repercussions of the Nagpur resolution on land reform. In fact, the contrast between the acceptance without a murmur of the Avadi resolution by all, ranging from the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry to the Indian National Trade Union Congress on the one hand, and the violent opposition to the Nagpur resolution on the other, cannot escape the attention of even the most casual observer.

The most objectionable feature of the Nagpur resolution, says the writer, is that it proposes a very radical change for one sector of the Indian economy without proposing any for the rest. It is difficult to ascertain who—between the landlord who may be granting his labourer nothing more than a meal a day and the trader who manufactures penicillin in his backyard—commits a greater social crime. For Government which has not succeeded in tackling purely administrative problems involved in profiteering and hoarding, to plump for co-operative farming may well appear to be a high-handed act of discrimination against landholders, the vast majority of whom are men of small means.

HUMAN GROWTH

The *United States Information Service* in its latest bulletin says that Biochemists at the University of Michigan Medical Centre are exploring one of nature's best-kept secrets—the mystery of human growth. They have produced evidence which indicates that the growth is closely related to an "amino acid hunger" of individual body cells.

Dr. Halvor N. Christensen, Chairman of the University of Michigan Department of Biological Chemistry, recently summarised the findings of his 10-year research project at a meeting in Cambridge Massachussets of the American Chemical Society and the American Association of Clinical Chemists.

Amino acids, he says, can serve a two-fold purpose. They are the chemical building blocks of living protoplasm and also may be used as a fuel for the body. At any given moment, their use seems to be governed by the presence of certain hormones. At times these enter the cells in great quantities and then growth tends to take place. The researchers have proved into the mechanism that transmits these nutrients through the cell membrane.

Curiously the Michigan researchers found that the direction of this transport goes from a weak solution (the blood) into a concentrated one (the cell body). This is a biological oddity which says Dr. Christensen "is like water flowing uphill." He explains the activity as an "amino acid hunger." The researchers suspect that a form of vitamin B-6 propels the amino acid molecules into the rich interior of the cell.

"When a person matures and his growth potential drops off, this amino acid hunger decreases" Dr. Christensen reports. "Then a smaller number of amino acid molecules are used for the growth and more are converted into energy for running the body." This changing mechanism may be the thing that makes us stop growing at a certain period in life, he says, and may also help to explain cancer. A cancer cell retains its amino acid hunger and grows vigorously to the detriment of other parts of the body.

So far, the University of Michigan biochemists have been baulked in attempting to study this transport activity in a simpler system, because a living cell is essential to the process. When the cell is injured, the machinery producing the uphill movement can no longer be recognised.

PAKISTAN'S WARNING TO INDIA

Pakistan warns that if a "just solution of the problems of Kashmir and canal waters is not found promptly a situation might well arise which would threaten the peace of the whole Sub-continent and perhaps of the world."

An official article released to newspapers on July 19 the independence day series said: "It is, however, a matter of satisfaction that progress has been made towards settlement of the canal waters dispute. It is hoped that the issue will soon be finally settled between the two countries."

The article, entitled Pakistan and the World, quoted President Ayub Khan's statement in a recent speech that "both Kashmir and canal water disputes are matters of life and death to Pakistan."

The article continued: "Pakistan's relations with one Commonwealth country and her immediate neighbour—India—are not as good as they should be."

"For the last 11 years India has been blocking settlement of the Kashmir issue by rejecting all proposals put forward by the United Nations Security Council to settle it."

"Pakistan desires that India should honour the pledge she gave ten years ago that accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir shall be decided by means of a fair and impartial plebiscite."

"Pakistan believes that if a just solution of the problem is not found promptly a situation might well arise which would threaten the piece of the whole Sub-continent and perhaps that of the whole world."

"The structure of Pakistan's foreign policy is based on the fundamental needs of the country. Pakistan strives for peace and adheres to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. Pakistan abhors aggression of any kind and deplores colonialism in all shapes and forms. Governed by principles of social justice as enunciated by Islam, she supports the legitimate aspirations of subject peoples and recognises no distinctions of caste, creed or colour."

Defending Pakistan's participation in military pacts and alliances, the article said Pakistan recognised that her first "obligation is to protect her people from all external danger." She had, therefore, entered into a number of collective defence arrangements such as Baghdad pact and SEATO.

The article described the bilateral military pact signed between Pakistan and the United States on March 5 as a "bilateral agreement of co-operation."

The article said that the Baghdad pact was "purely defensive" and the conclusion of the bilateral pact with the United States added further "strength to the defence posture of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan."

The article said the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO had "no aggressive designs against any country" and that their chief aim was to "safeguard like-minded nations against aggression."

A similar article, which contained almost the same phrases where it referred to India, was issued to the newspapers in connection with Pakistan Day on March 23, but it was withdrawn a day later without any explanation.

INDIA AND TIBET

The Peking newspaper "*Ta Kung Pao*" publishes an article accusing Indian "expansionists" of plotting to make Tibet a vassal State of India.

The article, quoted by the New China News Agency, said schemes afoot in India could be summarised as seeking a new agreement, which should fully safeguard the autonomy of Tibet, that the relationship between Tibet and China should be the same as that between Bhutan and India, and that the arrangements for the new state of affairs should be made through consultations between Peking, New Delhi and the Dalai Lama.

"In a word," the article said, "India should come forward directly to meddle with China's internal affairs." The plan in reality is to carve Tibet out of Chinese territory and make it a vassal State of India. This is the current working plan of the Indian expansionists for interfering in China's internal affairs and having a finger in Tibet.

The article quoted the "*Hindustan Standard*" as saying that China must understand that it could not very well ask India to relinquish completely its "interest" in Tibet's "autonomy" just because India "respected" China's sovereignty over Tibet.

"*Ta Kung Pao*" said there was an "ulterior motive" which was disclosed by the leader of the Indian Praja-Socialist Party, Mr. Ashok Mehta when he said the relationship between India and Tibet was that of mother and child.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA

On 4th June the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee at its meeting at Ernakulam decided to launch a state wide agitation for the removal of the Communist Government from office. The Catholics of the State also decided to non-co-operate with the government by closing all their schools and joining the agitation. Soon after, the Nair Service Society, a social service and non-political organisation, led by Mr. Mannath Padmanabhan, found common cause with the Catholics.

Thus for well nigh seven weeks, the struggle sponsored by the Congress, the Catholics, the Nair Society, the RSP, and the Muslim League played a great part in the overthrow of the Communist Government. On the 10th of last month the K. P. C. C. presented a memorandum to the Union President enunciating many charges of which the following were given prominence:—

Deliberate violation of the principle of equality before law, withdrawal of cases against Communists, vindictive prosecutions against members of Opposition parties, calculated undermining of law and order, Police subservience to the Communist Party, lawlessness on agrarian and labour fronts, increase in crimes by 41 per cent, demoralisation in services, totalitarianism in education, and misuse of State finances, etc.

Running to 23 printed pages the memorandum, detailed "acts of the Communist Government leading to the present developments in the State."

The memorandum was released to the press on 20th July by the A. I. C. C. office in New Delhi, and by the K.P.C.C. Chief, Mr. R. Sankar, in Trivandrum. It prayed on behalf of the people of Kerala "that necessary action may be taken under the Constitution to enable them to hold a fresh general election to the State Assembly as early as possible."

As a rejoinder to the above the Kerala Government released to the press on the 28th July its reply refuting the charges made in the memorandum simultaneously at Delhi and Trivandrum. It also sent copies of the reply to

the Governor, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, and Prime Minister Nehru. Government's reply is a printed document of 55 pages with an appendix of 47 more pages.

The Government of Kerala described the charges made by the K. P. C. C. against it in the memorandum presented to the President as "totally baseless."

The Government said that the KPCC's demand for a fresh general election was based on the "baseless presumption" that a big change-over in the opinion of the people had taken place. There was no proof for this. On the other hand, the results of the various bye-elections that had taken place during the last two years showed that the support behind the Government was growing, the Government stated.

The Central cabinet held urgent sittings toward the close of last month and advised the President of India to take over the administration of Kerala under powers vested in him by Article 356 of the Constitution to end the impasse there.

Accordingly the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, issued proclamation on 31st July assuming to himself "all functions of the Government of Kerala, dissolving the State Legislative Assembly, and directing that general elections for constituting a new Legislative Assembly for the State be held as soon as possible."

The President, in his proclamation, also stated that having received a report from the Governor of the State of Kerala, and after considering the report and other information received by him he was satisfied that a situation had arisen in which the Government of that State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Constitution. Hence, he issued the proclamation in exercise of the powers conferred on him by Article 356 of the Constitution.

Thus ended the 27-month-old Communist Government of Kerala—the first Communist Government to come to power through free election—and State Legislature, where they held a bare majority, gets dissolved.

MR. HARRIMAN ON DISCRIMINATION

Mr. Averell Harriman, American Ambassador in Moscow during World War II, told delegates at the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People at New York on July 17 that discrimination was the biggest handicap the U.S. was now facing in under-developed countries.

Indians had told him they could not understand why there was discrimination in a country, which professed freedom and equality for all.

"The image of the U.S. is the most important of all and the image of the U.S. as leader of the world cannot be attained until we abolish discrimination in our country. Real influence and leadership of the world cannot be achieved until we eliminate discrimination and see to it that the great principles of our constitution are freely available to every American.

"Discrimination is a national problem. It is not just in the south; it is all over the U.S. Let us face this problem."

RACIAL HARMONY

Speaking at New York on July 17 immediately after his return from Hawaii Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

"What impressed me most in Hawaii is the racial harmony and social equality among the 600,000 people of Hawaii where I spent four days. The Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Hawaiians and Americans in the island—which is to become the 50th American State—were 'getting on very well.'"

He added: "If that (racial harmony and social equality) could be extended on a wider range, if we can implement ideals granting political equality to underdeveloped people and use technological devices to redeem them from drudgery, from cramping toil, we may go a fair way towards the establishment of a world commonwealth. But what prevails in Hawaii does not prevail in many other parts of the world. That is our difficulty."

MR. BEVAN ON PACTS

Mr. Bevan, who was sneaking in a debate on the Middle East on July 17 at the Socialist International Congress held at Hamburg described the Baghdad Pact as a "profound blunder" and hoped it would be wound up.

Communists could not be resisted by defensive pacts, he added.

Mr. Bevan also said he regarded the exclusion of China from the United Nations as a profound tragedy for the whole of mankind.

He thought that Socialists had made a mistake in letting the concept of the cold war overlay the concept of democratic Socialism. They had been too pre-occupied with the cold war.

"If you think of the world as being polarised between the Communists on one side and the others on the other, this produces a negative attitude by Socialists."

He said he did not take the view that what was bad for Communism was necessarily good for Socialism. "The attitude that what is bad for Communism is good for Socialism has been largely responsible for the exclusion of Communist China from the U.N."

LORD HOME ON COMMONWEALTH

Speaking on July 16 at the opening session of the Oxford Conference, Lord Home, the Commonwealth Secretary said:

"Commonwealth understanding is of course being constantly promoted at the political level by an unremitting determination to consult and co-operate. But underlying that political understanding is something more basic—understanding between our peoples, which should start in our schools and universities and can be promoted most effectively by the interchange of teachers and students.

"In this sense, practical co-operation in the educational field may in the end pay its greatest dividends in terms of international understanding."

RACIAL SEGREGATION

Curiously enough more speakers dwelt last month on racial equality.

More than 20,000 Negroes at the closing rally of the 50th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People cheered a declaration last month at New York by Dr. Ralph Bunche, United Nations Under-secretary, that racial discrimination should be fought wherever it was found.

Dr. Bunche said a man denied equality in the eyes of his fellowmen because of race or religion was deprived of dignity.

He said: "Racial segregation in all its guises must go and go completely."

PRESIDENT NASSER'S HOPE

President Nasser told a crowd of half a million people in Cairo's Republic Square on 23rd July that his policy towards Britain, America and Russia was friendship on the basis of mutual respect.

His Government's world policy was "positive neutrality", he said in a broadcast speech marking the seventh anniversary of the revolution in 1952 when an Army junta led by Colonel Nasser rose to power.

Egypt met friendship with friendship, and hostility with hostility, he added.

In the field of inter-Arab relations the policy was "unity", a policy opposed by imperialists, Israel opportunists—and, later Communists, who considered Arab nationalism a danger to them.

On home affairs, President Nasser said Egypt's enemies wanted to reinstate "false democracy" and so accused him of being a dictator. But the Government was going on to build democracy on the basis of "a socialist, democratic and cooperative society."

Seven years' experience had shown party politics, "false parliaments and democracy" harmed the country. Development of the non-party National Union (his mass political movement) was the result of this experience.

CHINA'S SUZERAINTY OVER TIBET

The Indian Government was sometimes "a little too polite" in its dealings with Communist countries, Mr. Purshottamdas Trikamdas, a senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of India, said at London on July 15.

Mr. Trikamdas outlined the history of Tibet in relation to China, India and Britain. He said that Chinese claims to continuous suzerainty over Tibet were "a myth both historically and politically."

"The former representative of the British-Indian and the Indian Governments in Tibet, Mr. Hugh Richardson, saw no trace of Chinese suzerainty during the nine years he was stationed in the country," Mr. Trikamdas said.

He said that when India attained independence she "did not look too carefully" into the various treaties made by Britain with Tibet and concerning Tibet. As a result she recognised Chinese suzerainty.

The Chinese had assured India that they would respect the autonomy of Tibet, but "the ink was hardly dry on the agreement before they invaded the country."

RUSSO-POLISH DECLARATION

Russia and Poland announced on 23rd July they would back East Germany in measures to liquidate the abnormal situation in West Berlin "if this were not done by other means."

A joint statement, signed by Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, and Mr. Wladyslaw Gomuika, the Polish leader at the end of the Soviet Premier's visit to Poland, said the Western standpoint in the current Geneva talks on Berlin and Germany might lead to a worsening of the situation "pregnant with danger to the cause of peace in Europe."

The ten-page statement accused "West German militarists" of attempting to dominate Europe to develop again the expansion "which in the last 50 years, twice plunged the world into the disaster of war."

(THE SWATANTRA PARTY

Inaugurating the Swatantra Party's Convention in Bombay on the 1st August Mr. C. Rajagopalachari declared that the ruling party must be replaced by a party which would respect the freedom of the individual and said that the Swatantra Party stood for this.

Prince and peasant, captains of industry and toilers in factories, small shop-keepers as well as wholesalers, all who prized the liberty of the individual and in particular the poor who were losing their occupations, all those who wished to resist the inroads of the State and its machinery on liberty, Rajaji said, were welcome to this, "our Party of Swatantra."

Rajaji said that what he was inaugurating that day was not a mere party but a movement of freedom "as important and as serious as the movement for Independence against British rule."

The two-day session of the convention of the Swatantra Party concluded in Bombay on 2nd August after adopting the 21-point statement of principles of the party as passed by the delegates' session earlier.

THE W. BENGAL MINISTRY

Messrs. Bupesh Gupta, Leader of the Communist Party in the Rajya Sabha, and Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition in the West Bengal Assembly, called on the President and submitted a memorandum on 29th July.

The memorandum running to 52 pages outlines a number of charges against the West Bengal Government and says "the Government of West Bengal has lost the confidence of the people and thereby forfeited the right to continue in office."

CENTRAL SANSKRIT BOARD

The Union Government has constituted a Central Sanskrit Board as a first step in the implementation of the recommendations of the Sanskrit Commission, with Mr. M. Patanjali Sastri, former Chief Justice of India as Chairman.

Other members are Dr V. Raghavan, Dr P. V. Kane, M.P., Dr. S. K. De, Mr J. H. Dave, Mr A. N. Jha, Mr. Indra Vachaspati and a representative of the Union Ministry of Education.

The Board will advise the Government on all matters of policy pertaining to the development of Sanskrit, including the setting up of the pattern of Sanskrit education, coordination of courses, opening of research institutes, development of the patasala system, award of scholarships, and publication of improved Sanskrit text-books.

MUSIC COLLEGE FOR TIRUPATI

The Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanams will be starting a College of Music at Tirupati this year.

The need for a music college has been expressed by eminent persons for a long time in view of the traditional background of Tirupati with regard to its cultural activities. The great saint Thyagaraja visited this shrine and composed *krithis* in praise of Lord Venkateswara. Before his period, saint-composer Thallapaka Annamacharya lived at Tirumalai from his 16th year and he composed at the rate of one song per day in praise of Lord Venkateswara. The Tirupati Devasthanams have been taking steps for popularising his songs which not only possess great literary value but also music value.

PROF. N. K. SIDDHANTA

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Siddhanta has been re-appointed Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University for a further period of four years. A former member of the Union Public Service Commission, Prof. Siddhanta has been the Vice-Chancellor of the University for the past three years.

30th PEN CONGRESS

The self-righteousness which each nation feels about its culture and its pattern of life, and its aggressive hostility to all who reject this pattern was condemned by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, India's Vice-President, when he spoke at the opening of the 30th Congress of the Poets, Essayists and Novelists Organisation at Frankfurt on the 21st of last month.

"Each race, each creed, each nation regards itself as the chosen of God, as the elect of the future, as the educator of the human race. There is a self-righteousness which each of them feels about its culture, its pattern of life and, unconsciously if not consciously, uses its reason to save its emotions and develop an aggressive hostility to all who reject this pattern and who are committed to other values.

"Any nation which sticks to this position and is unable to adjust itself to the realities of the new age has no chance of survival," he said.

Literature could only flourish in an atmosphere of freedom.

"This is a period when the free intelligence of man warns us to get out of the rut of historical attitudes and get adjusted to the new world with all its obligations. How soon we will get to our goal depends on each one of us," Dr. Radhakrishnan concluded.

TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION

An agreement in principle between Canada and India was announced on July 23 for the use of funds worth up to 3,756,000 sterling to develop technical education in India.

The heads of the Canadian and Indian Delegations to the Commonwealth Education Conference announced jointly that agreement had been reached between the two countries to approve in principle the use for educational purposes of counterpart funds generated under the Colombo Plan.

These funds, up to the value of ten million Canadian dollars or 50 million rupees (3,750,000 sterling) are to be used for the development in India of higher technological institutes and polytechnic schools.

The leader of the Indian delegation, Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, accepting the offer of the Canadian Government, called it a "very generous gesture." He said it came in the wake of a series of munificent donations given by Canada for the economic development of India.

AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Australians like to think that their education system combines the best of both the American and the British systems, while rejecting some of the defects in each. The Australian school system is American in the sense that the large majority of children go to "free schools" financed by the State and the classes are co-educational while in Britain the best schools are private and fee-paying, and the sexes are segregated.

NEED FOR SOUND JUDICIARY

Inaugurating the Annual General Conference of the Judicial Service Association at Patna on July 20, Mr. Justice P. B. Sinha, Judge of the Supreme Court, said there could not be real and effective democratic form of government without a judiciary which commanded the highest respect of the citizens of the state for impartiality in the discharge of the onerous duty of dispensing even-handed justice between the state and the citizens and between citizens and citizens.

"If the judiciary in any state is not functioning impartially and effectively, it only means that there is no democracy in substance, whatever may be the form of the government, and in the absence of such a judiciary, a democratic form of government is a mere eye-wash and cannot last long," he said.

Mr. Sinha said that the entire judiciary—from the Supreme Court at the apex down to the lowest courts in the mofussil—should be manned by persons who functioned in fear of God and without fear of man. He said that the majority of the litigants came into direct touch with the members of the judicial service in the mofussil. Thus, it is all the more important that the persons who manned the judicial service in the mofussil courts should not only be, but should also appear to be persons of highest integrity of character.

GENEVA COMMISSION ON TIBET

The International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, is appointing a legal enquiry committee to investigate "all charges with regard to violation of human rights in Tibet and possible charges of genocide", according to a cable received by Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, President, All-India Civil Liberties Council and Vice-President, Supreme Court Bar Association, from M. Lalive, Secretary-General of the Commission.

Mr. Lalive has requested Mr. Chatterjee to serve on the committee which will consist, among others, of Lord Shawcross (who as Sir Hartley Shawcross was the Attorney-General of England in the Labour Government), Mr. Graven, President of the Court of Cassation in Geneva, and distinguished jurists from Burma, Ceylon and Malaya.

Mr. Chatterji has sent a cable to the Secretary-General asking for full terms of reference and names of all the members of the proposed committee.

PUBLIC ENDOWMENTS & TRUSTS

Government of India will shortly bring forward legislation before Parliament to secure better administration of public endowments and charitable trusts.

A bill is now under preparation on the basis of comments so far received from states on draft provisions of the proposed legislation circulated earlier to them.

The Central and State governments have had consultations for a long time now on the desirability of having a uniform legislation for this purpose since most of the states have their own independent laws.

Opinion is believed to have crystallized in favour of Central legislation which may be adapted and modified by different states to suit their local conditions.

Since the subjects of public endowments and charitable trusts figure in the Concurrent lists, the Centre is fully competent to legislate and any such measure will prevail against those enacted by the states.

While many of these trusts and endowments are spending large sums of money towards specified purposes, in most cases, no advantage is derived by the society as such. One of the proposals now under consideration is to make these bodies invest a fixed percentage of their cash holdings, in approved securities.

EMMANUEL MURDER CASE

The Division Bench of the High Court, Madras consisting of Mr. Justice P. N. Ramaswami, confirmed the conviction of three accused in the Emmanuel Murder Case, but reduced the sentence of death to one of life imprisonment. The Bench dismissed the State appeal against the acquittal of seven accused by the First Additional Sessions Judge, Ramanathapuram Division, at Pudukottai.

Mr. U. Muthuramalinga Thevar, M.P., and others were tried by the Sessions Judge, Mr. U. M. Thevar on a charge of abetment of murder, and the other accused for murder in furtherance of common intention. The Sessions Judge found Mr. U. M. Thevar and accused five to 12 not guilty, and acquitted them. Anguswami Thevar, Peyan Muniandi Thevar, and Thavasi Thevar were found guilty, and convicted and sentenced to death. They appealed against the conviction, and the State also filed an appeal against the acquittal of all the accused except Mr. U. M. Thevar and another.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT-ASSOCIATION

Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Under-Secretary of U. K. said on July 20th that Britain favoured the proposal for an International Development Association put forward at the last annual meeting of the International Bank in Washington.

He told the House of Lords: "The Government is of the opinion that such a proposal is likely to be able to grant aid to under-developed countries on terms that are more flexible than are at present possible."

"We believe the International Development Association could supplement the International Bank's existing operations without duplicating all the institutional and organisational arrangements."

"We look upon this proposal with favour and it will be more carefully scrutinised."

Lord Lansdowne, who was speaking in a debate on aid to under-developed countries, said if the Government contributed to the IDA on the same basis as to the Bank, its subscription would be about 50 million sterling.

TWO NEW LOANS BY WORLD BANK

The World Bank will grant India two loans totalling 60 million dollars. One credit of 50 million dollars will be to aid railway development and the second, for 10 million dollars, will go to the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India.

This will bring to 85 million dollars the total assistance advanced by the World Bank during the first six-months of the current Indian fiscal year and help India to meet part of its foreign exchange requirements under the second Five-year Plan. The Bank previously made a 25 million dollar loan to India in April.

Negotiations on the new railway loan opened at World Bank headquarters on June 22 and were brought to a conclusion very swiftly.

Two members of the Indian delegation which conducted the negotiations are Mr. J. Dayal, Financial Commissioner of Railways and Mr. N. V. Rao, Joint Director of Finance of the Indian Railway Board.

The 50 million dollar loan will be used for purchasing railway equipment not manufactured in India.

The Indian Government will be the guarantor for the 10 million dollar loan to the

Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India. Mr. G. L. Mehta a former Indian Ambassador to Washington and now the Chairman of the Corporation, was in America, for part of the negotiations with the Bank for this loan.

MANAGING AGENTS

The firm grip of the managing agency system over the corporate sector in India is steeply on the decline, says the latest official study of the trends of company management in 1958-59.

This report notes that there is a perceptible shift in the management of companies by boards of directors who are being preferred to managing agents.

This trend is regarded as a healthy one as the old managing agency system was constantly abused by interested parties. This is expected to lead to an all round improvement in the management of companies in the private sector.

This new development is in conformity with the objectives of the 1956 Act which imposes more stringent restrictions on the remuneration and conduct of a company's affairs by managing agents.

During 1958-59, says this review, only seven newly-registered companies preferred to be managed by managing agents as against 15 in 1957-58, and 14 in 1956-57. During 1958-59 again, out of 1,095 newly-registered companies 842 intended to be managed directly by boards of directors and 241 proposed to have managing directors.

FURTHER U. S. LOAN TO INDIA

Additional loan assistance of 820 million (Rs. 9.5 crores) has been given to India by the U. S. Development Loan Fund under the terms of an agreement signed at New Delhi on July 27.

The loan, to be repaid over a period of 15 years, will enable India to procure heavy and light structural steel, light rails, plates, wires, black sheets, strips, tools, alloy and special steel and other steel mill and products, required for industrial projects in the Second Five-year Plan.

A significant feature of the loan is that it involves no drain on India's foreign exchange resources because repayment will be in rupees.

WORKING WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Union Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said the services of women with university education should be used for the benefit of society. She was addressing the two-day session of the first conference of the Working Women's Association at Patna on July 19.

He said it would be a national wastage if a woman, who had received university education, did not take up service. Such educated women, who could not take up full-time employment, should be provided with part-time jobs. It was necessary to utilise their services in nation-building activities.

The conference demanded a provision for part-time employment as teachers, nurses, telephone operators, etc., in order to utilise the services of women who were unable to undertake full-time employment.

The Government should take urgent steps to improve the service conditions of hospital nurses and to guarantee them security of service, provident fund, or pension and fixed duty hours. These aims could be best promoted by the establishment of a State nursing service.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

The Government of India have decided to set up a 25-member advisory body on education of girls at school level and adult women, with headquarters at New Delhi.

To be known as the "National Council for Women's Education", this body will help in the formulation of policies, programmes, targets and priorities for the expansion and improvement of girls' education.

The Council will also assess the progress achieved from time to time and suggest measures for the evaluation of work being done in this field.

This step has been taken on the recommendation of the National Committee on Women's Education, a report of which was submitted to the Government of India in January, 1959. The Committee was set up in May, 1958, under the chairmanship of Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh.

The State Governments may also set up State Councils in their areas.

The tenure of office of non-official members will be two years.

FLT-LT. MISS GITA CHANDA

Fl. Lt. (Miss) Gita Chanda successfully made her maiden jump from the air by a parachute at Agra on July 13, and thus became the first woman in India to perform this feat.

Fl. Lt. Chanda, who is a doctor in the Air Force, was also the first woman member of the Air Force to volunteer for training as a paratrooper. She has been under training at the Air Force Paratroopers Training School, Agra, since the middle of May last.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT IN MALABAR

The former Kerala Government has ordered that the Women's Welfare Department in the Malabar area should be abolished.

The staff of the Women's Welfare Department allotted to Kerala from the erstwhile Madras State has been ordered to be absorbed in the blocks as Lady Social Education Organisers and Gramasevikas, it is said.

The Assistant Women's Welfare Officer is absorbed as Regional Deputy Director for Women's Welfare for the four districts of Trichur, Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore, under the Development Commissioner.

'MISS INDIANA UNIVERSITY'

Nancy M. Streets, a 19-year-old Negro co-ed at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, U.S., recently became the first member of her race to be crowned as "Miss Indiana University." A speech and theatre major, Miss Streets was selected by fellow-students over 14 other contestants on the basis of looks, personality and a dance interpretation of Harlem Nocturne. She is now eligible to compete in the "Miss Indiana" contest, the winner of which will advance to the "Miss America" final in Atlantic City later this year.

SMT. ANJALI DEVI

Film star Anjali Devi, the first woman President of the South Indian Artistes Association, will soon complete her 100th film. It is said that she will donate her entire fee for this film to charity. Her first assignment was in Telugu picture "Gollabama" which was produced by Director P. Pulliyya.

"MISS UNIVERSE"

Twenty-two-year-old Akiko Kojima, a statuesque Japanese fashion model won the "Miss Universe" beauty title at California on July 25. She defeated 78 other contestants from all over the world to become the first Asian girl ever to win the beauty crown.

General

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

The Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, was awarded the "Goethe Plaque (Medal)" last month by the City of Frankfurt, birth place of the great German poet and philosopher.

This honour is conferred on selected persons who achieve high distinction in the spiritual and cultural fields. The award is made once in two years. A council consisting of leading German scholars and public men select the individuals to whom the medal is awarded.

Dr. Radhakrishnan received the Goethe Medal at a public ceremony at St. Paul's Cathedral in Frankfurt. This is the first time that an Indian is getting this award.

THE HOLY ROBE

Readers of the Bible are familiar with the story of Christ's seamless robe, for the possession of which lots were cast after his death. The fate of the garment, probably woven by Christ's mother, was unknown, until Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, discovered it and bequeathed it to the Cathedral of Trier.

The Holy Robe was exposed to the public for the first time in 1196, eight centuries after its discovery, and later nine expositions were held, the last in 1933. The present exposition of the seamless garment at Trier which opened on July 20 will last until September 20, and is expected to attract thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the world.

THE LATE DR. T. B. CUNHA

The late Dr. T. B. Cunha, Goan nationalist leader, has been posthumously awarded a gold medal for his selfless service for the freedom of Goa by the World Peace Council at its recent session in Stockholm, according to a message received by the T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee.

Dr. Cunha who died in September last was first arrested by the Portuguese Government in Goa in 1946 and deported to Portugal. In May 1953 he escaped from Lisbon and returned to India. Later he became Chairman of the All-Party Goa Action Committee, and held the post till his death.

MAJ-GEN. B. M. RAO

Maj-Gen. B. M. Rao, Director of Medical Services, Army, and senior-most officer in the Army Medical Corps, has been selected for appointment as Director-General of Armed Forces Medical Services in the rank of Lt.-Gen. He will succeed Lt.-Gen. B. Chaudhuri, who is due to retire from service on October 16, 1959.

FREESTYLE WRESTLING

A coaching scheme for Freestyle Wrestling is being planned in India with the blessings of Mr. Nehru, Dara Singh, well-known wrestler, said at Agra on July 19.

To begin with the scheme will be started in metropolitan cities and later it may be extended to other cities and towns.

An all-India wrestlers' organisation is also being formed to help run the scheme.

Although Dara Singh was critical about the Central Government's apathy towards wrestling, he was hopeful that Mr. Nehru's personal interest in the scheme might help in securing the Centre's help in popularising this sport in India.

ROME OLYMPICS

The Executive Board of the Indian Olympic Association which met at Patiala on July 26 with the Maharaja of Patiala in the chair, resolved to send a contingent of about 60 to the forthcoming Olympiad in Rome.

The meeting decided that India should participate in athletics, hockey, wrestling and football, but the participation in football would depend on India qualifying for the finals from the Asian zone.

SIR CHARLES MACLEAN

Sir Charles Hector Fitzroy Maclean, 43-year old former Scots Guards Officer and 27th chief of the Clan Maclean, was elected last month Chief Scout-designate of the Boy Scout movement.

He succeeds Lord Rowallan who has been Chief Scout of the Commonwealth and British Empire since 1944 and who retires in September this year before taking up his appointment as Governor-General of Tasmania.

Sir Charles will be the fourth Chief Scout since Lord Baden-Powell founded the movement 50 years ago.

COL. K. M. MISTRY

Col. K. K. Mistry, the Grand Old Man of Indian cricket, died on July 23. He was 84.

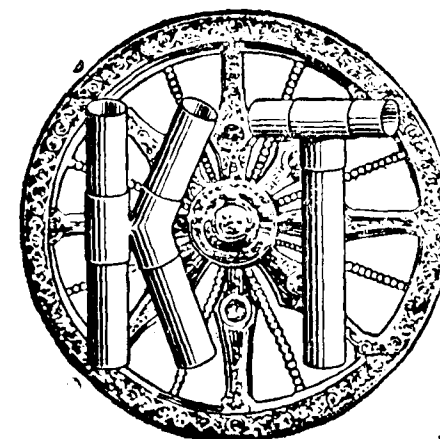
Mistry rightly belonged to the Golden age of Cricket. He was a contemporary of Ranji, P. Baloo and H. D. Kanga.

Following a superb knock of 78 in about an hour and a half against the M.C.C. at Lord's, the Press and the public hailed him as another Jessop. Ranji himself described him as another Clem Hill. Mistry, like Hill, was a left-hander.

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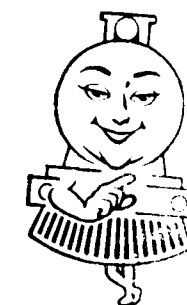
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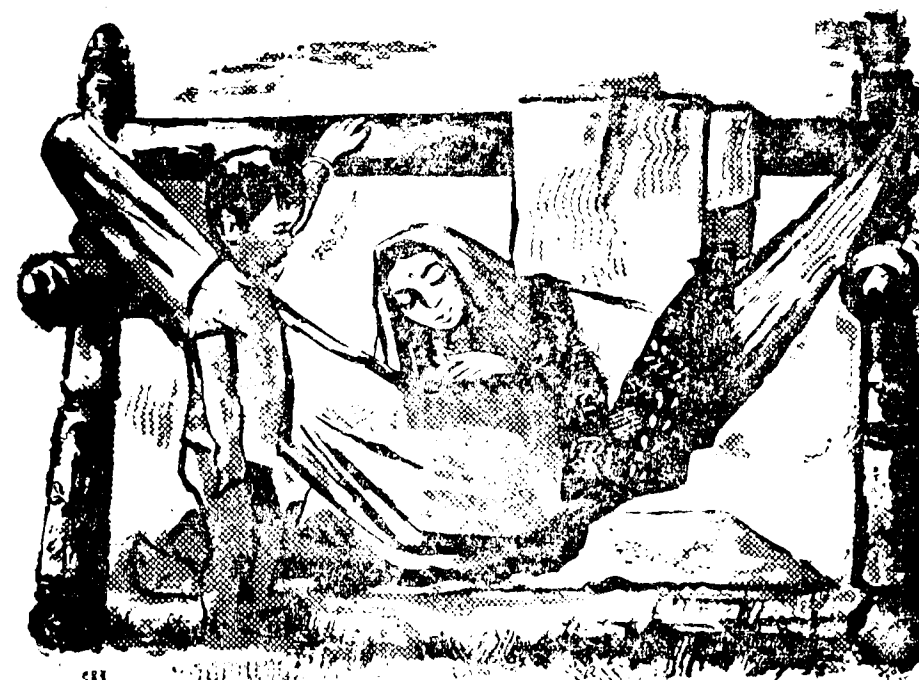
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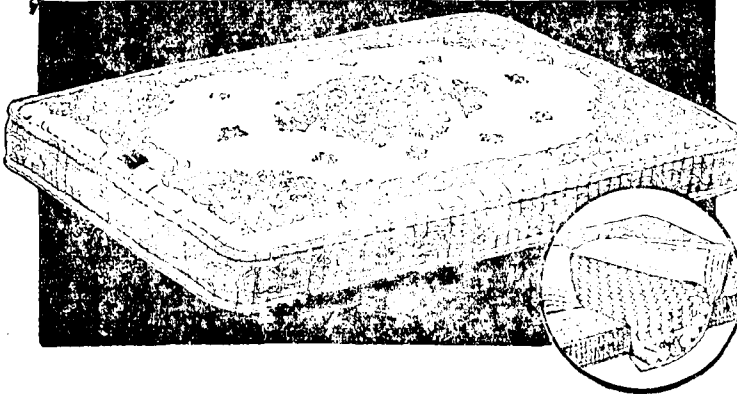
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SEPTEMBER 1959

[No. 9]

Advantages of Co-operative Farming

By

SHRI SHRIMAN NARAYAN

IT is wrong to think that the idea of co-operative joint farming has suddenly been thrust on the nation. It is, perhaps, not adequately realised that the programme of co-operative farming was mentioned in the First Five-year Plan and it forms an important part of the Second Five-year Plan in the scheme of rural organisation.

It should be clearly understood that co-operative joint farming is fundamentally different from collective farming, as practised in the totalitarian countries. Firstly, co-operative farming is, in the very nature of things, entirely voluntary and optional, whereas collective farming is necessarily compulsory, although it may appear democratic on paper. Secondly, co-operative farms, as visualised in Indian planning, should range from 50 acres to 100 or 200 acres, while the collective farms in totalitarian countries range from 5,000 acres to 40 or 50 thousand acres. It is quite natural that on account of the big size of these collective farms, the farmers tend to lose their individuality and become cogs in a huge machine. Thirdly, large-scale mechanisation is an essential part of the collective farms, whereas the co-operative farms in India need not resort to excessive mechanisation. In our country owing to pressure of population, what is necessary is intensive farming and not extensive and mechanised farming.

It is obvious that co-operative farming will be practised by agriculturists in India only if they are able to see certain obvious advantages in its adoption. There are at least ten economic advantages in following the programme of co-operative joint farming:

1. There will be a more rational use of animal and human labour through co-operative endeavour.

2. It would be possible to step up capital formation by pooling all resources for effecting improvements in agriculture, particularly irrigation and improved implements.

3. The farmers will be able to afford fuller use of scientific technique in agriculture, like the Japanese method of rice cultivation, improved strains of seeds, green and compost manuring, insecticides, etc.

4. Elimination of economic exploitation by middlemen could be achieved through co-operative marketing of the farm produce.

5. There will be emergence of local and community leadership through co-operative planning of village life.

6. This higher form of economic organisation will be able to absorb a good number of educated young men within the village and thus prevent their migration to the cities.

7. Small and poor farmers, who are regarded as non credit-worthy today, will be able to receive adequate credit and other facilities by joining a co-operative farm.

8. Joint farming will make for a richer and diversified village economy by the establishment of different village and processing industries to supplement agriculture.

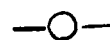
9. The Government will be able to distribute various supplies and provide technical knowledge in a more systematic and efficient manner to cooperative farmers, rather than to a large number of individual farmers.

Collection of agricultural statistics will also be much more reliable and scientific.

10. Better agricultural planning through cooperative farming will release more time to both men and women of the village for social and cultural activities.

These ten fold advantages of cooperative farming should be carefully explained to the Indian agriculturists, so that they may feel attracted towards cooperative farms out of their own free will.

It is being propagated by the critics of cooperative farming that once an agriculturist joins such a farm, it would never be possible for him to opt out of the farm. This is also wholly erroneous. It is true that once a farmer joins a cooperative venture, he should give it a fair trial for some years. But, if after a few years, he unfortunately finds it unprofitable to continue his membership of the cooperative farm, he can leave the farm, provided he gives due notice, say, of one year, repays all his loans and other liabilities, and deposits adequate compensation with the cooperative farm for improvements on his plot of land. After discharging these obligations, he may be returned either his original piece of land or another plot of land equivalent in value. All this would depend upon the terms of the original contract at the time of forming of the cooperative farm. There should be no rigid or fixed pattern of a joint farm. There can be endless variety and flexibility to suit local conditions, in accordance with the wishes of the farmers joining together.



As has been repeatedly emphasized by the Prime Minister, our main emphasis should be on the establishment of Service Cooperatives throughout the country within the next two or three years. It is expected that the farmers will realise the practical advantages of cooperation in the field of agriculture and would start joint farms out of their own accord. There should be no attempt on the part of social or political workers to force the pace of cooperative farming in the country. There should be much greater emphasis on quality, rather than on mere quantity and numbers. The formation of bogus farms mainly for evading land reforms and securing Government financial assistance should be effectively discouraged. The existing cooperative farms, which are not functioning successfully, should be liquidated as early as possible.

I recently visited the Intensive Development block at Dhanora in Moradabad District of Uttar Pradesh. This block is being run under the supervision of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. They have recently started eight cooperative joint farms on a purely voluntary basis and without any Government assistance. Local leaders have formulated their own bye-laws, in accordance with their wishes. I was much impressed by the successful functioning of these co-operative farms in the Dhanora block and I would invite all critics of cooperative farming to visit the Dhanora block and see for themselves the practical advantages of joint farming on a cooperative basis.

Above all, the success of cooperative farming in India would depend upon the honesty and efficiency of social and political workers who assist and guide the farmers in forming these cooperative farming units in various parts of the country. Cooperation is essentially a way of life and only those who have implicit faith in it can persuade others to take to it.

America and Russia should come Together

By

SRI RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

THE orientation towards Western Europe, in particular England and France, has been a major calamity of the foreign policy of Afro-Asian governments. How such an orientation came about is an interesting story in itself. It may partly have been the result of the fact that many of the current rulers of the coloured peoples have been educated in the lands of their former masters, which lie in Western Europe. The incompleteness of Afro-Asian revolution might also have been a cause. Old bonds have continued almost infamously. Trade, travel for education and tourism and the import of goods as well as of technical personnel have largely continued into the post-revolutionary period in their old forms. The Indo-Russian friendship far from denying this proposition proves its validity. The friendship has perhaps meant a great deal in the intellectual and propagandist spheres. It has not had a corresponding material scaffolding. India had purchased no weapons from Russia. Her purchases of other material from Russia, including those of machinery for steel or chemicals and the like, have been like those from America, far less in value than similar purchases from Western Europe and particularly England. The Indo-Russian friendship has been more frothy than material, while the Indo-British friendship has been indubitably material and has also been grounded in the stabler part of the mind, which speaks less than it permeates. What holds good of India applies equally to other Asian and African Governments. Continuance of the Indo-British connection has in fact been the greatest single cause of the continuing orientation of Afro-Asian Governments towards West Europe.

There is much that is pleasant in West Europe, in fact, it is still the centre of human endeavour. But it is a rotting centre. It has

too much history. It is beginning to be like India. That explains a certain kinship that naturally establishes itself between the European and the Afro-Asian. They have both been left behind in the race by Americans and Russians. They can take solace in each other's disgrace. But this kinship can have dangerous consequences for these kinsmen are not equally poor and cannot combine in a revolutionary effort to overthrow the present world order. There still is a great margin and an almost unbridgeable margin, between the wealth and equipment of West European and that of Afro-Asians. In large part, this great disparity has its origins in the exploitative relationship between West Europeans and Afro-Asians and, even where this relationship has physically ceased, the results of its history continue. West Europe still physically rules areas in the world. It is still the supplier of manufactures to the retarded world. When it supplies machines, and, even more so, the machines to manufacture these machines to the retarded peoples, it enters into competition with itself, for its manufactures become unsaleable. This contradiction between machines and manufactures is a continuing hallmark of the relationship between West Europe and Afro-Asian lands.

America and Russia have no such history, nor are they in need of exercising direct physical rule in the style of West Europe or of selling manufactures. They may yet be guilty of Guatemalas and more so of Hungarys. A world policy will, as one of its aims, encourage, not necessarily materially, the liberation of Eastern European lands. For the rest, America and Russia, precisely because they have less stake in the old world, can more materially assist the birth of the new world. In fact, they will do this for their own advantage. It

is a case of coincidence in some measure of the interests of Afro-Asian peoples and that of the Russians and the Americans. The motivations of such self-interest may be widely divergent. But the fact of such coincidence is there. Afro-Asian peoples will do well to face more towards America and Russia than towards the West European Governments. Such an orientation does not in any way mean the adoption of Russo-American opinions. In fact, these opinions may and should widely diverge, for Russians and Americans are masters of the current world, while Africans and Asians are its bottom.

Such orientation of foreign policy towards America and Russia in equal measure might appear incongruous and almost impossible of achievement. Any government that holds America and Russia in equal esteem will necessarily have to change them in the present ways and to achieve a minimum of approximation between them. America and Russia are the two leaders of the two antagonistic camps and to be friendly with both of them must necessarily mean that their antagonism is reduced and they become friendly with each other. With the system of alliances and defence arrangements that either of them has already achieved in the world, such a consummation appears exceedingly remote. But both peoples are new and resilient and they are so powerful that they can take risks and do not need to be tied down to any of their alliances. Militarily, Russia must wholly withdraw from Eastern Europe and, spiritually she should begin to treat this part of the world on a par with the rest. The defensive shell into which Russia has withdrawn does not become her as a great power and is ruining her morals as well as her manners. In spite of the tragedies of Leningrad and Stalingrad of the last war, Russia should not want to push her frontier westwards in the fashion of the Warsaw alliance, for that would only earn her enemies and damage her soul. In similar fashion, the United States must militarily withdraw wholly

from Western Europe and her spiritual bonds with the rest of the world must become as intimate as those with Western Europe or the latter must loosen. Another difficulty consists of the irrational competition between America and Russia and the ghostly fear that attends every defeat in industry or in sports. A greater sense of history and a somewhat unbroken devotion to the human race as a whole may alone act as a corrective to this warped outlook.

The uncommitted peoples must be warned against passing prejudice. Events may happen from time to time which may incline them to America or to Russia, but they should be rock-like in their determination not to let their passing preference for one stand against another affect their untiring judgment that the two must be treated equally. The world is a most mixed affair. Of the two individuals pre-eminently responsible for the freedom of many coloured nations after the last war, one was good, Mahatma Gandhi, and the other was evil, Adolph Hitler. To judge between Hitler and Stalin or Churchill would be a most hazardous undertaking. One may only distinguish them and their systems in their various straits and pass on to the creation of a new system which does not cast lingering lances of preference on any of them. For the honest pursuit of such outlook, it would be necessary for the uncommitted peoples and their governments to clean their cupboard of its skeletons. Kashmir is indeed no skeleton. India's case in respect of Kashmir is almost spotless, in spite of the prevarications, hesitations and double talk of the India government. But India has to win friends and votes at the United Nations for her case and she is often driven to manoeuvres of foreign policy on this account. A creative foreign policy must first reduce and even wholly remove occasions for such manoeuvres. The executors of such a foreign policy must learn to be alone with truth, if that becomes necessary.

Russia and America must also learn to be alone with truth. They have been so afraid of each other that it will be difficult for them suddenly to become fearless and to neglect their defensive network. A nature vision of human history may alone guide the steps of Russian and American Statesmen towards companionship with truth, which is sometimes unsheltered. Truly great individuals will always know how to practise this art. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who has since the advent of national freedom to large parts of Asia spent more time in jail than outside, is undoubtedly the greatest Asian statesman living today. He and Milovan Djilas, and many others are in different jails of the world. The world is in a hurry and does not contemplate them as much as it does Egypt or Hungary. But they are the seeds out of which Egypt and Hungary grow. They are the first victims of unhealthy systems, whose second exploit consists of bloodsucking or war.

In a fundamental way, all existing political parties all over the world have become wholly incapable of achieving the new world. They may still serve some good short-run aims in their own self-interest. The most outstanding of such foreign policy aims is the loosening of the three evil alliances of Anglo-America, Warsaw and Anglo-India and the achievement of increasing approximation between America and Russia. That however lies in the domain of governmental policy. People's policy must take cognisance of the fact that man's political mind is filled up today with the nation-state alone and that it must increasingly find equal place for the world state, not of speech-making but of institutional structure. No political party recognises today that man is a world

citizen. The consequences of such a recognition must be drawn. Adult vote with regional weightages or a senate of equal representations of nations must elect a world parliament. The government arising out of such a parliament must statutorily receive a share, perhaps of a quarter of the war budgets of each land. These moneys should primarily be allotted for ensuring comparatively equal production in all regions of the world and, thereby, for destroying poverty and inequality. The world government should also make some beginnings towards a world army.

To achieve these aims, new political parties will have to be formed. The stage of institutes, foundations and loose associations is now over. The world must be girdled by political parties which include among their principles and programmes the establishment of a World parliament with minimum powers of government. This chain of political parties must not content itself with propaganda and agitation alone. It must be ready to step into the age of a world civil disobedience simultaneously directed against different national governments. Traditional socialist parties, which could have been legitimately expected to steer clear of the Atlantic and the Soviet camps, have been found to be excruciatingly conservative, as they are deeply bedded in old thought and furiously resist all attempts at new thought. Large sections of them are however becoming familiar with the basic needs of the new world. These will perhaps form the hard core of the new political formation that will girdle the world. Or, perhaps, the initiative will have to come from the largest single party in all lands, the mass of hitherto disinterested people and men of thought or religion.



Recent Cultural Activities in India

By

Prof. HUMAYUN KABIR

Cultural activities cannot be divided in terms of years or even decades. Cultural forces are among the most abiding factors in human development and the depth and extent of their influence are largely derived from their duration and comparative immutability. We can only refer to certain set-backs or accelerations in particular aspects of cultural activity, but rarely, if ever do we find cases of a complete break with the past. When a particular cultural factor is most active, its origin can be traced back to periods long past. When it is dormant, its influence is never completely lost.

It is in this background that we have to consider the expansion in cultural activities within and outside India during the last 12 months. There has been a visible shift in emphasis from programmes of expansion abroad to cultural consolidation within the country. India's relations with all parts of the world are growing fast. This made it inevitable that cultural contacts with other countries should show a marked increase in independent India. India's past history also demanded such a development. For centuries, our relations with many countries of Asia were close and contacts extended even beyond the limits of the Asian Continent. It was only during the British regime that our contacts were confined to the western world. With the attainment of independence, old relations with other areas of the world have been restored. Direct governmental initiative and non-official agencies of various types have co-operated in reviving old associations. While maintaining these programmes, the last twelve months have been marked by an increased emphasis on cultural exchanges among the different regions of India.

Even a casual visitor is struck by the immense variety of India's cultural life. The range of physical and climatic features, the

number of languages, the differences in religion, customs and institutions and the wealth of her artistic traditions have combined to make India an epitome of the world. Such wealth and variety have made Indian culture rich and interesting but the vastness of the country and the wide diversity of the different regions have made economic and political consolidation difficult. In the past, there has been a broad unity of sentiment but we have not had a close-knit and organised economic and political system. Perhaps it was not possible to establish such a system without the modern improvements in the means of transport and communication.

The establishment of Indian Republic has for the first time in recorded history given us a united democratic State. Conditions have for the first time been created today for the evolution of a nationhood that will combine the widest variety of local cultures with a basic Indian unity. This can be consolidated only if there is free and constant exchange among different parts of the country. One of the most important developments in the current year has been the acceptance of programme of cultural exchanges within India. This is intended not only to promote the cultural and emotional integration of the Indian people but also to enrich life in each region by bringing into its horizon the immense variety of cultural manifestations in other regions of the country.

Another development during the current year has been the increased emphasis on the enrichment of the modern Indian languages. The Sahitya Akademi has for some years been working on a programme for the translation into other Indian languages of selected classics from foreign language as well as from every one of the major languages of India. In addition, a programme has now been undertaken providing in each important language of India

the major facts of scientific knowledge and cultural achievement of man. The programme is still in its initial stages, but it is hoped that before the end of the third Five-year Plan, this programme will make it possible for any Indian to know whatever is of importance in any field of ancient and modern knowledge through books published in his own mother tongue.

Substantial advances have also been made in the development of Indian museums. The Salar Jung Museum of Hyderabad has been taken over by the Government of India with a view to developing it as a National Museum for South India. In addition, substantial assistance has for the first time been given to State Governments and private agencies for re-organising and developing museums in their charge. The first issue of the Museums Annual Review was published towards the end of 1958. The construction of a fire-proof building to house, among other things, the invaluable spirit collections of the Zoological Survey of India has been pending for almost 40 years. The foundation stone of this building was laid last December and it is hoped that it will be completed within about two years.

There have been important additions to our knowledge of pre-historic India. Excavations have revealed important new sites of Buddhism in Orissa and confirmed that the so-called Indus Valley Civilisation spread far to the south and the east. A museum is being set up at Lothal which will be the most important museum of this civilisation within Indian territory. A beginning has been made with the study of Assyriology and Egyptology in order to determine more clearly the relations of ancient India with these contemporary civilisations. The year has also seen the institution of a school of training in archaeology and enactment of legislation for bringing our archaeological law more in conformity with modern demands and modern trends.

For celebrating the Centenary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore in 1961, a strong

Central Committee has been set up with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman. State Committees have been or are being formed to carry out the programmes on a nationwide scale. It has been decided that the headquarters of the three National Academies—the Sangeet Natak Akademi, the Lalit Kala Akademi and the Sahitya Akademi—will be named Rabindra Bhavan. The Central Government has initiated a programme of assistance to State Governments for setting up theatres in State Capitals to mark the occasion. The three Akademies are also preparing their own programmes for celebrating the Centenary in a befitting manner.

Tagore was India's first cultural Ambassador in the modern age. It is therefore fitting that his Centenary should be an occasion for promoting closer cultural contacts with many countries in the world. Programmes have been initiated in the U. S. S. R. and many other countries for commemorating the occasion in a suitable way in recognition of Tagore's eminence as a poet and the importance of his message of friendship and goodwill among peoples of the world. Ceylon celebrated during the year the Silver Jubilee of an educational institution established in accordance with Tagore's educational ideals. Many other countries will undertake programmes of publication of his works and exchange of delegations, exhibitions and books during 1961.

Perhaps the most important programme in the field of external cultural relations during the current year was the organisations of an exhibition known as Five Thousand Years of Indian Art. The initiative was taken by scholars and art lovers of West Germany. Some of them came to India to make a special study of available exhibits and make recommendation for their collection. About a thousand exhibits from the earliest Harrappa and Mohenjodaro seals and Mauryan sculptures to late Mediaeval bronzes and modern handicrafts are at present in view in Villa Huegel in West Germany. This exhibition is

expected to visit later Switzerland, France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Great Britain and the U. S. A.

Among other important programmes of cultural exchange may be mentioned the visit of Indian scholars and artists to U. S. S. R. and other European countries, of Buddhist scholars and monks to Japan and of a Japanese team of archaeologists and professors to India. A Soviet Puppet Theatre delighted large audiences in some of the major cities of India. A delegation of dancers and singers from Ceylon gave performances not only in big cities but also in a village near Delhi.

Gifts have been made to libraries and cultural institutions in different parts of the world. Scholarships have been given to foreign nationals learning Indian languages and Indian nationals learning foreign languages. A very large number of scholarships have been received from over 20 foreign Governments and organisations for the study mainly of scientific and technological subjects. It is of interest to note that the largest number of

scholarships offered for training or post graduate studies was made by West Germany.

India has also offered a large number of scholarships to nationals of 15 countries who are studying various subjects of scientific, technical and cultural interest. These exchanges of scholarships, have not only been of direct benefit to the recipients but have even larger long term implications for the countries concerned.

It is evident from reports both from our scholars abroad and from foreign scholars who have been in India that the hospitality and kindness they have received during the period of their stay has done much to widen their sympathies and assisted in the process of cultural understanding among peoples of the world. In fact, many of them, feel, and rightly, that these scholarships given to young people in their most impressionable years can form one of the major factors in creating the One World which is today a condition for peace, prosperity and progress of man.

Political Opposition in India

By

Prof. K. C. JENA, M. A.

DEMOCRACY essentially presupposes a systematic and decided opposition to the party in power. Without such opposition it will lead to dictatorship and the disintegration of Democracy. Even in the Roman and the Greek democracies there was a fixed place for the opposition. In the modern times, opposition to Democracy, has become an integrated part of political theory and practice. The provision of the opposition parties in Britain, the United States, France and other leading constitutions convey the idea that without a healthy opposition no Democracy can survive.

The role of the opposition has taken a different pattern after the first world war. In certain countries the opposition was eliminated and one-party government was established. This obviously meant the end of Democracy and the growth of dictatorship. The military leaders realised that opposition would undermine their strength and therefore in the interest of themselves it was necessary that all opposition should be rooted out. The rise of Fascism and Nazism and also of Communism in Russia is a natural sequence to this development. As opposed to this tendency, on the other side of

the picture there was a similar tendency for the opposition to grow in certain other countries. In the Free world it had been realised that for the future safety and security of the democratic faith increased emphasis should be paid on the role of the opposition. This increased faith in the opposition led the British and the other continental constitutions to offer more power and responsibility to the opposition parties. In fact, the place and power of the opposition parties in the non-communist world is the highest to-day.

The Indian Constitution is an imitation of a number of western Constitutions. The role of the opposition is decided and granted. But the misfortune for Indian opposition is that it is unable to live and grow though the right and provision to live has been granted. Political ideals do not grow from nothing, they must have a tradition and background. In India we do not have this background. The lack of a historical background puts Indian politics in too delicate a position. The people in general and the politicians in particular are unable to understand the real importance of the opposition parties. The economic poverty and the low standard of political consciousness make opposition only a matter of ideal and nothing really significant. If at all there was any opposition under the British Govt. that had been visibly falling down and the position is dormant now. The present party in power has not been very much keen about developing a healthy political opposition to-day. This will be always the same in every country, for no party in power would like to encourage another party to compete with it for power. But the Indian position is different from those of the other countries and even the party in power was expected to offer some chance for the opposition, for in the formative period the opposition cannot grow without such active support from every side. The Indian opposition has nothing to offer to be compared with the opposition parties in Britain or the U.S.A.

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In those countries the opposition parties contemplate to replace the party in power. In India the best that can be hoped for is to increase a few seats in the next election or simply to attempt in the parliament to deliver a few speeches as to make the public aware of the existence of the opposition cannot dream to form the central ministry at least for many years and this put the Congress party in a comfortable position. It knows whether the opposition supports them or not the policies it frames are sure to pass in the parliament and hardly there is the chance for the opposition to compete for power. Thus we are in a dilemma; we have followed the English method of parliamentary democracy when we do not possess the necessary conditions or background for the successful functioning of democracy. We must be aware of what Laski had remarked that a delay in opposition might lead to a denial to it and this would give birth to dictatorship. It is in the interest of India's political future that an attempt should be made even by the present party in power to foster a strong opposition. Without such an attempt the whole idea of democracy based on the English pattern will be impossible and this means that the political future of India is uncertain.

From all these considerations it is necessary that India should have some consolidated and strong parties as opposition. It will be good to have a three party system as in England. A multiple party system as in France is to be avoided, for with such a pattern India will have more serious problems. Again, a two party system as in the United States may not be very much appreciated for the divergent interests of the nation may not be properly represented.

The advocacy for the formation of opposition parties should not mean that there are no opposition parties in India; in fact there are too many of them. But the recent experiences have shown that there is the lack of consis-

tency and discipline in most of them : they lack political idealism and fall flat on their back. They lack the political stamina and chastity which is so essential and there are hardly any opposition parties in India which have not been criticised for getting undue and some times unfair support from undesirable sources. These opposition parties to a very great extent depend on the charity of the party in power and this inability to take an independent policy for the party as a whole or for the individual members of the party puts political opposition on a ridiculous plane. In no other country the opposition is so weak and dependent on their opponents.

In India the need is not only to make a political opposition party but to assure it the necessary financial support. Many parties have not been able to stand on their own legs and fallen down. The impracticability for a nobler opposition is due lack of political honesty which is the consequence of the economic difficulties. We have found in India very prominent people changing their political colour on simple financial grounds. Many instances are there to suggest that some of the best intellectuals have accepted the state aid in some form or other and became the supporters of the party in power. Through governmental and semi-governmental methods there has been an attempt to muzzle the best intellectuals. This could not have been possible in other countries. The opposition in India does not receive the standard of dignity which it gets in other countries. For example there are few

examples to show where some opposition leaders got any state recognition or awards; though such examples are plenty in England. This is how we have been utopian in thinking that we can build up an English type democracy without having an opposition comparable to that of England. It is high time that the Congress Government, the society in general and all the people of India should seriously think about the problem. Those who are now at the helm of affairs can better afford to sacrifice their powers and position to foster a healthy opposition in India. Unless the old veterans of the congress make this attempt then it is sure that the opposition can never grow due to lack of the vital original initiative and without this it will always remain an uphill task for the opposition to develop. We cannot be unreasonable at this stage and let history slip from our grip. Political blunder once done will bounce for a long time and when it bounces it may be suicidal and disastrous to every one.

The ideas of Rajaji, Jayaprakash and Lohia for the formation of opposition parties cannot be completely be taken as signs of disappointment and frustration; there may be some truth in it. Impartially every one has to consider and offer a helping hand to build up a strong and consolidated opposition which can be responsible and constructive. Without such an attempt it is obvious that Indian Democracy is in danger and if we wait for better time to come we will allow History to take a holy day and oblige us.



New Psychology of Development

By

Mr. J. M. LOBO PRABHU, I.C.S. (Retd.)

THE Development Commissioners recently had the ritual of their annual meeting, this time at Bangalore. It may not be generally known that Development Commissioners are indirectly in charge of the Five-year plan for all departments and directly in charge of Community and Extension Projects. It is their basic task to move 354 millions to new ways of working and living. If they have a sense of frustration, it is largely because they have tried to reach individuals directly and not the masses

indirectly for their common interests. The problem is of organising instincts, habits and interests in the various directions of the programme of change. It is on the psychological and social background that the administrative approach must be devised. To the greatest extent the administration should only set up automatic process which can stir and sweep the people. This involves an examination intimate but not flattering of the way that people think and leave. The problems of the various classes,

their cause and cure were appropriate subjects for consideration of the Development Commissioners.

The problem of the agriculturists, the largest class of the population is of poverty, due largely to poor productivity practices and to underemployment. For instance, the production of wheat is only one-third the Egyptian average and of rice nearly one-fifth the Japanese, though the potentials can be inferred from a tenfold increase reached in crop competitions. In respect of employment there is work in irrigated villages for only six months in the year and in unirrigated villages for only three months. Living for the whole year on work for only part of it is not only the cause of indebtedness which cooperatives cannot remove but of hopelessness which shows itself as inertia for everything. Government can create work for the off season either in its own projects like roads, buildings, reservoirs and new forests or through stimulating private enterprise like house construction, hotels, shops. For the first it was estimated for the Planning Commission that only a sum of 400 crores may be necessary, if the wages are fixed at minimum levels, for the second, government can try the system of Tax Certificates as subsidies related to the new employment created, which enabled West German reconstruction, without inflation arising from subsidies of cash. The increased income may give the cultivators more courage to experiment with new agricultural practices. If not, their herd instinct can be easily utilised through the principle of collective responsibility, which can be imposed on the Panchyats, created under the scheme of democratic decentralisation. If the level of revenue and the proportion of state services like fertilisers, seed irrigation and credit are related to the achievement of whole village on the programme of change, the Panchayat, if so empowered can make individuals conform, subject to appeal only to the panchayat samitis, relieving government entirely of the odium of enforcement.

The idea is quite simple being rule of the rule by the people for the people, without external interference, except in respect of common standards of improvement. There will be no resistance from the villagers as the enforcement is of the panchayat, elected by it by secret ballot. This alone can give democratic decentralisation its meaning and the country, the benefit from appropriate productivity.

The next largest class is of the landless labourers whose employment is shorter and more irregular. There are also largely Harijans, who have lost the will not only to their rights but for living Standards. A scheme of Employment Insurance on state project on minimum wages, will enable them to get the same wages in agriculture and in other employment. Even if minimum wages are lower than those they get for seasonal employment, they will accept them as covering their period of unemployment.

The question arises if creation of full employment in villages will not lead to inflation. In the first place, the expenditure in this employment will be less than 1,000 crores proposed in the third plan to be spent on Co-operative loans so far infructuous while it will have a return not only from the projects but from the general purchasing power created in the population, now idle. In the second place, we have at last discovered the mechanism to control inflation by holding the price line for food through the power of government to acquire grain at statutory prices.

The next largest class is in the secondary sector, particularly of industry. A neurotic condition has been induced in investors, not only by government's policies in respect of taxation and labour but from inchoate statements suggesting communism. The result is that most industrialists are sitting pretty with what they have instead of risking it in extensions which may be expropriated. This strike of capital may ease not only from assuring a just return for capital but also allowing properly earned wealth enjoyment and its proper

place in the government of that country. At present wealthy men are, in effect, treated as robbers, with no place in any government, though by education, ability and financial independence, they can serve the people better than those to whom politics is the only career. As in other democratic countries we must give natural leadership its place in government, if our politics are to outgrow their academic quality. In respect of those working in industry, the academic claims of trade unions in favour of the small section of workers under them, which raise prices and reduce markets, should be brought under the strict equation of income related to contribution. Too long has immature thinking passed for social justice, the only result of which has been to reduce industrialisation which would have benefitted the whole country.

In the tertiary sector, particularly public administration, the present imbroglio stems from a misreading of the Constitution, which has given to elected ministers the powers of the executive reserved exclusively to the President and his officers. If Ministers under the previous regime enjoyed executive powers, they were from the executive, with experience which saved them from pressures of partisan ideas and interests. In respect of the rank and file of the staff the very futility of policies has induced an indifference to results so that work has fallen into mere pen pushing. Sooner or later, the Constitution is likely to be enforced by its letter. In the meanwhile, it is necessary that the administration is allowed to function without interference, except that it is judged by results of its work.

A very important and impressionable class is that of the young, which so far has not been touched by the various schemes of government. A proposal, which made that there should be universal conscription of every male between the age of 18 and 21 has received much support in the Punjab, not only because we shall be following the practice of all advanced countries which have conscription for military service but also because if we make our conscription principally for work in land

reclamation and improvement, the food problem will be solved, there being at the same time a siphoning of labour on one hand and of association of all classes, which should promote social cohesion, now so conspicuously absent. Such land armies can largely pay for themselves by the food they raise, while such interruption which there may be to education will add to the health and outlook of our student population.

The next class to be conditioned is that of children. Independence of the country has not changed their outlook because their schools and teachers, who should be windows to the future are worse than before. If in nothing else, at least in education we must follow the best in the world so that the future will be different. Our plans so far have only thought of multiplying schools but even if the existing ones had been improved, the climate of our villages would have changed by now.

The last class is of women. During the struggle for independence, many of them were transformed. Since then, there has been nothing to take them out of themselves. Since it is not possible to conceive of any new stirring cause to draw out our women we may have to consider less dignified expedients. There was a suggestion that in all schools and public employment, there should be a reservation of at least a third for women, so that whatever the loss in efficiency, a beginning would be made to mobilise the idle half of the population. Perhaps the better course may be to enrich life in the villages so that women naturally shed their chattel status as they have done in the towns.

Much revolutionary thinking is necessary before our population is lifted out of a past corridor of time. The mistake we are making is of thinking of our population as the British did. As a free country, we have to discover motive power from the natural psychology of the people; we have to get the most from every class by giving them what is due so that antagonisms created by alien theories are replaced by a common unity of purpose for development.

The Use of English Language in Pakistan

By

Mrs. E. KUROSHI

THE introduction of English as the court language of (undivided) India was the result of Lord Macaulay's endeavours to bring Western Education to the sub-continent. Although his decision is unpopular among historians it is possible to justify it on several counts. To begin with, the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has always had a court language superimposed on it by its conquerors and distinguished from the popular vernaculars. Persian was no more native to the sub-continent than the English that replaced it. Again, to the subsequent generations educated in English the whole range of European knowledge, and values was available. Through the medium of a common language, nationalism could be communicated to every part of the sub-continent, by-passing multi-lingual barriers; this made concerted action possible, and independence a reality.

After Independence, Pakistan found that the position of English in public life was too firmly lodged to be easily displaced. Further more, Government realised that to remove English arbitrarily would cause, to say the least, grave inconvenience, disorder and confusion. It had been for nearly 150 years the language of administration, of the law courts, of the legislative assemblies and of local bodies. English, therefore, remains in Pakistan as the language of the administration for the next twenty years, of higher education and particularly of science. Most important, it is the link between the Bengali-speaking east wing of Pakistan and the Urdu-speaking west wing. Although, inevitably, the official language of the country must change to the vernaculars—Bengali in East Pakistan and Urdu in West Pakistan—English will be the means of communication during the transition period and continue afterwards as an important second language. Experts, who are planning our linguistic future, envisage

Pakistan as a tri-lingual State, each wing having its own language, with the national language of the other wing and English as second languages.

Curiously enough, more Pakistanis speak English today than ever before. This is partly due to the increased influence of Europeans, particularly Americans, who come on the various Economic Aid Programmes, and for whom English is the only via media of communication with their Pakistani counterparts. Also, since Independence, the higher attendance in Secondary schools where English is compulsory, either as a second language in the Urdu or Bengali medium schools, or as the medium of instruction in the increasing number of English medium schools, ensures the position of the language for the next generation at least. English is also the language of an influential sector of the press, of foreign publicity and considerable advertising.

A notable feature is the increase of novels and poems (many of them translations from the vernaculars) in English by Pakistani writers. These, though not usually of great literary merit, are significant as attempts to explain national sentiments and attitudes to foreigners. Conversely, the influence that English has had on Urdu and Bengali literatures cannot be ignored. The vernacular novel is a very recent literary form which traces its origins to the late Victorian English novel. The prevalent realism of Pakistani short story writers, novelists and poets, is largely due to the influence of modern British and American literature.

Nevertheless, the ill-effects of Lord Macaulay's achievement cannot be ignored. In imposing a foreign medium of instruction, the standard of the language as well as of the instruction has been lowered to the level of comprehension. Since Independence, because

of the acute shortage of well-trained teachers and the resurgence of interest in national literature, English though spoken and read more widely, is spoken and written less well. The method of teaching English as an indigenous rather than as a foreign language, with the emphasis on literature rather than structure and formal grammar, is largely to blame. The text books used are written for English children and schools have no reference or familiarity with the local environment. The educational authorities are aware that a fundamental change in teaching method is essential, as well as linguistic research in order to make this reform effective.

The Government together with the *British Council* and the *Ford Foundation*, have set up language units in Lahore and Dacca to provide the teaching material for In-service training of school instructors. Other functions of the planners of this new approach to English

language teaching will be the preparation of new curricula for schools and colleges, and the institution of a Language Department in the Universities for the training of teachers and for graduate and post-graduate linguistic research. The result, it is hoped, will be a more accurate knowledge of spoken and written English throughout the country, acquired at a more rapid pace.

For a young country, such as Pakistan, it is important to have a direct means of communication that will make available the latest developments in industry and science. English has become an international language. Like Latin in post-Renaissance Europe it links many nations of Asia and Africa; it facilitates commerce and communication at an international level; it can bring Eastern and Western nations closer in understanding. Pakistan will foster the knowledge of English carefully for it is too valuable an instrument to neglect.

The Phoenix of Imperialism

By

Mr. T. S. RAMACHANDRAN, M. A. B.Sc. (HONS. ECON.), I. C. S. RETD., BAR-AT-LAW

IMPERIALISM, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, has three principal meanings, (i) Rule of an Emperor; (ii) Extension of British Empire where Trade requires protection of the Flag, and (iii) Union of Different Parts of the British Empire for purposes of Warlike Defence, Internal Commerce, etc. A Phoenix is a Paragon of a Bird, the only one of its kind at any particular time, that after living centuries burnt itself on funeral pile and rose from the ashes to live through another cycle. I was irresistibly driven to compound the expressions the Phoenix of Imperialism by a perusal of the book under appreciation: (THE IMPERIAL IDEA and its Enemies by A. P. Thornton, Professor of

History, University College of West Indies, Macmillan and Co., London W. C. 2., Price Thirty Shillings net 1959). Power never goes out of fashion and always renews itself like the phoenix by going through the fire, and this Process is Eternal from the days when Emperors riding wheeled chariots conquered and founded River Valley Civilizations to the present time when after deserting Terra Firma for Unstable Water, the Wheeler has gone to dominate from Invisible Air.

Many ideological bubbles have been pricked in the first half of the twentieth century including John Stuart Mill's obiter that the government of one people by another does not and

cannot exist and Palmerston's credo that all nationalist parties must necessarily be democratic. Napoleon the Third of France and Hitler of Germany have proved that nation may conquer nation and finally surrender itself to a dictator. The History of National Socialism in Germany after the First World War almost reads like the History of India after the emergence of Nehru as seen by the following extracts from the Theosophical Year Book for 1938. Among the offences punishable by the Penal Code are strikes and lockouts, malicious creation of a shortage of vital commodities, assaults against German national honour. Germany's foreign relations are based on visits and cultural, economic, and friendship pacts and neutrality. Before obtaining a degree and a permit to practise, every medical man is required to serve one year as a country doctor, not only to lead the physician back to the land, but to help keep the farmer there. All Germans are ardent followers of the Fuhrer, trying to further with thought and life all that is great and noble in his ideals. As Professor Thornton points out Men must eat before they moralise and philosophise on History: and it is hard for a Briton to eat at all regularly if he does not guard the Atlantic Life-Line and that was the centreboard of the Imperialist's Platform. Similarly the Athenian Empire had to live on the tribute of money and goods brought by the subject-members of the Confederacy. Every City is an Empire in the sense that it lives on the surrounding country. Bluff King Hal and his Parliament said "This kingdom of England is now become an Empire and sent out merchant adventurers and pirates to found the British Empire. Three centuries later as Grammar follows Language, Seelay and Disraeli propounded the Philosophy of Imperialism and Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India on the first of January 1877. Bryce began to compare the Roman and the British Empires and Kipling sang of the White Man's Burden. Napier's sally that it was by

a piece of rascality that he conquered Sind but it was a humane and useful piece of rascality was looked askance as uncalled for flippancy. Professor Cramb of London decried the envy that belittled the Immortal Destiny of Imperial Britain to rule, improve, and guide the rest of the World. But prophetically enough, Kaiser Wilhelm the grandson of the first Empress said "England is shortsighted, and ultimately she will be pressed out between Russia and the United States, may be, in fifty years." This was said in 1901 and the last King Emperor George the Sixth died in 1952 and practically as Tennyson feared Britain became a third-rate island full of American Air-Bases.

But like the Phoenix, British Imperialism arranged for its being burnt on a funeral pile and emerging rejuvenated as the Commonwealth of Nations boasting different colours, languages and races.

The first impact that the Old Empire got warning to close its life cycle was the Boer War, where the Dutch racially different population refused to follow the British programme of muddling through. And it is here, we find the weakest link of the present Commonwealth threatening to break away if apartheid and differential treatment of aboriginal races is not winked at by the Commonwealth Conferences. So, the Boer wear placated, and the Day of Doom was postponed.

Next came the greater shock of the First World War of 1914-1918. Howsoever much we may decry the exaggerations of the Teutonic concept of Herrenvolk, the substratum of basis remained which took various forms. Saint Francis Xavier said he could not conceive any time even in the most distant future when a European Christian would have to take the Sacraments from an "Indian native priest." Walter Elliott whose widow has now become a Life Lady peer said he would rather lose the Empire than endure the spectacle of a negro (also Indian?) sit in the House of Lords. An Irish Viceroy who said Indian Judges might try European delinquents and an

African Chief who ordered a White man to be flogged received rather drastic treatment. But when Indian troops were called in to fight in the Battlefields of Europe and saw that the white folk were not all sahebbaag, the edifice of superiority collapsed and a three-pronged attack began, first from the rival empires of Japan and Germany, second from a triple combination of old-style Radicalism, new-style Socialism and Democratic Apathy, and thirdly Internal Attacks from those inside the Imperial Ring.

The Explosive forces of Nationalism and President Wilson's Self-determination propaganda naturally made the period between the Wars, 1918-1939 a most uncomfortable period for both Imperialists and Little-Englanders. The Happy Hypocrite, Irwin, like the original Trimmer Halifax, would enter into a Gandhi-Irwin agreement and use the respite to rush through the most repressive legislation. Churchill and Amery and Attlee would snap at each other outwardly, but inwardly wonder and scheme how to save the substance of Empire to ensure the high standard of life in England which was, is, and will have to be based only on the exploitation of backward countries in Asia, Africa, and the Orient. As Coal, the prime Fuel began to get exhausted, princelings including the Sultan of Kuwait were set up to exchange oil for articles of luxury. As the United States threatened to become a multi-racial conglomeration, Immigration Laws gradually emphasises the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic Racial Balance. Under the skilful propaganda of Sir Winston Churchill with his American lineage, the British developed a fear complex and first got themselves wedged in between Russia and Germany. Then, that master of intrigue, Sir Stafford Cripps, turned Germany against Russia. Finally after the collapse of Germany and the Crushing of Japan, Britain played the United States against Russia.

Democracy as Emile Faguet pointed out is essentially the cult of the Lazy and the Incom-

petent and like the decadent Athenian Mob, the British Electorate also worried more about games and radio than about its Imperial Mission and Trusteeship. The Intelligentsia which included both Hoare and Cripps and Attlee, while proclaiming there was no intention to liquidate the British Empire, in the midst of the War sent out missions like the Cripps Mission to India to salvage the substance. As the author points out at page 329, "The Left (Labour) in post-war Britain could assume, it did not need to assert, that handing over power in India to the Nationalists would meet the approval of the British Democracy. The muted-tone of the Right-Wing protest at this same action bears further witness to the validity of this assumption."

I do not remember if it was Monroe who said that he called in the New World to redress the balance of the Old. The British Ruling Class called in the supreme Emperor of the present age, Earl Mount Batten and his charming wife Edwina to make the Nationalist Nehru agree to everything that the Congress Mahatma had reprobated. The Queen's uncle-in-law, made Nehru agree to allow British Commerce and Trade exploit the Indian sub-continent. He made Nehru practically agree to make the training, technical equipment, and morale of the Armed Forces follow the British pattern. He made him keep in service those best affected towards the British Raj and they even now continue in the innermost Councils of the President and the Prime Minister and the Financial Pyramid. I am not sure whether the apparent disagreement in policy of America giving military equipment to Pakistan while Britain supplies India's indents including Jeeps is not really the result of a private secret arrangement of International Finance which is behind both British and American Production. Sir Basil Zaharoff used to place that trick with Balkan States and even our book shows four thousand million dollars of American aid were routed through Britain to Commonwealth countries. The Colombo Plan and other such

plans are also part of this deep-laid scheme. The same can also be said of the sudden rise of new Commonwealth countries like Ghana. The Prince Consort has come and the Queen is coming next year to visit the vast Dominion of India which has been saved for British Imperialism by the astuteness of the Prince's Uncle.

The British Imperialists came like Vaishya traders; they conquered like Kshatriya warriors; now they have become Brahmin advisers to give us advice on all matters from Industrialisation to the Income-Tax. The Phoenix of Imperialism has risen from the ashes as the British gradually found themselves wedged between the United States and the Russian U.S.S.R. as predicted by Victoria's grandson. Probably only a geological cataclysm moving the Ice Cap at the North Pole southward so as to bury England and Northern Europe under Ice can cut short the recovery of Britain. Cheiro in his World Predictions in 1927, prophesies as follows: "During the coming fifty years, an earthquake zone will develop in a north-easterly direction from the Pacific Coast of Peru, passing through Panama and Mexico, through the Northern States and Canada to the Arctic Regions. Eastern Cities of North America such as Washington, New York, Boston, Buffalo and Toronto will be affected, and a considerable part of New York

will be destroyed. A new ridge of land will appear in the North Atlantic which will so cause the Gulf Stream to alter its course that the Eastern States of America will become subjected to intensely cold winters, and the Glacial Age will by degrees be repeated in Northern Europe, and such countries as Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, the North parts of Russia, Germany, and France will become gradually uninhabitable. This alteration will be compensated by the development of a temperate climate affecting such countries as China, Africa, India, and Egypt, and in consequence a rapid increase of civilisation will be the result in all these countries." Professor Thornton concludes that British statemanship will have-lying-in wait a cruel test in the second half of the twentieth century to discover what kind of Imperial Idea should inform Initiative. As one who has had the most cordial and pleasant relations with the British peoples and the most violent conflicts with British Imperialism as embodied in some prancing proconsuls and bureaucrats, I extend a cordial welcome to the British Peoples to move over to India and especially South India where we cherish the English Language and its Literature by staggered migrations before the year of destiny, 1977.

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The Egypt-Iraqi Difference and the Western Powers

BY

Mr. ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

WHAT deserves special notice about developments in the Middle East is that in recent times President Nasser has been zealous to prove that he is anti Communist. The reason for such zeal is that he is desirous of having friendly relations with the Western Powers, especially with the U.S.A. There was a time when he was alleged to be a supporter of the Communists. It is perhaps to disprove that allegation that he is now showing excessive eagerness to align himself with the anti-Communist forces. This explains also his

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present policy in regard to Iraq. His dissatisfaction with Iraq stems from the fact that Iraq has dealt a shock to his dream of an Arab empire. Here it may be recalled that the 22nd July of the year 1952 saw the end of Kingship in Egypt. The Kingship was also abolished in Iraq on July 14, last year as a result of the rising of the young army officers. It was national revolution of Egypt which influenced the Arab world with new ideas and inspired Arab nationalists to adopt a severe and uncompromising attitude to the imperia-

lists. It was revolutionary government of Egypt again which effected complete freedom of Egyptian territory from the clutches of British imperialists; enabled establishment of Egyptian control over the Suez; and above all bent its energies towards baffling attempts of the Western Powers to make a military base of the Middle East. Egypt vehemently opposed the plan for formation of the Western Middle East Command. She was against the installing of the forces of different Western Powers in the Middle East, which was likely to be brought about in the name of formation of that command. But when it was clear to Britain that the attempts made so far to bring the Middle East within the orbit of Western military control failed, she was trying through the Arab League to exert influence over the Arab States. In opposition to such British policy the U. S. A. came forward with a new policy of her own which aimed at inviting each of the Arab States to join the military bloc separately. It was in pursuance of that policy that there was concluded in the year 1955 a military pact between Iraq, an Arab State, and Turkey, a member of the N. A. T. O. Subsequently Iran and Pakistan also joined that pact. But it was mainly due to the opposition of Egypt that no Arab State after Iraq participated in the pact.

The Anglo-French attack on the Suez Canal area commenced in 1956. At that time Russia warned both Britain and France that she was ready even to risk a World War, if necessary, to save the Middle East from Western attack. After failure of the Anglo-French offensive in the Suez Canal area President Eisenhower evolved his famous doctrine for the Middle East. But the doctrine did not appeal to Egypt, as a result of which no Arab State of the Middle East excepting Iraq and Chamoun government of Lebanon felt any attraction for it.

When the U. S. and British forces landed at Lebanon and Jordan at the time of Iraqi revolution, Egypt announced her intention to

resist with Iraq any aggression against the new Iraqi government. To speak the truth, it was due to the resistance of the united Arab nationalists that the imperialist conspiracies in the Middle East failed. But unfortunately the progressive role of Egypt under leadership of President Nasser has been showing signs of eclipse since that time. No doubt President Nasser's steadfastness against Western imperialism is praiseworthy. Arab nationalism owes much to him. But it has become evident now that he cherishes a dream of establishing a vast Arab empire.

Immediately after the Iraqi revolution President Nasser started negotiations for including Iraq in the United Arab Republic, though in vain. Then he began to encourage conspiracies against the new Iraqi government. The revolt which occurred in Mosul in March last proved that the rebels had close connection with the United Arab Republic, though the revolt was started with the secret help of the Western Powers not satisfied with Iraq. The Iraqi revolution has resulted in a hard blow to the Baghdad Pact with which the Kassem government has formally cut off all connections. The Kassem government has also cut off her connection with the Eisenhower doctrine and the four-point assistance pact of the U.S.A. Iraq has of late abandoned sterling area and adopted an independent economic policy, as a result of which the foreign companies having interests in the Iraqi oil resources have naturally got nervous. Not only in the field of foreign relations but also in internal affairs the role of the Kassem government appears to be progressive. Immediately after the revolution this government issued decrees fixing rents of lands so that the condition of the peasants might be improved. It was noticed before the Iraqi revolution that the peasants could not have more than one-tenth of the produce of the soil. The new decrees have enjoined equal distribution of the produce between the peasants and the owners of the lands. According to the agrarian reform act ceilings have been

imposed on the lands of landlords and the remaining land has been distributed among the landless peasants. The feudal society has been deprived of the political and judicial amenities which this society used to enjoy before. Steps have been taken to effect economic development of the country with the help of scientific and technical knowledge and to safeguard legal rights of the people. It

perhaps requires no mention that the policy pursued by the Kassem government is a progressive one. It has no connection with communism, though the Kassem government receives support from the Iraqi Communist Party. Brig-General Kassem is neither a communist nor is showing unreasonable sympathy for the communists.

Indology in the Berlin Humboldt University

BY]

MR. HILTRUD RUESTAU

FOR the former Indological Seminary of the Berlin Humboldt University which is today directed by Prof. Dr. Walter Ruben, a new designation has been introduced, namely that of Indian Science. This new term is to demonstrate that the old designation and conception of Indology is no longer broad enough to cover all subjects in this line which are to be taught and researched both due to the development of sciences and due to the development of India herself. Thus the old purely philological tasks of Indology have been replaced by a universal study of India. The scientists and students in the German Democratic Republic endeavour to form a clear idea of the significant and interesting development of present-day India on a historical basis. In view of such comprehensive tasks it goes without saying that a merely philological interpretation of texts can no longer be in the centre of research and teaching. Today rather instructive lectures which give a survey on the most different problems of India are in the foreground. Naturally also the scientific text interpretation, such as the *Upanishads* the *Bhagavadgita*, etc. is duly considered.

It becomes obvious from the tasks of the institute that its main attention is devoted to the research of the great and new development

of Independent India. There are friendly relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of India. Thus also the scientists and students of the Berlin Institute for Indian Science are keenly interested in following up and studying the cultural, social and economic development of India which freed herself successfully from the British colonial yoke. They heartily welcome every success in this new development. Formerly Indology was limited to the mere interpretation of texts in the whole of Germany. Today the Berlin Institute for Indian Science has fully overcome the horizon of the "ivory tower" of the German orientalists of the past.

On the other hand, the research of problems of old India is by no means neglected, the more so as the GDR endeavours to continue the long famous tradition of Germany in this line! Thus, for instance, one student is charged with continuing the research work about the Turfan Fragments after having been duly prepared for this difficult work. The schedule of lectures covers the scientific interpretation of the history of ancient India, as well as of the ancient Indian philosophy and literature by way of texts, furthermore Indian ethnography and a number of lectures and exercises

dealing with the more modern history of India, especially as from 1870/80. Thus one lecture is held on the economic development of India during the colonial period; another lecture is devoted to India's contemporary history. Furthermore, the students at the institute engage in the study of Hindi literature and modern Indian philosophy. This series of lectures on Indian philosophy was initiated by the study of the philosophical conceptions of Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the great Indian philosopher and statesman, during one term. In respective seminars his works, as far as they are available here, are thoroughly studied.

At the study of the students the linguistic lessons have a large share. A five years' study of Hindi is obligatory for all the students of the institute; over and above, each student has to learn a second modern Indian language, mostly Bengali. Also the Sanskrit lessons are given broad scope. The students are taught Indian linguistic history ranging from the Vedic language to Hindi, that is say lessons in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, ancient Hindi, Bengali, and Urdu are held. Unfortunately the Institute is not able to teach other modern Indian languages besides Hindi, Bengali and Urdu, as in spite of the great interest in this line, there is not yet teacher for such other language at the disposal of the institute. The linguistic lessons in the modern Indian languages are directed almost exclusively by Indian guests. Thus we are thankful to Prof. Pandit Shastri from Shantiniketan who comes from Leipzig to Berlin once a week to give lessons in Hindi and ancient Hindi.

Problems of modern India are in the centre of the research work of the institute. Thus the director of the institute endeavours to elaborate an analysis of the modern Indian novels. Furthermore a critical review on Romesh Chandra Dutt is being elaborated, the role of Sanskrit in modern India is being examined and an essay on the philosophical

conceptions of Tilak and Vivekananda is being prepared. Some important scientific research work is devoted to Gandhi. One of the colleagues of the institute, an ethnologist, mainly examines the development of the Indian village.

Parts of these works are devoted to the preparation of the International Orientalists' Congress which is to be held in Leningrad in 1960. Thus also the Berlin Institute for Indian Science is being faced with great tasks which it tries to solve by collective research work.

Naturally our institute also participates in the preliminary works for a deeper study on Tagore which is devoted to the international Tagore Memorial Year and is being prepared in the GDR.

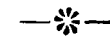
Naturally this new orientation of the institute is quite a difficult task. Especially at the beginning many difficulties have to be overcome so as to render the work of the institute fully successful. Above all, there is a shortage of the latest material on important research sectors. Thus, for instance, the institute does not dispose of a complete edition of Romesh Chandra Dutt's work; there is no material available on the Ramakrishna Mission which is required so as to elaborate a critical review on Vivekananda, and many other documents are lacking as well.

These difficulties are mainly due to the fact that the library of the Indological Seminary was destroyed in World War II so that a completely new library had to be established past 1945. In spite of these difficulties the Institute for Indian Science could already record quite a number of successes in its work.

Above all, the colleagues of the institute are interested in the results of the latest Indian research. Naturally the Indian scientists themselves are predestined to inform the scientific world about important and new events in their country. Thus the members of the institute in Berlin would be interested to know, for instance, the conception about Romesh Chandra Dutt, which investigations about modern

Indian philosophy have been made which importance is attributed to Vivekananda in this respect, etc. The colleagues of the Institute for Indian Science would most warmly welcome a close co-operation with Indian scientists. Naturally the scientists of a certain nation can best research their own country; thus the most remarkable contribution in the field of Indian science are to be expected from India today; at the same time we are also interested in the opinions of others on the new

development in the German Democratic Republic. Thus we hope that also in India people will be interested in the work of the Institute for Indian Science of the Berlin Humboldt University. Just by such an exchange of ideas one's own experience is essentially enriched. Above all, the study of the scientific conceptions of the scientists from the other country serves the mutual understanding of the people of our two countries—which in fact is the noblest task of our institute.



The Zodiac Signs

By

Mr. SHAIB SINGH AHUJA

THE human beings have been evincing great interest in the starlit sky from the earliest days. In times gone by the star-gazers gave names to the stars. Only the largest stars bear names today, but all the sky is marked out in named areas, popularly known as constellations. Although the names of some of the constellations are obsolete, we know that many of the names are those of gods and goddesses, heroes, animals and objects that were known in ancient Greece and Rome.

We know of the constellation of Orion, the great hunter. Three stars, nicely lined up and evenly matched in brightness, mark his belt. The name of his faithful dog was given to a star—the brightest in all the nocturnal sky. This is Sirius, the dog star, which forms part of the Constellation Canis Major. The little twinkling cluster of stars called the Pleiades or seven sisters, are not a constellation but form a part of the one called Taurus, the bull. According to the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz, the Arabians considered the Pleiades as the seat and seal of immortality. In all ancient myths and traditions, however, this cluster plays an important part and has always been associated with benignity and blessedness. The Pleiades were the seven daughters of Atlas.

Orion, the hunter, pursued these maidens, whom Jupiter changed first into doves and then into stars; and now as hours of the night go by, Orion still follows them in the starry pursuit across the sky. Only six of the Pleiades are visible to the naked eye. The twin stars Castor and Pollux belong to the constellation Gemini, the Latin word for twins. Many legends adorn the various constellations and whole volume would be required to give an account of the same.

Around the whole sphere of the sky there extends a particularly important band of stars. The stars in the band form roughly 12 groups, which are constellations. The band of constellations or star groups is called Zodiac which forms the basis for the science of modern astrology.

The word zoo comes from the same Greek source. The principal constellations of the Zodiac are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces. Through the narrow band of stars the principal planets, the Moon and the Sun seem to take their way.

Some 2,000 years ago the great Greek astronomer Hipparchus made a chart, dividing the

Ancient Period of Kashmiri Literature

By
JUSTICE JIA LAL KILAM

Separated from the rest of India by inaccessible mountain barriers, Kashmir in ancient times was a world in miniature for its people. She developed her own music, sculpture, architecture and painting. She coined her own script—Sharda, and used it for her literary purposes. Sanskrit poetry reached its high water-mark in ancient Kashmir and we have received in heritage a huge mass of classic poetry of unique merit. Side by side with Sanskrit, the natural instinct for poetry found expression in Kashmiri Prakrit as well. Much of this literature is now quite lost, but what is preserved is enough to show the possibilities of this language. With the establishment of the Muslim rule, Sanskrit fell from its high pedestal and the royal patronage came to be extended to Persian. Kashmiris learned this language and in course of time came to be looked upon as profound scholars. They wrote exquisite poetry in Persian, though Kashmiri was not forgotten. But with the introduction of Persian there came about a bifurcation of Kashmiri into two sub-dialects. The Hindu writers in Kashmiri language largely drew upon Sanskrit words, phrases, similes and metaphors and the Muslims made a copious use of Persian in their writings.

The earliest known work in pure Kashmiri language is what is known as Mahanaya Prakash or Maha Artha Prakash. Nothing is known about its author excepting that his name was Shiti Kantha. Shiti Kantha whose Mahanaya Prakash singles him out as a great scholar, lived somewhere in the 13th century. His Guru was Jaya Ratha. Before discussing the linguistic or other peculiarities of this book, we might here dwell upon the theme and purpose that this book presents to its readers. The theme of the book is Tantric and as its name suggests, it aims at Maha Artha Prakash—the illumination of the high-

est meaning or truth. In the book an attempt has been made to explain what is known as Kramartha or the reality as appearing in the four stages of articulation. Five deities stand as representing the five stages through which (according to the author) each (sense-experience passes. Gyara Siddhi means the right knowledge of one's own self, Mantra Siddhi means right thinking, Milap Siddhi means union between knower and known, Sakhtopaya means the process by which the distinction between knower, known and knowledge is annihilated, Sambhavadama means that stage when this process is also annihilated. To illumine the path leading to Sambhavadama is the purpose of this book.

We might now deal with the language of the book. The following stanza taken at random would reveal the earliest known form of Kashmiri language. Its English rendering will be something like :—

“O you who are following the right path—
You who have acquired the stability of mind
by constant meditation,
You have raised yourselves up by following
the right order of duties of life,
And you who are both wordly and un-
wordly,
Go on acting like this, the only object of
pursuit.

For about a hundred years following Shiti Kantha we do not come across any work written in Kashmiri language. May be that there were some such works, but none is available now. These have probably been destroyed and lost in numerous political upheavals that took place in Kashmir times without number. There is yet another work known as Maha Artha Manjari written by Maheswaranand which deals with the monistic aspect of the Shaiva philosophy. The language used in this

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book is no doubt Prakrit, but it is said to be not akin to Kashmiri Prakrit and we may therefore leave it out of discussion.

More than a hundred years after Shiti Kantha, Lalleshwari came on the scene and in Kashmiri verse poured forth her heart, rich in spiritual and mystic experiences. Her language is more familiar to us than her predecessor, Shiti Kantha's. Lalleshwari in her *vakyas* begins with a narration of her own spiritual experiences. She had wandered far and wide in search of truth, had made pilgrimages to holy places and sought salvation through observance of rituals but all in vain. And suddenly she found the “truthful one” in her own home.

She says :—

“Passionate with longing in my eyes
Searching wide, and seeking day and night
Lo! I beheld the truthful one, the wise,
Here in my own house to fill my gaze.
That was the day of my Lucky star,
Breathless, I held him my guide to be.”

At other places she sings in joyful notes :

“So my lamp of knowledge blazed afar
Fanned by slow breath from the throat of
me.

Thus my bright soul to myself revealed,
Winnowed I abroad my inner light.
And with darkness all around me sealed
Did I garner truth and held him tight.

At another place Lalleshwari says—

Idol is of stone, temple is of stone,
Above (temple) and below idol are one.

Which of them you will worship, O foolish
Pandit ?

Cause thou the union of mind and soul.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw great political and spiritual upheavals in Kashmir. It was during this period that the rule of Kashmir passed into Muslim hands. A number of Sayyids who were scared away from Central Asia by Taimur came and settled in Kashmir. These Sayyids became the propagators of Islam, but their beliefs were tem-

pered with doctrines of the Sufi cult. Their contact with indigenous saints gave rise to an electric school of thought saturated with mystic trends. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din who was born in 1377 A.D. drank deep from the fountain of the prevailing thought currents. His mind can be gathered from the following verses given in translation.

“The lover is he who burns with love,
Whose self done, shines like gold
When man's heart lights up with blaze of
love

Then shall he reach the infinite.”

At another place Nur-ud-Din says—

Turn not thy face from his sword
Consider misfortune as sweet as sugar
Therein lies thy salvation in this world and
the next.

I shall now refer to some poets who have left us love lyrics of a very high type. The emotions surging in human heart have been portrayed in colourful language and the effect on the mind is simply marvellous. I would like particularly to refer to queen Habba Khatun who lived in Kashmir in the 16th century. Her husband, Yusuf Shah who ruled Kashmir for some time was taken to Akbar's court and was never allowed to return to Kashmir. Habba Khatun felt greatly the pangs of separation from her beloved husband and the result was that a large number of lyrics, translation of some of which are given below, poured forth her love-afflicted heart. Says she—

The distant meadows are in bloom
Flowers bloom on mountain lakes,
Come, let us to mountain meads,
Sweet is the ritual of love.
I would deck my love with ornaments
And in *henna* dye his hands.
I would anoint his body with fragrant
kisses

And offer him wine in golden goblets
And the lotus of love which blooms in the
lake of my heart.

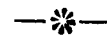
zodiac into 12 divisions which he called signs and these signs had the same names as the constellations we know today. Like other astronomers he noted that the sun stays, roughly, in one of these divisions during one month of the year, meaning that it was in a certain constellation of group of stars. However, through the centuries since Hipparchus' time there have been changes in the sky of our times. A peculiar slow unsteady motion of the Earth, as it turns on its axis, is constantly tilting the axis. Because of this, the North and South Poles of the Earth describe little circles on the sky over a period of 26,000 years. This changes the position of the constellations. Modern astronomers do not view the heavens from the same angle that Hipparchus did. The signs of his chart of the zodiac no longer coincide with the present view of the constellations which seem to slip westward.

So the sign of Aries, the ram, for example, is no longer in the constellation of Aries, but in the constellation of Pisces, the fishes, to the west of the constellation Aries. After the passage of 26,000 years the signs come back,

more or less, to their original positions in the constellations which bear the same names.

Modern astronomers do not use the signs for reference in scientific astronomy although, the signs are still used by those who believe in astrology. According to popular belief, the combinations of various planets, the Sun, and the Moon that move through the various constellations have the most profound and powerful effect in moulding the destiny of mankind.

Different peoples of the world have through the centuries developed their own signs for the Zodiac. The ancient Hindu Zodiac shows the chariot of the Sun-God in the centre with the horses that are believed to pull it across the heavens each day from East to West; in the section next to the centre are eight of the Hindu constellations. In the outer row are the twelve signs of the Hindu Zodiac. The Chinese and the Egyptians have different signs. The twelve zodiacal signs of the Chinese are the rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog and pig. Evidently most of the constellations are represented by animals.



Sai Baba, Maharishi Ramana and Sri Aurobindo

(A Study in Contrast)

By

PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A., M.L.

“A Crazy Fakir” a calm sage, and a Master-Yogi have in recent times had a hold on thousands in India. Sai Baba, the “Bizarre” Saint of Shirdi, is little known outside India. Maharishi Ramana has been presented to the West not merely by Paul Brunton and Arthur Osborne; by far the best account is that in fifty pages by Somerset Maugham in his last great work “*Points of View*.” Sri Sri Aurobindo is a mighty intellectual of classic depth who has left behind profound prose in “*Life Divine*” and an inspired epic in the *Savitri*.

If Sai Baba was attracting crowds from far and near through his miracles, neither Maharishi nor Aurobindo set any value to miracles.

The works left behind by Sai Baba are almost nothing; a few verses alone have been left to posterity by the Maharishi, though devotees' experiences are now on the increase after his exit; the great Literary works of Sri Aurobindo have a terseness and a classic finish.

Sai Baba mentions *Venkusa* as his Guru. Whether boy Ramana had any human Guru is in the realm of imagination. Aurobindo himself states that he “had no touch from a

human guru. He” got an inner touch and practised Yoga. He got from within a programme for his *Sadhana*”.

Sai Baba had both Hindu and Muslim followers as Kabir; in the Ashram of the Maharishi, I have met a few learned Muslims, to Pondicherry statesmen like Sir Akbar Hydari hastened on the two important days of “Darsan”.

All the three, having shone in different surroundings did not encourage merging of paths among their followers. They certainly did not approve of conversions from one faith to another.

Sai Baba who passed away in 1918 would speak in parables leaving his devotees to work out the answer. The incredible Baba is reported to have thus stated:—“Some robbers came and took away my money. I said nothing but quickly followed them and killed them and so recovered my money.” The money is the faculties natural to man in his pure State, the robbers are the desires, killing them and recovering the wealth is destroying desires and *realizing the Self*.

Maharishi Ramana's life was regulated by the Vedanta of Sankara. When Mahatma Gandhi sent an emissary to him who asked for a farewell message, the Maharishi answered: “What message is needed when heart speaks to heart?”.

Here is the path lit by Maharishi to all seekers after Truth:—“As one who dives seeking to find something which has fallen into water, so must one *dive* inwards with one-pointed mind checking the speech and breath and find the place from which the up-rising “I” originates.

Sri Sri Aurobindo's “*Integral Yoga*” differs from what has gone before it. All the three Yogas of the Gita—*Karma*, *Janana* and *Bhakti* are to be found in Aurobindo's life and Search for Realization for thirty years in the laboratory of his consciousness. There is no inherent contradiction between matter and Spirit in

Aurobindo's Integral or *Poorna* Yoga. Mind Life, and Matter are all spirit in different form. Einstein's great formula supports this view.

Shirdi, is a village with a distinct bias to the Central Shrine studded with the relics of the Baba.

At Thiruvannamalai is an Ashram nestling with huts and small buildings where even now is an atmosphere of calm in and round the square where the mortal remains of the Maharishi are interred.

At Pondicherry (also called Vedapuri) is an Ashram with a harmony struck by a technique of quest after the cult of Beauty at all levels.

The foregoing study of the apparent contrast is best understood by pursuing it to the underlying core.

There is a baffling confusion in our minds when thousands *Still* feel the satisfaction of their purely mundane needs through Sai Baba's intercession. The great Baba's other saying is:—

“I give people what they want in the hope that they will begining to want what I want to give them”.

Sai Baba like Maharishi and Aurobindo encouraged family life.

There is a scintillating simplicity and as A. R. Osborne stated there is an “invisibility” of the path followed”.

Sai Baba and Maharishi prescribed neither ritual nor incantations. The method of Self-Enquiry requires only “Introversion”.

A Triple labour according to Sri Aurobindo is necessary on the part of the aspirant to advance in this path of Yoga: (1) *Aspiration* vigilant, constant, unceasing. (2) *Rejection* of the movements of the lower nature and (3) *Surrender* of oneself and all one is and has to the Divine and the Shakti.

How strange yet how satisfying is this path lit by the three great personages which can equally be followed in the office, workshop and the *Ashram*!



I shall bestrew the meadows with flowers
for thee,
Come my lover of flowers.

After Habba Khatun there is yet another lady: this time a Kashmiri Panditani, by name Arnimal. Her songs have been set to music and the Kashmir minstrels even now sing these songs with great gusto. Arnimal lived in the 18th century. Her husband, Munshi Bhawani Das, a profound Persian scholar and a prolific writer, deserted her. This treatment roused the muse in Arnimal. Says she—

My complexion, which was like July Jessamine
Has assumed the pallor of yellow, faded rose.

O when will he come and let me have
A look at his beloved face.

At other places she sings

Flowers have bloomed in my father's home,
But thou comes not and I feel like one
Accursed, alone and scoffed by all.
God grant happiness to my beloved
Let he be kind to others if he will.
Enough for me is the satisfaction that he is
at least happy.

—*—

Green Manuring—its Scope in India

By

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GREEN manuring can be successfully extended to all cultivated areas where the green manure can be raised and used without interfering with the other normal seasonal cropping operations. Of all the countries in the world, India has the largest scope for green manuring; for in its tropical location with a long period of plant growth and abundant manpower resources, India has a decided advantage over the others. The general defi-

ciency of soil nitrogen and humus in the country can be therefore made good to a large extent through a judicious use of these natural advantages.

The average cultivator is illiterate and poor and this necessitates a simple and inexpensive approach to the problem of manuring. Green manuring provides the answer if it can be done without sacrifice of other crops: for the cultivator can then raise manure in fields

I plighted my troth to thee
Why did you break your plighted word,
O Sweet! O dear!
I long for Thee.....

In the 19th century, there were a number of poets who greatly contributed to Kashmiri literature, chief amongst them being Mahmood Gami, Rasul Mir, Wahab Khar and Parmanand.

There are no prose writings available in Kashmir. True there is an abundance of folk tales which are narrated by professional storytellers, but the interest therein lies more in the substance of the tale than in the language. A number of such folk tales have been translated into English by J. Hinton Knowles. Kashmiri language is rich in proverbs. These too have been translated into English and a Kashmiri dictionary has very recently been compiled by Sir George Grierson. For some time past attempts have been made to produce works in Kashmiri prose, but these attempts have not yet been crowned with that success which all of us would have liked. But I am quite sure, before long, Kashmiri language will take its rightful place amongst other languages as a vehicle of thought in prose and verse.

through his own efforts. In the last few years a new technique which meets many of the difficulties hitherto experienced in the way of rapid development of green manuring has been successfully employed in different States and the prospect of immediate extension of green manuring is therefore encouraging.

The essence of this new approach is decentralised production of sufficient green manure seeds by the farmers who need them and this is done without affecting the yield of the other crops now raised. No great persuasion is necessary to make the traditional farmer use green manure, if he is shown a practical solution to the problem of production of seeds and raising the manure required for his crops. This is illustrated by the spread of green manures in Tanjore District where the area under green manure was about 1½ lakh of acres for several decades, but with the spread of the new technique from 1952-53 the entire physical cropped area of over a million acres was covered in four years. Starting in 1951-52 with less than 4 maunds of seeds of *Sesbania speciosa*, a new and exotic type of green manure, the progress in the area covered by green manure in Tanjore District is given by these figures: 1950-51, 1,46,325 acre; 1951-52, 1,53,000 acres; 1952-53, 1,58,020 acres; 1953-54, 3,16,920 acres; 1954-55, 5,21,000 acres; 1955-56, 5,64,200 acres; 1956-57, 10,45,000 acres.

A like method was attempted in Orissa in 1957 and as a result, the area green manured has gone up from about 10,000 acres in 1957 to a lakh of acres in 1958 and it is confidently expected to cover over a million acres in 1959. Unlike Tanjore Orissa has had no widespread tradition in the use of green manures and the experience of Orissa is therefore highly significant. In Bihar the area green manured in 1956-57 was 0.97 lakh acres. After the development of seeds by growing the plants on the borders of fields was taken up in 1957-59, the area under green manure has gone up

to 3.28 lakh acres in 1958-59 and it is expected that over 8 lakh acres will get the benefit of green manuring in 1959.

The possibilities of rapid development of green manure seeds have been proved by experiments conducted in Bihar in 1958. Equally encouraging results have been obtained in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The results show that an acre field bund of paddy can produce as much as 2½ maunds of dhaincha seeds sufficient for green manuring 8 acres in the next season. Even one ounce of seeds will produce the plants required to cover the bunds of an acre at one foot apart.

Green manuring has been advocated by the Agriculture Departments of every State but the progress in its adoption has been retarded by lack of seeds. If the new practical method of growing seeds which will not cost the cultivator more than half an anna for nucleus supply is widely followed, the seeds required for all areas in the country where green manuring can be practised can be developed within three seasons. For instance, if a State starts with a thousand maunds of green seeds, peripheral planting can be done on over 6 lakh of acres at 2 oz. of seeds per acre instead of one ounce and assuming even one-fifth of the production observed in the Bihar experiment, the seeds for green manuring over a million acres can be produced by the end of one season and peripheral planting can be taken up in the next season on over 8 million acres to cover the entire area in most States. The actual progress will however depend on how far the extension staff, assisted by village panchayats, co-operatives and non-official workers spread the knowledge of the technique to the average farmer. In fixing the target for green manuring, the limiting factor will not be seeds, for seeds can be produced; nor will financial restrictions operate when the cost involved is very little.

Prima facie green manuring is possible for paddy, wheat, potato, sugarcane, maize and irrigated millets apart from miscellaneous

crops, cocoanuts, fruit trees. Paddy is grown transplanted or broadcast and in the case of the transplanted paddy the nursery is generally started with the onset of the monsoon or when irrigation water is available. Barring short duration paddies it usually takes 5 to 6 weeks to raise paddy seedlings and this interval of time is sufficient to produce up to 10,000 pounds of green manure per acre for incorporation just before the paddy is transplanted. The green manure for broadcast paddy is grown along with the paddy and the plants are pulled out and trampled into the field at the time of thinning of the paddy about a month later. Except in problem areas like deep water paddy area, area under dry paddy which does not get the benefit of soaking rain, etc., there should be no difficulty in spreading green manuring to most paddy areas.

There is equal scope for developing green manuring over a major part of the wheat and barley areas. Where the rabi cereals are irrigated, a kharif crop like maize, cotton or paddy is raised on the same field. The cotton leaves will serve as green manure for the wheat and fertilisers can be used for manuring the irrigated cotton. Where maize precedes wheat, the green manure has to be intercropped. For this purpose a relatively slow growing green manure crop like *Aeschynomene americana* which is succulent and able to withstand heavy monsoon rains seems to be better suited than the more common green manure crops as it will not affect the maize crop. If paddy is grown before the wheat crop, it is possible to raise a marginal crop of *sesbania speciosa* two inches apart on the borders of the paddy field and this will produce over 3,000 lbs. of green manure. If the wheat field is kept fallow in kharif season—and Uttar Pradesh alone has over 10 million acres of such fallows—green

manure can be raised and ploughed in time by the middle of August. There may be difficulties of incorporation in the heavy black soils where rabi crops are raised but these can be overcome by growing perennial green manure plants on field margins or composting the green manure. In the case of the other crops, it is always possible to adjust the cropping rotation so that the green manure crop is raised in the field ahead of the main crop or along with it as in the case of sugarcane.

The paddy area in the country is about 80 million acres, wheat and barley will account for over 40 million acres, wheat and about a third of the area under these major cereals is irrigated. The area of the other miscellaneous crops to which green manures can be extended may be about 15 million acres. Thus over 135 million acres can be brought under green manure even in 3 or 4 years if the field workers create sufficient mass enthusiasm among the cultivators. A target of 100 million acres for green manuring should be capable of being achieved in 7 years even allowing for indifferent cultivators and problem areas.

The realisation of this target is not really difficult if the necessary effort is made. In financial terms the manurial value of the green manures for 100 million acres will be Rs. 150 crores a year and the value of the extra agricultural production will be not less than Rs. 300 crores a year with possibilities of a cumulative increase in production which may go up to Rs. 1,000 crores a year in about 5 years time. The tremendous potentialities of agricultural development through one simple measure of concerted action like this should spur us on to mass effort to achieve the target even within the next few years.



Saint Tulsidas

By SWAMI YATISWARANANDA

Our saints and sages—our holy men and holy women were born in all parts of the country. They may speak different languages but they all place before us the ideal of realizing the eternal relation between the eternal soul and the eternal God. Their teachings form part of our entire spiritual heritage—our common spiritual knowledge. The more we recognize this the more our hearts will beat to the same spiritual tune and bring about a grand union, essential not only for the progress of India but of the whole world itself.

Even in the most ancient times the worship of the Supreme Spirit in the aspects of Siva and Vishnu has been prevalent both in the north and the south. The religious stream flowed from the north to the south and again from the south to the north.

It is a remarkable phenomenon in the religious history of India that while Rama and Krishna—the two most popular incarnations of Vishnu, the all-pervading Supreme Spirit—were born in North India, they came to be worshipped in South India also. In the post-Buddhistic revival of Hinduism, South India had become the store-house of Hindu culture and gave birth to the three great Acharyas—Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva. All the three travelled to the North, preached their doctrines and greatly influenced the religious thought of North India.

Sri Ramanuja is credited to have founded a Sri Vaishnava School at Varanasi during his visit there. Fifth in apostolic succession to him, Ramananda became the inspirer of the Bhakti movement propagated by his disciples Kabir, Rahudas and others. According to one tradition, Ramananda had another disciple Naraharidas and it was he who raised the child who was later on to become the famous Tulsidas, and also initiated him into Rama-Mantra.

Tulsidas was born in 1532 A.D. in a Brahmin family in an obscure village in Uttar

Pradesh. It is said that the boy uttered the name 'Rama' as soon as he was born. Considering this as a ill-omen, the ignorant parents abandoned the boy! He was then picked up by Naraharidas at the command of the Lord Himself. Later, Tulsidas paid his heart's tribute to this Guru and foster-parent:

I salute the lotus feet of my Guru
The ocean of compassion, and God (Hari)
in the form of man (Nara)
Whose words like rays of the sun
Dispel the heavy darkness of over-powering delusion.

He studied under another Sadhu—Sesha Santana—for fifteen years, mastering the Vedas and the Vedanta.

Tulsidas married Ratnavali who bore him a son. He was passionately fond of his wife. One day, on returning home, he found that she had left for her father's place. Pining for her, he followed her to the father-in-law's place, though uninvited. When he met her there, she was annoyed at his unbecoming attachment and said: "Great is your love for this body of mine composed of bones and flesh. Had you offered half of that love to Rama, you would have been spared from worldly troubles and have attained salvation." These sharp but wise words brought a new light to Tulsidas. It awakened him to the unreality of the world and worldly relations and also to the reality of the Supreme Spirit manifest as Sri Rama. The result was that he renounced the world, and after having finished his pilgrimage to the four great holy places—Rameswar, Dwaraka, Puri and Badarikashrama, he settled down at Varanasi. He undertook some more short pilgrimages now and then but would always return to Varanasi.

According to one tradition, Tulsidas was born in 1497 and died in 1623, and thus lived for 126 years. Some modern scholars, how-

ever, hold that he was born in 1532 and passed away in 1623 at the ripe old age of 91.

Now, at Varanasi, his whole soul was drawn to Sri Rama and longed for His vision. It is said that through the grace of the great Rama-Bhakta Hanuman, he was blessed with several visions of the Beloved to his heart. Once the Lord appeared to Tulsidas on horse-back as a prince. It is said that at the blessed vision he lost all consciousness of the outer world and remained in ecstatic state for three days. At another time he saw the charming form of the prince, sporting on the banks of the river Sarayu, with his companion.

At Brindaban Tulsidas visited many temples. Wherever he went, he saw only the image of Radhakrishna installed in the shrine. On visiting the famous temple of Madanmohan, he prayed to Sri Krishna: 'Lord Krishna, you are very beautiful with your flute and peacock plume but I would like to see you as Rama, the one with bow and arrow.' It is said that the prayer was granted and the Lord appeared to him in the blissful form of Sri Rama. The well-known utterance, attributed to Maruti, is true of Tulsidas also.

I look upon Vishnu and Rama as one and the same; but still I hold the lotus-eyed beautiful Rama as my All-in-all.

At Brindaban again, learning that Tulsidas was a devotee of Sri Rama, a bigoted worshipper of Sri Krishna told him: 'The Krishna Avatar is the greatest; Rama is only a partial incarnation'. Hearing this, Tulsidas replied in his inimitable way: 'My soul was full of love only for the son of Dasaratha, and I admired his incomparable beauty. Now that you tell me of his divinity, my love is increased twenty-fold!'

The Lord made Tulsidas an instrument for the spread of Rama-Bhakti. In due course he realized that he who was born as the son of King Dasaratha was no other than the Supreme Spirit. His divine realizations filled him with love and sympathy for his fellow-beings and he was eager to share the blessings he

himself received with all. We find evidence, of this not only in certain incidents relating to his life but specially in his works, including his immortal *Ramacharita Manas*. The very circumstances leading to the composition of his second best work *Vinaya Patrika* reveal his great heart overflowing with divine love.

Once a murderer came on pilgrimage to Varanasi and he would cry: 'For the love of Rama, give alms to me, a murderer.' Hearing the name of his beloved Rama, Tulsidas called the man to his house and gave him consecrated food, and declared him purified.

The orthodox Brahmanas of the place questioned him how the murderer's sin was absolved. Tulsidas replied: 'Read your own scriptures and learn about the power of the Divine Name.' The Brahmanas were not satisfied. They asked for a further proof. They all agreed that if the sacred bull of the Viswanatha temple would eat from the hands of the murderer, they would accept Tulsidas's words. The man was taken to the temple and the bull did eat from his hands. Tulsidas proved that the sincere repentance made by the devotee is accepted by the Lord. A new trouble, however, arose, Kali—the embodiment of evil—threatened to devour Tulsidas. Tulsidas prayed to Hanuman who appeared to him in a dream and advised him to file a petition to Sri Rama—the Lord of the Universe—for remedying the evil, and that was the origin of the *Vinaya-Patrika*.

Following in the footsteps of his predecessor Ramananda, Tulsidas also wrote his works in Hindi, for the benefit of the masses. This drew the criticism of the Sanskrit scholars. One day a Pandit who was proud of his knowledge of Sanskrit, came up to him and asked: 'Sir, you are learned in Sanskrit. Why then do you compose an epic poem in the vulgar tongue?' Tulsidas replied: 'My language in the vernacular tongue is imperfect but it is better than *Naika-Varnana*, the amorous descriptions of heroines of your Sanskrit-loving Pandits.' The Pandit asked for clarification.

Tulsi replied: If you find a jewelled vessel full of poison and an earthenware full of ambrosia, which will you accept and which will you refuse?'

In his introduction to his famous *Ramayana* Tulsidas vindicates his choice of Hindi:

I am confident of one thing—that the good will be gratified to hear me though fools may laugh. . . . If my homely speech and poor wit are fit subjects for laughter, let them laugh! it is no fault of mine. If they have no understanding of true devotion to the Lord, the tale will appear insipid, but to the true and pious worshippers of the Lord, the story of Raghuvir will be sweet as honey.

Once some thieves broke into Tulsidas's place and found there a guard in the form of young man of cloud dark complexion, with bow and arrow in his hands. Wherever they moved, the watchman turned to them and threatened to punish them. They were terrified. Something more must have happened to the thieves. At daybreak they came to Tulsidas and asked 'Sir, who is this dark-complexioned lad of yours?' On hearing this, Tulsidas was deeply moved. He knew that the Lord Himself had appeared as the watchman. He gave away all he had to them. Now, the thieves themselves having received the vision of Rama and the magnetic touch of Tulsidas, became spiritually inclined. They received instructions from the saint and lived a pure life, devoting themselves to God.

Once, he took shelter in a certain home. As he was doing his cooking, the lady of the house offered him some spices to which he replied that he had those things in his bag. Then she offered him some other things which also, he said, were there. On hearing this, the lady replied: 'Babaji, you have so many things in your bag. Only you have no place in it for your devoted wife!' Who was the lady? She was none other than the young wife whose words had changed the course of his life. She recognized him, although he could not, and considered her a stranger.

Various other incidents reveal how divine realization was the sole object of his life and how he wished others also to strive for the same, with all their body, mind and soul.

One Kamal Bhav requested him to procure for him Lord Rama's vision. Tulsidas replied: 'You do not meditate on the Lord with single-minded devotion; how is it then possible to have His vision? Continually worship Him with concentration. His grace shall come of its own accord and you shall see Him in a vision.' Kamal Bhav insisted and so Tulsidas told him to erect a trident and jump over it repeating the Divine Name of Rama, and then Rama would come to save him. The man was afraid and would not take any risk. Another devotee, however, who had full faith in Tulsidas, did as he was instructed and before the trident could touch his skin, it is said the Lord appeared and saved him.

Emperor Jahangir was said to be an admirer of Tulsidas. One day he offered to give the saint a heavy purse. Tulsidas replied: 'One who wants to perform the Lord's devotion should never seek to accumulate riches. The contemplation of money and its attendant anxieties soil the mind and render it unfit for the meditation on the Lord.'

On another occasion Jahangir observed: 'Swamiji, our minister Birbal is very wise.' Tulsidas replied: 'That may be so. But, if while gifted with this valuable transient body, he does not seek to realize God, then there is none more foolish than he. To be successful in repartee, as he is, is no sign of wisdom; wisdom consists in the realization of the Godhead.'

Maharaj Man Singh and his brother and other princes used to visit the poet and honour him greatly. Once a man asked the saint why such great people came to see him in those days, while in former days none came. Tulsi replied: 'Once I used to beg and could not get even a cracked cowrie in alms. Then no one wanted me. But Rama, the cherisher of the poor, made me of great price. Previously I used to beg from door to door for alms. Now even kings worship my feet. Then it was without Rama; now Rama is my helper.'

In *Vinayapatrika* Tulsidas says in one of his prayers :

Lord Rama ! My honour is in your hands.
You are the protector of the poor, I sur-
render myself at Your Feet.

I have heard of the sinners whom You
have reclaimed.

I am an old sinner, pray extend Your
loving hand and take me to Yourself.

To destroy the sins of the sinner, and to
remove the ailments of the afflicted is
Your occupation.

Grant me Your devotion, O Lord and
confer Your grace on me !

Tulsidas speaks of his awakening from the
sleep of Maya, and expresses his determina-
tion to live the spiritual life :

Up till now I have lost much and wasted
life in idle pursuits.

The grace of Lord Rama has aroused me
from sleep.

Awakened now, I shall not allow myself
to be victimised by Maya (illusion).

I have gained the grace of the Lord's
Name. I shall hold it fast to my bosom
and not let it from me for a second.

The beautiful form of the Lord I shall
cherish in my mind.

Long has this world mocked me, making
me a slave of the senses. Now I shall
have no more of it.

I am now a bee at my Lord's Lotus Feet
and shall not allow my mind to leave
the enjoyment of their nectar for a
moment.

In another remarkable prayer he expresses
his great faith in the Divine Name :

O Lord, let any one accept any sadhana,
he is free to follow its pursuit.

But to me Your name is the granter of all
boons—karma, upasana, jnana—

The various paths outlined in the Vedas
for the emancipation of the soul—all
are good.

But I seek only one shelter and that is
Your name, I seek nothing besides.

... ..

I have enjoyed the sweetness of Your
name.

It is the fulfiller of my wishes here and the
world to come.

... ..

A man may have his affection rivetted any-
where as also his faith,

But I recognise my relationship with the
Name—Rama—it is my father and
mother.

I swear by Shankara and state the truth
without hiding it.

That Tulsidas sees all good accruing to
him only by repeating Your name.

Tulsidas gives expression to pure devotion
when he prays :

O Lord who is there besides You who will
hear my cry ?

Strange is my petition—a poor man I, I
seek to become a king . . .

From time immemorial I have suffered the
tortures of hell and have lived through
many low births, but I crave not for
wealth or even salvation though I know
that You can confer all these.

What I desire is to become in every birth
a toy for You to play with or a stone to
touch Your Feet.

We now come to Tulsidas's famous epic
—*Ramacharitamanas*. It is not just a transla-
tion of Valmiki's *Ramayana* though it is based
on that great work. It is more akin to *Adh-
yatma Ramayana* which is highly devotional in
its trend. In it Shiva Himself narrates the
story of Rama to his consort Parvati. *Manasa
Sarovara* is a great lake in the region of Mt.
Kailas, the abode of Shiva. *Ramacharita*—
the story of Rama—is a lake conceived in the
mind of Shiva. The lake at first remained
hidden in the mind of Shiva until Parvati,
through her question about the real nature of
Rama, made it flow for the good of mankind.
Tulsidas the author has embodied in his *Rama-
yana*, besides the story of Rama, translations
of important texts of the Upanishads, the Gita
and the Bhagavata and other scriptures, there-
by making the great truths hidden in Sanskrit
available to the Hindi knowing people—to the
masses and the classes alike. Believed to be

an incarnation of Valmiki, Tulsidas surpasses
Valmiki at many places in the depth of true
devotion and human touches.

"*Ramacharitamanas*" begins with a dialogue
between Shiva and Parvati. Parvati asks :

O Lord, sages, who are the knowers of
Truth,

Say that Rama is Brahman without origin;
Is the same Rama, who is the son of Dasa-
ratha, the king of Ayodhya,

Or is he some other unborn, unqualified,
and indivisible Being ?

If he is the king's son how can he be Brah-
man ?

Shiva replies :

There is no difference between the quali-
fied and the unqualified Brahman.

... ..

He who is unqualified, formless and invi-
sible,

Takes form through the love of his devo-
tees.

To Tulsidas the Supreme Spirit who took
the form of Rama is manifest every-
where. In the *Balakanda* he says :

Knowing all conscious and unconscious
beings in the world

To be full of Rama,
With folded hands I salute the lotus feet
of all.

Tulsidas declares :

The Jiva is a part of God and is indes-
tructible ;

It is consciousness, pure, and blissful by
nature,

It has fallen under the control of Maya,
And is tied down like a parrot or a mon-
key,

The proud Jiva is under the control of
Maya,

And Maya, the repository of all qualities
is controlled by God.

And what is the nature of Maya ? In the
Aranyakanda Tulsidas declares its nature.
Rama is speaking to Lakshmana :

The feeling of 'I' and 'mine' and 'You'
and 'Yours' is Maya which holds sway
over all created beings. Whatever is
perceived by the senses and that which
lies within the reach of the mind, know
it to be all Maya.

Hear of its divisions, too : they are two—
knowledge and ignorance, *Vidyamaya* and
Avidyamaya. The one (ignorance) is vile and
extremely painful and has cast the ego into

the risk of worldly existence. The other
(knowledge) which brings forth the creation
and which holds sway over the three Gunas
(*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*) is directed by the
Lord and has no strength of its own.

Posing the question as to how the Jiva can
be freed from Maya, Tulsidas replies that it is
through spiritual wisdom. And again what is
spiritual wisdom ? Replies Tulsidas :

Spiritual wisdom is that which is free
from all blemishes in the shape of
pride, hypocrisy, violence and so on
and which sees the Supreme Spirit
equally in all.

Which is the path that the Jiva should
follow ? Like a true devotee Tulsidas has his
preference for *Bhakti* :

The path of knowledge is like the sharp
edge of a sword.

One can fall from this path in the twink-
ling of an eye.

But ignorance, the root of the round of
birth and death.

Is destroyed through *Bhakti* without
much effort.

The chief spiritual practice according to
Tulsidas is the *Japa* of the Divine Name.

The Lord's name—Rama—fulfills all the
desires and aspirations of the devotees
in this Iron Age. It destroys the direst
evil and turns poison into nectar.

He says :

I salute the Name of Rama.....which is
like Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, the soul
of the Vedas and without parallel.

Name and form are two attributes of God
who cannot be described. The forms of God
are dependent on His Name for no form can
be known without a name. But greater than
Brahman with or without attribute is His Name
because both can be known through constant
remembrance of the Name.

In a *Doha*—saying—the saint stresses this
point :

When meditation on the personal God is
distasteful,

And the impersonal too far away from
the mind,

Remember the life-giving name of Rama.

Tulsidas's poetry is unparalleled in its
depth and originality. When Rama meets
Valmiki in the forest and asks him to suggest
a place where he can build a hut and live
with Sita and Lakshmana for a while, among
other things, Valmiki said :

Those who have neither desire nor anger,
nor pride nor conceit nor delusion,
Those who are loved by all,

...
Those who look upon you as father, friend,
master,
Mother, and teacher, to whom you are
all in all,
Dwell in the temple of their hearts.

...
Those who never wish for anything,
Who love you quite naturally,
Live in their hearts for ever.
There is your home.

The Lord is pleased with the simple Bhakti of his devotee. Sri Rama, in the course of his wanderings comes to the cottage of Sabari. The maid had grown into an old woman waiting for him for years. Awaiting the arrival of Rama, she had preserved for him fruits which she first tasted and found to be sweet. Sri Rama comes. Tulsidas describes the scene in a touching way. Sri Rama is asking Sabari for those fruits and eating them with great relish. Tulsidas observes here very aptly:

The Lord is the enjoyer of great sacrifices. Yet remaining unsatisfied with those grand offerings. He feels satisfied and happy with the fruits offered by the poor forest devotee.

This aspect of Sri Rama reveals to the world that he dwells where there is love and becomes, as it were, a slave of this selfless love. The conversation that follows is also illuminating. The woman ascetic, Sabari, asks Sri Rama: 'How can I extol you, the lowest in descent and the duldest in wit as I am?' Raghupati replied: 'Listen O good lady, to my words. I recognise no other kinship, except that of devotion. Despite caste, kinship, lineage, piety, reputation, wealth, physical prowess, numerical strength of his family, accomplishment and ability, a man lacking in devotion is of no more worth than a cloud without water.' Then he told her of the nine forms of Devotion.

- (i) The first in order is fellowship with the saints (who are full of the spirit of God and remind one of God).
- (ii) The second is marked by the fondness for the stories of the Lord.
- (iii) The third is the humble service of the Lotus Feet of the preceptor.

(iv) The fourth consists in the singing of the praises of God with a guileless purpose.

(v) The fifth is repeating the Name of the Lord with unwavering faith.

(vi) The sixth consists of practice of self-control and virtues, desisting from manifold activities and ever pursuing the course of conduct prescribed for spiritual seekers.

(vii) The Seventh type is practised by him Who sees the world full of the Almighty without distinction and reckons the holy men as even greater than the Lord Himself.

(viii) The eighth type is to remain contented with whatever he gets and never thinks of detecting the faults of others.

(ix) The ninth form of devotion demands that one should be guileless and straight in one's dealings with everybody and should in his heart cherish implicit faith in the Lord without either exaltation or depression.

Whoever possesses any one of these nine forms of devotion, says Sri Rama, be he man or woman, or any other creation—sentient or insentient—is most dear to Him. (*Ayodhyakanda* 34-35).

The final step in the path of Bhakti is the soul's self-surrender to the Supreme Spirit, the Soul of all souls. We ordinary people make the ego the centre of our life—thoughts and activities. The devotee, on the other hand, makes God the centre. He offers himself—body, mind and soul—to the Supreme Spirit. As the ego dies God reveals Himself and makes the devotee realise his eternal relation to Him. As a devotee he is the humble servant of the Lord, as a soul he is an eternal portion of the Supreme Being. This is what exactly had happened to Tulsidas also. He realised that. He who was the son of Dasaratha was no other than the Self of all beings.

May we be able to pray with Tulsidas:

O Lord, you are the inmost Self of all. I tell you the truth, I do not cherish any worldly desire in my heart. Do you free my mind from passions and other impurities. Do you grant me intense devotion unto you.

(Courtesy: *Vedanta Kasari*).

Foreign Plays on Soviet Stage

By

Mr. SERGEI ESENIN

THE past decades have witnessed a cultural revolution in the Soviet land. The plays of Shakespeare or Goldoni may be viewed on the stages of the village theatres or even factory clubs.

This might seem incongruous at first, for what bearing, one would wonder, could the classics, depicting other times and other customs, have on the life of a collective farm tractor driver breaking virgin soil in Kazakhstan, or of a builder on the construction site of a new power plant on the Angara River? Nevertheless, the Soviet people observe the fate of King Lear and watch *La Donna di Garbo* with rapt attention; they are aware of the universal messages of these works, learn to know the workings of the human soul, to love the truth and despise what is evil.

The interest of the Soviet people in the culture of other countries is shown in the fact that there is a generous production of the works of world dramaturgy on the Soviet stage.

The works of Shakespeare enjoy wide popularity in the Soviet Union. In the first years of Soviet power the Grand Drama Theatre, founded in Petrograd in 1918, staged six plays of Shakespeare. In four years alone (1934-38) the Soviet theatres gave 297 performances of nineteen Shakespearean plays in the Russian language and 70 more performances in 22 other languages of the Soviet Union.

The same period saw the production of *Othello* by the Rustaveli Theatre in Tbilisi and of *Hamlet* at the Uzbek Khamza Theatre. The production of *Romeo and Juliet* by A. Popov on the stage of the Moscow Theatre of the Revolution was a highlight in the theatrical life of the country.

The most noteworthy productions of Shakespeare's comedies were those of *Much Ado About Nothing* at the Vakhtangov Theatre (directed by I. Rapoport), two vivid though differently handled productions of *The Taming of the Shrew* produced by A. Popov in Moscow and Y. Zavadsky in Rostov, and the exceptionally interesting production of *As You Like It* by

M. Knebel and N. Khmelev at the Moscow Yermolova Theatre.

In the years that followed, the Soviet theatre contributed new and vivid pages to the history of Shakespearean productions. Special mention must here be made of the production of *Anthony and Cleopatra* at the Kingisepp Theatre in Tallinn, Estonia, the production of *Hamlet* staged by the well-known director N. Okhlopkov at the Mayakovsky Theatre in Moscow, of *Macbeth* at the Maly Theatre and of *King Lear* at the Russian Theatre in Minsk.

Soviet theatre-goers are no less interested in Italian drama. The realism and democratic spirit of Carlo Goldoni harmonize particularly well with the work of the Soviet theatres; the 250th anniversary of the birth of the playwright was celebrated throughout the Soviet Union.

In Soviet times the works of Goldoni have been translated into many languages of the USSR and are running on the stages of the central and provincial theatres. The most popular Goldoni productions are *Servo di due paproni* and *La Donna di Garbo*. *La Bottega di Caffè* was produced not only on the Russian stage, but also in Tbilisi, Alma Ata, Riga, Kharkov, Minsk and other cities.

The fairy plays of Carlo Gozzi also are very popular in the Soviet Union. The famous *Princess Turandot*, which was staged by Yevgeni Vakhtangov in 1922 with great success, was a milestone in the history of Soviet theatre. This play has been produced many times and is still running in many theatres of the Soviet Union. Gozzi's other fairy tales, produced on the Soviet stage, include *The Green Bird*, *The Crow* and *King of the Deer*.

Classical dramaturgy has enjoyed considerable success on the Soviet stage. Lope de Vega's *La Fuente Ovejuna* was staged in Kiev by K. Mardjanov as far back as 1919, in the midst of the Civil War. That play indeed ran to forty-two performances, each terminating with stormy ovation. His lyrical and vital qualities have made Lope de Vega comprehensible and dear to the Soviet theatre-goer.

More than twenty of his comedies have been produced on the Soviet stage. Great interest too was evoked among theatre-goers in the large cities and provincial towns by Calderon's *Love Is No Joke* and *Don Hil's Green Trousers*, as well as by Tirso de Molina's *Devout Martha* and other Spanish plays.

The French classical dramaturgy occupies an important place in the repertoire of the Soviet theatre. No less than 16 plays of Moliere were staged in the years following the October Revolution. The most important production among Moliere's plays was undoubtedly that of *Tartufe* staged at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1939; it was the last production of K. Stanislavsky.

French drama is represented on the Soviet stage also by *Le Mariage de Figaro* by Beaumarchais, *Master of Green Cape* by Voltaire, *Stepmother* and *Thoughts of Kinoli* by Balzac, *Mary Tudor*, *Marion Delorm* and *Ruy Blas* by Hugo, *The Heirs of Rabourden* by Zola and many other works.

Of the British playwrights, besides Shakespeare, the closest to the Soviet theatres has been Bernard Shaw whose *Pygmalion* has been running on Soviet stages uninterruptedly for more than ten years. It has been produced in more than thirty cities and is one of the finest productions of the Maly Theatre in Moscow. *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, *Widower's Houses*, *The Devil's Disciple* and other works of the great playwright also had very successful runs.

The Soviet theatre-goers are familiar with Sheridan's plays, *The Rivals* and *The Duenna*, and, of course, the famous *School for Scandal* superbly produced by the Moscow Art Theatre.

Successful runs were also had by the comedies of Fielding, Goldsmith, adaptations of the novels of Dickens, the works of Galsworthy, Oscar Wilde and other British playwrights.

Speaking of the German classics, the first to be mentioned must be Schiller. Suffice it to say that his *Intrigue and Love* was staged by 230 theatres in Soviet times and that his *The Robbers*, *Don Carlos* and *William Tell* have been reappearing on the Soviet stage year after year.

The Soviet theatre has drawn frequently upon the works of the great Norwegian dramatist Henrik Ibsen. His most popular play in Soviet times was *A Doll's House* which ran in various theatres for many years, particularly at the Moscow Lenin Komsomol Theatre, with S. Giatsintova in the main role.

The Soviet theatre-goers have evinced lively interest in the classical works of antiquity, the ageless and superb works of art. The Muscovites have not forgotten *Electra* by Sophocles as presented on the stage of the Vakhtangov Theatre. Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* also had a very successful run at the Rustaveli Theatre in Tbilisi. The Pushkin Theatre in Moscow has been running the play *The White Lotus* based on *Mritchakatikam* (Little clay Cart) by the ancient Indian dramatist Shudraka. Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* is another gem from the ancient Indian dramaturgy which kept the Soviet theatre-goers spellbound.

Soviet interest in modern progressive dramaturgy of various countries is constantly on the uprise. Many theatres have been staging the works of the playwrights of China, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries. More and more works by modern foreign playwrights have been appearing in the repertoire of the Soviet theatre now advertising the names of such American playwrights as Lillian Hellman and Arthur Miller.

Lillian Hellman's *A Garden full of leaves* has run successfully for more than a year at the Moscow Art Theatre, while Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* has had runs on the stages of Leningrad and Vilnius. His more recent plays *Death of a Salesman* and *A View from the Bridge* and other works have attracted the attention of the theatres.

Other plays successfully produced are Stephen Zweig's *House by the Sea*, Jean Paul Sartre's *Lizzi Mackay*, John Priestley's *Dangerous Corner*, and *The Trees Die Upright* by the Spanish playwright Alexandro Casoni.

The Khamza Theatre in Uzbekistan, which staged an interesting production of *Daughter of the Ganges* (based on Rabindranath Tagore's *Nauka Dubi*) has produced an adaptation of the novel *The Tall House* by the Algerian writer Muhammad Dib; its new title is *Algiers, my Country*.

WORLD OF BOOKS

Akbar. Vols I and II. by Mr. Justice J. M. Shelat of the Bombay High Court. Price Rs. Two, per volume. Bhavan's Book University, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

As the Judge confesses in the Introduction 'almost everything in this book has been written elsewhere in a somewhat different way'. But he has given new colour and fresh flavour and thought-provoking slants to the old material. Volume I deals almost entirely with the conquest and consolidation of the Empire and is well-documented and accurate. Apparently (see p. 81) like Prime Minister Nehru, "he found no capable minister as otherwise the people would have considered Akbar's measures had been devised by the Minister." In Volume II, the most interesting thing is the fresh flavour brought by the Judge in his appreciation of the Din Ilahi and the Social Reforms. Nehru recently, according to Karanjia, has been in search of God and found Him in a Procreative Evolutionary Life Force. The Din Ilahi finally emerged partly for the deification of the Emperor but still more so to "have an effect entirely secular in nature and theme to give priority to loyalty to the throne even above religion, property, honour and life." Prime Minister Nehruji, like the Emperor Akbar, is being disillusioned as to the liberal secular outlook of even stalwarts like Maulana Azad and Jag Jivan Ram. In respect of social reforms, "a large number of regulations were promulgated touching almost all facets of life, and in such rapid succession that the reactionaries felt to their annoyance that the world of theocratic monopoly was giving way to a new world of modernism." How true is this also of the numerous measures introduced by Prime Minister Nehruji. The parallelism between the Emperor Akbar and the Uncrowned Prime Minister of the Indian Republic strikes us almost everywhere and in every way. The work ends rather in an anticlimax with repetitions of the speculation whether Akbar died a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian, and whether he was poisoned or accidentally poisoned himself. Altogether, the two volumes represent a masterly summing up by an acute legal mind of the facts and philosophy relating to the most interesting of Moghul Emperors. (T.S.R.)

A Book of Contemplation by Dagobert D. Runes; Philosophical Library, New York 83.

Maxims and aphorisms are not very plentiful in English though the works of Shakespeare and the classical authors are strewn with wise thoughts and witty sayings. Notwithstanding Bacon and possibly Wilde, few English writers are adepts in this line. They seem to do it better in France probably because the French language lends itself easily to this kind of writing. Here is a sheaf of thoughts culled by a philosopher with a turn for epigrammatic expression, though one would think they are rather pedestrian compared with the sure touch of the French Masters. Dr. Runes has something to say on every topic of interest and says it deftly and succinctly not unmingled with a spice of irony as he turns some of the hallowed concepts upside down. There is something refreshing in his swift paced criticism of accepted standards, and pungent half-truths revealing a facet of life not often noticed. There is also a pleasing variety in the thoughts, which for the convenience of the readers are presented in alphabetical order. There is something to be said for the thoughts conveyed in such sayings as :

- ♦ Absence increases fondness —and ends in forgetfulness.
- "Some argue to prove a point, others to prove themselves.
- "Genius may be novel but novelties are not genius.
- "To love people is to know them.
- "Live as you want to be remembered.
- "Happiness is not virtue but virtue brings happiness.
- "In the land of the one-legged, the two-legged is a cripple.
- "A wrong forgotten is a wrong set right."

These are nuggets of thought worth pondering over; and there are many such in this book of contemplation. It is altogether a pleasing collection.

Youth in Revolt. By Gleitman, Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

This attempts to show that the Communist attempt to indoctrinate the Hungarian Youth failed and that Hungary is now held only by Soviet Arms. As Admiral Brown said the other day the Third World War of Ideas and Offensive and Defensive Rearmament started in 1946 and is getting hotter.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- August 1. Swatantra Party's Preparatory Convention meets in Bombay: More than 750 delegates attend the session.
- August 2. Pak Army renews firing on Assam border.
— Vice-President Nixon leaves Moscow and arrives at Warsaw.
- August 3. Khrushchev accepts invitation to visit U.S.A. in September: And Ike agrees to visit Russia this autumn.
— Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh arrive in U. K. after their six-week tour of Canada.
- August 4. Acharya Vinoba Bhave announces at Srinagar that he is not in favour of the imposition of Co-operative Farming.
- August 5. Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference ends in Geneva.
- August 6. Talks on Canal Waters dispute open in London under the auspices of the World Bank.
- August 7. U. S. A. launches Explorer VI (Earth satellite) in space.
- August 8. President Eisenhower announces his forthcoming visits to London, Paris and Bonn.
- August 9. State Education Ministers meet in conference in New Delhi.
- August 10. Elections to the Pondy Representative Assembly begin to-day.
- August 11. Dr. Fidel Castro's government has foiled a conspiracy in Cuba to overthrow the regime.
- August 12. Queen appoints Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana a member of the Privy Council.
- August 13. Indian Atomic Energy Commission announces the erection of the first Atomic Power Station in the Sea Coast between Bombay and Ahmedabad.
- August 14. Central Japan experiences a severe typhoon, resulting in the death of many people and the missing of several hundreds.
- August 15. Independence day celebrations throughout India.
- August 16. Diplomatic relations between U. A. R. and Jordan are resumed.
- August 17. Congress gains absolute majority in the Pondicherry Assembly elections.
- August 18. Earthquake havoc in United States; many feared dead and more than 150 trapped in Butte (Montane)
- August 19. Baghdad Pact is given a new name as Central Treaty Organisation and the H.Q. is transferred from Iraq to Ankara.
- August 20. Lok Sabha approves President's proclamation and consequent rule in Kerala.
- August 21. Sir Jacob Epstein, world famous sculptor is dead.
- August 22. Syed Fazl Ali, Governor of Assam is dead.
- August 23. Mr. A. P. Jain, Food Minister of Govt. of India resigns.
- August 24. Mr. S. K. Patil takes over Food Portfolio.
- August 25. U. S. A. announces suspension of nuclear tests for another 5 months.
- August 26. Ike arrives at Bonn and confers with Dr. Adenauer.
- August 27. Ike arrives in London and meets Mr. Macmillan.
- August 28. Chinese aggression on Indian territory is reported.
— India protests to Peking Govt.
- August 29. Indian army assumes responsibility to protect NEFA border.
— Ike meets the Queen of England.
- August 30. Dalai Lama announces decision to take the Tibetan issue to U. N.
- August 31. Dr. P. Subbarayan is appointed Minister for Transport in the Union Government.

READERS' DIGEST

THE McMAHON LINE

Mr. Nehru won applause from all parties in the Lok Sabha last month by repeating that the Indian government regarded the McMahon Line as India's firm northern frontier which it would defend at all costs. He added that Chou En-lai had given him the impression that he accepted this frontier with one or two small modifications. There were merely a few small areas in that line, or elsewhere in the frontier, where some arguments of detail had occasionally arisen; on these, discussions would continue without affecting the main part of the McMahon Line. As to rumours which he had heard of Communist speeches in Lhasa threatening the security of Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and Ladakh, he had not found any evidence to support them. There were large Chinese forces in Tibet; they had come there during the rebellion, but he did not think that Chinese forces were concentrated on India's frontiers."

The above from an Editorial in the *New Statesman* of August 22, on the Frontier question between India and China is of topical interest. The paper continues:

The persistent parliamentary questions, the headlines of newspapers, are not stimulated by any present menace, but by the desire of the Prime Minister's enemies to make the most of his very real anxieties. China has certainly given them their chance. The thousands of Tibetan refugees now in India have told stories, probably exaggerated but no doubt basically true, of Chinese violence in colonising their country; the complaints of Indian subjects still in Tibet, the failure of the Chinese to reply to Nehru's repeated protests about Chinese maps which show bits of Indian territory as Chinese, the charges in the Chinese press of 'Indian Imperialism'—all these have ended the 'Bandung period' of relations between the two countries. Those who both fear Communist China and want to discredit Nehru can ask with disagreeable force whether China is really observing the 'five principles of co-existence' or whether Nehru has been cozened by Chou En-lai.

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The McMahon Line is a good general test of the sincerity of Chou En-lai's expressions of friendship. It can be raised as an argument if Peking wishes, or it can be used as a final guarantee of peace if that is Chou En-lai's mood. The McMahon Line was marked out on a map by the British plenipotentiary to the Simla Conference in 1913-1914. Extending for 850 miles from the west end of Bhutan into Upper Burma, it runs along a little known and largely inaccessible mountain range. (It is the eastern part of this 'undemarcated' frontier.) It was selected arbitrarily on the basis that it stood back about a hundred miles from the plains of India.

The explorations of the two previous years had given Sir Charles Bell, Britain's adviser at the Simla Conference, sufficient information to identify the boundary line in general terms. It was not defined in precise geographical terms, but Bell drew on a map a thick red line, and this was subsequently agreed to with small modifications by the Tibetan delegate, Prime Minister Sha-tra. The Chinese representative first initialled the Simla Convention, which carried the map, accepting this rough line as the Indo-Tibetan boundary. Two days later, however, the Chinese government told its representative that he must not proceed to a formal signature.

The McMahon Line has never been demarcated on the ground, but it has remained the frontier which India inherited from Britain in 1947. Thus, if Chou En-lai wishes to increase tension in India and to aid those who fear China and want to embarrass Nehru, he can declare that this line is an inheritance from British imperialism. If his object is to continue the present gigantic development of China while remaining on good terms with a non-committed India, then he can agree with Nehru on the wisdom of broadly accepting the McMahon Line and be content with the minor adjustments which Nehru has already mentioned."

The Price of a Wife. By Justice G. D. Khosla. Jaico Publishing Co, Bombay, Rs. 2-50.

Justice Khosla has a versatile pen. He had written a good number of stories published in Newspapers and Magazines. The publishers have brought out these stories in a handsome book form. The stories deal with many aspects of Indian life. They are quite good and one derives joy and cheer as when one goes through its pages.

The Man in the Iron Mask. By Alexandre Dumas. Jaico publishing House, Bombay Rs. 2-50.

The plot and the story and the characters presented indeed have the Dumas touch and this magnificent story beautifies history with romance. It is a book worth reading and re-reading also.

The Hindu Philosophy. By Theos Bernard, M. A. Phd. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, Rs. 3.

This book gives in brief the essence of the six well known classic systems of Hindu Philosophy. The author has added another to its fold namely "Kashmir Saivism". The erudite scholar in the preparation of this handy volume has mainly relied on the writings of recognised authorities in Hindu Philosophy. The notes and glossary add to the value of the book.

Pregnancy and Birth. By Alan F. Guttmacher. Published by The New American Library, New York. Price 50c.

A story is told that when warned of his approaching end by his doctor Mark Twain struck the bedside table and asserted "That is the last thing I shall ever do Doctor".

Conversely being born as a live baby is the first thing a man (or a woman) does and consequently it is the most important event in his or her life.

Any book which deals with pregnancy and Birth is therefore of abiding interest particularly to expectant parents who, having initiated the proceedings would like to know how things develop and what they can do to avoid mishaps.

Dr. Guttmacher's book which is a clear exposition of the developments that take place from the time an enterprising spermatozoon penetrates the ovum and fertilises it, makes interesting reading.

Chapters on Pre-natal care, management of Pregnancy, convalescence from confinement, what to do with baby and finally planning should be of particular interest to the Expectant Parents.

Dadabhai Naoroji. By R. P. Masani, Mysore Kavya-laya Publishers. Price : Rs. 2.50—Cloth Rs. 4.00.

Dadabhai Naoroji, whom Gandhiji called 'The Father of the Nation' in his Hind Swaraj, led a long and fruitful life. He was Professor, Preaching Friar, Member of Parliament, Minister in various phases of his life. He was thorough with a thoroughness which is impossible in these days of tabloid journalism. He was radiant in retirement and his life passed to its close on the eve of the Declaration of August 20th, 1917. He emphasized what Gandhiji emphasized and what all lovers of English emphasized that the English language and the English principles are quite different from British imperialist rule and imperialist economic exploitation.

Ramana Maharshi and the path of self-knowledge. By Arthur Osborne. Jaico Publishing House, 7, Imperial Bank Lane, Madras 2. Rs. 2-50.

Bhagvan Sri Ramana Maharshi is one of India's foremost spiritual teacher. Sri Bhagavan has attracted several people from the West and many have spent some time with him in his Ashram at Thiruvannamalai. The writer is an Englishman and ardent disciple of the Bhagvan. He records Bhagvan's spiritual power and beauty. Different aspects of the life of the Bhagvan from his childhood are portrayed faithfully. The book is of absorbing interest and one finds solace and happiness in the pages.

Force Versus Food : Studies in Contemporary Communism. By Robert H. Bass. Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7.

This attempts to show that Communist technology of Agricultural Production with its salient four points of "public" ownership of land, "co-operative" farming, pooling of supply of aids to improved agriculture, and centralised state-wide state-controlled collection of the product may be admirable as technological development but fails as real economic development benefiting the tiller by and large.

Where Angels Sell Eggs and other Stories. By Prof. N. S. Phadke. Rs. 2/- Jaico Publishing House, 7, Imperial Bank Lane, Madras 2.

These 18 short stories are contributions to various journals and now presented in book form. The characterisation and description of events are highly fascinating. Written in chaste language the writer is also a discerning critic. This is an enjoyable book.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

TIBET

RESTRICTIONS ON INDIANS

The Chinese authorities have advised Indians not to visit Tibet on pilgrimage or otherwise.

In a note to the Indian Consul General in Lhasa recently, the Chinese authorities had warned that since the Chinese were taking strong military action against the rebels, Indians were advised not to visit Tibet for security reasons.

"Anyone visiting Tibet in spite of the warning will do so at his own risk and the Chinese Government accepts no responsibility for his safety," the note added.

Indians already in Tibet were advised to remain indoor and not to move out without permission of the authorities, it was further learnt.

CEYLON

INDIAN ORIGIN RESIDENTS

The 19th annual session of the Ceylon Democratic Congress led by Mr. A. Aziz was held at Angappa Nagar, Yatiyantota, on Aug. 24.

The Congress adopted a resolution calling upon the Ceylon Government to take immediate action to solve the citizenship problems of the Indian origin settlers in Ceylon on the basis of free choice of nationality. The resolution urged the Government to announce forthwith its proposed scheme of "inducements" and fix a time limit for such of those who wished to opt for the Indian nationality and discuss details of the scheme with leaders representing the plantation workers.

KENYA

INDIAN WOMEN'S STATUS

Indian women in Kenya will, for the first time, be given the right to sue for separation and divorce under a Government Bill to be introduced in the Kenya Legislative Council.

The new legislation follows complaints by Indian women's organisations that the present law is unfair and confusing and that as a result much dissatisfaction and domestic troubles have to be encountered.

It is believed that the proposed legislation will make polygamy illegal. Grounds for divorce, which either party may have recourse to, include change of religion, adultery, cruelty and impotency.

MALAYA

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

The Malayan High Commissioner in India Mr S. Chelvasingam Macintyre, said at Bombay on August 16 that the Malayan Government was pursuing a progressive policy of citizenship by which all nationals of foreign descent considering Malaya a political homeland could be recognised as Malayan citizens.

Speaking at a reception given in his honour by Dr. K.A. Hamied, President, Indo-Malaya Society, the Malayan envoy said that the ties between India and Malaya had been friendly and cordial for many years.

The immigration of people from India to Malaya showed the further strengthening of the bonds of friendship. The visit of President Rajendra Prasad to Malaya last year, the first head of the foreign country to visit Malaya since Malaya's independence, he said, had brought the two countries nearer.

SINGAPORE

CHETTIAR FIRMS

The *Free Press*, a Singapore daily, reports that about 100 Chettiar money-lending firms in Singapore with an estimated capital of \$1.5 million (Rs. 23.4 lakhs) are expected to wind up their business when the new Money-lending (Amendment) Bill becomes law.

The Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly last month.

Members of the Nattukottai Chettiars' Chamber of Commerce are reported to have told the *Free Press* that small firms with capital between \$10,000 (Rs. 15,000) to \$20,000 (Rs. 30,000) each would not be able to carry on under the new law. The Bill slashes interest rates from 48 per cent to 18 on unsecured loans and from 36 to 12 on secured loans.

S. AFRICA

UN-EMPLOYED INDIANS

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, South African Prime Minister, said in the Assembly last month that care of the Indians in South Africa was on the shoulders of those who were so anxious to look after them.

The Prime Minister was discussing the unemployment position in the country and was replying to Sir De Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, who had stated that unemployment among Indians in South Africa was greater than Government figures indicated.

PRESIDENT'S RULE IN KERALA

"It will be a far-sighted move on the part of the Congress High Command to agree to suspend the working of the Congress organisation in Kerala if other non-Communist parties and groups agree to do so for a definite period, say five years. If no such move takes place, it may be desirable to continue Presidential rule till the national general elections in the beginning of 1962," says Mr. K. Santhanam writing in the Independence Day issue of the *Mail*. The article is entitled "How long President's rule in Kerala? A suggestion."

Now that Presidential rule has been established in Kerala, there are two major issues before the Central Government. How long should it continue? Should there be a high level inquiry regarding the charges made against the Nambudiripad Ministry? Regarding the latter, there is some substance in the Prime Minister's argument that an inquiry will prevent a settling down of the people to normal life. On the other hand, unless the charges as well as the methods adopted by the opposition are subjected to an impartial investigation, a repetition of those unfortunate events in other States may be encouraged.

The events in Kerala have provided an unique opportunity to evolve proper conventions relating to the functioning of democratic Governments including the duties and powers of the Governor to deal with difficult situation. I feel, therefore, that after allowing some time for the restoration of normal Government, an inquiry should be made on such issues as party interference in executive or judicial administration, suspicious distribution of contracts and the Ministry's relations with the Governor and the facilities for the Governor to keep in touch with the officials and Opposition groups.

The Constitution provides that Presidential rule may be extended up to three years, by six months at a time, by resolutions passed by both Houses of Parliament. It is doubtless desirable to end it as soon as possible but hasty general election resulting in the reproduction of the very state of affairs which necessitated Presidential intervention have to be avoided. If the parties which joined together to pull down the Communist Ministry can join together in a national party, temporarily at least, it will facilitate early general elections.

It may be desirable, concludes Mr. Santhanam, to hold those elections in 1961 when

the second Five-year Plan will come to an end. If the plan periods can coincide with the normal periods of legislatures, it will be a great convenience. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that Presidential rule will succeed in purifying the administrative machinery of Kerala without slowing down economic development."

STATE TRADING

Writing to the press on "State Trading" Mr. C. Rajagopalachari says:

"Can there be anything more foolish than the idea that the State should take up trading? There is a Gujarati proverb which says that 'when the State takes to trade the people take to begging.' Is there any justification for the exaggerated fears that are deliberately propagated about hoarding and cornering.

Look at the situation. We have a large body of people, who are eager to compete and to share in the profits of trading in food grains. We have a very large body of people engaged and willing to be engaged in competing with one another in wholesale business and in retail business. Competition is the best security for the consumer. And if the State stops this competition and takes over the business, will there be any freedom for the consumer?

Look at the nature of the commodity. The bulky nature of the commodity of food grains should be kept in mind before you talk about hoarding and cornering and things like that. The nature of the commodity is such that it will deteriorate, the rats and the mice will attack it, and the moths will attack it, if it is secreted and kept for a long time.

Under these circumstances, if there is free competition among a large class of people who are not well off, who all want to make something out of it, and who are ready to compete with one another in the wholesale business and in the retail business, is there any likelihood of the consumer being cheated?

I think the stories of cornering and hoarding have been greatly exaggerated when related to the food grains. In food grains, the quality is such that we need not be afraid. Therefore, State Trading in food grains has no justification.

Look at the other result. It will put out of employment those who are now doing the work of distribution on the most frugal terms. Compare the position of any member of the bureaucracy—even the lower division clerk, if you like. How frugally the shopkeepers do

their work, how simply they live, and how vigilant and just they are. We should have industries started to accommodate and give work for all these people before you deprive them of their occupation. When these people are dividing the profits of trade in a fair way, they are doing unconscious socialism which you want to introduce by legislation. The profits in the trade are divided among so many people. Why do you stop that division before you create industries to absorb those people. It is not a good thing to put the cart before the horse, and that is what is being done.

THE OXFORD CONFERENCE

It was a British newspaper columnist who said that he preferred to cover the Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford rather than the Geneva Conference. In the perspective of history, comments *Thought* the interchange at Oxford represents an endeavour much more abiding and promising than the Geneva pourparlers.

The "East-West" exchanges at Geneva are no doubt intended to reduce the threat that looms large in this, the nuclear age. As such they have their importance. But in the ultimate analysis, it is on the working out of the premises and prerequisites of freely contracted, mutually helpful, inter-change between the geographical, and not political, East and the West that one might look for the spelling out of the contents and contours of peace in the basic sense of the term. And it is in the cultural—one might even say, spiritual—spheres that these pre-requisites are best obtained—to begin with, as well as permanently."

There are distinctions, says *Thought*, that clearly mark out the Orient or the East from the Occident or the West; and these distinctions are vital.

"Nevertheless, even at the risk of stating something that may appear to be banal, it is a moot question if those distinctions are not very much like what distinguish the different members of a family. The great merit of the Oxford meet is that it is an attempt to re-enliven this fact at a time when the predominant strains seem to pull in a different direction, although science and technology have blurred out distances, even distances of time. That the initiative for this attempt should have been taken by Britain also seems natural. For the bulk of the Orient, Britain and the English language have been and are the most common media for

contact and concourse with the Occident. And as one commentator has picturesquely remarked, the Commonwealth, more than anything else, serves as the invisible ink, so to say, with which the story of the Orient's tryst with the Occident has hitherto been written."

Not inappropriately, while addressing the conference at Oxford, Prof. N. K. Siddhanta recalled that a somewhat unfortunate fact was that in recent decades this has largely been an affair of a one-way traffic—of students and teachers going to Britain from the Commonwealth countries.

"With the increasing coming into their own of several Commonwealth countries that have lately become independent, even this one-way traffic is, moreover, likely to slow down: the lure of material gains from a British or foreign education is already on the wane in India and may be expected to wane likewise in other Asian and African countries of the Commonwealth. The question, therefore, is, what must or could be the substitute for this one-way traffic? Dr A. Lakshmanswamy Mudaliar, the leader of the Indian delegation, indirectly provided an answer to this question. He recalled that until the Edwardian times there was a continuous flow of British educationists and sons of cultured families "to older civilizations to complete their education." Some of that earlier traffic from Britain clearly needs to be revived."

BORDER VIOLATIONS

In Kashmir there has been another violation of the cease-fire line on June 23 when Pakistani troops opened fire on ten Indian soldiers drawing water from a spring, killing two. In the Patharia Hills sector, in East Pakistan, again there has been Pakistani firing. This is said to be the ninth violation by Pakistan of the ninth cease-fire agreement. While in Kashmir there are UN Observers to prevent violations of the line, in the eastern frontier there is no one to watch the actions of the Pakistani border force. This has encouraged the latter to indulge in continuous provocative action says a Columnist in the *Hindustan Times*. "It is time the Government of India abandoned their attitude of passivity in face of provocation and told Pakistan in clear language that in case the firings continued they would be free to take such action as they might desire to end this nuisance."

INDIAN DANCE IN U. K.

Remarking on the growing dance links between India and Britain, "The Times," in a recent editorial declared :

"It is time now that our Royal Ballet was seen in the great sub-continent and more than time that London set about providing some kind of facilities in which smaller dance troupes from India and other Commonwealth countries can be seen to advantage."

The journal recalled that properly informed United Kingdom interest in Indian dancing dates from Pavlova's missionary journeys to India during the twenties when Uday Shankar taught her its elements and danced opposite her in her "Radhakrishna."

Through her oriental ballets, Pavlova conveyed to Europe something of the spirit and meaning of the ancient languages of Indian dancing. More than that the interest of the great ballerina helped arouse in India itself a new awareness of its dance tradition.

Uday Shankar became a missionary of dance, touring the world with his own company founding a school in India. It was to him, therefore, that the British owed their introduction to an art far removed from the ballet.

The journal went on to say that it fell to Ram Gopal to teach them the detail of this language and later, following Gopal and his partner, Miss Kumudini, came Shankar again, Mrinalini Sarabhai, Shanta Rao and others. Their visits enriched the dance life of London.

ASIAN RECORDER

A well conceived and neatly executed record of events of outstanding interest in Asia is the *Asian Record* a weekly published at 6, Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi. It is something like a lawyers' digest, easy for reference as a ready reckoner and useful particularly to journalists, publicists and legislators interested in public affairs. Now that Asia is pulsating with a new life and its doings are of far reaching importance in world context a periodical summary of events, country by country in Asia, of salient economic and political happenings fulfils a great need. The annual subscription of Rs. 95, though with quarterly and annual indices and a cover for binding, may not be within reach of all but libraries and public institutions will greatly benefit by the inclusion of such a periodical in their shelves.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

"In the form in which the Statement of Principles—21 in all—was finally adopted by the Bombay Convention, there is enough to satisfy all sections of society—the agriculturist, the industrialist, the trade, and the professional man," says "Croesus" writing in the "Eastern Economist." To the agriculturists it holds out the assurance that there will be "no disturbance of ownership, management, and cultivation of land", as also the promise of a more effective programme in regard to regular supply of seeds, manure, implements, etc., as well as credit and marketing facilities. Even while extending all assistance, the Party is averse to too much of interference in particular on the organisational side, such as by the formation of co-operative farms. In its considered opinion, "cultivation through organisation, which reduce private ownership to empty paper title and which bring into being a loose kind of multiple ownership which is certain to sap the incentive of farmer and his family, reduce output and take us to a collective economy with official management" is not at all suited to the genius of this country.

To the industrialist, says the writer, there is a lot in the statement of principles that should commend itself. Apart from the firm belief of the Party generally that "the progress, welfare and happiness of the people depend on individual incentive, enterprise and energy," there is a specific clause which assures to industry "incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise." And, inasmuch as this is subject to "adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends where there is no competition, or where competition does not secure the necessary corrective," there is no scope for exploitation of either labour or consumer. Similarly, though the Party stands for the minimum of State intervention in industrial and trading spheres, it cannot be said to favour 'laissez faire'. For nowhere in the Statement of Principles is it stated that it will denationalise the nationalised sectors. In fact, it has given Railways as an illustration of national service which should be run by the State. Nor is the party opposed to the State taking to such heavy industries as are necessary to supplement private enterprise in that field or to the starting of new enterprises which are difficult

for private initiative. In a way, this represents more or less the position under the first Statement on Industrial Policy of the present Government which proceeded on the assumption of mixed economy as the accepted economic pattern for the country. It is also a clearer and more honest definition of mixed economy than the present industrial policy which, while paying lip sympathy to mixed economy, has not prevented the encroachment of the State sector into spheres normally regarded as the concern of private enterprise.

As regards traders, the Party is opposed to state entering the field of trade. The party is convinced that state trading leads to more controls and wasteful and inefficient official management." This is bound to be more and not less with the acceptance of the new concept of some of our planners that State projects should no longer be bound down by the "no-loss-no-profit" maxim, as hitherto. With the acceptance of the new concept, it would be moonshine to expect an economic price to the producer and a reasonable price to the consumer. Moreover, even after giving a lower price to the producer and charging a higher price to the consumer, it is not certain that the resultant profit would go to the Exchequer. For the new bureaucracy to be set up to run the State trading machinery might absorb all this profit.

To the professionals, the middle classes and the housewife, a source of considerable comfort would be the assurance of the Party to hold the price line, to reduce Government expenditure and thereby bring down the present crippling levels of taxation. In particular, these sections will wholeheartedly endorse clause 14, which says: "The Party is opposed to all policies that lead to excessive inflation, high prices that reduce the value of savings endowments, and fixed incomes, and which create undue hardship for the present generation in the hope of a distant gain."

On the whole, concludes the writer, the statement of principles as adopted in Bombay may be described as the sheet anchor of individual enterprise based on incentives and faith in the good nature of man.

TRIALS OF AN INDIAN SCIENTIST

The Spring Number of *The Visvabharati* is a memorial volume with letters and articles by Jagadis Chandra Bose and Bepin Chandra Pal whose Birth centenary was celebrated last year. Rabindranath's own Birth centenary comes off in May 1961. It is therefore fitting that letters exchanged between the Scientist and poet should find place in this issue. Bose and Pal were both brilliant sons of Renascent Bengal and they left indelible impress of their genius and personality in some of the progressive trends of what constitutes the heritage of India. The letters and articles illustrate their intimacy of contact with the life and work of Tagore.

We have in their letters interesting sidelights of the trials and difficulties Bose had to undergo before his great discoveries and inventions were accepted by leading scientific academies in London and Paris. Here is one incident characteristic of the western approach.

"Shortly before my lecture I received a telegram from the millionaire-proprietor of a well-known Electrical concern saying that he wanted to see me. I replied that I had no time, to which he responded by wiring that he was coming over himself, and arrived soon after with a patent form in his hand. He entreated me not to reveal all the secrets of my discoveries in my lecture that day—"There is money in it; let me take out a patent for you. You do not know what money you are throwing away," etc., adding of course, "I will only take a half share of the profits—I will finance it," etc."

"This millionaire had come to me like a beggar to add a little more to his millions. My friend, if you had only seen the terrible, all-devouring greed for money, and more money, in this country. If I once get caught within this mill-stone, there is no hope of escape for me. You see, I regard the work in which I am engaged as far higher than a mere business enterprise involving financial gain or loss. The days of my life are growing fewer; I am hard-pressed for time to say what I have to say. So I did not agree to the proposal. But the representatives of many electrical companies had come to hear me speak, and I am sure they would have had no hesitation in decamping with my instruments if they had the chance. The notes on my table, which I had prepared for my assistant, disappeared! There were thus many obstacles before him."

INDUS WATERS AND PAK DEBT

The official statement on the outcome of the World Bank Team's recent talks said that there was some prospect of settlement. The agreement on canal waters has been made possible because, as *The Economic Weekly* points out, because the cost of disagreement has gone on rising till it has now become absolutely crushing.

"India's contribution to the Indus Development Fund, it is claimed, is not unduly large", though it is apparent that it is going to be larger, perhaps much larger, than the amount that India was initially willing to pay. If this amount has to be paid into the Fund immediately on completion of the agreement, or in instalments spread over a short period, and if, further, it has to be paid in freely convertible currency as Pakistan is reported to have demanded, the burden on the country's resources will be heavy indeed. In drawing up a picture of the resources position for the Third Plan, this will have to be taken into consideration.

ENDS AND MEANS

The Common belief that ends justify means is subjected to a searching criticism by Dr. V. V. Bhat in the *Aryan Path*. This belief is based on the assumption that good ends can be attained indifferently by good or bad means. They even seem to believe that good ends can be attained more speedily by using bad means than good.

"One can give countless examples from the hoary past, but let us limit ourselves only to two world-shaking revolutions; for they attempted the solution of the very problems which we are called upon to face today—the French and the Russian Revolutions. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity were the ends that the former sought. To end all exploitation, to establish a classless society of the free and the equal, to restore the dignity of human life, were the aims of the Russian Revolution. They tried to attain these ends by means of violence and bloodshed. With what results? Individual liberty was the first victim of a ruthless dictatorship, which created inequalities far more glaring than existed before. The gorgeous dream of liberty was shattered by the very means adopted. The beautiful vision of a society of the free and the equal was blotched with blood.

It is, in fact, contrary to all modes of rational thinking, to hope for a new era of love by engendering the sense of hatred.

"It is futile to think of a beautiful plant blossoming out of a rotten seed. However good the imagined end, it is the means that give it colour and shape. If you want a good plant, the seed also must be good. However unpalatable, then, the conclusion is inevitable. Good ends require equally good means for their attainment, if the means used determine the nature of the final result achieved. However good the imagined end, its goodness is powerless to counteract the effects of the bad means used to reach it. What we attain by bad means is not the end envisaged but a perversion of it."

THE CHALLENGE IN FREE ASIA

Chester Bowles, former U. S. Ambassador in India, writing in *The New Leader* says that the United States must find a helpful new approach to the future of free Asia.

"May not Asian countries with an increasing sense of their common destiny and danger draw closer together when the power of an increasingly mature America is held discreetly in the background?"

If there is to be peace and orderly growth in South Asia, the countries of this critical area must realize that their freedom can only be assured by coordinated efforts.

Rapid social and economic change must be encouraged. Investment must be stepped up. Social inequities must be eliminated or mitigated. And the yearnings of both educated men and villagers must be recognized."

If the local leaders themselves catch the vision of reform, make serious plans, and create the minimal governmental techniques to train their people, outside resources may indeed make the difference between success and failure.

"But without such initiative from local leaders, no amount of American aid can rescue the situation. And this demonstrates how our future, too, is linked with the quality of leadership and the foresight of Asia's new leaders.

If South Asia responds to the need for domestic change and progress and for regional co-operation, it need not be forced into the Chinese orbit by direct military pressure; nor need it be drawn into it by subversion, for lack of real alternatives at home.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

In a well-merited tribute to Sir John Marshall and his archaeological work in India Mr. G. N. Das says in *The Statesman* that in addition to Buddhist sites Marshall excavated at other historic centres like Pataliputra, Bhita and Taxila.

"I was associated with the excavations at Taxila in 1944 and the almost unending panorama of historic ruins, brought to light by the devoted labours of Marshall during the field seasons 1913 to 1934, have left an indelible impression on my mind. "There can be few archaeologists now living," he wrote, "who have devoted as many years to the excavation of a single site as I have devoted to Taxila. The manifold discoveries made in the course of those 22 years have thrown a flood of new light on the political and religious history of the North West and in many respects revolutionized our knowledge of its material culture during lengthy periods between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D."

"Between 1902 and 1905 Marshall undertook many conservation jobs all over the country, of which a few important ones may be mentioned. The broken marble lintels of the Dilwara Temples at Abu were repaired without harm to the traceries; so also the top storey of the Tower of Fame at Clitor Fort. The fine temple architecture at Khajuraho received considerable attention. The Mughal Gardens at the Delhi Fort, with their fountains, flower beds and the like, which had suffered much damage since the days of the Mutiny, were restored. The shining marbles of the Pearl Mosque, Lahore, which was used as a treasury, were disclosed to view. "At the Taj Mahal," writes Marshall, "we cleared the approaches of squalid bazaars, opened out and rebuilt the ruined colonnades of the forecourt, restored the tombs of the maids-of-honour as well as the Fatehpuri Masjid, and laid out the forecourt itself with lawns and trees; and in the inner precincts of the great mausoleum we refaced most of the ruined Jawab, and restored the whole garden, with its pavilions, water course and fountains as nearly as possible to its original condition."

MILL'S THEORY OF EDUCATION

If James Mill's scheme of education was mainly utilitarian, his son John Stuart Mill propounded a more liberal scheme. He stood for a scheme that must provide for a balance between literary and scientific education. He laid stress on history and the classics and poetry as well. And then education in a democratic order, he said is to act as the agency for creative citizenship. Discussing this aspect in the *Calcutta Review* Prof. Sobhanlal Mookerjee observes:

"Mill now voices the demand, "universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement". He values Education so much that he insists on Adult Education, that is, on a knowledge of the three R's before there is provision for Adult Franchise. In other words, he wants to make Education one of the tests of the voting-right. In various passages of his book, *Utilitarianism*, he remarks that a broad-based education-policy and better social arrangements are necessary so that each citizen has the fullest opportunities to foster the higher and intellectual types of pleasures and thus realise his true self. Mill has also a profound faith in the efficacy of Education as a preventive to increased population for, it will provide the masses with a strong common sense. "The aim of all intellectual training for the mass of the people should be", he suggests, "to cultivate common sense; to qualify them for having a sound practical judgment of the circumstances by which they are surrounded". Last, but not the least, Mill is so very eager for the spread of Education that he is ready even to compromise his position as an individualist by admitting the need for its being controlled by the State and its being made compulsory and free. This, he is sure, is no fatal jump towards collectivism; for, he believes, "the only security against political slavery, is the check maintained over governors, by the diffusion of intelligence, activity and public spirit among the governed".

Such is Mill's comprehensive theory of Education. Its supreme importance lies in its emphasis on Education as an instrument for the moral and intellectual development of the citizens. It is utilitarian in so far as it aims at the gradual, all-round development of a liberal mind receptive of all types of higher pleasures.

PAK TURNING TO DEMOCRACY

It is now over six months since Pakistan came under dictatorship. There is no knowing as yet what its future constitutional set-up would be. It looks as if the present military rule will continue for quite some time. "At the same time," says a weekly from Delhi recently,

"it is becoming evident that, for different reasons including Pakistan's association with Western democracies, it would not be easy or politic for it to continue in its present anomalous political arrangement. What the thinking of Pakistan's present leaders is seems clear from the reported 'four tier plan' for union panchayats described as the units of 'basic democracy'. The proposed panchayats will consist of elected representatives on the basis of one member for every 1,000 to 1,500 people, in addition to nominated members. The number of the nominated members would be restricted to one-third of the total strength of a panchayat, mainly to cover 'special interests such as agriculture, labour and women'.

The communique issued by the Pakistan Government after the conference recently held under the chairmanship of General Ayub Khan at Nathiagali also mentions the possibility of the panchayat elections being supervised by an election commission. And then laconically the communique observes:

"In case the new constitution provides for indirect elections to Parliament or to the office of President, the panchayats might well form the electoral colleges for such elections", only elected members of panchayats being eligible to participation."

The intention of Pakistan's present leaders clearly seems to be to have a pyramidal constitutional structure. The village panchayats will elect tehsil councils, the tehsil councils the district councils and the district councils the divisional councils.

"To be sure, the proposed constitutional changes in Pakistan are short of direct democracy as we have it in India. Our State legislatures and Parliament are directly elected by the people. And indirect democracy is sometimes held to be, not wholly without reason, as less than full democracy. But it has been noticed that where public opinion is extremely volatile or subject to pulls and pressures not germane to commonweal, the next best thing to direct democracy is indirect democracy of the kind apparently envisaged for Pakistan."

YOUTH AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Mr. Ram Singh, Editor of *Thought*, has been giving his impressions of a recent visit to England in a series of interesting articles in his paper. A keen observer of the political scene his views on the reaction of youth to the dominant parties in England may be of interest to Indian readers. He says 'The National Executive of the Labour Party noted in its last annual report that there are now 268 youth sections and 159 youth organizations' under Labour's influence and took comfort in the fact that though the number of sections had decreased the number of youth organizers of the Party had increased, which was, as a political correspondent in *The Times* said "another way of saying that the more Labour try to inspire the young the less they prosper".

The Young Conservative Movement on the other hand claims a prouder record.

"Indeed in the various centres of learning in the United Kingdom, the Conservatives today have an appeal comparable, if not superior, to the Labour Party's soon after the last war. At Oxford, the Conservative Association has a membership of over 2,000, compared to the Labour's 1,200 and the Liberal's 800; and in Cambridge, a recent survey showed 48 per cent of undergraduates as Conservatives, 14 per cent as Labour and 20 per cent as Liberal. What is surprising and eloquent is that the scholarship boys and girls from working class homes, free from the guilt complex of the thirties, and sure of merit, do not necessarily give their loyalty to the party of the underprivileged as the Labour Party was known in the days of George Lansbury and Ernest Bevin. This led one notable Labour critic to remark that the Labour Party was "failing to give us a focus". His explanation was that "the facts of our own lives and experience seem to contradict the overall image and purpose" provided by the Labour militants like Mr. Bevan. He spoke of the youth's "disillusion" with the Labour Party—the disillusion that comes from the crumbling of the old, comprehensive political philosophies and dreams."

This is indeed a saddening commentary, he says, not the least enlivened by the fact that the average age of the Labour Party in Parliament is slightly higher than that of the Conservative Party.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE TIBETAN ISSUE

On the 30th of August the Dalai Lama announced his decision to take the Tibetan issue to the United Nations.

In a signed statement, issued to the Press in Delhi, the Dalai Lama also appealed to "all the civilised countries of the world" for support to his cause.

The Dalai Lama said that in view of the picture of Tibet becoming "immeasurably darker and gloomier" and sufferings of his people going "beyond description" he was left with no alternative but to appeal to the United Nations for its verdict.

The statement, signed by the Dalai Lama and brought to Delhi in a cover by a special messenger, was opened in the presence of a large number of Indian and foreign correspondents.

The statement said: "On the twentieth of June last I was impelled immediately by the steadily deteriorating conditions in Tibet to break my silence and to give to the world a glimpse of the dark and dismal tragedy of my people. I also made it clear at the same time that I and my Government were fully prepared to accept a just and peaceful solution of the entire problem. Since then, the picture of Tibet has become immeasurably darker and gloomier and the sufferings of my people are beyond description. On the other hand, there has been no response to my appeal for peace and justice. In these circumstances, I have no other alternative than to appeal to the United Nations for the verdict of the peace-loving and conscientious nations of the world. I also take the opportunity to make a personal appeal to all civilised countries of the world to lend their fullest support to our cause of freedom and justice."

On the next day Mr. Nehru said that India will not take the Tibetan issue to the United Nations. For, India's reluctance to sponsor the Tibetan case is based mainly on the grounds—without going into the merits of the case—that no useful purpose would be served by a discussion in the United Nations in the absence of the representative of the People's Republic of China in the world body.

The attitude which the Government of India would take, if the Tibet issue is raised by some other country, is not yet formulated.

Some indication of this may be available when the Lok Sabha resumes its discussion of Mr. A. B. Vajpayee's inconclusively debated resolution.

The Dalai Lama's appeal to the United Nations is based on the triple charge of (1) violation of human rights, (2) commission of genocide and (3) aggression by China.

The Dalai Lama is, however, reported to have not yet decided whether to go personally to New York to present his case or alternatively to send a delegation.

According to Tibetan circles in New Delhi, the Dalai Lama has not been able to secure any country so far to sponsor his case before the U. N. He is, however, said to be hopeful of some country taking up the issue.

NEHRU AND AYUB KHAN MEETING

Prime Minister Nehru and President Ayub Khan announced that they had agreed that all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan should be settled in accordance with justice, fairplay and in a spirit of friendliness, co-operation and neighbourliness.

This was announced on September 1 in a joint statement which was issued after an hour's informal talks between the President of Pakistan and Mr. Nehru at the Palam airport where General Ayub Khan halted on his way from Karachi to Dacca.

Following is the summary of the joint statement issued by the President of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India on the conclusion of their talks at Delhi.

"The President of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India met informally in a very cordial atmosphere at Palam airport on Sep 1.

Matters of mutual interest were discussed. They agreed that there was need to conduct their relations with each other on a rational and planned basis and not according to the day-to-day exigencies as they arise and that their outstanding issues and other problems should, in mutual interest, be settled in accordance with justice and fairplay and in a spirit of friendliness, co-operation and good neighbourliness.

"They were glad to have had this opportunity of an informal exchange of views and they agreed to keep in touch with each other to further their common objective."

Utterances of the Day

PRESIDENT PRASAD'S MESSAGE

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in his message to the nation on the 12th anniversary of India's Independence, called for the mobilisation of all the national resources and the full and willing co-operation of all people to solve the post-Independence problems facing the country.

Dr. Prasad said that in a sense freedom opened the floodgates of problems. A host of new tasks had to be undertaken for the betterment of the people. Freedom provided the opportunity and the necessary incentive to take up such tasks in hand and devise ways and means to surmount the difficulties in accomplishing them.

"We have to learn by working and it is immaterial if mistakes are committed, provided we have the sagacity and the large-heartedness to learn from them," he added.

PT. NEHRU'S CALL TO NATION

On the Independence Day last month Prime Minister Nehru appealed to the people to remain firmly united, imbibe the spirit of hard work, demolish walls of caste, linguism and provincialism, and work in a co-operative way to take the country forward.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of Independence, said that India to-day faced a challenge of uplifting the vast masses of her people in the villages. "The eyes of the world are focussed on us to see how we meet this challenge."

The Prime Minister reminded the people of Gandhiji's teachings of always adopting the right means and following the right path to achieve big ends.

MR. NIXON ON RUSSIA

Vice-President Nixon said at Washington on August 18 that the biggest mistake the United States could make would be to assume that the Russians were softening as a result of his visit to the Soviet Union and the forthcoming trip of Mr. Khrushchev.

"They still have the goal of a Communist world," Mr. Nixon said in a recorded radio-television interview. "The only difference is that they now say that they can achieve that goal, and will try to achieve it through peaceful competition rather than through the use of force."

C. R. ON CHINA'S AGGRESSION

In a statement to the press on Sept. 3, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that China was doing a great disservice to the cause of peace by her aggression against India. He appealed to Russia to intervene. He said:

"The Western Powers are anxious and quite busy to rouse the people of Asia to a state of alarm about China, particularly America. Alarm produces weakness and not strength. We ought not to be led by the political strategy of the West into greater dependence on their favours. Russia ought to be able to see the dynamics of the situation and I expect her to act promptly."

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN ON NEW ERA

Presiding over the International Conference of Philosophers which opened its five day session at Mysore on August 30 at the Rangacharlu Town Hall, India's Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan observed that they were all participating in the birth of a new era, in the formation of a new society—not a regimented one nor one which would obliterate differences but a society in which they would have diversity without discord and distinctiveness without any kind of conflict. It was a society of this type that the circumstances of the world at the present day were forcing them to create, and students of philosophy should, he emphasised, do their utmost to develop it.

MR. MUNSHI ON NEHRU'S POLICY

Mr. K. M. Munshi said "the appeasement foreign policy of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, so eloquently boosted so far as the neighbouring countries are concerned, has failed and failed disastrously."

Mr. Munshi, who was inaugurating the first convention of the Swatantra Party in U. P. at Lucknow on August 30 declared: "India is in no mood to permit trespass on its frontiers, whether they are demarcated, or undemarcated."

"It is surprising that the country was not taken into confidence about this state of affairs. It is still in ignorance of what has been done during the past two years to stop these violations. The people have a right to know why the country is being kept in ignorance and what steps are being taken to safeguard the security of the country."

Political

"AGGRESSION" BY CHINA

Prime Minister Nehru revealed in the Lok Sabha on the 28th of last month that there had been cases and "there are continuing cases at one or two places of Chinese aggression on Indian territory".

Mr. Nehru declared that while he would not take an alarmist view of the situation from a few minor incidents, it would be difficult for him to say what lay behind these incidents. Amidst cheers, he declared "In any event we have to be vigilant and protect our borders as best as we can".

Mr. Nehru said that the Government of India had protested to the Peking Government about the violation of Indian territory in the NEFA-Tibet border by Chinese troops.

On Aug. 29, the Indian Military authorities have assumed responsibility for the protection of the N.E.F. area border and all the Assam Rifle picket posts along the border are now operationally under the command of the Army.

Additional troops are also despatched to the region to assist the Assam riflemen and measures to exercise greater vigil along the border have been ordered.

Frontiers between friendly countries all over the world are usually guarded by constabularies and police checkposts and only in an emergency, military personnel are mounted.

The presence of the Chinese forces along the North-East Frontier Area borders and their intrusion into the Indian outpost at Longchu are stated to have made it impossible for constabulary of the type of Assam Rifles to protect the borders effectively.

The Army authorities are said to have completed arrangements to set up a small operational headquarters near Jorhat to direct defensive arrangements for the protection of the NEFA borders.

India has already protested to China against the occupation of Longchu outpost by Chinese troops. It is learnt further diplomatic steps will be taken by India with a view to getting China to vacate the outpost.

Prime Minister Nehru revealed in the Rajya Sabha on 4th Sep. that the Chinese Government has now accused India of committing aggression. The Chinese note received by the Government of India denied that China had committed any aggression and went on to accuse India of illegally occupying a number of areas.

The Chinese Government had asked India to withdraw from the area which they claimed was Chinese territory.

The Chinese had also accused India of sending armed patrols into Tibetan territory. The note mentioned a large number of places which the Chinese claimed was their territory. Mr. Nehru stated that he was collecting the necessary information and would soon send a reply to the Chinese Government.

DEFENCE OF BHUTAN AND SIKKIM

Prime Minister Nehru declared on Aug. 29 that India was responsible for the defence of Bhutan and Sikkim who were in treaty relations with her.

"I cannot imagine any foreign authority", he added, "doing anything which is in infringement of their sovereignty. In any event any such infringement would be an infringement of our undertaking with Sikkim and Bhutan."

He was replying to supplementaries arising out of a question in the Rajya Sabha by Mr. J. C. Chatterjee whether Government were aware of Chinese plans regarding the neighbouring areas beyond Tibet such as Sikkim Bhutan and the border areas of Assam.

AMERICAN PRESS ON CHINA

"Whatever excuses Red China may offer for their jabs at India or whatever motives may lie behind them, the plain fact remains that they have shown monumental ingratitude towards Mr. Nehru as well as callous disregard for neutralist opinion throughout the world," comments the *New York Herald Tribune*. "The whole course of Peking's dealings with New Delhi is instructive, it is to be hoped Asia and Africa will read these lessons well. Red China knows no law but its own will: Even Moscow may have no more than token control over the Frankenstein monster it has constructed unless it applies genuine and stringent economic sanctions. And the old proverb about those who sup with the devil needing a long spoon is quite applicable to any nation desiring closer relations with Mao Tsetung's regime."

Much the same sentiment is echoed by the American Press in general. Says the *New York Times*: "It may now be possible, at long last to persuade some of the doubters that Communist China is still the predatory enemy of any free State that can come within the clutch of Peking oligarchy."

Educational

MR. DESHMUKH ON UNIVERSITIES

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman, University Grants Commission, delivering the Convocation Address of the University of Bombay, on Aug. 28, said that a university, although working closely with Government departmentally, must be free to decide its own ways of serving the interests of the State and should not be used as an agency of the State. He added that if the State was the repository of power, the university was the shrine of wisdom.

Another fundamental principle was that whatever might be the pressure of the realistic demands of the State, a university must not forget that its essential duty was to provide for the nation's best young people "a free and creative educational experience" to fire them with a zeal for cultivating personal excellence, he said.

MR. SIDDHANTA ON DISCIPLINE

The essence of University training is in the inculcation of a discipline which leads a receptive individual from being the self-centred individual that he is to a subordination of the self as a member of a family, of a community, of a nation, or the whole human society. The youth has to learn to live with others, and respect their rights and feelings. In times of stress this discipline is imposed from outside, but in a democracy which we are building up this discipline has to come from within.

So observed Mr. N. K. Siddhanta, Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University delivering his address to the Madras University convocation on Aug. 22.

DEMOGRAPHY IN UNIVERSITIES

The demographic advisory committee has recommended that training facilities in demography should be made available in some selected universities.

The committee has further suggested that programmes for collection of information on attitude towards family planning should be initiated immediately at various research centres. The information will be of use in educative programmes and later in assessing changes in attitude brought about by the family planning programme.

Investigation of socio-economic factors affecting fertility, like rural and urban migration, and evaluation, of the family planning programme in areas where it has been introduced, have also been urged by the committee.

UNESCO EDUCATION PROGRAMME

The Unesco will spend one million dollars on a "large" educational programme for Asia and Africa in 1961 and 1962, Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General of the Unesco, said at new Delhi, on Aug. 26.

Addressing a Press conference Dr. Adiseshiah said that the new Director-General of the Unesco had given priority to this major programme of free and compulsory primary education in the Asian countries and advancement of secondary and technical education in Africa. Two-thirds of the amount would be spent for the Asian programme in 1961-62 and the balance would be utilised for the African programme.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The Union Education Ministry has appointed a six-member Advisory Committee with Mrs. Kamaladevi, as Chairman, to advise it on giving financial aid to educational institutions of all-India importance engaged in educational research and allied activities.

The other members of the Committee are: Mr. R. R. Diwakar, Acharya Badrinath Varma, Mr. Maganbhai P. Desai, Mr. Inder Sen of Pondicherry and Dr. N. S. Junankar, Deputy Educational Adviser, Education Ministry. (Member-Secretary).

MORAL EDUCATION

The Government of India have announced the setting up of the four-man Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay, to make a detailed study of the question of religious and moral instruction in educational institutions and to make suitable recommendations in the matter. This decision has been taken at the instance of the Central Advisory Board of Education which at its meeting held at Madras in January last recommended that in view of the importance of the subject the appointment of such a Committee was very necessary.

The terms of reference of the Committee are: (1) to examine the desirability and feasibility of making specific provision for the teaching of moral and spiritual values in educational institutions; (2) if it is found desirable and feasible to make such provision, (a) to define broadly the content of instruction at various stages of education, and (b) to consider its place in the normal curriculum.

Legal

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DISMISSAL OF A PAKISTAN JUDGE

President General Ayub Khan has ordered the immediate removal from office of Mr. Justice Akhalque Hussain, a Judge of the High Court of West Pakistan.

A Government notification dated Aug. 31 said that the President's order takes immediate effect. The President had made a reference to the Supreme Courts to go into the conduct of Mr. Justice Hussain.

The notification said that the Supreme Court had unanimously found Mr. Justice Hussain guilty of misbehaviour and was of the opinion that "misbehaviour is of a grave nature and amply sufficient to justify his removal from the office."

One of the charges against Mr. Justice Hussain was that he fixed hearings of the election petitions at places far away from the constituencies concerned with a view to drawing more travelling allowances.

TAX ANOMALIES

Mr. K. M. Munshi told the Swatantra Party's convention at Bombay that the Congress Government had scant respect for the spiritual heritage of the country.

"If I give a donation to a dancing school, where girls are taught how to paint their lips, it is tax free. But if I give a donation to a temple where discourses on say, Bhagwat Geeta, are held it is taxed."

It was strange, but it was a fact, he added.

MR. M. ANANTANARAYANAN

The President has appointed Mr. Madavayya Anantanarayanan, I.C.S., at present Director of Legal Studies, Madras to be a permanent Judge of the Madras High Court from the date he assumes charge, according to a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

CALCUTTA CHIEF JUSTICE

The President has appointed Mr. Justice Surajit Chandra Lahiri, Judge of the Calcutta High Court, to be the Chief Justice of that High Court, vice Mr. Justice Kulada Charan Das Gupta appointed as Judge of the Supreme Court of India, the Ministry of Home Affairs announced in a Press note.

BOMBAY HIGH COURT

The President has appointed Mr. Kapil Kalyandas Desai an Additional Judge of the Bombay High Court for a period of two years with effect from August 18, 1959, says a Home Ministry Press note.

HIGH COURT BENCHES

The Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr. B. N. Datar, told the Lok Sabha on Aug. 31, that Government would follow the recommendation of the Law Commission in regard to the establishment of Benches of High Courts at various places, subject to "certain realities of the situation."

Intervening in the debate on the Law Commission's report which again remained inconclusive, Mr. Datar, referring to the establishment of a Department of Justice at the Centre suggested by the Commission, said that even in the United Kingdom where the creation of such a department had been advocated it had not yet been set up. Apart from the Supreme Court and the High Courts, he pointed out, the administration of justice came under the purview of States. The recommendation would, therefore, have to be examined fully.

RELIGIOUS TRUSTS

The Government of India proposed to appoint a committee to go into the manner in which religious trusts were being managed and their funds utilised and to make recommendations for the proper management of the endowments and the utilisation of their funds, the Law Minister, Mr. A. K. Sen, told the Lok Sabha, on Aug. 13.

Replying to Mr. U. N. Barman and others, the Minister said that the terms of reference of the committee and its personnel were under the consideration of Government. Independently of this, steps had been taken to prepare a draft Bill to provide for the better administration and supervision of public religious trusts. Legislation in this regard might be brought before Parliament as early as possible.

COMPANY LAW CASES

A squad to deal with Company Law cases had been set up in the capital, the Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr. B. N. Datar, disclosed in the Lok Sabha.

Replying to Mr. S. M. Banerjee, the Minister said there was no proposal at present to set up similar squads in other industrial cities. The squad at the capital consisted of a Superintendent of Police, a Public Prosecutor, a junior officer to go into accounts and a few others.

NEW SUPREME COURT JUDGE

Mr. K. C. Das Gupta, Former Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, was sworn in as a Judge of the Supreme Court on Aug. 24.

The oath was administered by the Chief Justice, Mr. S. R. Das.

Trade and Finance

RECONSTITUTION OF GOVT. BANKS

The Rajya Sabha recently passed the State Bank of India (Subsidiary Banks) Bill which embodies a scheme of reconstitution of certain Government or Government associated banks as subsidiaries of the State Bank of India. The Bill, already approved by the Lok Sabha, now goes to the President for his assent.

Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, said that by keeping these banks as subsidiaries of the State Bank of India, they would carry with them the goodwill of the directors and shareholders as also meet local patriotism and sentiment, which was important for the bank.

INTEGRATED FISCAL POLICY

Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, emphasised the importance of both Governments, Central as well as State, and the Reserve Bank of India adopting co-ordinated measures on fiscal and monetary policy including deficit financing.

Mr. Iengar, who is also President of the Indian Institute of Bankers, told the annual general meeting at Bombay on August 20 that they could not afford to allow the real worth of the rupee to go down further which had declined by about 29 per cent since 1947. The task of maintaining the stability of our currency was beyond the sole competence of the Reserve Bank.

RESOURCES FOR THIRD PLAN

After intensive thinking over the past few months on the problem of raising external finances for the Third Five-Year Plan, officials in the Government of India seem to have come to the conclusion that the bulk of these resources, estimated at the equivalent of Rs. 2,500 crores, would have to be raised in a form repayable either in rupees or in goods of Indian manufacture, but not in foreign exchange.

The crux of the problem is the poor prospects before India's balance of payments on current account. For a considerable time to come—probably for at least another decade—the foreign balances that the country can hope to build up in this account could scarcely support the servicing of a foreign debt of the magnitude envisaged for the Third Plan.

SUBSCRIPTION TO WORLD BANK

On August 23rd the Lok Sabha passed the International Monetary Fund and Bank Amendment Bill, authorising Government to double India's subscription to the authorised capital stock of the World Bank.

India holds shares worth \$400 million in the World Bank and now proposes to raise this to \$800 million, in accordance with the decision reached by the Banks's Board of Governors at their New Delhi Conference in October last.

NO HARASSING TAXATION

Mr. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, told a packed gathering of planters from Madras, Mysore and Kerala that it was the policy of the Government not to impose "harassing taxation" without taking into consideration the capacity of the plantation industry to pay.

Mr. Desai, who was inaugurating the 66th annual conference of the United Planters Association of Southern India at "Glenview" at Coonoor on August 24 added that at the same time, he would see that their paying capacity was not lessened.

MR. C. M. POONACHA

Mr. C. M. Poonacha, former Chief Minister of Coorg, who has been appointed Chairman of State Trading Corporation, took charge of his office from Mr. K. B. Lal, Additional Secretary and Director General of Foreign Trade on August 20.

It may be recalled that the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, announced in Parliament last session that a non-official would be appointed as Chairman of the State Trading Corporation.

MANUFACTURE OF SMALL CARS

Mr. J. R. D. Tata, Chairman of the Tata Locomotive and Engineering Company Limited, told the annual general meeting at Bombay on August 20 that they had submitted a detailed project to the Government of India for the manufacture under licence of a small German car of advanced design. He added that their partners Messrs. Daimler-Benz had recently acquired a controlling interest in Messrs. Auto-Union GMBH, an old and reputed firm of automobile manufacturers in Germany and makers for over thirty years of the well-known DKW light car. A new model of this car was just going into production in Germany.

Women's Page

PREVENTION OF BIGAMY

The Andhra Pradesh Government have decided that permission to Government servants to contract bigamous marriages should not be given and that future entrants to Government services should not be exempted.

Earlier, the State Government had ordered that exemption from operation of the rule could be given on special grounds.

The Government have also decided that permission to female Government servants to marry a person who has a wife living, should not be given and no exemption be given to the future entrants.

The Government have directed that no person who has more than one wife living shall be eligible for appointment by direct recruitment to any State or subordinate service nor shall he contract another marriage, notwithstanding the fact that it is permissible under the personal law. Likewise, no female candidate who has married a person having already a wife living will be eligible for recruitment to service, nor can she marry any person who has a wife living. The candidate will be liable to be dismissed if the declaration in the negative is found incorrect.

PART-TIME JOBS FOR WOMEN

The first conference of the Working Women's Association, which met at Patna last month passed a resolution demanding provision for part-time employment in jobs of teachers, nurses, telephone operators, etc. in order to utilise the services of women who are unable to undertake full-time employment.

The conference suggested that wherever a number of married women were employed, provision should be made for day-care of their pre-schooling age children. It also demanded proper accommodation for women workers near their places of work.

It urged Government to take urgent steps for improving the service conditions of hospital nurses and to guarantee security of service, provident fund or pension and fixed duty hours. It felt these aims could be best promoted by the establishment of state nursing service.

The conference passed resolutions demanding the framing of rules to provide for maternity leave with full pay, casual leave to all the "contingent" maids in schools, colleges and other departments. It also wanted women candidates to be treated on equal terms with men in appointments.

MRS. THELMA LONG

After a brilliant international career in women's tennis, one of Australia's most outstanding amateurs, Mrs Thelma Long, has become a professional coach. One of her aims is to raise the standard of the women's game in Australia.

Mrs Long played in eight Wimbledons and made seven world tours. She was four times Australian singles champion, 14 times doubles champion and 6 times mixed doubles champion. She also won national titles in France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Cuba, Mexico and Belgium.

WOMEN WORKERS IN U. K.

One in every three workers in Harlow, New Town, Essex, is a woman. "That number is rather high," remarked Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the British Opposition leader, on a recent visit.

There were other things that surprised him. At a Press conference he said: "I do not want to exaggerate this because I do not know the extent of it."

"But I have learned today of fathers going to work at 7 a.m. and returning about 5 p.m. to take over the home and children as the mothers go out then to do a half-shift until about 10 p.m."

A CENTENARIAN'S TIP

Miss Hannah Ede, celebrating her 101st birthday on August 17 at London gave this advice to aspiring centenarians: "Don't drink, don't smoke—and don't get married."

Miss Ede, who started work 90 years ago as a domestic servant, lives an active life in a small cottage at Wareside, Hertfordshire, near London.

MRS. R. DIKSHIT

Mrs. Ratnamayi Dikshit, the Indian Government's new Cultural Relations Representative at George Town, British Guiana was presented with the Freedom of the City.

The honour was conferred by the City Mayor, Mr. Forbes Burnham, at a special function.

DR. ROSHAN MASTER

An Indian woman doctor, Dr. Roshan Master, has taken up her appointment as Medical Officer of the island of Tristan Da Cunha, in the South Atlantic. Mr. Alan Crawford, the island's welfare officer, told a reporter in Capetown.

General

MR. T. T. K. AND L. I. C DEAL

The former Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, in his first public statement on 31st August since his resignation, has replied to some of the remarks concerning him in the UPSC's advice to Government and in the Bose Board's report on the conduct of the officials in the LIC-Mundhra deal. He vindicates his position and points out that the Union Public Service Commission have completely failed to recognise the importance of one of the main ingredients of the charge against Mr. Patel, namely, that he caused the purchase, and the Bose Board's finding that he induced the LIC to act in a certain manner. The UPSC reasoning that if the assistance theory lost its validity the Bose Board's findings also lost their validity could not be understood.

Mr. Krishnamachari adds: "I should make it clear that in saying all this I should not be misunderstood as being in any way unhappy that Mr. Patel has not even been formally punished. I shall also be failing in my duty if I do not specially express my appreciation of the fact that there are still persons like Mr. Sivashanmugham Pillai (UPSC member) who are not afraid of being in a minority of one."

Mr. Krishnamachari quotes in the conclusion of his statement Prof. S. E. Finer from his "Anonymous Empire" defining correctly the position of a civil servant.

"The position and role of the higher Civil Service in this country is often misunderstood. The work of department is carried on in the name of its Minister, and with rare exceptions he is answerable in Parliament for all that his officials do. But one of the chief duties of the higher Civil Service is to advise the Minister. Again, given the great size and complexity of a modern department, a good deal of discretion is left to such senior officials for them to use, as they think fit, in the knowledge that if they err they will have committed perhaps the most grievous sin in the Civil Service canon, namely, to have got the Minister into trouble. Lastly, when new legislation is required, it is the Civil Servant who under the Minister, prepares it. He is, in short, policy adviser, policy promoter and legislator; and all this in the process of getting things done, which is what we mean when we talk of the art and practice of administration. The Civil Servant, therefore, has two compulsions. He must know; he must act."

Mr. Krishnamachari says that this quotation will help to place in correct perspective much that has been said both by the Bose Board and the UPSC on the relation between a Minister and the Civil Servant.

DR. SUBBAROYAN

The appointment of Dr. P. Subbaroyan as Central Cabinet Minister in charge of the Ministry of Transport and Communications has been announced on August 31 in an official communique and since sworn in as Minister.

Dr. P. Subbaroyan, it may be mentioned, was Chief Minister of Madras from 1926 to 1930. He was Minister of Law in Madras from 1937 to 1939, and later Home Minister in 1947-48. He was appointed Ambassador of India in Indonesia in 1949 and held that post until June 1951. For 15 years from 1921-1936 Dr. Subbaroyan was member of the Madras Legislative Council and later was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly in 1936. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly of India and was returned to the Rajya Sabha in 1954. In the last general election Dr. Subbaroyan was elected to the Lok Sabha from the Tiruchengode Constituency of Madras State.

LT-GEN. K. S. THIMAYYA

Lt-Gen. K. S. Thimayya, Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, was the subject of the *New York Times* "Man in the News" feature last month.

The newspaper described him as "an old hand at difficult situation."

"Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's action in placing the Northeast Frontier Agency under military control as a result of mounting Communist pressure brings the well-seasoned General into the thick of a new crisis" the paper said.

LATE SYED FAZL ALI

We record with regret, the death on August 22 of Syed Fazl Ali, Governor of Assam, at Raj Bhavan, Shillong.

Mr. Fazl Ali who was appointed Governor of Assam on May 15, 1956, was 73. He was awarded Padma Vibhushan in January 1956.

Making a reference to the death of Mr. Fazl Ali in the Lok Sabha on the same day after question-time, Prime Minister Nehru described him as a "great Indian and a very distinguished public servant." Mr. Nehru said that as Governor of Assam, Mr. Fazl Ali, had played "an extraordinarily important and effective part" in winning over the people of Naga Hills and Tuensang area.

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