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The INDIAN REVIEW

61st Year

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Vol. 61.

JUNE 1960

No. 6

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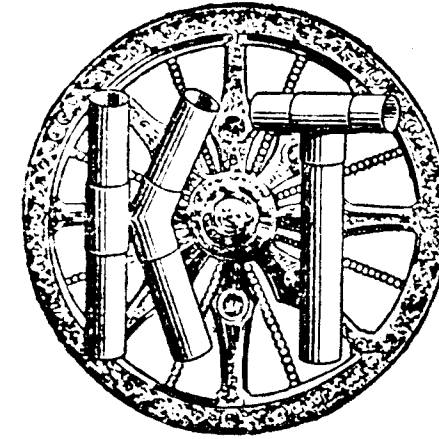
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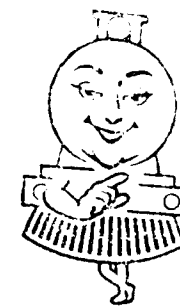
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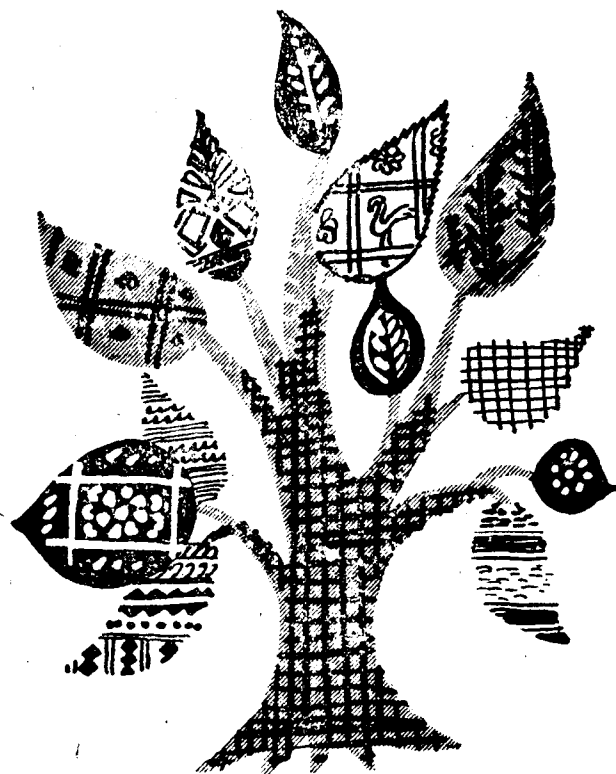


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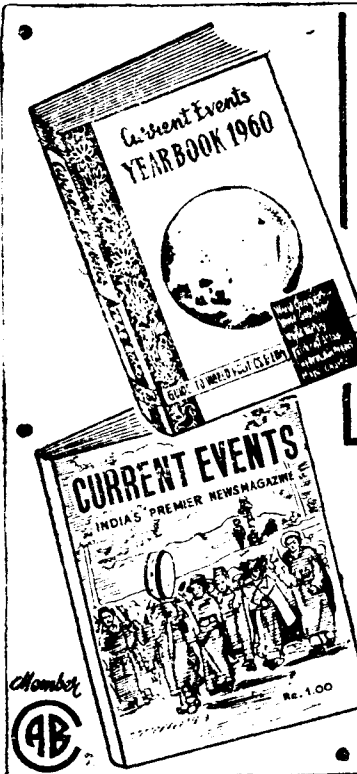
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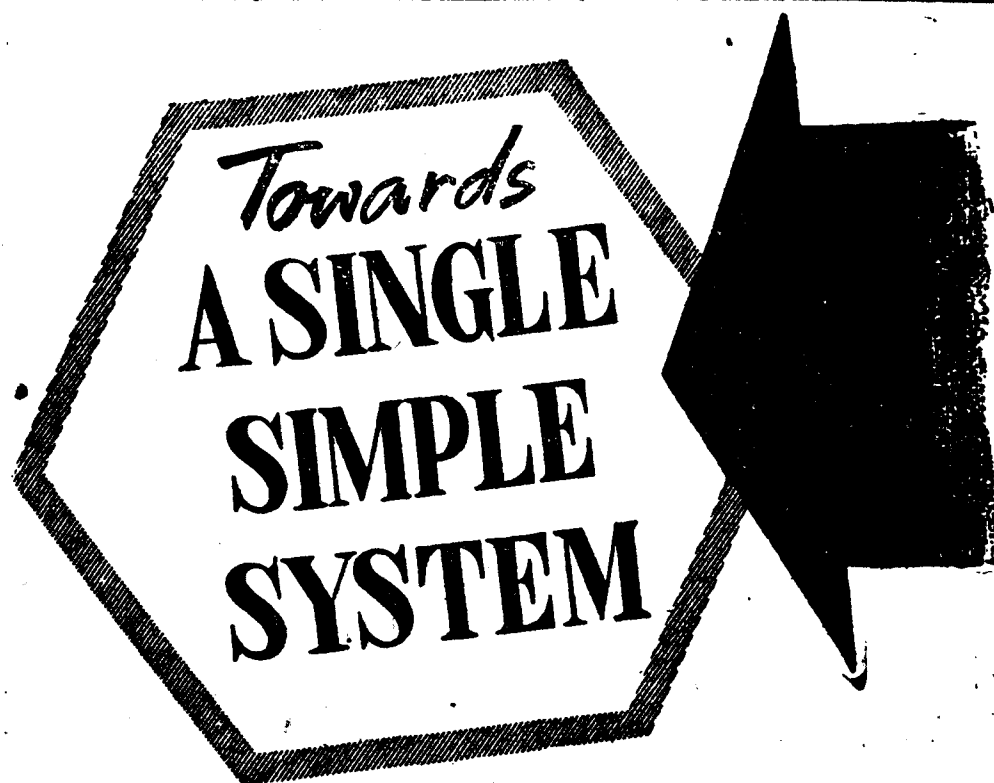
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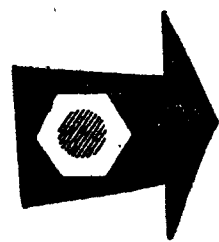


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JUNE 1960

[No. 6

The Fate of the Summit Conference

THE long awaited Summit Conference met at Paris on May 16. Even before the conference actually began to consider the subjects according to schedule, Mr. N. Khrushchev declared that unless America halted "spy flights" over Russia the Summit Conference should be adjourned for six to eight months.

The Soviet leader also withdrew his invitation to President Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union next month.

In a dramatic opening speech he declared that America's intelligence policy, "which can only be pursued in a state of war, condemns the Summit in advance."

He called on President Eisenhower to renounce publicly the flights and urged Britain and France to dissociate themselves from this policy.

Mr. Khrushchev launched a blistering attack on the spy flights and on President Eisenhower personally for condoning them.

Thus the breakdown of the Summit Conference as soon as it met is a grave set back to the general movement for peace and co-existence that had been gathering momentum during the last several months. The statesmen who assembled in Paris were expected to find a way generally to lessen the tension caused by the cold war between the two big power blocs and to put a stop to the race in nuclear, rocket and conventional armaments.

It was also hoped that they would reach understanding on the definite matters in issue between them. The recent shooting down of an American plane over Russian territory gave rise to not a little anxiety but while

Russian propaganda made the most of the incident, the Russian Premier had gone on record as saying that it would not interfere with the plans for the Paris Conference. The American reactions seemed to show that the United States leaders were shocked but after some explanations, strangely compounded of both frankness and secrecy, they too showed their keenness that the Summit meeting should go according to schedule. But something or other seemed to have upset Mr. Khrushchev and when the Conference opened, he took a strong negative decision and insisted that he would participate in the discussions only if President Eisenhower would apologise for the aggression, promise punishment of those concerned and give the assurance that there would be no more aerial spying. The Western statesmen, particularly President Eisenhower took this to be an ultimatum which they rejected and the Conference broke up. All the efforts of the British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan, and the French President, General de Gaulle, failed to bring about a peaceful atmosphere.

On the 18th, that is on the 3rd day of the Conference a big three western communique signed by U.S.A, France & Britain said among other things that they took note of the fact it had not been possible to begin Summit discussions "because of the attitude adopted by Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister.

The text of "the final communique" was: "The President of the United States, the President of the French Republic and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom took

note of the fact that because of the attitude adopted by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, it has not been possible to begin, at the Summit conference, the examination of the problems which it had been agreed would be discussed between the four chiefs of State or Government.

They regret that these discussions, so important for world peace, could not take place. For their part, they remain unshaken in their conviction that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the use or threat of force but by peaceful means through negotiation. They themselves remain ready to take part in such negotiations at any suitable time in the future."

The Soviet delegation also handed to the press a statement which said that the Soviet Union was prepared to resume its place at the conference table if the United States eliminated obstacles which arose at the beginning of

this conference, obstacles created through the fault of the United States. It also said that whatever diplomatic effort the U.S.A. government may undertake to deceive public opinion, it cannot absolve itself from its responsibility for the failure of the Summit conference. Everyone knows that it is precisely the Government of the United States which, through its aggressive actions against the Soviet Union on the eve of the Summit conference, and through its obstinate refusal to assume responsibility for its acts has torpedoed the present conference, to which the peoples of the entire world were looking forward with so much hope."

It is still hoped that negotiations will not be finally broken off, for the alternative to it namely War is dreadful. For the future of the World and for the welfare of mankind, negotiations should at the earliest opportunity be again pursued.

The Commonwealth Conference

THE Commonwealth Prime Ministers met in Conference in London on the 3rd of last month. The Session lasted for 10 days. The Conference emphasised the multi-racial character of the Commonwealth and stressed the need for ensuring good relations between member-states and their peoples. This year's Conference has virtually been forced to discuss prominently the *apartheid* issue by force of circumstances.

Whilst reaffirming the traditional practice that Commonwealth conferences do not discuss the internal affairs of member countries, Ministers availed themselves of Mr. Louw's (Mr. Eric Louw, South African External Affairs Minister) presence to have informal discussions with him about the racial situation in South Africa.

During these informal discussions, Mr. Louw gave information and answered ques-

tions on the Union's policies and the other Ministers conveyed to him their views on the South African problem. "The Ministers emphasised that the Commonwealth itself is a multiracial association and expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member-States and peoples of the Commonwealth."

The Prime Ministers suggested that if a future South African Republic desired to remain in the Commonwealth, the Union Government should ask for the consent of the other Commonwealth Governments either at a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers or by correspondence.

"The continuing growth of the membership of the Commonwealth was marked by the attendance at the meeting of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, which achieved independence in August, 1957. The representatives of the other Commonwealth

countries welcomed the presence of the Federation at the Conference."

The Prime Ministers reviewed the economic development of Commonwealth countries in Africa which have recently attained or are approaching independence. They agreed that consideration should be given to the possibility of co-operative action among the members of the Commonwealth in assisting the economic development of these countries. "This possibility will be studied in the first instance by officials of Commonwealth Governments, and the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council will examine it at its next meeting."

The Prime Ministers also reaffirmed their belief in the value of exchanges between Commonwealth countries of persons with specialised skill and experience, and agreed further efforts should be made to encourage them.

The following are extracts from the communique issued by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at the end of the conference on 13th May.

"This is the tenth of these meetings to have been held since the war, the first taking place at a time of great significance to the Commonwealth and the world.

"The continuing growth of the membership of the Commonwealth was marked by the attendance at this meeting of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, which achieved independence in August, 1957. The representatives of the other Commonwealth countries welcomed the presence of the Federation at the conference.

"The Commonwealth Ministers also discussed the problems of Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and South East Asia. They recognised that economic and social progress are essential for political stability. They welcomed the continuing contribution which mutual assistance under the Colombo Plan affords throughout South East Asia to these aims: and they agreed that there and elsewhere throughout the less developed areas of the world the best hope of peace, stability and political freedom lies in practical international co-operation of this kind.

"The Ministers discussed European trade problems. They expressed concern at the prospect of any economic division in Europe and its possible political implications. The countries of Europe form an important market for Commonwealth exports.

"The Ministers expressed their hope that these countries would follow trade policies in accordance with the principles of the general agreement on tariffs and trade, and thus avoid damage to the economies of the primary producing countries and those that are also developing exports of manufactured goods.

While the communique is regarded satisfactory in this respect, says the London correspondent of a local daily, its indirect and muffled reference to *apartheid* has disappointed many. That the Commonwealth is a multi-racial association and that good relations between all member-States and peoples of the Commonwealth are necessary hardly needed saying. But according to information, even this represents a reverse for Mr. Louw. For he had resisted the description of the Commonwealth as a multi-racial association and wanted the word "multi-national" used instead.

It is too early to say what the upshot of all this is going to be. The Afro-Asian Prime Ministers and some of the others too are far from happy about the communique but they have accepted it as the utmost that could be obtained at present on the basis of unanimity. They have postponed a showdown for another 18 months or two years but they have left Mr. Louw in no doubt as to their attitude and they have also strengthened the forces within South Africa which are striving to end *apartheid*. The general view therefore, is that the Commonwealth has put South Africa on probation and it is now upto Dr. Verwoerd and his Government to mend their ways before it is too late.

Wisdom lies in avoiding conflict by closer association of non-whites with the Governance of the country. While Africans in the other countries have been found fit to run States of their own the whites of South Africa cannot maintain that their African citizens are not fit even to exercise a franchise. We trust S. Africa will do justice to her Black subjects and thus avoid a world conflict on this question!

Case for Co-operative Farming in India

By

Prof. NITYANANDA SEN, M.A. (Com), B.M.T.(G.I.)

EVER since the Second World War, India has been passing through a crisis of serious scarcity and shortage of foodgrains. The problem is assuming more and more menacing proportions with the fast increasing growth of population. Hence, we have to find a way out—a way to step up the yield of agricultural produce to keep pace with the increased demand of the nation.

The real measure that is to be taken to increase food production is to bring about a revolutionary change in the (a) Organisation of agriculture, and (b) Technique of cultivation. As for (a) although from time immemorial India is predominantly an agricultural country, one of her fundamental defects in agriculture is the endless sub-division and fragmentation of holdings. Unless this fundamental defect is eliminated and land consolidated, no advanced technique of cultivation is possible. It is, however, encouraging to note that the Third Five-Year Plan provides for an overall re-organisation of the present land reform policy of the Government so as to consolidate the land and redistribute it to the endless labour. Regarding (b), if and when the first problem is ironed out, it would not be very difficult for the Government's recent resolution to adopt Co-operative method of farming accompanied by the utilisation of modern mechanised agricultural equipments in Indian agriculture. This system of alternative farming appeared imperative in the changed condition of the land tenure system during the First and Second Five-Year Plans including the abolition of the Zamindari system. Therefore, the co-operative system of farming will no doubt produce better results, but this school of conclusion is subject to division of opinion.

Precisely speaking, co-operative farming, if adopted with sincerity, is the only effective

solution to the present food-crisis because it aims at increased production at the best possible cost and labour. The following can be said to be the sufficient and good reasons for its preference to any other form of farming:

1. *Individual proprietorship*: Co-operative farming based on democracy (as is the case with India) allows individual ownership to remain with the peasants and as such they are not likely to be reluctant to be the partners of Co-operative Farms.

2. *Joint Management*: It offers the benefit of joint management of a large tract of holdings.

3. *Removal of fragmentation*: The defect of the endless sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, which is inherent in Indian agriculture, will be eliminated and better utilisation of land will be feasible.

4. *Economies of large-scale production*: All the advantages of large-scale production can be derived from co-operative farming, which will reduce cost of yield and increase production.

5. *Better utilisation of capital*: More financial facilities will be available from different sources, which can be fully utilised for further agricultural development.

6. *Joint use of agricultural equipments*: Joint utilisation of various agricultural implements, namely, tractors, harvesters, combined harvesters, trucks, etc. will be possible because of elimination of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings. Moreover, Indian agriculturists, being drowned in poverty, can hardly afford to use any costly modern agricultural machinery.

7. *Use of healthy seeds, fertilizers, etc.*: Different varieties of improved and healthy seeds, supplied by the Agricultural Research Centres, can be used more profitably for improved quality of yields. Deeper ploughing,

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proper manuring and different rotational crops will also be made easier in the co-operative farming.

8. *Use of technical know-how*: The introduction and use of technical skill and know-how will be easier. On the otherhand, the peasants will be imparted necessary training in advanced scientific method of cultivation through Training and Research Centres proposed to be opened in rural areas.

9. *Greater soil conservation facility*: Greater facilities for conservation of soil and water will be available because of large scale joint farming.

10. *Greater warehousing facility*: For proper storage of agricultural produce, greater warehousing facilities will be available.

11. *Better service of transport and communication*: For timely marketing the agricultural crops so as to get fair prices by the farmers, improved and quick transport service can be availed of under the co-operative farming.

12. *Creation of Reserve Fund*: After disposal of the joint output, the net profit will be distributed amongst the member cultivators keeping apart a portion of it for the purpose of creating a reserve fund to meet any future exigency. This fund will be immensely beneficial to the farmers in times of their distress.

13. *Higher standard of living*: For all these advantage of joint farming, the quantity and quality of yields are bound to be satisfactory and the standard of living of the rural people in particular and people of the country in general, will be higher.

14. *Legitimate profit and wages to the farmers*: The farmers will get legitimate share of the proceed of produce, i.e., profit (if they own the lands) and proper remuneration in proportion the services rendered by them to the joint co-operative farms.

Notwithstanding, these advantages from the co-operative farming, it has got its limitations in India owing to the peculiar nature of the Indian agricultural condition, which has been hinted by some noted experts:

1. *Lack of technical skill*: Co-operative farming requires high degree of skill and efficiency and advanced knowledge of scientific application of technique to the cultivation, which the Indian agriculturalists lack.

2. *Higher capital*: It demands for increased financial resources, which, the present economic structure of India cannot afford to supply.

3. *Deficiency of agricultural equipments*: It involves the use of costly agricultural implements, such as tractors and harvesters, which India does not produce at the present moment. Most of the parts and accessories for the manufacture of mechanised agricultural equipments will, therefore, have to be imported from abroad.

4. *Involves technological un-employment*: Co-operative farming also involves mechanisation of agriculture and as such a large number of agriculturists will become surplus to actual requirements.

5. *Break-up of traditional pattern*: The introduction of co-operative farming will break-up the traditional system of cultivation and weaken the family responsibility, which will be restrained by the peasants mainly because of their ignorance and apathy. As Indian peasants treat their holdings as their wives, they will be reluctant to surrender their attachment to lands.

6. *Interruption of cultivation*: Indian Co-operative farming is based on absolute democracy, i.e., co-operation. Its ultimate success will, therefore, prove futile if anyone occupying his holding in the middle is reluctant to participate in the co-operative farms, because in such a case there will be an interruption of cultivation.

Dr. Otto Schiller, an expert on Agricultural Economics of the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the U.N.O., who recently visited India, studied the problems threadbare and reported that co-operative farming cannot be successful in India because it involves the peasants to lose their economic independence.

labour force, we will come to know that these increased labour can be fully utilized by the development of cottage and small scale industries. The growth of heavy industries should take place only side by side with the growth of small scale industries. In such a case, it will not be very difficult to find an answer for the increasing unemployment and the lack of technological knowledge.

When similar conditions are prevailing in the underdeveloped countries let us examine how far the foreign policy of the United States is successful to overwhelm the people of the underdeveloped countries. The only way to influence the people of Asia and other parts of the world, who are less advanced when compared to other countries is a timely help. The growing nations of Asia, many of them have deviated from the path of democracy needed more economic and military aid. They may not be able to purchase arms in large quantities, or produce them on their own. In such a case these countries may prefer manufacturing them in their country with the assistance of other developed countries. Therefore, the country on which the responsibility of the defence of democracy rests, should initiate the independent growth of industries, preferably iron and steel, in these countries. But this point was not given a good reception from the western countries for they always wanted to supply them instead of giving technical assistance to manufacture them in these countries.

The real threat to democracy in Asia is communism, poverty and illiteracy. Poverty paves way to communism. The people who are suffering badly may not be able to understand the evils of communism, rather they would be attracted by its outward glories. The communists in Asia are exploiting this factor. For they make the illiterate believe that communism has succeeded in achieving the glories in a short time than democracy. As example, they point out the material progress of the Soviet Union, and its rise as an equal power to

America within a short time. The communist propaganda through cheapest party literature made the people believe that under communist system everything is cheaper; hence the success of their propaganda. Another example they do now is the satellites. Everybody, irrespective of literacy has had some knowledge of Russia's satellites. The communists point out that under democracy such a scientific achievement will take a very long time. This has a very good effect on the illiterate people for they believe that only Russia can do such a thing, hence they associate this achievement with the glories that can be brought by communism. Thus communist propaganda is becoming more and more effective in underdeveloped countries, and therefore the deviation from democracy of many Asian countries should be taken into consideration as a threat to democracy.

Totalitarianism will never help to strengthen the democratic world for it depends wholly for the benefit of the state and not for a particular ideology. In a totalitarian state the resistance towards communism may be less, for if the communists can convince the ruler though he may not adopt communism, there is every chance of his being neutral, if not a supporter of communism, in case of a struggle between the two ideologies.

When we examine the above points, we find that Russia is extending economic co-operation by undertaking expansion of iron and steel industries in her satellite countries. For Russia believes that its allies should be able to become industrially powerful (of course within her control) with the help of Russians. Therefore it may not be a wonder if China launches a Satellite. It is only a Russian satellite designed by Russian scientists and planned by them, but only launched by the Chinese. Therefore nobody will admire the technological progress of China, as it has nothing to do with its technological growth.

In the light of this, we come to realise the disparity in the approach of the two powerful

nations. America, the country which protected democracy from Nazism and Fascism which gives hope for the freedom loving people all over the world, failed to convince the underdeveloped countries. But in the case of Soviet Union, it never lost a chance to exploit any event in their favour. For example when the Anglo-French attack on Egypt was made, U.S.A. kept mum while Soviet Union did not fail to appear as the protector of the defeated, the implications of which were far reaching. The Arabs, though hate communism (as is known from Nasser's speeches) have a place in their heart for the Soviet Union. The ultimatum of the U.S.S.R. which was a death knell to the English influence in the Arab region, a defeat for the U.S. diplomacy, had not only won the heart of the Arabs, but also of the millions of the people in the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. The Anglo-French movement was and is a black mark on the wisdom of the English people. When the Russians succeeded to have influence on the Arab people came the so-called Eisenhower doctrine which vanished or disappeared without any regard. This failure of the United States was due to lack of its understanding of the importance and advantages of timely help or interference and underestimation of the events in the backward countries.

Again if we observe the diplomacy of the Soviet Union, we will find how wisely it is acting. In the case of Chinese incursions on Indian borders, the premier kept mum in the public, and tried his best to refrain the Chinese from any such movement. It does not mean any rift in the relation between the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Union, but only a wise step taken by the Russians for the spread of communism in Asia. They knew that any such wrong step would be a halt for the spread of communism in Asia. They follow such a policy not because of their love for India, but

to clear up the doubts of various Asian countries towards Red China and communism.

As we noted earlier somewhere, the various circumstances which are existing in the backward countries, may be of great importance for the United States, if it handles them wisely. For it will help to create an impression about the U.S. and democracy, and will lead the people to think rather than blindly following any path for advancement. If the United States come forward to help the underdeveloped countries, of course without strings, the people in these countries will be able to realise the evils of communism. At present they are hidden in the glare of the achievement of communism.

The development of the underdeveloped countries through democracy can be considered as an other reinforcement of the forces to defend the world from totalitarian communism. On the other hand if these countries achieve prosperity through communist help, then it will be a challenge to freedom and integrity of the world.

In such a situation, the United States should think both militarily and economically. It should help the growing countries to develop their own industries, particularly iron and steel which ultimately strengthen the democratic world. The financial stability of the democratic countries will be the only challenge to communism. Any violation of peace by the communists should be treated as a threat to the free world, and it should be considered seriously and if necessary the U.S. should not be late to take direct action against it. Such a step will preserve peace, and will stop the encroachment tactics of the communists. For this U.S.A. will have to give more attention to its various military alliances, without showing any change in its firm stand against the various colossal peace offers by the Soviet Union.

Which is the Earliest of the Vedas ?

By

SRI RABINDRA KUMAR SIDDHANTA SHASTREE

FROM the very boyhood, we were taught that, *Rigveda* is the earliest of the four Vedas. In each of the universities whether in India or abroad, this theory has been accepted as a correct one. In all the text books, from primary to the highest stage of education this very information is catered.

Every one engaged in researches on Indology carries on his investigations on the basis of the above proposition. Every reputed Indian or foreign writer has been occupying this proposition as an unfallible truth. Even accepting the greater antiquity of particular parts of the *Atharvaveda*, some scholars imagine the comparative lateness of other parts of the same and make mention of the whole *Atharvaveda* as a work of later date.

The vedas are works undoubtedly of the greatest antiquity. It is not at all unnatural that even the reputed scholars would arrive at wrong conclusions in determining the chronology of very old books. Such errors may be condoned only when there are no evidences as to the probable date of composition of ancient books in those books themselves, as well as in other books of great antiquity. When such evidences are there, it is not at all wise to allow such erroneous notions to continue for so long a time.

In the vedas and other ancient books, as also in some of the books composed in the middle ages, there are so many proofs of chronology of the vedas that, I wonder how the scholars of modern times can accept such a wrong theory to be correct.

With the exception of the *Atharvaveda*, the *Rigveda* is the earliest of all the books. In the *Rigveda*, we find on many occasions and at different places a good many references to the sage *Atharvan*, the seer and teacher of the *Atharvedic* hymns. It is also learnt from the vedas that the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* for

the first time were circulated among the disciples of *Atharvan* and *Amgiras*. Name of this *Amgiras* is also found in different hymns of the *Rigveda*. For example let us quote a few hymns below :

“ Tvamagne puskaradadbyatharva
niramanthata

Murdhno visvasya vadhatah.”

(R. V. 6/16/13)

Eng - Oh fire : the sage *Atharva* had churned you out of the ether that bears the sky and the earth.

“ Amgiraso nah pitaro navagva
Atharvano Bhrgavah Somyasah
Tesam vayam sumatou yagniyana
mapi bhadre saumanase syama.”

(R.V. 10/14/6)

Eng - Our fore-fathers, such as *Amgiras*, *Atharvan* and *Bhrigu* have arrived just now. They are worthy of having the Soma-juice and are expert in sacrifices. Let us follow their way of life that begets wisdom, benevolence and welfare.

According to some scholars, the 10th *Mandala* of the *Rigveda* was a composition of later date, but so far as the 6th *Mandala* of the *Rigveda* is concerned, all the scholars agree that it is one of the earliest portions of the book. In this 6th *Mandala* also, references to *Atharva* are found. We fail to understand how the veda composed by him may be discarded as a later composition.

Not only in the *Rigveda*, but in other ancient books as well, we find references to *Atharvan* and his book. In some of these books the teachings of *Atharvan* or his books are said to be the teachings for the first time on this earth. Thus, at the very beginning of the *Mundaka Upanishad* we see the following lines ;

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“ *Brahma* was the earliest of all Gods. He was the sustainer and protector of this universe. He imparted the vedic education, the source of all learning, to *Atharvan*, his eldest son. The vedic learning, which was imparted to *Atharvan* by *Brahma*, was told to *Amgiras* by *Atharvan* himself. He (*Amgiras*) also imparted it to *Bharadvaja*, a truthful man and the latter to the descendants of *Amgiras*.”

Hence it is clear that, the earliest veda for the first time was taught to the sage *Atharvan*, and afterwards it was known to be the *Atharvaveda* after the name of its seer and teacher.

The very wording “ *Brahma* imparted the vedic education to *Atharvan*” indicates that, by the grace of Almighty the sage *Atharva* was endowed with a power to compose the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* and teach them to others.

The mention of *Atharvan*'s having been the eldest son of *Brahma* indicates that, as a father first of all imparts learning to his eldest son, similarly, by the grace of the creator, the vedic knowledge for the first time dawned in the mind of the said sage.

In the *Yajurveda* and the *Samaveda* as well, we find references to the *Atharvaveda* at different places. For example we may mention the names of the *Satapatha Brahmana* (13/3/7) and the *Chandogya Upanishad* (7/6) of the *Samaveda*. In both the aforesaid books, the *Atharvaveda* has been praised, and its authority recognised and it has been given the name as the veda.

In the *Gopatha Brahmana* also the superiority of the *Atharvaveda* has been admitted. There in course of conversation, it has been clearly said that, the man, who is versed in the *Atharvaveda* has the exclusive right to act as a guide (*Brahma*) in a sacrifice (*Gopatha Brahmana* 2/14). In the *Aitareya Brahmana* (51/33) also, the superiority of one versed in the *Atharvaveda* is clearly admitted.

In the age of the *Ramayana* as well, sacrifices were performed in accordance with the rules presented in the *Atharvaveda*. In the

Ramayana, the great epic of *Valmiki*, we find proofs of it. For example, the following lines from the *Ramayana* may be cited :

Istim teham karisyami putriyam
putrakaranat.

Atharvasirasi proktaiamantraib siddham
vidhanatah.

Eng—I shall perform a well-known sacrifice known as *putriya* with citation of the hymns from the *Atharva siras*, for the birth of a son to you.

Atharva-siras is the title of an Upanishad belonging to the *Atharvaveda*. The above lines were said to king *Dasharatha* by the sage *Risyasringa*, who having performed a sacrifice in the process mentioned above, begot a son to the king.

Patanjali, the great commentator on *Panini* perhaps in the 2nd century B.C., while citing examples from each of the vedas, has given first of all the citation from the *Atharvaveda*, and then from other vedas. It indicates that he believed in the priority of the *Atharvaveda*. (*Mahabhasya* ; *Paspasa*).

Bhartrhari is believed to have flourished in the 6th or 7th century A.D. He also in his famous book ‘ *Vakyapadiya* ’ has admitted the priority of the *Atharvaveda*, because, while mentioning the names of vedas, he first mentioned the name of the *Atharvaveda Vakyapadiya*, *Brahmakanda*, verse - 21).

Jayanta Bhatta, the eminent Kashmirian scholar perhaps in the 8th century, wrote in clear language in his famous book “ *Nyaya-manjari* ” (*Pramana Prakarana*, page - 2) that, the *Atharvaveda* is the earliest of the vedas.

In the famous lexicon ‘ *Visvakosa* ’ also it is admitted that, it was *Atharvan*, who for the first time introduced sacrificial fire and the sacrifices among the Aryans (see the word ‘ *Atharvan* ’ in the said lexicon). The man who is described to have introduced for the first time the sacrificial fire and sacrifices, must be the composer of the earliest of the vedas.

The literal as well as the popular meaning of the word Atharvan also supports this view. The Sanskrit root 'tharva' means 'to move'. So, literally, one who cannot move is called an 'atharva'. When a man due to his old age becomes almost unable to move, we, the Indians generally say that he has become an 'atharva'. So, the very name *Atharva* indicates that, the sage, the seer and teacher of the Atharvanic hymns was the oldest of all sages. A good many hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are also found quite unchanged in the later vedas. Thus, references to *Atharvan* as ancient teacher and fore-father having been found in each of the three vedas, *Atharva* having been described as the introducer of fire and the sacrifices, as also the hymns of *Atharvaveda* having been accepted in each of the later vedas, we may undoubtedly hold that, *Atharvaveda* is the oldest of all vedas.

Atharva having been described as the eldest son of *Brahma* (the creator), and the creator or introducer of fire, as also his having been described as one of the fore-fathers, it is clear that, a long gap intervened between the dates of the composition of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Rigveda*.

The very language of the *Atharvaveda* also proves its hoariest antiquity. For example we may cite a few hymns below :

"Yathedam bhumya adhi trmam bate
mathayati.

Eka mathnami te mano, yatha mam
kaminyaso.

Yatha mannapaga aso.

Sam chennayamo asvina kamina sam cha
vaksayah.

Sam vam bhagaso agmata sam chittani
samuvrata.

Yat suparna vivaksavo anamiva vivaksavah.

Tatra me gachhataddhavam manya iva
kusmalam yatha.

Yadantaram tad vahyam yad vahyam
tadantaram.

Kanyanam visvarupanam mano grbhay-
ausadhe. (4)

Eyamagan patikama janikamohamagamam.

Asvah kanikradad yatha bhagenaham

sahagamam. (5)"

- *Atharvaveda*; kanda - 2; *Anuvaka* - 5;

Sukhia - 30.

In the above five hymns, there are so many evidences of antiquity of the vedic words that, even the oldest portion of the *Rigveda* lags behind them. So far as the *Yajurveda* and the *Samaveda* are concerned, they are far later in date.

Bhumya adhi, mathayati, eba, kaminyaso, mannapaga asah, asvina, vaksaya, bhagaso, agmata, samudrabrata, suparna, anamiva, grbhaya, eyumagan, janikamo, kanikradat, agamam, all these are the oldest forms of words, used only in the earliest portion of the vedas. Moreover the peculiarities in the sandhis, such as *bhumya adhi, nayamo asvina* and *bhagaso agmata* also indicate the earliest antiquity of the hymns. Forms like these are invariably less in number even in the earliest portion of the *Rigveda*.

The earliest vedic forms such as *dyavaprthivi* for *dyavaprthixyau* (6/6/54/1), *vahati* for *vahati* (6/6/54/1), *dadhatha* for *dadhatu* (6/6/54/2), *gamemahi* for *gacchami* (1/1/1/4), *mrgaso* for *mrgah* (6/6/52/2), *krdhi* for *kuru* (6/1/5/1), *krmno* for *kurmah* (6/6/5/3), *varddhaya* for *varddhaya* (6/1/5/3) and other forms of the same kind are found innumerable in almost all parts of the *Atadrvaveha*.

The European scholars also could not fully deny the earliest antiquity of the *Atharvaveda*. The eminent scholar Mr. R.T.H. Griffith has written in his fore-word to the *Atharvaveda*.

"The *Atharvaveda* is, like the *Rik*, in the main historical and original; but its contents cannot, as a whole, lay claim to equal antiquity.

Professor Whitney also admits that at least a portion of the *Atharvaveda* was existent

even at the time of composition of the *Rigveda*. In this connection he writes :

"The greater portion of the hymns are plainly shown both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historical veda.....however would not imply that the main body of the *Atharva* hymns were not already in existence, when the compilation of the *Rik* took place."

(quoted by Griffith in his Introduction).

Professor Weber also admits the earliest antiquity at least of a portion of the *Atharvaveda*. According to him, the *Atharvaveda* belonged to the ordinary people, while the *Rigveda* belonged to the educated circle. The learned professor expresses his above view in the following language :

"But the *Atharvasamhit* likewise contains pieces of great antiquity, which may perhaps have belonged more to the people proper, to its lower grades whereas the songs of the *Rik* appear rather to have been the property of higher family ;

Professor Max Muller of undying fame admits as well the earliest antiquity of the *Atharvaveda* or at least of a portion of it. The learned professor writes in this connection ;

"The songs known under the name of the *Atharva-mgirasas* formed probably an additional part of the sacrifice from a very early time.

In very ancient times, the hymns of different vedas were preserved in memory by different

groups of the Aryan Brahmins. Even after invention of letters, the vedic hymns were not systematically reduced to writing for a long time. About the time of the great "*Bharata-war*," the sage *Vyasa* systematically edited the vedic hymns into four different branches. At this time, a good number of vedic hymns were unidentified as to which veda they belonged to. There were also many verses of later origin, held in high regard by the people. Such hymns and verses were appended to the *Atharvaveda* by *Vyasa*, the editor of the vedas. This is the reason, for which we find verses of later antiquity here and there in the *Atharvaveda*.

The original *Atharvaveda* consists of 12300 hymns, which belonged to the families of *Atharva* and *Amgirah*. I am inclined to say that this original *Atharvaveda* is the oldest of the vedas. I do not want to prove the earliest antiquity of subsequent interpolations. Most probably *Kumarila Bhatta, Jayanta Bhatta, Sayana* and such other ancient Indian scholars, while expressing the earliest antiquity of the *Atharvaveda* had in their mind these 12300 hymns.

Now, the question is that, whether a whole book is to be branded as one of later date, if there is some interpolated chapter added to the same. Such saying is wrong no doubt. The case is the same with the *Atharvaveda*. It may be that some portion of later antiquity was added to the *Atharvaveda* at a later period, but for this reason only, we cannot deny the earliest antiquity of the original *Atharvaveda*.

Co-operative Socialism in U. A. R.

By Mr. ALI SABRI

Minister for Presidential Affairs, U.A.R.

THE co-operative socialist order in the United Arab Republic is the outcome of our present and past experience and draws its roots from our own social structure with all its traditions, customs and heritage.

It was quite natural for the revolutionary regime, once it came into power, to seek the

liquidation of feudalism as one of the main evils which bedevilled our social structure and stood in the way of its struggle for political emancipation and hindered its economic and social evolution. This explains the keenness of the revolutionary regime that the eradication of feudalism should be incorporated as

one of the six principles constituting its article of faith and attach to it the same degree of importance it attached to the other objectives of exterminating Imperialism and its stooges.

The six principles laid down by the revolution constitute an indivisible whole and cannot be isolated from one another. We in the U.A.R. strive to implement these objectives as integral parts of one unit and within the framework of our own philosophy of co-operative socialism which is inspired by the principles of the revolution. The eradication of feudalism was never an end in itself but was only a means of giving expression to social justice or a prelude to its realization. Obviously social justice could not thrive or develop under a feudalistic order of society because feudalism in itself is a social injustice which not only places the privileged few in a position of control over the sources of income of the majority, but renders it possible for them to acquire and gain political influence and domination over them : let alone the fact that feudalism is considered the strongest ally of imperialism. Both are united in their common objective of securing political domination over the people and hindering their aspirations and hopes and acting contrary to their interests.

It was customary for the big land-lords to eject entire families from their lands and deprive them of their livelihood. Such feudal lords owned villages, including their lands, buildings, cattle as well as the human beings working in them. Under such an order human values had no meaning, morality sank to its lowest level. There was no binding law or constitution. Moral and religious values were no longer recognised.

We all recall how feudalism dominated and controlled the political parties. It made available for them funds and money necessary to ensure their continuity and victory in electoral campaigns. Even these political parties which were initially national and popular in character and succeeded on this score

to win popular support, submitted ultimately to the influence of feudalism. Instead of working for the interest of the people they began to promote and further the interests of the feudal lords. The peasantry found no one to represent them, or to voice their grievances and echo their aspirations. Democratic institutions and principles began to lose ground. For a long period the country suffered from social and political corruption and the people laboured under foreign as well as internal domination which exploited them.

In the early stages of the revolution the political parties tried to oppose the law of Agrarian reforms, they proposed instead, progressive taxation on land for any period of time even if it meant that all profits accruing from lands should go to the Government. The reason for this is quite clear. Landownership meant equally ownership of the human elements living on these lands. This in its turn helped the feudal lords to establish their political domination and control over the Government. Thus it will be seen that the system of ceilings on property was the only effective means for the removal of this domination and control.

The question that poses itself now is whether or not the liquidation of feudalism had succeeded in bringing about social justice. It is possible that our liquidation of the feudal order was the main factor which helped to remedy the political conditions and prevent feudal domination over the Government. But the liquidation of feudalism was only a prelude for social justice in the agricultural sector, it was inevitable that further measures should be taken to ensure the targets in view. Hence the provisions in the Agrarian reform law which stipulate that :

1. Confiscated land should be owned by the landless farmers.
2. that relations between owners and tenants should be organised and defined.

But are we to content ourselves with that much of achievements and if so what would

be the position of these landless peasants who did not benefit from land distribution and what would be the fate of the new born ones whose birth was bound to increase the number of the landless ?

On social revolution stood to benefit mainly from four of the six basic principles of the revolution. Two of these were devoted to the destruction and removal of the inequitable and unjust conditions permeating our social order and the other two were consecrated to the process of setting up the kind of society we aspire for. Regarding the first, namely the removal of the prevalent corrupt and unjust conditions, it should be remembered that the principles of the revolution advocated the elimination of feudalism as well as the capitalist control over Government. The principles of the revolution also made provisions for a sound democratic life as well as social justices as contributory factors to a better and happier future.

In order to liquidate feudalism we laid down the Agrarian reforms to ensure social justice we hastened to distribute the confiscated land among the landless peasants and not among small or middle land owners. The establishment of co-operative societies amongst peasants benefitting from the Agrarian law was initiated as a means of setting up a healthy sound democratic life.

Important in this context is the following questions namely how would things shape now that the Agrarian law has been implemented over the last 10 years and what degree of progress has been achieved in implementing the targets of the revolution. In reply I would like to state that we have liquidated feudalism and freed the government and society from its grip. Land ownership, for which the ceiling has been fixed at 200 feddens, is no longer a threat to the social structure. The new ceilings do not allow any individual landowner or the total number of landowners throughout the country to exercise control over the politi-

cal and social life. I sincerely believe that we have been able to realise our objective. The Government is no longer one devoted to the service of the privileged few to the detriment of the other remaining classes, but on the contrary, it now works for the general good.

The second question is whether or not the Agrarian reform has met the requirements and objectives of the revolution. In my opinion it has not done so because it was not meant for this but was solely directed towards putting an end to the injustice of an order we have inherited, which has inevitably to be removed as quickly as possible. Thus it can be said that the liquidation of feudalism has culminated in the implementation of the Agrarian reform - the stage now is set for social justice and a sound, healthy, democratic life in the agricultural sector.

The only way to ensure social justice in the field of agriculture is to make it possible for the tillers of the soil to acquire ownership of the lands they till. This would ensure for them and their families a dignified and respectable life. There are two necessary perquisites for that :

I. To increase the area of the agricultural holding to an extent which would guarantee to the holder a reasonable income and to maintain the increase so as to allow and make for the increase in rural population.

II. To organise owners of agricultural land in co-operative societies which would ensure more intensive farming augment their income, and in turn increase the national income. Co-operative farming is bound to force them to be more dependant on modern machinery and technique. This will relieve a large number of labourers who will be eventually absorbed in other professions created by new trends in the social evolution.

The main problem in the realisation of our objective of co-operative socialism in the southern region lies in determining the size of the holdings under cultivation. These are esti-

mated at six million feddans as against twelve million people who form the rural population from which the manpower for agricultural purposes is mainly drawn, in other words the ratio is half a feddan per capita. This does not guarantee the income necessary for a respectable life, nor does it ensure a productive capacity capable of exhausting the work of one single labourer over a period of one year, to say nothing of the increase in population at a rate which would exceed the corresponding increase in the areas of land under cultivation.

This prompts us at this stage of our revolution to concentrate all our efforts on the reclamation of the largest areas of land and render them fit for cultivation and at a rate which should outweigh the anticipated increase in the rural population. This objective can only be achieved by a careful planning to exploit our financial and water resources. Needless to say that national capital is the best guarantee for a successful implementation of any plan because such great objectives are beyond the reach of individual efforts which are not only limited in scope and potential but suffer from lack of synthesis and co-ordination. A point not to be overlooked in this connection is that it is the beneficiaries of land reclamation who must bear the expenses incurred in this process (land reclamation) on the basis of long range payments and at low profit, so that the liabilities of new owners would not in any way exceed those arising from conditions and terms governing tenants. Small profits and long term payments do not normally attract private capital. It is clear from this that the burden of financing big agricultural schemes will have fallen on the shoulders of the government. This pre-supposes close co-operation between credit facility agencies within the administration and the government for fulfilling and objectives of the revolution.

In order to assist and help hired and landless peasants to acquire the status of owners

it is inevitable that they should be organised in co-operative societies aimed at augmenting their income. This can be achieved by making available to their equipment and machinery calculated to increase production at lowest possible cost and loans at low rates of interest. This should be supplemented by measures aimed at helping them in the distribution and sale of their products at high prices. If left to the mercy of agents, middlemen and exploiters, the peasants' income is bound to shrink and accordingly they would not be able to attend to their land. This would accordingly reduce their production which would in turn reduce the national income. The establishment of the co-operative societies in the region benefiting from the Agrarian reform has shown that production increased at a rate ranging between 20 to 50%. It also demonstrated the need to popularise co-operative societies all over the rural areas all the more so when their utility and efficiency has, in the area covered by Agrarian reforms, has been proved. The popularisation of co-operative societies is important as it helps to increase the per capita income and thus national capital and to develop and stimulate agricultural production. The objective behind our co-operative planning is to lay the democratic foundation which would help all members of the co-operative societies to administer their own affairs themselves.

The above mentioned facts go to prove that we strive to attain our goal of co-operative socialism by increasing production and regulating this increase by enlarging the area of agricultural holdings and transforming the greatest number of agricultural labourers into owners. Organising them into co-operative societies which look after their interests and in turn increase their production and ultimately increase the per capita income.

Military Training for Students

By

MR. RAGHUVIR SAHAI NIGAM

THE Government of India is going to launch the Scheme prepared by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. The Central Advisory Board of education has plumped for it. Even the doting Thomases had to accept it as the state of discipline in the institutions has reached the dangerous level, and the country has not been taken by storm by the National Plans. There has been criticism about its practicability only. If it fails, the matters will be doubly worse. A colossal organisation and a very great amount of effort and money will be needed to see it through.

It proposes to carry on General Education also along with physical labour under military service conditions. Ideas about it have been floating in the educational mind, but the propitious moment has arrived now. The national scheme of N.C.C. and A.C.C. should have prepared the field before this Deshmukh's scheme is launched in actuality.

U. P. had tried this scheme for graduates but given it up though it was deemed as the entrance passage for government service.

The programme of Moral and Religious Education should also be shoved in.

There will be certain practical (and even legal) difficulties because most of the intelligent boys will be 17 only, too tender for this rough work. Their day and night association with more grown up boys, of coarser fibre and with the atmosphere of streets, will bring down the sense of finer values. Already the boys in the colleges and the universities coming from families, where the earlier generation had no Higher education, has spoiled the atmosphere in higher educational institutions. Vulgarities have become the norm. Had we had the Intermediate Examination wherein the successful candidates would have been 18 years of age, the problem would have been simpler. Boys passing the Higher Secondary Examination will be 17 only unless they are rotters or come

from comparatively backward families. Hence it will be prudent to mobilise only boys of 18 and above immediately after passing out leaving the younger ones for one year. They may be roped in next year. Thus in the beginning we will have only half the population on our hands. Those tenderer boys may join the first year of the degree course or go in for apprenticeship. They may be called up when they are 18 or later.

Then again the problem of students of Pre-Professional class boys will come in. By pushing them in the production of Engineers and Doctors etc. will be delayed. They may work in three vacations during the course of training for their degrees, or after that.

A big number of workers in the cause will be needed. Honorary workers from the Sadhu Samaj, R. K. Mission, Scouting Organisation, Social Service Organisations or from amongst retired post-graduates may be included.

The bucolic folk may face partial unemployment on account of this corps of voluntary labourers.

All the camps must be treated as Military Camps and political agitators should be shut out by force. Otherwise they will spoil the whole atmosphere.

Compulsion should be only for the boys till ten years have passed. It will mean inviting Romeos who are even now beyond the control of the police and the society and the government.

Completest detailed preparation must precede the starting of the scheme. Otherwise uncontrollable chaos will result. This is the biggest hurdle.

Let us wait with a well-wisher's heart but a sceptic's head.

A sufficient quantity of small arms can be made available for the military training part; but are there enough competent military officers to go round? Military Training should be the heart of this compulsory scheme.

Urban Attitude to Employment

BY

DR. BALJIT SINGH

NO problem in India is as serious and urgent as the staggering urban unemployment which is reported to be increasing at about 8 to 10 per cent per year while the urban population is increasing annually at the rate of 4 to 5 per cent and the total population at about 1.9 per cent.

The backlog of urban unemployment, which was placed at 2.5 million at the beginning of the Second Plan is likely to reach the 4 million mark by its end. It is obvious that a situation like this has developed on account of the rate of employment falling below the rate of increase in urban labour force. At the same time there is the intriguing situation that quite a large number of jobs still remain unfilled either owing to the non-availability of suitable candidates or because of the unwillingness of the unemployed workers to accept them. In other words, economically and psychologically, the unemployed are not fully prepared for employment.

Economically, this unpreparedness is due to lack of training and education as is clear from the fact that 50 per cent of the persons registered with the employment exchanges in the country are unskilled. Secondly, they crowd themselves in occupations with limited outlets, such as clerical and unskilled jobs. As many as 80 per cent of the total persons on the live registers of employment exchanges are in these two occupations.

Equally important is the psychological make-up of the unemployed, as conditioned by our social milieu. Owing to the peculiarity of our family system and traditional values, the unemployed do not lose face either in society or at home to the same extent as in industrialised and advanced countries. They continue to share the family food as before and suffer no loss of prestige within the family. The problem of making the ends meet is solved to a considerable extent either by living within the joint family or by contributions from the employed kinsmen and relations, who are supposed to be under an obligation to support the unemployed relatives.

The social pressure of this obligation is such that, willingly or unwillingly, the employed

must support their unemployed kith and kin while the latter gradually develop a feeling of complacency and no longer remain very keen to seek employment. They become accustomed to this state and thus unemployment breeds unemployability which feeds on our traditional value pattern. In its absence, a great many of the unemployed might have been forced to seek self-employment in one way or the other, as an alternative to wage employment or even to accepting such jobs as are available.

To illustrate this point—namely that the high incidence of unemployment is to a certain extent due to the economic and psychological unpreparedness of the unemployed for employment—we may make a case study of the Kanpur employment market. Kanpur is the premier industrial town of North India giving employment to 37 per cent of the total average daily factory workers in Uttar Pradesh. According to the Census Report of 1951, only 52 per cent of the self-supporting persons engaged in the non-agricultural sector in the Kanpur district were employees and as many as 44 per cent were independent workers, mostly in the cottage industries and handicrafts. An occupational analysis of the unemployed persons on the registers of the Kanpur exchange reveals that 48 per cent were registered for unskilled work, 26 per cent for clerical work, 2 per cent for crafts and skilled jobs, and 5 per cent for professional, technical and administrative jobs. As against this, the demand for the quarter January to March 1959, was to the extent of 63 per cent for the craftsmen and other skilled workers, 2.7 per cent for clerical workers, 33 per cent for unskilled workers and 1.2 per cent for the rest. This shows the disproportion between the patterns of demand and supply.

But a major handicap in the employment situation is the grading of occupations and jobs by their prestige. Work as such is not dignified and there is little dignity attached to labour, especially, manual labour. It looks that those who can afford to earn or live without any labour have a higher status than those who work. The result of a study in social mobility at Kanpur, confirmed this hypothesis.

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FUTURE OF NEGROES IN U. S. A.

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(Dr. Baljit Singh, "Urban Middle Class Climbers") Occupations enjoying varying degrees of esteem in the eyes of the urban middle classes could be arranged in a descending order as follows: administration, medicine, business, engineering, university teaching, legal practice, ministerial and clerical work, factory operative and manual and unskilled work.

In this enquiry a sample population from the middle class was asked to name the five most esteemed occupations, five ordinary occupations and five least esteemed occupations. The most esteemed occupations in order of their rank are administration, medicine, business, engineering, university teaching and legal practice.

It is significant that administrative jobs came at the top in the scale of prestige. It is partly a legacy of the high status occupied by the administrators under the British rule and partly a reflection of the existing system under which an administrative officer is in a position to direct and command others and even to distribute patronage.

The least esteemed occupations are the clerical and unskilled jobs. An unskilled job is rated low probably in all societies but the rating of clerical and ministerial jobs as next to that of ordinary labourers and coolies seems to be an index of the poor emoluments and subordination attached to these. Yet most of the persons registered with the employment exchanges look for an unskilled job or for the post of a clerk. This reflects their economic unpreparedness for any other occupation and is an index of a hiatus in our planning in the field of training and education. The low acceptability value of these jobs and the excessive manpower supply in these occupations reveal a contradiction that must be taken into account in our Plans.

Both objectively and in our minds, occupations are arranged in a hierarchy. Some are more esteemed than others and there are even the *declassé* occupations in which persons of the upper and middle classes as of the higher and intermediate castes run the danger of losing their class and caste.

The most esteemed occupations usually require high skill, training and education. But it is not always so. For example business enjoys a high prestige and yet many carry on business with little education. A clerical job is one of the least esteemed but it requires a minimum standard of education that still only a few have. Like education, income, too is not always a directing principle of occupational hierarchy. Many lawyers and university or degree college teachers earn less than some persons in the ministerial jobs; yet they have more prestige and status than clerks, typists etc.

Analysing the status system we find that prestige goes with power from whatever source it may be derived. For example private business is still held in high esteem because of its command over means of production and labour. This is certainly not helpful for the growth of the public sector relative to the private sector and reveals a bias in our scale of values that may hinder the growth of a socialist society.

But the most disturbing aspect is that all work is not considered equally dignified. The distinction between manual and mental work is sharp and a definite indignity is attached to the former and this is practised by the educated even more than by the illiterates. Moreover, persons who work and earn have a lower status than those who live by unearned income. Socialism can hardly be built on such anachronistic attitudes and values.

Future of Negroes in U. S. A.

By

"AN ANTHROPOLOGIST"

THE year 1960 marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the National Urban League, Inc., a biracial organization with branches in sixty-three cities or thirty-two states of the United States—50 years of accomplishment which is a tribute to the men and women of different races who have

worked together. The "do it yourself" character of the organization lies in the fact that without lecturing, without indictment, and without name-calling, the Urban League has instilled in millions of Americans of different races, the desire and energy to do something themselves about cleaning up the

racial differences heaped at their own back door.

The League is the outgrowth of three earlier organizations, founded to improve conditions for Negroes. After working together as a federation for several years, they joined in 1910 to become the National League for Urban Conditions Among Negroes. In 1913, the League was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, and at about this time started on its national programme.

It was soon working with the beginning of a wave of migration to the big industrial centres of the north. While today, more than a third of the American Negroes live in the cities of the north and west, and only about one in every eight Negroes lives in a rural area, 50 years ago the majority of the population lived on farms in the south. In Chicago alone between 1940 and 1950, 227,000 Negroes took up residence.

During World War I, the League suggested that Negroes be appointed to the U.S. Department of Labour, and Dr. George Haynes, who established the Industrial Committee, was made a special assistant to U.S. Secretary of Labour Wilson, serving as Director of Negro Economics.

Since its founding, the League has greatly broadened its activities. While it still focusses its main effort on the achievement of equal economic opportunity for everyone, it is also working to obtain for the Negro and other minority groups, a well-rounded community life—better health, housing, school and home conditions, and recreational facilities.

One of the most important of the League's tools, is its use of the social survey to accurately ascertain the facts of a given situation without which efforts to solve the problem would be futile.

In so far as conditions permit, the local Urban Leagues are organizationally and functionally similar to the National Urban League. The National Urban League board of trustees includes interracial leaders from industry, labour, business and civic troupes. Local Urban League boards of directors have like representation, and are supported by community funds and gifts.

From a modest budget of \$ 8,500 for its first year of operations, the income of the National Urban League had grown to \$ 386,000 in 1958.

In Little Rock, Arkansas, the League helped float a bond issue to create a home for juvenile delinquents, and dependents; it has sponsored educational film showings on mental health and family living; it has sponsored public information programmes on sanitation and individual health measures; it was instrumental in getting new water, sewer, gas lines, and newly paved streets for the city.

The U.S. Department of State commended the New Orleans League for its assistance in offering hospitality to visitors of other countries; the New Orleans League has also sponsored an institute for women on "Negro Women in the World Today and Tomorrow."

The New Brunswick Urban League cooperated with Rutgers University on a course in the "Fundamentals of Supervision" for industrial workers.

In Pontiac, Michigan, the League sponsored a workshop to promote better racial understanding, which won them the annual award for outstanding community service.

These are but a very few of the local Urban League activities.

Since the economic position of the Negro wage earner is one of the League's primary concerns, it has established a National Commerce and Industry Council, composed of the ranking officers of about thirty-six of the United States' most important corporations, to promote the use of trained Negro workers in American industry. The National Trade Union Committee also works with the League to correct instances of racial discrimination in unions. A Southern Industry Project, supported by the industry and unions of the south, and by grants from Fund for the Republic, the Philip Murray Memorial Fund, and the Marshall Field Foundation, help management and labour recruit, and increase the use of Negro manpower in the south's expanding industries.

Close to the programme of improvement of labour opportunity for the Negro, are the League's education programmes.

Although the Negro enrollment in U.S. universities and colleges has tripled since 1940, only one out of 20 of the approximately 18 million American Negroes attend college. Of those that do attend, a great many still prepare themselves for elementary and high school teaching positions. The League is trying to stimulate interest in other professions,

and encourage Negroes to take advantage of the wider scholastic opportunities open to them.

A new programme for students in thirty-two cities is "Tomorrow's Scientists and Technicians" (TST). The TST is supervised by a National Advisory Committee of prominent scientists and technicians, and an interracial National Sponsoring Committee provides financial support and personal participation.

An "Adoption of Negro Children" programme sponsored by the League is increasingly successful, and has the support of \$300,000 in special grants from U.S. foundations.

In 1958, a programme to broaden cooperation between the League and church and church-related groups was inaugurated.

Poet Iqbal

By

Mr. N. GLEBOV

URDU literature is rightly proud of its eminent poets Mir Taqui Mir, Nazir Akbarabadi, Mirza Ghalib and Altaf Husain Hali, who in the past century advocated the lofty ideals of humanism, freedom and equality and prophesied the triumph of reason and justice.

The outstanding poet and thinker Mohammad Iqbal, true to the democratic traditions established in Urdu literature by his great predecessors, strengthened them and sharpened the edge of this literature making it a mighty weapon for national liberation.

The people called Iqbal the great poet of the East. Depicting in all its vastness and glory the surging national liberation movement of this century not only in India, but throughout the enslaved East, he amply deserved this title. He devoted all his talent and energy to the service of the people. His profound desire to smash the fetters of subjugation and oppression and to lead the East out to the highway of progress made his poetry ring out like a clarion call, awakening the enslaved peoples from their age-old lethargy.

An annual Equal Opportunity Day, begun by the League and celebrated on November 19th—the anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address—now has wide national, state, and local sponsorship.

To make its survey findings available to those interested, the Urban League began publication of its magazine *Opportunity* in 1923.

This magazine has also served as a vehicle for the works of Negro writers and poets,

The Leagues' work is primarily one of getting the facts, and discussing them with civic leaders to obtain community action. The only leverage applied is that of bringing a problem to the attention of the citizen, for the average citizen in following his conscience has the basic desire to be a good citizen.

There is tangible proof in the United States today of the Urban League's slogan—"American Teamwork Works."

The times must change! Away with lies, deceit!

'Neath the heels of kings my land doth cry and weep.

'Gainst the Himalayas the angry waters beat;

The Chinese are waking from their long, long sleep!

It was in the 'thirties, in a colonial India, where British imperialism was still strong, and when one needed great courage to express the will of a freedom seeking people, that Iqbal returned this verdict against imperialism, and uttered this formidable prophecy.

Iqbal's patriotic poems *The Himalayas*, *The Song of the Indian Children*, *Our India* and *The New Temple* earned universal recognition and high commendation for their passionate call for the solidarity and unity of the peoples of India, regardless of racial or religious distinction.

Whereas in his early works Iqbal had practically nothing to say on social topics, in his later works, especially in his works of the 'twenties,

social topics became dominant. His stay and travels in Europe gave the poet the chance to see for himself that the much-vaunted Western democracy was rotting at the root. He came to abhor imperialism for its overt preparations for war to redivide the world, and for the cravings of European states to place weaker countries and nations in bondage. As far back as in 1907, Iqbal prophesied the doom of capitalist Europe.

The civilization of the Sahibs a sword to slay

Itself will make!

For 'tis sure that beneath a heavy nest a slender

Twig or branch must break.

Iqbal's exposure of Western pseudo-democracy and his full unveiling of all the terrifying evils of bourgeois society are a salient feature of his poetry.

The great poet's mounting wrath against capitalism and his unceasing quest for a better pattern of society, Jawaharlal Nehru has emphasised in his characterisation of Iqbal in the book *The Discovery of India* in these words: "In the evening of his life Iqbal turned more and more to socialism. He was attracted by Soviet Russia's stupendous achievements. Even his poetry took a different trend."

In one of his philosophical poems *The Rise of Islam* from the collection *The Call of the Caravan*, Iqbal lays bare the substance of imperialist society and convincingly shows it to be but short-lived.

The victims of cruel mammon

Still in its bonfires blaze

And man a wolf to brother man

Doth so far still remain.

The guise of modern culture

May eyes and minds still daze,

But art today is nothing more

Than of tinsel gay a skein,

And as for their much-vaunted science

A look behind the scenes

Reveals it as a blood-stained axe

That mammon only wields.

No subtle ruse, chicanery,

Will ever serve to screen

The culture based on mammon,

The culture money builds.

Mohammad Iqbal lived and worked in the turbulent times of the 20th century, when the Indian people were rising valiantly to battle for their national emancipation. It was that

progressive movement which lent power to his poetry. However, his work also reflects the historical ups and downs of the time, which undoubtedly could not but cause the poet to experience waverings and contradictions in his world outlook. Like most outstanding men of literature and art, in his poetry Iqbal is more progressive than in his philosophy. In his finest creations he rises to the heights of the most advanced and revolutionary ideals of his contemporary society.

The socialist revolution in Russia greatly influenced the poet's works. In his later poems we find not only condemnation of the capitalist world, but also a fiery call for a new life. In his popular poem *The prophet's Path* under the heading *Capital and Labour*, Iqbal directly says that the working masses must win for themselves a better lot.

Hailing the new socialist system in Soviet Russia, Iqbal points to the road to a new life.

In West, and East, O toiling man, your epoch has begun!

'Twas yesterday the universe a sun did bear, a wonder.

So why bemoan the fading shine of stars whose day is done?

The giant man has raised his head and cleft his chains asunder,

And now o'er long-lost paradise will Adam long be waiting?

A very interesting poem is his wellknown *Lenin*, in which Iqbal, seeming to crystallise his indictment of capitalism, expresses indignation through the lips of the great leader of the Russian socialist revolution.

The European for the East may be a god divine,

But in the West the golden calf is god enough for them.

And where one in luxury doth wallow like a swine

Are millions to the rack of toil by poverty condemned.

Death, unemployment, vice, and ruin, tears and miseries

Are all the West can register among its victories.

The answer in this poem of the creator himself, an answer calling for a revolutionary change in the established order, rings out as the living embodiment of Iqbal's own ideals.

Mongolian Architecture

By

Mr. K. PERINLA

THE surveys of archaeological findings and the hitherto known sources of written accounts reveal that the old conception of Mongolia as a region that had led but a nomadic way of life for thousands of years should be rectified. Over 300 places of agricultural settlements or forts, castles and cities excavated by the Mongolian archaeologists show that the ancient tribes, including the ancestors of the Mongols, were partly settlers from time immemorial. Archaeological explorations at the monuments of architecture in Mongolia bear eloquent testimony to the fact that the art of architecture in the country has its root in ancient times. In the course of its historical process of elevation, architecture in Mongolia did create different types of erections and forms of artistic and structural effects. The ancient Indian and Chinese architecture being the paragon of artistic perfection exerted deep and abiding influence upon Mongolian architecture. Since long the ancient Indian architectural art was known to the Mongolian architects. Many Lama-scientists wrote comprehensive annotations to the Indian classical works on architecture. To cite an example Sumba Khamba Ish-Baldan in the 18th and Bichiech Tsoorji Agwang-Tsereng in the 19th century wrote such annotation.

With the development of the Mongolian society and culture, the types of architectural forms and their complexity underwent considerable change. The main types of edifice erection in Mongolia pertain to the various dwelling-houses, buildings of communal type governmental palaces, halls for conferences or schools, defensive structures, premises of commercial and cultural character and so on.

The most ancient architectural monuments in Mongolia are caves with the remains of human activities, the round pits called in Mongolian *Gazryn Urkh* and dolmens (prehistoric sepulchral chambers of erect unhewn stones supporting a flattish stone) and cromlech (ring-like bulwarks or constructions put on or dug into ground, serving evidently for the propagation of religious cults).

The *ger* or *yurt* is the most ancient structure of Mongolian creation. The *ger* is a

light, prefabricated and collapsible structure which can be easily transported on carts or pack animals. It consists of a wooden frame with a felt cover. On an average it is 4-5.5m in diameter and 3 m or little more in height. The circular form of the *plen* provides maximum use of the floor space and the round shape of the *yurt* enables it to bear considerable wind stresses.

At the end of the second millennium B.C. there appeared fortified settlements of the Huns within the territory of Mongolia. For example, the remains of the settlements were discovered by the Mongolian archaeologists on the bank of Kherlin River. These are Tereljiin Durbeljin or Hasar Balgas, Burkhin Durbeljin or Harlagchin Balgas, Gua-Dob, Baruun Dureegin Kherem. The ramparts of these settlements are of clay and the shape is quadrangular. Inside the ramparts there are 2 or 3 knolls, the remains of earlier structures.

There are ruins of a number of fortified towns built by the Ugurs and Kidans in 8th to 12th centuries in the basin of the Orkhen, Tola and Kherlin rivers. These towns were surrounded by massive and strong earth walls. The main types of the edifices were dwelling houses, palaces, temples and irrigational canals. The town palaces of the Ugur and Kidan nobles or peers stood out differently from the dwelling houses of landlords, craftsmen or petty traders.

The definite initial instances of a partial lay-out of cities can be traced back to the history of the ancient states that existed on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. According to the archaeological data available, since the 8th century town-planning has been in evidence and the construction of city or other quarters inhabited by different social groups of the population in Mongolia was distinct from each other; the temples and palaces were distinguishable and stood out from the principal group of structures.

In the cities of ancient states within the territory of the present Mongolian People's Republic much attention was paid to defensive structures and the building of palaces and the places of worship.

Judging from ancient writings, during the period of the 12th and 13th centuries, i.e., prior to the formation of a united Mongolian government, there were a number of cities including the ancient city of Kara-Korum.

At the outset of the 13th century there were built the Grand Palace "Wang-an Gun" of the Ugedei Khan and a number of other monumental erections meant for different purposes. In the construction of these, Chinese, French, Tangut, Turkish, and Persian skilled craftsmen as well as artisans of other lands took part. The particles and the embellishments made to the edifices could tell of the local modes or methods and tradition which were found in the Mongolia long before the 13th century and embodied in the architectural monuments of the 8th to the 10th centuries.

Kara-Korum was not the only city in Mongolia of that period. According to writings and archaeological sources there were other cities under the Ugedei Khan—apart from the capital of Kara-Korum—like Saorin, Toskhu and a number of palaces as well as settlements of craft and agricultural nature belonging to the early 13th century.

In the second half of the 13th and in the first half of 14th centuries, i.e., during the reign of the Yuan Dynasty there existed cities of Erchu-in-Tsagan-Balgas, Aral-in-Tsagan-Balgas which matched successfully with the city of Khan-Balyk (Peking), and the city of "the Majesty" the Khublai Khan and Bars-Khoto in northern Mongolia. The cities which are not mentioned in the ancient records may be also named here. These are: Shaazan-Khoto, Shaazan-Tolgoi, Dugshkiin-Balgat, etc.

At the end of the 14th century of the Mongolian Empire in China collapsed and due to the period of the internecine wars the decline of the feudal power ensued. As a result, the cities and the populated settlements were destroyed and were not brought back to life again.

That is why, the Mongolian architecture of those days fails to furnish us with any definite knowledge on it.

The monumental architecture of Mongolia

resurrected in the 16th century and come to hand is of great interest. This architecture mainly consists of religious (Buddhist) and palatial erections.

In the second half of the 16th century Lamaism was widespread all over Mongolia. From the end of the 16th century in northern Mongolia (the territory of the present Mongolian People's Republic) the construction of temples and palatial edifices was started on a large scale. The Erdeni-Zu the first Buddhist Monastery, was commenced to be constructed in 1585.

In the middle of the 17th century the yurt-like take-down temples capable of being transported appeared in the Da-Hure Monastery (Urga). The initial model of these erections was the ger of the nomadic Mongols.

In this manner the ger-like buildings were originated which were chiefly Lamastery temples.

Much attention was paid by architects to the construction of roofs which were one of the principal architectural components of the whole buildings. Sometimes the roofs were embellished with dormer-windows and superstructures upon the top. The superstructure outwardly reminds of a small house in Chinese style.

In the middle of the 7th century the Chinese style construction of the "Gurban-Zu" Temple in the Erdeni-Zu Monastery and in the 18th century the Labran Temple in Tibetan style in the same Monastery began to be erected.

The mixed types of architectural monuments were in evidence in Mongolia starting from the 19th century. A Maidar Temple designed by Lama scholar Agwan Haidub was erected in the Da-Hure (Urga). The lower part of the temple was of Tibetan style while the upper one is yurt-like. It is also evident that other combinations of Chinese, Tibetan and even of Japanese styles can be found in Mongolian architecture.

The attempts to erect yurt-like buildings are also observed in our days.

The Human Efficiency on Railways

By
SRI KRIPAL SINGH

ELEVEN and a half lakh men and women work on 35,000 miles of the Indian railway network. What do they do? Here are some typical examples of these workers:

There is the assistant station master at a small wayside station sitting at his table in the dim light of a small kerosene oil lamp receiving a telegraphic message, all alone except for a porter squatting outside the door of his room. Darkness envelopes the station and its surroundings. Nobody is watching this man's work, there is none to prevent him from snatching a little sleep. But he resists all such thoughts.

He can make a little money when he starts distributing tickets to passengers. He can be rude and unhelpful. But he is courteous to passengers and gives them correct information after making proper enquiries.

There is the gangman, asleep. He has worked hard during the day to maintain the railway track in a safe condition. In a dreamy state he hears thunder; he wakes up and finds it heavily raining. The track is threatened. He gets up, lights up his hand signal lamp, picks up his box of detonators, and rushes out to patrol the line so as to ensure that a train is stopped in time and does not pass over a breach or a fallen tree or stone and gets derailed. Nobody has directed him to do what he is doing. He had, of course, been taught what should be done when such a situation arises, but he could have slept on.

There is the office clerk, reading through the file. He has come to the office punctually and has started off straightaway with the disposal of the files awaiting his attention. All day long except for the half an hour's lunch break at midday he is busy dealing with one paper after another. This man could have slipped in half an hour late in the morning. He could then have chatted on with his colleagues wasting his time as well as theirs. He could have

delayed the disposal of the leave and pass applications. The staff on line needing the passes and leave urgently would have suffered, but he could have been callous and not cared for the consequences of his slackness. But he has not done all this.

There is the shunting jamadar trying to break the incoming trains to form new trains to go in different directions. It is bitterly cold, there is howling wind and a drizzle has started. The yard is not as well-lighted as it might be. He and his staff are inclined to take shelter but he does not do so and does not let the others do so either. The yard master cannot keep an eye all the time at every place in the yard and this shunting jamadar could have temporarily stopped work allowing the wagons to stand where they are until the drizzle had ceased. The stoppage of work by this man could have probably gone unnoticed. But he decided that he must continue the work despite bad weather.

Here is a man busy at a machine in a workshop, manufacturing or repairing a part for a carriage or wagon. He is active and confident and does his work fast, turns out a good quantity of quality products. Here, too, he could have been slow; instead of taking an hour to turn out the part, he could have taken two. He could have blamed the machine or the tool or the material. But he does not do so.

So also the fitter in a loco workshop and the goods clerk in the goods shed and endless array of other workers. It is the work of these men and others like them that in the main determines the efficiency of the railways. How can the quality and quantity of this work be improved?

First comes recruitment: Officers are recruited through U.P.S.C., Class III staff through the four Railway Service Commissions and Class IV staff through specially consti-

uted local selection boards. It is necessary that all these recruiting commissions and boards do their work without fear or favour so as to inspire full confidence about their impartiality and competence among the candidates and get the best stuff for the railway services.

Next is training. A raw hand cannot be put straight to the job without serious loss of efficiency; he must be given proper training. Railways have a large number of training institutions to give both theoretical as well as practical training to all the men whom they take in. Arrangements are also there for men in service being taken in at periodical intervals either for refresher courses or for giving them advanced training to make them fit for higher posts. A few training centres have recently been opened where men with ambition can go in their off duty hours and learn higher skills and proficiency to improve their future prospects.

A special commission consisting of two retired General Managers is at present investigating how training facilities on railways can be improved and standardized.

Then comes the need of inculcating in the new recruits a sense of discipline, duty and integrity. It is not possible to have a supervisor keeping a watch on the work of every railway man at every station, shed, sick line and yard and it is their sense of duty and high integrity and their live consciousness for safety of trains that keep the men working honestly and according to rules.

The conceptions of discipline, duty and morality have to be nurtured in a growing boy or girl essentially by his parents at home and the teachers at school, but since railways cannot have any say how a child is brought up in these places, the best they can do is to try to put in the proper ideas in their new employees at the training schools. For this purpose it has now been decided that every recruit in a training school would be given an hour's physical training everyday. This would not

only keep him fit but also teach him teamwork which is so very important for efficient railway working and at the same time discipline him. A course of lectures is to be delivered to awaken in the minds of these young recruits a keen sense of duty, selfless and devoted service and the need to maintain purity of character.

After they leave the training schools, what is most important is the personal example of other staff and of their supervisors and officers. Unless the latter maintain proper discipline and display a sense of duty and selfless service and maintain an unsullied integrity, mere words from them will not give adequate strength to these young recruits to resist temptation. Railways also have Territorial Army Units and N.C.C. groups in schools attached to workshops. Scouting, Red Cross and St. John Ambulance, sports and athletic activities are also actively conducted on the railways and participation in them by staff is encouraged at all levels.

All these activities tend to create in the mind of the railway employee a spirit of comradeship and a sense of discipline, besides keeping him physically fit. Arranging talks by men who are noted for their high integrity and character and who have dedicated their lives to the service of the people should also exert good influence on staff collected to hear them and this should be encouraged at least in big railway colonies.

An employee should feel that he gets a remuneration appropriate to the nature of work he does and the qualifications he has to possess for occupying this post. Satisfaction with what one gets is, of course, a rare thing. Everyone desires to get more but what is fair and reasonable can be determined by experienced and disinterested people. Government's decisions on Pay Commission's report have already been announced. Staff, of course, have not got what they probably had expected in the matter of scales of pay and allowances, but there is no doubt that with the present level of national production, the general econo-

mic conditions prevailing in the country, the growing population and the need to develop economy, it is not practicable and prudent to have a minimum wage any higher than what has been recommended by the Pay Commission. The only method by which the minimum wage can be fixed at a higher level is by an increase in the creation of national wealth at a faster rate than the growth of population and an increase in the productivity per head. The scales of pay recommended by the Pay Commission are generally consistent with the nature of work required to be performed by each employee and there should be no ground for any dissatisfaction in this regard.

Besides the normal salary, there should be some other incentive for staff to do good work. Men should be conscious of the fact that good work attracts officers' notice and would pay adequate dividend.

There is already on the railways a system of giving rewards for outstanding work. This is being further liberalised.

Also, a beginning is being made with the incentive bonus scheme which is expected to be introduced in all railway workshops by the end of the next year. Such a scheme already exists and covers most of the workers in the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works. It has also been introduced a few months ago in the Integral Coach Factory, Perambur. Its further extension to other fields of work would depend upon the results it gives in the workshops.

The worker should be properly housed. The number of quarters available for housing railway staff is only 30 per cent of the total number. In the past, Railway Administrations did not build quarters to house all their staff because accommodation was easily available at cheap rates outside. After the last war, however, things have changed and at many places private houses are not available except at high rents and thus the need for building quarters has become very urgent.

The second Plan provided for an expenditure of Rs. 50 crores for staff quarters and

staff amenities. It is expected that more than 55,000 quarters would have been added during the second Five Year Plan. The need to construct more quarters, however, continues and in the Third Plan also, the railways would have to allot a large sum for this purpose. The pace cannot be accelerated further on account of the limited resources not only in money but also in material and building capacity. The matter is receiving the most sympathetic interest of the administrations.

The rents charged for quarters allotted to the staff are low and compare favourably not only with the rents outside but also with the rents paid by other Government servants for accommodation allotted to them by their Departments.

Then there is the education of children. The responsibility for providing facilities for education devolves on State Governments and they are doing what they can with the money, material and teaching staff available to them. There are however places where there are large railway colonies but no schools provided either by the State or by any private person or body. At such places, it has been the policy of the Railway Ministry to open schools for primary, middle and higher secondary education. Some of these institutions are also now giving college education.

The present number of such institutions run by the railways for the children of their staff is 568 primary (including 462 single teacher type), 22 middle, and 31 high/higher secondary Railway schools and two intermediate colleges. Educational assistance is also granted to staff who may have to send their children to schools away from their station of posting because of no proper facilities being available there. In all primary classes of all schools, children of railway employees drawing pay less than Rs. 200 p.m. are to be provided with free uniforms also. From April 1, 1960, all primary education in an Indian language or in English, if it is the mother-tongue, would be given free of charge in railway primary schools in India.

A large number of scholarships and free studentships is also granted to railway employee's sons and daughters, scholarships being principally for technical education.

More railway schools are opened every year as the need for them arises and resources permit. Twelve subsidized hostels in various linguistic areas were opened in 1959-60 where concession rates are charged for children of all employees receiving pay upto Rs. 300 p.m. These hostels accommodate boys who cannot get education in their own language at the stations where their parents are posted.

Children are also taken on hikes and educational tours to places of historical, geographical, cultural and scientific importance so as to give them a taste of open and collective life and broaden their minds while inculcating in them a sense of discipline, self-help and co-operative working.

The railway employee and his family members may fall sick and no medical aid may be available at the place of work. He or the members of his family may require shifting to a hospital. This can be a source of great worry and tell on the workers' efficiency. Adequate facilities have, however, been provided for timely and efficient medical assistance to staff.

Railway hospitals are among the best equipped in the country and are manned by very competent doctors. Almost every central and divisional district headquarter of a railway has a big hospital. In addition, there are health units located at suitable distances. Besides these, a new experiment of having mobile dispensaries is also being tried; 15 mobile dispensaries are at present functioning on sections where health units are at a little distance. Specialist treatment is available in all railway hospitals at the Railway headquarters which have the services of leading specialists in heart, ear, nose and throat, surgery, T.B. and other diseases. The railway have at present 70 hospitals and 448 health units and the average annual expenditure per

head on medical facilities amounts to Rs. 26.9. This is in addition to Rs. 23.00 per head incurred on general health and sanitation.

Medical facilities provided by the railways are probably the best as compared to those provided in any Government or private enterprise and these services are likely to be expanded further. The treatment of railway staff and their families in these hospitals and health units is free.

There should be some arrangement for a worker's entertainment and diversion after he has put in a hard day's work. All over Indian railways there are staff institutes and recreation and sports clubs. Recently, cultural associations at important places have been started. Every railwayman can become a member of these institutions and take part in any of the activities he wishes to—athletics, games, dramas, dance, music, reading, writing and social work.

These institutions are being run by the employees themselves under the help and guidance of railway administrations and they are being encouraged more and more so as to make the leisure hours of staff profitable not only for them and their children but for the country as a whole.

Institutes are also now starting mobile libraries for distribution of books to staff at wayside stations so that they can enrich their minds and pass their leisure time in reading books by wellknown authors.

Although living at wayside stations is generally cheap, there are things that the employee may need but not be able to procure at his station. To make his purchases cheaper still and also bring all his necessities within his reach, railways are running a large number of co-operative consumer societies all managed by the staff themselves, under the guidance and assistance of railway administrations. To avail of cheap credit facilities, to meet his need for funds for marriages, etc., the staff can join the railway co-operative credit societies which

have a large membership open to railway staff only.

On some railways these co-operative societies are the best in the country and have rendered useful service over long years. The total number of co-operative credit societies in railways at present is 26 and of co-operative consumer stores 154. Every Railway Administration employs co-operative inspectors to look after these societies and there is a senior experienced officer drawn from a State Government on special duty for this purpose in the Railway Board.

There should be a scheme to encourage original ideas among employees about how a particular process or item of work on the railways could be improved. Such a scheme does in fact exist on the Indian railways. The worker can write to the Divisional Superintendent or the General Manager of the Railway giving all the details of his suggestion and if it is found to be valuable and practicable, it would be accepted and the employee amply rewarded for it.

Many workshop employees have been responsible for inventing new devices, new methods or new designs, some of which have been patented by the railways and actually adopted with great benefit both to the railways as well as to the employee responsible for the invention. In other fields of work also, suggestions have come from staff and have been recognised by the administrations.

As a matter of fact, every railway officer has instructions to encourage his staff to come forward with their ideas as to how the efficiency of any particular job or machine can be improved and rewards for such suggestions are liberally given and adequate publicity undertaken to bring to the notice of all staff the good work done by such men.

Recently, Station Councils have been set up at stations, sick lines, sheds, etc., where the staff can get together once a month at least and deliberate on how the efficiency of working of the station, sick lines, loco shed, etc.,

can be improved. These councils have just started and more of them will come up and their work watched with great interest. A great deal is expected from these councils but every thing depends upon the interest that the staff and the officers take in them and the way they are made to function.

At these councils information can be given to the staff as to what the administration expects of the particular staff, what the targets for the current Plan are, what principal developments will take place on the Railway as a whole, the section on which the station, shed or sick line is situated and at the station, shed or sick line itself, what the financial position of the Railway is, what men elsewhere on railways have been able to achieve in the immediate past, etc.

The grant of leave and passes in time and prompt payment of salaries and allowances and other dues are important and need an adequate amount of attention not only by personnel officers but also by the executive officer concerned. Every Railway Administration employs a large number of welfare inspectors who go round and meet the staff not only to find out what their grievances and complaints are but also to suggest positive steps to promote their welfare.

The number of complaints received from his section about non-payment or delayed payment of dues, delay in the sanction of leave, passes and increments, irregularities in the matter of seniority and promotion, etc., should be the criterion for judging the success or failure of a welfare inspector and he who cannot deliver the goods or does not take sufficient interest in the well being of the staff under his jurisdiction should be changed over to something else which will better suit him and replaced by another man with proper aptitude for this kind of work.

The worker wishes to associate with his colleagues and make a united stand to ameliorate his conditions of service. He wants to be a member of a union recognised by the

Railway Administration. He wants to negotiate with the railway management on behalf of his union. Indian railways have provided for all this. Instead of one recognised union for all workers, unfortunately there are two; efforts by the Ministry to unite them have so far failed. And there is the widely known permanent negotiating machinery with its three tiers which has been working successfully for about ten years now.

Relations between the unions and the Railway Administrations have been smooth and cordial all these years and will continue to be so given mutual understanding and goodwill on both sides.

Lastly—and I think this is most important—the treatment that a worker receives from his supervisors, inspectors and officers determines the whole psychological approach of a worker to his work and to the Administration. If no respect is paid to his human dignity, if no regard is paid to his human feelings and needs, if he is treated as a minor cog in the wheel, if no personal interest is taken in him, if his difficulties and personal problems are not appreciated properly, his reaction to work will not be of the right kind. He will feel discontented, disgruntled, frustrated and bitter.

It is necessary that a supervisor or an officer should put himself in the place of a worker to be able to feel what he is likely to feel and the way he is likely to react to any situation. While discipline should be maintained with firmness, there should be full human sympathy with the worker's difficulties and a genuine desire to help him to overcome them. Firmness and compassion should go together. Officers and inspectors should be leaders of their men rather than officials exercising authority.

The quality of a worker's output can be improved by creating a sense of pride in him for his work and it is necessary that his work is respected and recognised by those who are placed above him and the sense of pride in it engendered in his mind by showing him its relationship with bigger things and bigger objectives. In day to day dealings with staff there should be no distinction based on the various classes in which railway employees are graded.

Railways are the largest undertaking run by the Government of the people for the people. They employ over 11.5 lakhs of men and have a capital-at-charge of Rs. 1,357 crores. Although there are other forms of transport now catering to the requirements of movement both of passengers and goods, railways by far are and will continue to be the best method of transport on land for long distances and for large consignments, and upon the efficiency of their operation will depend the growth and efficiency of industry, agriculture and commerce. Men working in this undertaking are thus privileged, besides earning their bread by their daily work, to contribute according to their outturn to the building up of the nation and to bring about as rapidly as possible a rise in the standard of living of our people by meeting the need for transport of our growing economy which is responsible for the creation of national wealth which ultimately is what determines the standard of living. That is the feeling which should inspire every railwayman, and make him put up with temporary difficulties and discomforts which now and then may be his lot while performing his duty to the country.

That way alone efficiency and productivity on railways will go up for the common benefit of the staff and the people.

America Redivivus

By

Mr. T. S. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A., I.C.S., (Retd.) Bar-at-Law.

THERE is an old tag, when Adam delved and Eve span, where was then this gentleman? One is tempted on reading this mellifluous, documented, accurate, very readable generalisation on the character of American History* to adapt and say, where Goldsmith delved and Bryce did drone, span, Brook plays the Cicerone.

To play the guide like a Cicero or a Beedekar requires more than a mere cooking of odd items of scrap information. Well-equipped by studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, as a foundation followed by specialisation in American research methods at Yale, Berkeley (California), and John Hopkins Universities, with trial sketches by a Life of Liverpool, British Essays on American History, and the inevitable tabloid articles on American and British History in the New Cambridge Modern History, Mr. Brock has ventured and with success in this "sketch of politics in the broadest sense, with the art of living together in society." It is shyly intended for those with no previous knowledge of the history of the United States, and also with the hope that it will be not altogether unprofitable to the Scholar and the Cognoscenti." Dedicated to HELEN whose face launched a thousand ships, this account of the springing up of institutions and the budgeoning of ideas on either side of the Atlantic Pond and their mutual travels in the unceasing endeavour to reach the eternal eminence of Perfect Living, is a miracle of compression without congestion and delicacy devoid of superficiality.

Like a good guide, Mr. Brock, defines the scope of his aid and comfort to you, even at the outset. He confines his retrospect to the United States as he very properly feels that he can understand this extension of Germanic and Anglo-Saxon culture with appreciable smatterings of East and South European nationalities better than the Mexican and South American dictatorial republics where the Spanish, Portuguese, Roman Catholic majorities do not permit the flowering of Individualism and Rational Pragmatic Liberalism

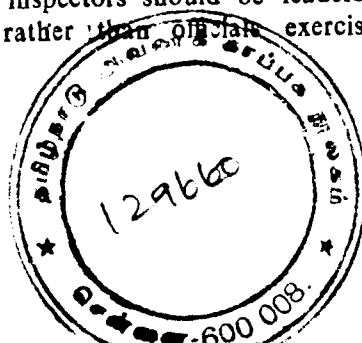
* *The Character of American History*. By W. R. Brock, University Lecturer in American History. Macmillan and Co. London 25sh.

as in the U. S. A. He wisely avoids detailed study of military and economic entanglements as these are incapable of summary generalisations without provoking destructive and acrimonious criticism.

The Essential Features of American History are the Pilgrim Fathers and the great migrations to escape Religion which deriving gloriously from Jesus and Peter had petrified into the horrors of the Inquisition and the Counter-Reformation. Analogously, Feudalism was gradually losing its charming Chivalry of Idealism and Gracious Charity towards the Poor and as Chesterton said Marquises and Earls began to stagger and lean on Lying Lawyers and Cringing Jews who gradually displaced them. So, the best emigrated being Adventurous and Ambitious and Altruistic and entering a Virgin Country exploited for the glory of the Lord in which the Old Testament rather than the New was the main Bible and Book of words.

These naturally resulted in an Ideological Solidarity with no controversy over the fundamentals of Society. The Constitution has been fertile in minor political experiments, but substantially remains original and conservative, so that even the brief semi-dictatorship of Franklin Delano Roosevelt being elected for a third term as President was terminated amidst universal relief by the hand of Death and Eisenhower promptly crystallised into statute the conventional prohibition against a Third term for the President.

The clash between Rural and Urban Society was solved by giving a predominance to the Farmers' Vote but giving ample scope to Big Business by recruiting higher political and Secretariat Staff at various stages from the higher powered executives of the great Industrial, Trade, and Finance Corporations. The fruit of this double dichotomy was that in the Twentieth Century, the U.S.A. readjusted her traditional Isolationism and far from Rejecting Europe was determined to Save it. This was the result of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Though in the terse adjectives of the author, "Hardinge was a fool, and Calvin Coolidge limited," the Second World War floated up a Franklin Delano whose Four Freedoms made the U.S.A. offer hostages to Fortune in every nook and corner of the



World. These hostages are not slow to ask for protection and succour, political, economic and military, like non-Soviet China, Korea, Formosa, etc. The U.S.A., once notorious only for Miracle Drug Yankee Doctor, Gold Brick Companies, and other Doubtful Distinctions, has now become the Protagonist of the Individualist Democratic Way of Life as contrasted with the Socialistic—Communist Totalitarian Soviet Philosophy of Existence.

The Historical Account of the Era of Revolution in which on both sides of the Atlantic, there were sharp differences of opinion is analysed lucidly and brilliantly. People like the Elder Pitt could sympathise with and appreciate the aspirations of the Colonists but could not with their Earldoms reconcile themselves to a Judicial and Legal Separation which should not involve a rupture of cordial social and economic relations. Consequently, the U.S.A. looked to France rather than to Britain for cultural and social and economic contacts recruiting in an era of embitterment down to false and perverted history on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Population increased from four million to nearly forty million between 1790 and 1860 and the American Industrial Revolution introduced the Capitalistic Acquisitive Society, tinctured by an all-consuming passion for Education through schools and institutions for the young and Lectures and Reading Circles and Institutes for those above thirty. A ferment was set up which was complicated by the increasing admixture of Latin and Greek peoples and the awakening of the African Element originally imported for Slave Labour on the Plantations and the Domestic Establishments of the Larger Landowners.

The author writes with an undercurrent of disapproval of the decision of Lincoln to preserve the Unity of the United States and to treat Secession as Rebellion. He concedes that it saved the Mixed Races from Rampant Nationalism and called in the New World to redress the disorders of the Old World. He commiserates the slaughter of six hundred thousand human beings in the Civil War though probably he is unmoved by the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki which involved a greater number. He runs in the tradition of Edmund Burke whose sentimentalities and inconsistencies he often recalls of whom

Thomas Paine said; "he pities the plumage and forgets the dying bird." As Belloc said to a young automatic hypocrite who professed allegiance to Chestertonian Distributionism, "you cannot put the Waters of the Niagara back and even, if you could, the remedy may be worse than the disease."

In the Civil War and its aftermath, the learned author compresses a wealth of meaning in a short sentence by saying that "the Supreme Court obligingly interpreted the Civil Rights Guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment to mean that the races could be separated provided that the facilities were equal, separated but equal meaning in practice a sham by which white Supremacy could be maintained."

The Evolution of a Liberal Capitalist Civilization during the period comprising the first half of the Twentieth Century was due to the gallant attempt of Valiants like Theodore Roosevelt, and College Dons like Woodrow Wilson to retrieve and preserve traditional ideas of the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, when the rest of the World was plunging into Totalitarianism, Communism, and all manner of isms.

The United States in a World of Conflict and Revolt generated a ferment of ideas, ceaseless debate, healthy uncertainties, and less healthy aberrations. Information Services try officially and non-officially to rally Non-Communist Countries to this side of the Iron Curtain by explaining America by precept and example.

Conservatism and Liberalism have begun to have as little content of meaning in the U.S.A. as in the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth of Nations, as "We are all Socialists now" as Harcourt exclaimed sixty years ago. The Age of Reinforced Concrete with its strength of Iron and weakness of processed clay has come as foretold in the Prophecy of Daniel and the Atom Bomb, a stone cut without hands, has consumed all the Empires and Kingdoms and set up the United Nations Organization which shall stand for as long as civilization shall last.

The Appendices and the Guide to further reading have been chosen with discrimination and perspicacity.

Altogether, a most interesting, profitable tour de force.

The Problems of an Editor

By

Mr. FRANK MORAES

(Editor-in-Chief, Indian Express)

JOURNALISM is passing through a crucial phase in India. Like other institutions, newspapers have felt the impact of independence, and developments such as the growth of literacy, keener interest in national problems and progress, along with a livelier awareness of the world outside have collectively and cumulatively influenced the content and views of the Indian Press. To pore over newspaper files of the decade before independence and those of the decade after is an illuminating lesson in contrast and change.

With the exception of a few months during a transition from Ceylon to India, I have functioned as an editor since 1946, and it is therefore principally through editorial eyes that I view the newspaper world of independent India. By and large the changes have been for the good. The newspapers of independent India are livelier, more comprehensive, more acute and perceptive than they were before freedom came. In a sense this is inevitable for the constricted atmosphere of foreign rule is at once anomalous and artificial affecting both rulers and ruled, and the newspapers of those days reflected this abnormal relationship.

If the national atmosphere is now more real and normal, it does not necessarily follow that all the accruing changes have been beneficial to the Press. The cleavage between the Indian-owned Press and the British Government was basically political and surfaced sharply in periods of tension. Then, as now, the Government sought to influence the Press positively by its power and patronage, which consisted largely in advertising doles. Negatively, the British raj had its punitive machinery of confiscation, closure, fines, deposits and imprisonment. The national Press played a decisive role in the achievement of freedom.

Today, the pressures exercised by the Government on the Press, particularly the smaller newspapers if far less punitive, are no less potent. This is not entirely the fault of the Government but the outcome of a developing situation which with the official adoption of a socialistic pattern for India

means the enlargement of the public sector and consequentially a tremendous expansion in the range of official advertising which in turn signifies a sizable power of patronage.

Add to this the maze of import and export controls, along with the difficulties in obtaining licences and foreign exchange, and the pervasive if impervious strangle-hold of officialdom can be appreciated. For newsprint, machinery and many other vital necessities, newspapers are dependent on the goodwill of an abnormally sensitive Government. Moreover, big business has entered the newspaper domain and exercises its influence far more assertively, selfishly and capriciously than did the newspaper magnate of pre-independence days who was almost exclusively concerned with the production and sale of his newspapers. The commercial interests of a modern Press baron might extend from cement to chemicals and from textiles to automobiles and shipping. The wider the range of a newspaper owner's commercial empire, the greater his dependence on the favours of the Government—more so a Government controlling most avenues of trade and industry.

Government intrusion and influence do not end there. No reasonable person would say that there was no need for improving the conditions of pay and work of Indian journalists, but experience proves that the most practical way of doing this is to encourage a stronger esprit de corps among journalists themselves and a healthier, friendlier relationship between journalists and proprietors. However well-intentioned it might be, the imposition of Government-regulated scales and standards of pay, emoluments and leave have led to some unfortunate results. They have intensified the commercial bias and basis of newspaper organisation and production, thereby virtually equating the journalist's work with the work of a factory employee or a millhand. Additionally, the so-called working journalist is encouraged to ignore his editor and proprietor and look to the Government as his *ma-bap*.

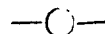
Thus the newspaper profession is trisected, with the working journalists and the proprietors leaning on the Government for concessions

and favours while the editors, although theoretically classified as working journalists, are in practice treated as a caste apart. The trisection is reflected in the separate organisations of the Working Journalists Federation, the All India Newspaper Editors Conference and the proprietorial Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society. Between them, these three organisations hold the newspaper baby while the Government holds the balance.

With the consequential diminution of the editor's status, newspapers in India are beginning to lose their individuality and very few newspapers today are identified with the names of their editors. On the other hand, the intensification of the commercial basis of a newspaper has led to an unhealthy growth in the authority of the general or managing director who is the commercial functionary of

the proprietor and who is sometimes a man whose lack of general knowledge, grammar and the elementary courtesies is only rivalled by his sense of self-importance and conceit.

A significant development of Indian journalism is the rise in the influence of the political columnist writing under his own name or a widely-known pseudonym. I have a feeling that more and more readers will turn to the columnists, and that editorials in consequence will be less read and less heeded. This is happening in the United States and in Britain. And I personally shall welcome the day when that trend is on the ascendant here, for by allowing a columnist freedom to express his views the banner of independent journalism might still wave over our newspaper barricades. (The "Editor" organ of the AINEC inaugural issue April).



Advertising in India

By

Sri M. VINAYAK

THE first Advertising Convention held in the last week of March in Calcutta was no doubt "indicative of the new developments and trends in the growth of Indian Advertising" as Dr. Keskar observed in his inaugural speech. A post-Convention analysis of the development and trend in Indian advertising would help us to understand the influence of effective publicity in our growing economy. As Dr. Keskar has rightly pointed out, we have to recognise the fact that in this country the 'Ad-consciousness' is very poor both among industrialists and the public. Even now, many industrialists consider advertising bill as an avoidable item of expenditure in their budget. Do the public—the consumers—to whom advertisements are addressed, understand the meaning and purpose of advertising? It is indeed hard to answer.

Advertising is said to be "the dissemination of information concerning an idea, service or product, to compel action in accordance with the intent of the advertiser." An important function of advertisement is "interpreting the want satisfying qualities of services, products

or ideas in terms of the needs and desires of consumers." Apart from the above, educative value of advertisements cannot be discounted. As a powerful medium for the communication of ideas, advertisements serve as dependable guide to the consumers. In fact recently a Harvard University Professor, while calling it as an 'institutional force' has elevated advertising to the status of a new religion to the national economy. By helping production and distribution of the products, advertising has become a 'must' to the manufacturer in the country.

The United States, with the largest volume of advertisements, has brought home the vital role of advertising in the framework of a country's economy. Mr. John Lund said in his address to the Convention that 100 years back the United States, on a crude estimate, spent some 10 million dollars on advertising when its national product was estimated to be in the region of 5 billion dollars. Today, after nearly a century, the advertising bill in the United States has crossed the colossal limit of 11 billion dollars when its national pro-

duct is around 500 billion dollars. Roughly 5.5% of the national income is being spent on Advertising in U.S.A.

The United Kingdom spends approximately Rs. 7,560 million, nearly 2.1% of the national income, on advertising. An Asiatic country like Japan is said to pay nearly Rs. 830 million on its advertisement campaigns. In India hardly Rs. 160 million is spent, i.e., 0.1% of the national income, on advertising.

From the figures given above, it would be obvious that the concept of Advertising is still in the infant stage in India. In fact, the Indian Society of Advertisers have themselves launched a campaign to popularise advertising in India. Of course, with improved standards in living and literacy percentage, and in a growing economy like ours, prospects for the development of advertisement as an 'energiser' are very bright. The change from the present seller's to the buyers market is imminent and in a competitive field, advertisements will be called to play its role.

Although in the recent Convention, the social and ethical values of advertising were extolled in eulogising terms, we cannot overlook the fact that advertising is not free from its baneful influence if the emphasis is shifted to the wrong place in advertisement campaigns. Huge, sustained and aggressive advertisements drives are apt to bring into play newer kinds of monopoly, as noticed in some cases in India, by controlling the human attitudes in favour of a particular manufacturer. Such a development would be harmful to the less resourceful manufacturer in the country.

The obscene display and indecent copywork, as seen in some film advertisements, would no doubt outrage the aesthetic sense of the community and affect the social and moral values. Occasionally, don't we hear protests, both in Press and elsewhere, against vulgar poster publicity?

Since no 'codes' are to be found in India, like the ones formulated by the influential American journal on advertising, Printer's Ink, the unscrupulous elements have abused this medium by inserting bogus ads. in the Press. There are many instances when unsuspecting buyers have been duped and misled by such advertisements. Such instances undermine the faith of people in Advertising and, therefore, the need for ethical conduct of campaigns is important to inspire confidence among the people in advertising.

The growth of Indian Agencies has been rapid in the post-Independence period. As specialised Institutions in the technique of advertising, distribution and marketing, some Indian Agencies have proved themselves equal to the foreign ones.

Unfortunately, the unhealthy competition among the Advertising Agencies has hit hard the smaller ones who usually manage to keep going with just a few 'Accounts'. This has considerably arrested the regional advertising to suit the needs of a particular region. In America nearly 2,000 Agencies operate all over the country and place at the disposal of their clients their intimate knowledge of the market, and serve the manufacturers as live-wire contact with the ultimate consumers. Since the pattern of business distribution among the Advertising Agencies in India is not to the favour of the smaller Institutions, the growth of efficient small Agencies to cater the regional needs is stifled.

The Press Commission's Reports had recommended study of market research and analysis by the Agencies in India to assess the potentiality of the market and advise the manufacturer. Although the need for such research is felt and expressed time and gain, very few Agencies have cared to interest themselves on such subjects. Of course, they are handicapped for want of trained personnel to carry out any research activity. But some day a start has got to be made on this direction, and why not have it earlier?

Since advertising is not yet an organised industry, very few young men have any idea about the prospects available in an advertising career. Invariably all the Agencies feel the dearth of trained personnel. Unlike U. S. A. and U.K. no professional bodies help or guide young men from the University for a career in Advertising. It is not known whether any decisive step was taken in the recent Convention to found a body to train young men and women in this country for the highly specialised and skilful job of advertising. Some sporadic efforts were made by the well known Agencies to recruit and train young men; but upto now no concerted effort has been made to set up a professional body to train and conduct examinations in advertising. If the Calcutta University takes the lead in founding a separate Department for Advertising and Marketing, the other Universities may follow the lead.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

No More Comrades. By Andor Heller. 15 cents. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago.

This purports to be an eye-witness account of the Revolt against Communism in Hungary from 23-10-56 to 31-10-56 with a brief account of how it was suppressed by Russian Troops and how the author hopes the embers will burst into flame again. As Doctor Johnson said "When a revolt succeeds, they dare not call it one; it becomes a Revolution." The tragic fate of Nagy makes the account still more piteous to read. The ace photographer has included lively pictures of melodramatic scenes of the brief flare-up and his write-up also about Communist inroads on religion and family life and liberty comes up to the highest standards of such writing. What is truth said Jestling Pilate, and did not wait for a reply. The tempo of life is increasing by leaps and bounds, and Freedom and Slavery almost alternate like Night and Day. Whether the wage-slave of the modern world is living a fuller and more spiritual life than the bond-slave of the ancient world is becoming more and more a live issue.

My Lord, What a Morning. An Autobiography by Marian Anderson, Price 15 cents. Avon Publications, Inc. New York.

This is of special interest to us in India in view of the recent visit of the marvellous negro singer to our country. Slow rises worth by poverty and race prejudice suppressed but Marian from abject poverty thanks to her noble mother's faith and confidence rose to world-wide fame. As late as 1939, the colour-conscious Daughters of the American Revolution refused to allow her to sing in Washington Constitution Hall which they owned because she was of the Negro race. The magnificent way in which Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from the D.A.R. in protest and forced them to allow Marian to sing is a touching story told with all humility. As Marian concludes, "We are distressed by some of the things that are happening in South Africa and the situation is bad. Many persons ready to do what is right, hesitate, waiting for the other fellow to make the first move. Not every one can be turned aside from meanness and hatred."

A Short History of the Indian National Congress by M. V. Ramna Rao. Published by S. Chand & Co, New Delhi. Rs. 10.

The history of the Congress is in a sense the history of our struggle for Independence. Those within it as well as those who worked from without made their own contributions. In this brief history Mr. Rao has produced a wealth of material available to him as Manager of Publications of the Congress Party. The history covers the entire period from the birth of the Congress to the election of Smt. Indira Gandhi as President of the Congress.

Journal of the International Commission of Jurists. Spring-Summer 1959. (International Commission of Jurists, Geneva).

This issue is very important for it gives account of all the decisions taken at the Delhi Congress. There is a verbatim reproduction of the Declaration of Delhi on the Rule of Law, followed by many learned articles on this question by eminent jurists. The historical background to the Rule of Law, the questionnaire prepared and the summary of conclusions are all given in a nutshell. There are also other articles of interest.

The Declaration of Delhi, drawn up with the assistance of Jurists from 53 countries, sets out an ideal towards which all must work; but it is not mere theory. The adoption of Rule of Law in all countries is not a "fait accompli?" Only the well developed countries have achieved it. The rest of the world has to follow.

The New Year Book 1960. By S. C. Sarkar & Sons (P) Ltd. College Street, Calcutta. Rs. 3-75 n.p.

This most useful compilation (17th year of publication) improves year after year, ever self-surpassed. The land, the people, Govt. Administration, Social Welfare, Planning, Finance and Trade etc. are appropriately analysed and described with a wealth of detail and compression of meaning, which can only evoke admiration and envy. The need of a Year Book like this is most keenly felt by the people who will get to know of everything of the dynamic India of today. The publishers must be congratulated in placing before the public this very useful informative book at a such moderate price.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

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The Call Divine. Vol. VIII No. 4 January 1960 Price 4 as. Yearly Rs.3. P.M.N. Swamy, 1/8 Bhuta Nivas Vincent Road, Matunga Bombay-19.

This is the Bhagvan's Jayanthi Souvenir Number of the international Monthly started in 1952 for the spread of the Gospel of Bhagvan Shri Ramana of Arunchala Hills. Devotees from far and near have contributed their experiences; ultimate truth is what Bhagvan said when some one suggested his, touring from place to place "If I am away and some one seeks me here, he will be disappointed;" Almost like Bhagvan Ramakrishna he said! "God is in all men, but all men are not in God; that is the reason why they suffer." The most impressive account is that of Mr. Merston though one must not forget to be duly impressed by the intellectual eminence of the erudite and spiritual contributors drawn from far and near.

The Heritage of Indian Art Series. No. 1 to 4. Published by N. M. Tripathi Ltd. Princess Street, Bombay. 2. Rs. 10/-.

Here are four small volumes of beautifully illustrated expositions of the Temple Art of India.

The Bhulabhai Memorial Institute who have sponsored the series as well as the publishers should indeed be congratulated on conceiving the idea and the technical excellence of the first four numbers of the series.

They deal with a typical example of the Temple Art which flourished in the Gupta (Deogarh), Pallava (Tiruttani), Nolamba (Hemavati), and Chola (Pullamangai) dynasties. **Flame of White Light.** By T. V. Kapali Sastry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Pondicherry.

This beautifully illustrated publication of "Mother" with photographs from her earlyhood to the present times with apt quotations are embodied in this volume which stir up the reader of the present dynamic India of today.

Kailasa Maharishi. A translation from Tamil of S. Thon-as Ratnam's book of the same title. Available of S. T. Ratnam Nazareth, Tinnevely District, Price Re. 1-25.

This little book contains the unique revelations in part of the after-life of man, as described by the 362-year old Christian mystic of the Himalayas and revealed to the world by the illustrious missionary, Sadhu Sunder Singh.

The Bhagavadgita. By Dr. Shakuntala Rao Shastri, East West Institute New York. Price \$ 4. (Available of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay Rs. 10.)

This book forms the first of East West Institute Series for presenting in a competent and scholarly forms the cultures of the East to the West. The author is the first woman to receive her B. Litt in Sanskrit from the Oxford University and is eminently competent to bring out a book like this. Many translations of the Gita have appeared till now and all are interpretators according to the personal whims and experience of the translations and thus they are far from the fundamental teachings of the Gita. But here the learned translator has avoided personal ties and faithfully gives a literal translation of the text line by line. The book contains the Sanskrit and Romanised text, word to word English, running English translation with a critical introduction. Even those who do not understand Sanskrit can come as close as possible to the original meaning of the text with the aid of this well-prepared book.

Ben-Hur. By Lew Wallace. Fifty cents. New American Library, New York.

This is the book on which the marvellous M.G.M. film about the nobleman, gally slave, early Christian was produced. This is a ravishing conglomeration of Hindoo, Jewish, Christian, Roman, and Syriac Mythology, with a tale of adventure such as the tried technician of the U.S.A. wants after a day of intense production under conditions of Automation. The romantic and perilous interests are well kept up to show how out of Ben-Hur's tomb Christianity issued to supersede the Caesars.

Language Study in Indian Education. By M. P. Desai, Nava Jivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad Price 50. nP.

This is definitely an Anti-English diatribe which will do more harm to the cause of voluntary democratic learning of Hindi-hindustani than all the ill-informed attacks of partisan writers. Mr. Desai falls into the pitfall of overstating his case in favour of Hindi and against English and as one who thinks Hindi is not a language as distinguished from Urdu, we welcome this unintended assistance.

Land Reform in India and Kerala. By K. M. Ayyath. Np. 50. Ayyath House, Kumaranellur, Wadakancherry (Cochin) Kerala.

This pamphlet clearly explains how doctrinaires in a hurry are up-setting agricultural and inheritance practice. The situation is complicated by presumed popular assent for idiosyncratic decisions of legislators elected by a distinct minority of the voters and combining into temporary narrow majorities to support socialistic and communistic governments in various parts of India.

The Secrets of Prana, Pranayama and Yoga Asanas. By Swami Narayananda Price Rs. Four nP. Fifty. N. K. Prasad and Company, Rishikesh, U.P.

This is a clear comprehensive account of the various Yoga Asanas enriched by unambiguous illustrations and accompanied by the wise warnings of a great expert in both theory and practice. The aspirant must still, it is submitted also have a guru to watch over the unfolding of his powers by this system of mental, physical, and spiritual discipline.

Mahavidyad Sootra Granthavalih. By Kavya Kanta Vasishtha Sri Ganapathi Muni. Price 50 nP. D. S. Vishwamitra, Sirsi, North Kanara.

This is a handy compilation of the aphorisms of the various aspects of Mahavidya. Short sentences like "Indra and Siva are not two nor are Indrani and Rudrani dual" conceal the compression of meaning which can only be apprehended by long oral and silent discipline and teaching under a Guru.

Social, Economic and Political Ideologies behind the Indian Constitution. By V. K. Sukumaran Nayar, M.A.Ph.D. (Yale), University College, Trivandrum.

This is the preface to the author's doctorate thesis and summarises by saying that the Indian Constitution is based on the ideas of principles of the elite of India, leading more towards Nationalism than towards Democracy or Socialism.

Modern Fables. by Professor D. M. Borgaonkar. Price Re. 1.25. Manakchand Book Depot, UJJAIN M. P.

These essays at sardonic humour and biting irony are in the best traditions of Aesop, Gay and Fontaine. The dog gets elected for barking at others.

Vietnam. Through Indian Eyes. Consulate General of Viet Nam, New Delhi.

As with Communist and Anti Communist Germany, Communist and Anti-Communist China, Communist and Anti-Communist Korea, we have Communist and Anti-Communist Viet Nam. This book relates to the Anti-Communist section whose President Diem hopes that Communist China's internal troubles will lead to a reunion of the two sections. Mostly reprint of articles in Indian journals like the Tribune, the Statesman, the New Statesman and the Eastern Economist, the matter is interesting and factual, and makes an excellent introduction to the study of the various problems.

The Singing Forest. Selected Poems by P. Brian Cox. Price Rupee One nP Fifty. Bharti Association Publications, Ghaziabad.

This poet cum international lawyer aims to found an international review devoted to cosmo-synthesis. The conceits are marvellous like oblivion incredulous becoming joy plunged into the well of pain, and a gratificatory death from joyless life. Prosody and Metre are practically played with in the best modern style. Sensuousness and psycho-analysis are judiciously mingled in many pieces like the charwoman's tea laced with gin. Recondite mysticism is a good description of it all.

The Himalayan Society. Report for 1958-59. Royal Hotel, Delhi.

This is a comprehensive report giving an account of various expeditions to the Himalayas and enriched by neat little photographs of places like Badrinath. There were both Indian and Foreign Expeditions to various peaks and Norkay's daughters led an Indian's Women's team in the Darjeeling Hills. Seven years of hard work give promise of increasing activity and usefulness in the near future.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands. 1s. 6d. 25 cents. Publications Division, Ministry of Information. Delhi 8.

This is an up-to-date guide book to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, describing their physical features, climate, Raw Materials also giving an account of their History, ethnology, administrative set-up, amenities, and possibilities of future development. The optimistic conclusion is that they will obliterate their bad name as a convict settlement by rapid material, moral and cultural progress under the guiding hand of the Union Government.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

SINGAPORE

INDIAN MONEY LENDERS

A recent High Court ruling has enabled hundreds of unlicensed Indian moneylenders in Singapore to collect their old debts amounting to several millions of dollars, and already about 130 court summonses have been taken out by them to recover an estimated \$100,000 of unsecured loans together with interest at the old rates. If this ruling had not been issued, the Indian moneylenders would have suffered heavy losses. For, under the new Moneylenders' Ordinance which came into force on September 11 last year, unless a moneylender took out a licence he could not recover old debts. And a certain unlicensed moneylender who had sued a debtor for recovery of a loan made prior to September 11 last, had his claim turned down by the District Court, and he appealed to the High Court. The Chief Justice ruled that a moneylender who had ceased to be one since the new Moneylenders' Ordinance came into force, and who wanted to recover outstanding debts, could do so without a licence under the new Ordinance. The Chief Justice said that Section 15 of the new Ordinance which stated that "no contract for the repayment of the money lent after the coming into operation of this Ordinance by an unlicensed moneylender shall be enforceable," was not applicable to a loan made prior to the coming into operation of the Ordinance.

Fortunately, however, the High Court decreed that loans given before the enforcement of the new law were recoverable, and that saved the Chettiahs from ruin.

S. AFRICA

THE TRANSVAAL INDIANS

The entire Indian community of Rustenburg, in the Transvaal, has been ordered to leave by the South African Government.

About 1,000 men, women and children are affected out of a population of 16,000. Many of them belong to families which had moved in over 60 years ago.

They have been asked to move under the Group Areas Act.

Undeveloped land two-and-a-half miles from Rustenburg has been allocated to them to make a fresh start.

The Indians have been given between two and five years to make the move.

FIJI

FUTURE OF INDIANS

The Report of the Burns Commission gives some interesting details:—

"The Indian is an individualist while the Fijian has been accustomed in the past to a community life. The Indians, probably on account of the centuries of poverty which lie behind them, are hard workers, acquisitive of land and money. The Fijians, accustomed to a communal system which shield them from direct effects of poverty are generally disinclined to excessive labour and are careless and easy-going with money." The Commissioners refer to the loyal and gallant conduct of the Fijians in the last war and contrast this with the fact that few Indians served in the armed forces and that the Indian cane farmers went on strike during the War. Prejudice makes men blind. If the Fijian is a good soldier, the Indian is a good farmer. An army marches on its stomach. The Commissioners forget that the Indian helped the War by fighting on the food front as the Fijians fought on the war front.

The Commissioners comment: "Not only therefore, is the Fijian anxious about his land, but he has cause to be concerned about his economic backwardness. Above all he fears that he may be overwhelmed by the ever-increasing Indian population and doubts perhaps, his own ability to compete". Mentioning that they received a representation to expatriate all Indians from Fiji, they say it is impractical.

ISRAEL

PLIGHT OF INDIAN JEWS

The following is an appeal to India from the distressed Indian Victims in Israel for repatriating them to India.

We have addressed many appeals to the Government of India to help us return to India, mentioning therein all our grievances since 1958. Up to now we have not received any reply. We do not know whether our appeals have reached the Government of India or not.

We see no future for us, Sepharadim Jews. The only reason these persecuted Jews are wanted in Israel is to swell the army with our sons and daughters and fight wars and thus save the lives of the white-skinned Ashkenazi Jews.

We are prepared to return on any conditions our Indian brethren wish. We are ready to pay in instalments in India, every pie spent on our repatriation.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 1. Mehdi Nawaz Jung, Governor of Gujarat takes Oath of office at Ahmedabad.
—Mr. Y. B. Chaven and his thirteen colleagues of the Maharashtra State Cabinet are sworn in.
- May 2. Pro-Vidharbha agitation takes violent turn: Police open fire on the crowd at Itwara.
- May 3. Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference meets in London.
- May 4. President Eisenhower signs agreement under which U. S. A. will supply 17 million tons of wheat and rice in four years.
—President Sukarno of Indonesia and Mr. Cyrus Eaton, the American industrialist have been awarded Lenin prizes for peace.
- May 5. Mr. Eric Louw of S. Africa shows his fighting mood and proves unyielding re-racial question: Tunkee Abdul Rahman, Malaya's P. M. walks out.
- May 6. Princess Margaret weds Mr. Antony Armstrong-Jones.
—President Eisenhower signs into law Civil Rights Bill for Negroes 1960.
- May 7. Marshal Voroshilov, the Soviet President resigns: Mr. Leonid Brezhnev becomes President.
- May 8. Mr. Nehru confers with De Gaulle in Paris.
—99th birth anniversary of Tagore is celebrated throughout India.
- May 9. Commonwealth Premiers hold secret talks on *apartheid* issue in South Africa.
—Ghana Government withdraws its invitation to the Eric Louw, S. Africa's external Affairs Minister.
- May 10. Mr. Khrushchev announces his readiness to disarm "completely and honestly."
- May 11. Pt. Nehru lunches with Mr. Harold Macmillan, British Prime Minister.
- May 12. F. G. Powers, Pilot of the U-2 American Reconnaissance aircraft who was shot down in Russia pleads guilty.
—Prince Aly Khan son of Aga Khan in dead.
- May 13. Commonwealth Prime Ministers, Conference ends.
- May 14. Mr. Khrushchev arrives in Paris for attending the Summit Conference.
- May 15. Ike and Macmillan arrive in Paris.
—Russia announces launching of "spaceship-satellite" into orbit around earth.
- May 16. Summit Conference meets: Khrushchev demands "Halt of spy flights or defer summit:" Conference session is adjourned indefinitely.
- May 17. U. S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Thomas Gates orders alertness test for U.S. armed forces all over the World.
—Khrushchev refuses to attend Summit Conference: Thus the Summit Conference is dead, despite all efforts to revive it.
- May 18. Mr. Nehru inaugurates work of the diversion channel of Aswan Dam.
- May 19. Mr. Khrushchev arrives in Berlin.
—President Eisenhower arrives in Lisbon (Portugal).
- May 20. Three Power Talks on discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests start again.
- May 21. Earthquake rocks South Chile resulting in heavy loss in life and property.
- May 22. SEATO warns South East Asian nations of intending threat from China.
- May 23. U.N. Security Council meets and discusses Russia's complaint re. U.S. espionage incident.
- May 24. Gama, former World Wrestling champion is dead.
—Tidal waves hit Japan's East coast resulting in heavy loss.
- May 25. Dr. Ida Scudder, Founder of Vellore Mission Hospital is dead.
—Master Tara Singh and two hundred and twenty-one Akalis are arrested for their "Punjabi Suba" agitation.
- May 26. U.N. Security Council rejects Russia's charges of aggressive American spy flights.
- May 27. Army Coup in Turkey. President, Premier and Govt. Leaders are arrested.
—Chinese expedition reaches summit of Everest.
- May 28. General Cemal Gursel heads new Turkish Government.
- May 29. Prime Minister Nehru returns to India after a month's tour abroad.
—Deposed South Korean President Dr. Syngman Rhee leaves Seoul for Hawaii.
- May 30. Britain, U.S.A. and Pakistan accord recognition to the new regime in Turkey.
—Indian diplomatic missions abroad boycott South African National Day celebrations.
—Boris Pasternak, Russian author is dead.
- May 31. SEATO'S annual session opens at Washington.
—Quake near Puerto Rico.

READERS' DIGEST

RACE CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The story of race prejudice and injustice in South Africa is unfolded in an article in the *Aryanpath* by E. S. Sachs. In April last the Nationalist Party scored its third successive victory since 1948 when it secured a majority and took over the Government. Under the Nationalists, says Mr. Sachs, "the door has been shut, the lamps of liberty extinguished and all that oppressed non-whites can look forward to is more oppression and humiliation." Those who are anxious to know the truth about Apartheid need only peruse the S. A. Statute Book since 1948. The Group Areas Act and the Urban Areas Act have between them squeezed the Indian and Native out of habitable land and thrown them into squalor and misery.

"Under the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Acts non-Whites and Whites may be banned from certain areas, banished, removed from any public position they may hold and forced to live in isolation. Gatherings, even of the most peaceful nature, may be prohibited. *The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 provides penalties of five years' imprisonment, ten lashes and a £500 fine for persons participating in or aiding passive resistance campaigns.* The Bantu Education Act of 1953 introduces an entirely new and diabolical principle in education. This law decrees that the entire system of education for Africans shall be designed for making them good servants for the Whites.

From the end of 1956 new waves of oppression began to sweep the country. On December 5th of that year 140 homes were raided at dawn and 140 men and women of all races, representing a cross-section of South African society, were dragged out and rushed to the Johannesburg Fort and charged with High Treason. Sixteen more were later arrested. A year later 65 were released after a protracted preparatory examination: 91 will face trial by a special criminal court in June or July. High Treason is a capital offence under South African law. Early in January 1957 the new Industrial Conciliation Act became law. Under this Act White and non-White workers are prohibited from belonging to the same trade union, and the Minister of Labour is given unchallengeable power to remove workers belonging to any racial group from any industry, trade or occupation. In due course

the University Apartheid Bill followed, as also the Native Laws Amendment Bill *prohibiting social intercourse between Whites and non-Whites even in places of worship.*

Nationalist oppression and terror, far from crushing the spirit of Freedom among the non-Whites and a small number of courageous Whites, has had the very opposite effect. Resistance to tyranny is growing rapidly.

THE NEGRO'S RIGHTS IN U. S. A.

On the 10th of April the American Senate passed the controversial civil rights Bill aimed at giving Negroes a better chance to vote at Elections. Commenting on this our local contemporary writes:

"By passing the Civil Rights Bill by a very large majority, the United States Senate has made history. It is true that a few amendments have been made to the Bill as it emerged from the House of Representatives but opinion in Washington is that joint Congressional agreement will be reached on these minor changes and that the Bill will soon go to the President for signature in time for quite a large number of negroes to register themselves as voters and take part in this year's Congressional elections. There is, of course, no constitutional bar to such voting by Negroes: the American Constitution embodies and guarantees equal rights for all citizens regardless of colour or race but fears, suspicions and prejudices die hard and many States in the South have framed rules and procedures that in practice deny these rights to Negroes. Every time that a fairly liberal Bill has come up to the Senate, the Southerners have employed delaying tactics to shelve it and it was only a few weeks ago that we witnessed the great filibuster by which they talked and talked and effectively prevented the consideration and disposal of one such Bill. But public opinion has been slowly crystallising itself against the die-hards; and the House of Representatives and now the Senate has adopted a measure that will go a long way to correct the injustice that has so long kept Negroes out of polling-booths."

This only proves, concludes the paper, how right Mr. Wilkins the Executive Secretary of the National Association for the advancement of Coloured People, was when he declared recently that the Negro in America realised that "American democracy provides freedom to fight wrongs."

INDIANS IN FUTURE AFRICA

Under the heading "Africa of tomorrow; Indian's role," Mr. B. Shiva Rao discusses in the *Hindu* the future of Indians in the African continent which is fast becoming independent. He writes.

In the early years of the U.N. (from 1947 to 1952) it was my privilege to serve as India's representative on a Committee that made an annual report to the General Assembly on the information received from the administering Powers of various colonial areas in all parts of the world. The British, it seemed to me then, were, on the whole, more willing to adjust themselves to the changed conditions after the Second World War than the French or the Belgians. The outlook of the American delegation was a little more progressive than that of the Western Colonial Powers.

There were, however, reservations made by all these delegations which held back the rate of progress. The sharp criticisms by the Soviet-led delegations of the administration of colonial territories, particularly in Africa, were resented as being inspired by hostile motives. South Africa's racial policies and her illegal annexation of South-West Africa did not, for the same reason, evoke the normal reactions that one would expect from loyal adherents to the U.N. Charter.

Despite these drawbacks, serious as they were, there was much in the work of the U.N. Committee that was constructive, especially in the economic, social and cultural fields. One year, as its Chairman, I discovered, while examining a medical expert functioning in a region of Central Africa, that he was a Kashmiri by birth, whose services had been lent for a period to one of the U.N. agencies. His example suggested to me a scheme which I ventured to place before our Parliament in a debate on foreign affairs. A Bureau of Personnel, it struck me, functioning under the External Affairs Ministry, could invite applications from those recently retired from the various professions (such as Engineering, Medical, Agriculture, Forestry, etc.) to form a reserve on which international organisations could draw for service outside India according to their needs.

The proposal did not receive a favourable response from the Government of India; but it came to my mind recently, listening to an

Indian visitor (Mr. S. Amin) from East Africa. We have been familiar, from Press reports with the tragic happenings in different parts of Africa in recent months, culminating in Sharpeville. This as our Prime Minister told Parliament, may stand out as significantly in Africa, as Jallianwala Bagh has done in India.

The European races in Africa have lately discovered that the initiative in that continent is no longer with them. Region after region is claiming self-government and independence. The number of new members of the Commonwealth and of the U.N. in the last year or two reflects the rapidity of the developments that are taking place in Africa. Whatever may be the outcome of the present Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in London on the issue of South Africa's *apartheid* policy, the white races in the Dominion are clearly fighting a battle which has already been lost.

The more far-seeing among the Europeans in Africa are, it would seem, busy formulating plans for the economic and social progress of regions which are swiftly emerging into political freedom. For over a decade, the emphasis was, indeed, on such progress, but primarily in the hope that thereby political independence could be delayed for as long as possible. In the altered circumstances of to-day it looks as though these priorities might be reversed. There is, as in the Belgian Congo, almost precipitate haste in ushering in political freedom, regardless of the economic and social background of this territory.

What part will the Indian settlers—who are to be found in greater or smaller numbers in almost every African colony—be called upon to play in the new Africa of to-morrow? One must candidly face the fact that in the past, the Indian has not always been a good mixer, so far as the indigenous races are concerned. Even Mahatma Gandhi, for doubtless good reasons of his own, was not anxious in the days of his leadership in South Africa—now almost 50 years ago—to complicate the issue he was facing by claiming the same rights for the indigenous races as he did for the Indian settlers.

This is almost ancient history in the revolutionary processes through which the world is passing to-day. What might have been prudent or sound policy in the early years of this century can no longer be valid. The fact

however, cannot be glossed over that the Indian settlers in some parts of Africa have to live down a certain reputation namely, that they have not been willing in the past to be assimilated into the general population. In all difficult circumstances they have developed the practice of turning to India for assistance and the championship of their cause.

The day has come when in an independent Africa this will no longer be possible or wise. Settlers of Indian origin—to use the phrase that normally describes those in South Africa—must hereafter become integrated with the different communities in the continent and take their rightful place in the freedom that is dawning, often to the accompaniment of much bloodshed and racial ill-will.

The demand is being voiced with unmistakable insistence for "the Africanisation" of the administrations of these independent territories. We know in this country that at an earlier stage of our development, we too clamoured for Indianisation. A similar phenomenon appears to be manifest in Africa.

Ghana has in some respects shown the way for India to adopt. She has borrowed from our administrative services a few men of experience to assist her in building up a structure that can answer the needs of a free country. Such a process deserves every encouragement from this country. India can play a notable part in helping the various African countries emerging into independence to raise their standards, economic, social and administrative in the manner in which we have been doing during the decade and more of our freedom.

There are indications of European capital being attracted into Africa, under terms that will take full note of the dominant position that is being conceded to the indigenous races. India can usefully supplement these schemes for economic and social progress by releasing for service in Africa a number of our trained technicians, engineers, doctors and agricultural experts.

Our future relationships with the new independent countries of Africa will be determined to a large extent by the measure of our willing co-operation with them in the faith that along that path lies the hope of building understanding and goodwill.

"TIMES" ADVICE TO SOUTH AFRICA

"The Times" said that Mr. Eric Louw South Africa has returned to South Africa without having said or done anything to remove or weaken legitimate suspicions that the policy to which he and those who agree with him in Dr. Verwoerd's Cabinet are committed will, if it is pursued bring disaster to the Union.

"He has been able to point out with perfect truth that some of those who throw stones at him in protest against apartheid live in glass houses and are vulnerable to reprisals.

"There is indeed some colour prejudice here and there in the Commonwealth outside South Africa and in Britain; but only in South Africa has it been elevated to an article of faith and aggressively proclaimed in and out of season.

"The criticism that Mr. Louw evades comes from people who are not taking sides for or against Black or White and who have the interest and welfare of Afrikaner and English-speaking South Africans just as much at heart as has Mr. Louw.

"The weakness at the core of his advocacy is that he does not speak for White South Africa as a whole, nor even for its narrow Afrikaner majority. He is the spokesman of a well-disciplined body of die-hards with their backs to the wall.

"His claim that 'we are building a nation, a united nation is denied by the most obvious facts of the situation.

"When Mr. Louw gets home, the questions which he has not answered in London will still be asked, however circumspectly, by a growing number of South Africans with the same stake as he has in the country they love.

"Who can seriously pretend that to set aside fragmented areas and to call them the 'homelands' of the Bantu is a twentieth-century solution of race relations?

"How can millions of Africans born and bred outside those homelands and forming an integral part of the nation's economy, be disposed of by being called 'migrants'?"

"What Government, yielding to panic and suspending the rule of law, can hope to command the confidence or the respect of its own people or of its neighbours?" "The Times" asked.

FUTURE OF EAST GERMANY

Why did Mr. Nikita Khrushchev apparently shelve the question of a peace treaty with East Germany after the failure of the Paris Summit Conference?

European political observers debating the question offered explanations ranging from tactical retreat following his failure to shake the unity of the Western alliance, to opposition at home to his international policy. In Bonn West German newspapers offered two explanations:

Mr. Khrushchev was impressed by world reaction to the Soviet attitude in Paris.

For tactical reasons he wants to try the West first with threats, and then with smiles.

They also warned that he had not given up his intentions over Berlin, and said the situation remained serious.

In West Berlin, "Der Telegraf" said Mr. Khrushchev's announcement of a standstill policy on Berlin made his actions in Paris seem even more mysterious. "The assumption remains that motives of internal politics contributed to Mr. Khrushchev's attitude," this newspaper wrote.

"Der Abend" thought "Red reactionaries from the Stalin era," Soviet Generals and the Chinese Communists had probably put the brake on Mr. Khrushchev's summit ascent.

"Der Tag" thought Western unity before the summit talks had led Mr. Khrushchev to avoid them.

"Western solidarity had shown he had nothing to expect from the Paris talks," this newspaper wrote, "He would have had no other choice but to drop his plans for Germany and Berlin, or else take upon himself the dangerous consequences of unilateral measures. Obviously neither of these alternatives was to his liking."

In Paris, French diplomatic commentators thought Mr. Khrushchev was playing for time with an eye to the American Presidential elections.

"All events in the past week seem to indicate that Mr. Khrushchev wants at all costs to prevent the election of Mr. Nixon," the evening newspaper "Le Monde" wrote.

"But nothing ensures that Mr. Kennedy or Mr. Stevenson, if one of them becomes President will accept another try at summit diplomacy without serious guarantees."

Belgian diplomatic observers close to the Foreign Office think Mr. Khrushchev was taken aback by the political unity shown by the Western leaders in Paris.

This unity, they say, forced him to have second thoughts about his peace treaty plans. But they considered these plans were only shelved, and would be brought out again if any allied disunity showed itself.

THE "COMMONWEALTH"

Lord Altrincham who three years ago sensationally criticised the British monarchy, now turns his fire on the Commonwealth, asking:—"Is it a sham?"

Using the same platform—the monthly *National and English Review*, which he edits—he declares that the Commonwealth had been helping the rulers of British to live in "a world of make-believe."

"They have been spared the sharp but necessary realisation that Britain is no longer a great power."

The "Commonwealth idea," he says "is no more than ectoplasm. It has never lived in the hearts of ordinary people and there is little chance that it ever will."

The Commonwealth had "length and breadth but very little depth."

Lord Altrincham continues:—"Its value is mainly to 'top people' who are glad of any information supplementary to that provided by their own ambassadors and spies, and who relish an occasional get together at which views can be exchanged....." It also had, perhaps a certain snob appeal.

"Even the Republican members are susceptible to the charm of feeling exclusive, and in some quarters the power of British snobbery may still be politically significant."

The name "Commonwealth" itself is a mockery—there was no community of wealth. And there was division on such things as human rights, the rule of law, race relations, the theory and practice of democracy.

The Commonwealth was not even like a good club. "There is no subscription, there are no rules, information is often withheld, and members do not trust each other."

"Any ordinary club which tried to maintain itself in such conditions would very soon be out of business."

U. S. ESPIONAGE FLIGHTS

The United States violated Soviet air space 113 times between 1953 and 1956 and that of the Eastern European peoples democracies 211 times, three Soviet jurists writing in *Pravda* on May 20 claimed. They added that after 1956 repeated attempts at violation took place.

The jurists are Mr. K. Baguininam, Mr. V. Churchalov, and Mr. G. Sharniazanashvili.

In another article in the same newspaper Colonel G. Sechkin and Lieutenant Colonel S. Krylov alleged that U.S. spies were also landed from the air, and named some of them as Osmanov, Sarantzev, Cook, Toomla, Lakhno, Makov, Gorbounov, and Remiga. These had all been arrested by Security Services the article said.

These statements were taken by Western observers here as showing that the Soviet Government is preparing an exhaustive dossier on U.S. espionage against the Soviet Union in recent years.

They noted the comparison made by Mr. Sechkin and Mr. Krylov with German spying before the war. "All the provocations perpetrated by the American militarists in the last years with the aim of increasing international tension resemble like two peas what the Hitlerite leaders did in the past", the jurists wrote. During 1939 and the first half of 1941 frontier troops had recorded more than 500 German violations of Soviet air space they said.

After reviewing all the U.S. violations of Soviet and Socialist camp airspace in recent years including incidents of U.S. "meteorological balloons", the writers said that the U-2 flight of May 1 was no exception, but part of the espionage policy of which the open skies theory was another.

They went on to refer to "spy sputniks", which they said were now being built in the U.S.A. under the "Samos Project". This project showed that the U.S. aim in the conquest of space was unlike that of the Soviet Union to prepare for war, they said.

They referred also to other U.S. devices such as long range precision cameras, miniature recorders which could be hidden in a neck-tie, in the hair and in spectacle frames as well as devices for detecting atomic facto-

ries and even a portable atom-bomb for "acts of diversion". The U.S. they claimed, had a force of 12,000 men for espionage and sabotage.

Besides slipping spies into the Soviet Union by every possible channel, the Americans had developed anti-Soviet propaganda to the highest possible point, they said. The three jurists stressed the international law aspects of the affair citing the 1944 Chicago Convention on sovereignty of air space and territorial waters and earlier U.S. and Soviet enactments.

The jurists cited an American convention of 1936 which laid down that no "no political, military economic or other consideration can serve as excuse or justification for aggression, and claimed that the U-2 incidents of April 9 and May 1 were clearly aggressive under international law.

They added that for the guilty State to apologise to the victim State was an elementary point of international law, and did not diminish its dignity but rather testified to its honesty. The fact that the U.S. refused such an apology in Paris proved, that it was the Americans who really wrecked the Summit Conference, they said.

MACMILLAN AND FUTURE OF SUMMIT

The British Government will take "an aloof and chilly attitude" towards any future Soviet proposals for a Summit conference, the *New York Times* reported.

The newspaper's chief London correspondent Drew Middleton quoted authoritative sources as saying that Mr. Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister had not "the slightest intention" of resuming the initiative by another visit to Moscow to see Mr. Khrushchev.

Middleton said the approach of Mr. Macmillan and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, towards the Soviet Union and its policies could be summed up by a quotation from Cervantes: "Patience and shuffle the cards."

On the question of Berlin, the correspondent said, the British view was that Soviet pressure against West Berlin "either immediate and forceful or over a long period through unidentifiably hostile acts is bound to fail in the face of Western unity."

SCIENCE AND THE CITIZEN

In a paper published in *American Review* Dr. Warren Weaver of the Rockefeller Foundation observes that the average citizen tends to fear science when he should of course, learn about it so that it can be an exciting intellectual companion and a useful servant. Rather than pretending to be perfect and ultimate any Scientific theory represents only a stage of progress in successively better approximations.

"I would suggest," he says, "that an absolutely critical distinction between science and religion may be that science never will and never can actually reach the final goal of perfection, whereas religion can do so and has done so."

"The average citizen tends to think that science has destroyed the element of faith in religion; instead, he should realize that science is itself founded on faith. He tends to think that science is an ugly sort of foe of the gentler arts, whereas he should recognize that, as Bronowski has said "There is a likeness between the creative acts of mind in art and in science. The scientist or the artist takes two facts or experiences which are separate; he finds in them a likeness which had not been seen before; and he creates a unity by showing the likeness." This discovery of unity is at the center of science, and it is also at the center of art. Whenever Coleridge tried to define beauty he returned to a central deep thought. Beauty, he said, is "unity in variety."

"We must all learn to understand this great modern intellectual force, to utilize it properly so that it may serve our lives and enrich our appreciation of the world around us, to respect the abilities of science at the same time that we realize its limitations, to know enough about science to be able intelligently to meet the responsibilities of modern citizenship. "I am strongly of the opinion," wrote Sir Edward V. Appleton, "that it is the scientist's mission not only to uncover nature but also to interpret his results to his fellowmen."

Scientific knowledge is itself neutral. It is the use that is made of it, he argues, that is good or evil. "Decisions concerning that use are not for the scientist alone. The layman must therefore make his own efforts at understanding. To assist him, the scientist must, in turn, be ready to leave his laboratory to act as a guide."

THE BUDDHA IMAGE

Among the priceless treasures which make up the glorious heritage of Buddhist Art, it is the Buddha-image, in all its sublime simplicity which occupies the foremost place, says *The Maha Bodi*. More important still, in every Buddhist land it has become the focal point of all acts of devotion, public and private, individual and congregational, in this respect very largely superseding the more primitive stupa. Let us look more closely into the real nature of this main support of Buddhist piety.

"The fact that we speak not of the Siddhartha-rupa or Gautama-rupa but invariably of the Buddha-rupa is of the utmost significance. The image is not a naturalistic representation of the physical appearance of the great being who attained Enlightenment beneath the Bodhi Tree: on the contrary it is an attempt to convey the nature of Enlightenment. It is not a photograph but a symbol, and its significance is therefore not historical but metaphysical and transcendental. Not only the Buddha-image but all other branches of Buddhist Art, such as painting and architecture, possess this symbolical significance and value. They all aim not at satisfying historical curiosity or gratifying the aesthetic sense but at orienting our thoughts, feelings and actions in the direction of Enlightenment."

"Quite unconsciously, artists now take as their subject not the Buddha but Siddhartha, with the result that the image or picture which is offered to the Buddhist public for worship is not a sublime symbol but a feeble portraiture. Indeed, to such an extent has the rot set in that, very often, paintings depicting "the life of the Buddha" are not intended to fulfil any religious function at all. Small wonder, then, that instead of the noble types of the past we are confronted by sleek, smiling figures, very carefully executed as to drapery and finger-nails, from which every trace of spiritual significance has been excluded."

What is now needed is a return to the canons of traditional Buddhist Art.

"Not only the Buddhist artist but also the Buddhist public must become more deeply aware of the situation, for if they do not, the forces of secularism will encroach still more aggressively and eventually destroy yet another vehicle of the Doctrine."

REFORMS IN BHUTAN

Bhutan will shortly have printed laws in Bhutanese language.

So long, the theocratic system of Government in that Himalayan State enforce laws from religious books.

With the civil Government now running the State's administration, laws are not only enacted or amended by the Bhutan Assembly but also codified and printed.

An Act passed by the Bhutan Assembly seeks to introduce sweeping marriage reforms.

The Act prohibits marriage of first cousins and seeks to tighten the rather loose system of marriage by declaring any woman a 'common woman', who committed adultery three times during her married life.

This marriage Act sets down that every marriage should be registered and for such registration a fee of Rs. 5 has to be paid.

In Bhutan it is customary for the Nepalese who form 25 per cent of the total population of seven lakhs to have more than two wives. Some Bhutanese also have more than two wives. Children born outside wedlock are recognised by the State as legitimate.

The State Assembly has semi-elected members upto a total of 130. A group of villagers elect a headman who is sent as a representative to the Assembly. He holds a term of five years. The voting right is limited to one member from each family, male or female. The Government also invites some headmen to sit in the Assembly. Quite a few civil servants, district officers, and junior and senior officers are members of the Bhutan Assembly.

The 33-year-old Ruler, Maharaja Jigme Dorji Wang-Chuk, who speaks English and fluent Hindi, has overall veto power which he does not use to interfere with the business of the state Assembly.

CHINESE REFORMS IN TIBET

A year has now passed since the rebellion against the Chinese rule in Tibet was crushed, but the Chinese Communist Party is still facing such major problems as the active enforcement of Marxist social and economic policies and fighting is being carried on by rural herdsmen.

The lesson of the bloody battle has by no means left all Tibetans subdued, the Chinese Communist Party's theoretical magazine *Red Flag* indicated in an article.

The "sizzling flame of activism is visible in both the agricultural and pastoral districts," it declares.

The article says the spirit of rebellion and resentment about Pecking's intrusion is still wide-spread enough to cause Communist cadres to fear to explain the Party's policies to the masses and to mobilise the masses unhesitatingly.

The Communists have succeeded in introducing reforms in many areas of Tibet, including Lhasa, and that reform has been launched in 57 of the country's 78 counties involving 7,90,000 out of 1.3 million persons, but there is evidence that the going still remains rough for them.

The Party is moving toward collectivisation and regimentation of Tibet's economy and society in two stages, *Red Flag* states. The first stage is called "democratic revolution," aimed at the distribution of some land to the peasants and the second is "socialist reform" which seeks to appropriate land by the State and the organisation of the peasants in Peoples, Communes, where collective life and work is carried on for the State under military discipline.

RUSSIAN OIL INTERESTS

The what the U.S. interests, lately have been necessary for, both in the world diplomacy and that for the U.S. at concern Russia's own oil. In the past year, Russia made spectacular gains in oil sales and Italy, West Germany, Sweden, Japan and even France which has started exploiting her Sahara wells are now buying large quantities of Russian oil. In the Western Hemisphere Cuba and Argentina are getting the Russian product. Russia's exports of crude oil and other petroleum products last year are estimated to have been 25 million tons as against only 18 millions in 1958 and four millions in 1954 and according to the *Wall Street Journal* Russia possesses about 10.3 per cent of the world's proven oil reserves compared with 11.4 per cent in the United States, 62 per cent in the Middle East and 6.1 per cent in Venezuela. Russia is reported to be going all out to step up production and the paper quotes a British expert as saying "Before the year is out Russia would have passed Venezuela as the world's Number two oil producer."

MODERN MALAYALAM POETRY

In the course of an article in *Thought* Mr. K. M. George, discussing nationalist trends in Modern Malayalam Poetry, pays a well deserved tribute to Vallathol as the poet of patriotism. The political movement, started by Tilak and taken over by Gandhi was the dominant inspiration for Mr. Vallathol.

"But his nationalism was not simply political. It was in fact a combination of the cultural renaissance movement started in Bengal by Bankimchandra and Tagore, and the political emancipation movement indicated above. Vallathol has written several moving poems on village reconstruction, prohibition, untouchability, religious toleration as well as about our linguistic and cultural treasures."

Vallathol accepted Gandhiji as his guru. Gandhiji and his ideas made, so profound an impression on Vallathol that he became a missionary by himself.

"Though the non-co-operation and other allied movements slowly spread in Kerala through Congress workers, it was Vallathol that gave fire and spirit to the movement in Kerala. Mere awareness does not move

people. The poet brings passion to knowledge and then people move."

Vallathol's devotion to Gandhiji was so much that he considered him an *avatar*. His poem entitled, *Entegurunathan (My Master)* is really a master-piece.

"Vallathol's colour of imagery and suggestiveness of expression make him almost untranslatable. But here are a few lines rendered into English."

Ahimsa, non-violence, his life's vow,
Peace his household deity, his stern guard;
Is there a sword forged, asks he,
That will not blunt on *Ahimsa's* matchless
armour?

Lord Christ's great self sacrifice,
Krishna's ways of upholding the law of
Dharma,

Buddha's *Ahimsa*, Sankara's lofty intellect,
Rantideva's Compassion,
Mohammad's great steadfastness,
If you desire to see all these
Blend into one,
Then meet my master...

Vallathol's nationalism was not a mere narrow nationalism; he was truly international like Tagore.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Despite the Summit fiasco, the five Western delegations will present themselves as arranged at Geneva on June 7 for the resumption of the East-West disarmament conference.

The Conference, which will resume where it left off on April 29, will be a test of the Soviet desire to make progress, in the view of the Western allies.

It will certainly face difficulties in that the 10 participating nations will not now have the expected directives from the Summit to lead them out of the bog they were in when the talks were adjourned last month.

Generally, the Western Powers are not unduly worried by the failure of the Paris conference. This impression was given by responsible officials following the talks at the Elysee Palace between Presidents Eisenhower and De Gaulle and Premier Harold Macmillan.

Western talks were of future policy, particularly in the disarmament field and over the questions of Berlin and East-West relations.

On Berlin, the Western Big Three did not think Premier Khrushchev would deliberately go so far as to destroy the work of years by signing a separate German peace treaty. The detente so laboriously created would be over if a treaty were signed, with inevitable repercussions on the status of West Berlin.

Relations between the Soviet Union on the one hand and France and Britain on the other do not seem to have been seriously imperilled by the Summit check.

Soviet-American relations are however, a different matter. Mr. Khrushchev has been using language about the United States and President Eisenhower which augurs ill for future relations between the two.

It looks as if the West will have to wait for six or eight months to go before restarting talks with the Soviet Union.

According to certain observers, however, conditions then could be very different from those prevailing on the eve of the "U-2" spy plane affair, since Mr. Khrushchev's handling of the matter reveals a basic change in Russian policy.

U. N. AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, said he hoped all United Nations members big and small would take advantage of the possibilities offered by the U.N. and its dependent organisations to overcome a setback which could immobilise us for a very long time.

Mr. Hammarskjöld was addressing a Press conference at the United Nations on May 19.

Mr. Hammarskjöld said that the problems which should have been dealt with at the Summit conference necessitated new initiatives in order to try to reach a solution and these initiatives ought not to be poisoned by the recent events.

Mr. Hammarskjöld continued that the responsibilities of the U.N. were increased by the discouraging experiences accumulated by using methods other than the international organisation for arriving at solutions. He added that the United Nations offered all the possibilities necessary for both public and private diplomacy and that for his part he was ready to act on his own initiative if he judged that this might be useful.

Mr. Hammarskjöld, in answer to newsmen's questions, said he was not particularly worried about the situation but only in a general way since the possibility that incidents might lead to war was greater in times of crisis than when the international temperature was cooled off.

IKE ON PARIS FIASCO

President Eisenhower, said at Lisbon on May 19 there is "no reason to be dismayed or disheartened" by the failure of the East-West Summit Conference.

"We have had these conditions before in dealing with the Soviets," he told the American Embassy staff and their families at a reception at Queluz Palace. "Rather than being dismayed, we must tighten our belts, keep our chins up and each of us work a little harder for the great cause of peace with justice and freedom."

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Utterances of the Day

MR. MACMILLAN'S WARNING

Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister, said on May 20 he could not conceal there may be "grave implications" in what has happened in Paris over the breakdown of the Summit Conference. "There is no doubt that what has happened is a serious setback," he told the House of Commons.

"We must be prepared for the international outlook to become more stern. We may have to meet new threats and new dangers. It was too early to say whether it was a deliberate change in Russian policy, or whether the rupture was an isolated episode. In either case we must be ready," the Prime Minister said.

MONTGOMERY'S VIEW

Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery said at Hongkong on May 20 that as a result of the failure of the Summit Conference the cold war would be intensified in ideological, economic and diplomatic terms, and that its front-line would be moved from Europe to Asia and Africa.

Lord Montgomery told a Press conference later there was no justification for the United States U-2 spy flights over Soviet territory.

"We definitely broke international law by flying over the territory of a nation which has forbidden us to do it. I do not think we can get away from that...there is no justification for doing it."

KHRUSHCHEV ON DISARMAMENT

Mr. Nikita Khrushchev said on Moscow on May 9 that Russia was ready to disarm "completely and honestly."

Then he told a Czech Embassy reception amid laughter: "Control does not frighten us. When we are disarmed, please come gentlemen and fly over our territory, control it, photograph it, do whatever you like."

The Soviet Prime Minister told the reception, marking the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the Nazis, that the Russian people "sincerely wish that there should be no more war, that the last war should be the last."

Russia, he declared, was doing its utmost to achieve this and had already unilaterally cut its armed forces by one-third.

"When we have reduced our armed forces to 2,400,000, after some time we shall think it over and evidently we shall further reduce our army," he declared.

TRUMAN ON ESPIONAGE

The former American President, Mr. Harry Truman, said at Chicago on May 13 as far as he knew no American planes had undertaken espionage missions over the Soviet Union while he was President.

Mr. Truman, who was speaking to reporters said he approved President Eisenhower's decision to resume underground nuclear weapons tests. Asked if aerial spying took place under his presidency Mr. Truman replied: "Not that I know of. It is conceivable that I did not want to know about it," he said.

CHOU-EN-LAI'S OUTBURST

Speaking at Peking on May 19 Mr. Chou said that the United States had agreed to the holding of the Summit Conference with extreme reluctance and while it masqueraded for peace it never stopped its frenzied activities for arms expansion and war preparations. It created all sorts of difficulties and obstacles for the conference and continually spread the pessimistic line that the conference was doomed to failure.

Mr. Chou warned the United States Government that "encroachment on any socialist country is an encroachment on China, on the entire socialist camp and will assuredly meet with an annihilating rebuff."

DIEFENBAKER ON RACIAL CONFLICT

Speaking at Ottawa on May 17 the Canadian Prime Minister Mr. John Diefenbaker said:

"It is clear that the issue of racial conflict will continue to pose a fundamental problem for Commonwealth countries, and indeed, for the world community," he said.

"I hope that the people of South Africa can work their way out of the dreadful impasse to which they have been brought. I hope that isolation on the continent of Africa will give them thought and a realisation of the situation."

Mr. Diefenbaker repeated that he made clear to South Africa's Foreign Minister that there was no sympathy in Canada for policies of racial discrimination, and that such policies were incompatible with the multi-racial nature of the Commonwealth.

He said Mr. Louw recognised that no one present at London could support racial discrimination in a multi-racial Commonwealth.

Political

THE PARIS TALKS

The story of the "Summit that never was" is largely a story of frantic efforts to get the negotiations started. Whether another Summit will be convened is anybody's guess but both the East and the West have said vaguely that they would be willing to enter into discussions at some future date.

In so far as this was a "conference," it was a most extraordinary one, without precedent in diplomatic history. After eighteen months of intensive preparations the Big Four met only once, and then, the effective time they spent together allowing for translations, was only about an hour. For the rest, the proceedings were conducted by means of telephone calls and despatch riders, written exchanges, Press conferences, semi-official statements and official communiques. As can be imagined all this created an extremely tense and dramatic atmosphere with the situation changing hourly and everybody in a state of suspense, and alternating hope and despair. In retrospect, two events seem to have been of decisive significance. One was Mr. Khrushchev's move to make public his vitriolic attack on the American policy with a demand for an apology from Mr. Eisenhower and the proposal to adjourn the Summit.

The Security Council on May 28 adopted a resolution urging the Big Four powers to resume as soon as possible their discussions on common problems, making use of the United Nations.

The four-power resolution appealed to all Governments to refrain from the use or threats of force in their international relations to respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence and to refrain from any action which might increase tension.

NEHRU-NASSER APPEAL

Prime Minister Nehru of India and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, on May 20 appealed to leaders of the nations of the world to stand firm against any deterioration in the international situation and spare no efforts in the service of peace.

In a joint communique at the end of Mr. Nehru's four-day visit to the U.A.R. the two leaders expressed their deep distress at the failure of the Paris Summit Conference.

The communique said it was of the utmost importance that the failure of the Summit conference should not be allowed to worsen the international situation.

"Otherwise this can only lead to an intensification of the cold war and the possibility of a dreadful war which would put an end to all hopes, progress and indeed lead to a world disaster, of which it is difficult even to measure the terrible consequences."

In conclusion the two leaders said "every nation, whether big or small, must bear its full share of responsibility for the world situation."

We would appeal, therefore, to all leaders and nations of the world to stand firm against any deterioration and spare no effort in the service of the noble cause of peace and the building up of a world community of nations.

REPRESSION IN TIBET

Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Under Secretary, said on May 15 British Government had been "profoundly shocked" by reports which had been received of events in Tibet.

He was speaking in a House Lords debate on what Lord Birdwood, a Conservative Peer, called China's persecution of Tibet.

Lord Lansdowne said "The reports of brutal repression in Tibet, the ruthless destruction of the fabric of the ancient civilisation by Chinese military might, this dreadful human tragedy has been enacted in the name of progress—these matters are surely of the gravest concern to all."

THE ARMY COUP IN TURKEY

The Turkish Army has acted to end the rising political tension in its country. The President, Prime Minister, other political leaders from the Democratic Party and some Army officers, too, have been placed under arrest. General Djemal Gursel, has become the Chairman of a newly-formed National Unity Committee. Army coup, despite a clash or two with the police, seems to have been practically bloodless. The Army intends, to hold genuinely free elections in Turkey as soon as possible; and to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people. Between purpose and fulfilment, however, there are likely to be many slips. The new regime has made one or two moves which augur well for the future: the Press has been unmuzzled and a group of intellectuals has been asked to draw up a new Constitution.

COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE

A year's national service will be made compulsory for students after the completing of their secondary school education accord in to a scheme evolved by the Government of India.

Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Union Education Minister, said in an interview at Poona last month that only after the completion of the national service would students be allowed to join universities. He said that the idea behind the scheme was to make the students "national minded" and also to prepare them for higher education.

The Minister said that at present the Government of India advised the universities to enrol students who had attained the seventeenth year of their age. That was the age the Government considered "mature enough" for the students to receive higher education. A year's national service would further enable the students to be fully prepared for higher education, he added.

UNESCO SCHOLARSHIP

The UNESCO has offered, under its project "Production of reading material", a fellowship for study abroad for six months in the field of book publishing.

The scope of studies, says a Press Release will cover important aspects of book publishing, including general and specialised publishing, legal aspects of publishing (copyright, libel, etc.), role of publishing associations, cost accountancy of publishing, relations with authors, distribution channels and publicity methods.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The Government of India have revised the composition of the All-India Council for Elementary Education.

The new Council will have 27 members with Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, as Chairman. Besides the Chairman, the revised Council will be composed of a member representing each State Education Department; one member representing the Union territories and one representative each of the Planning Commission. Union Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Central Advisory Board of Education and the Directorate of Extension Programmes in Secondary Education and a principal of a training college.

PRIVATE SANSKRIT INSTITUTIONS

The Government of India have instituted a scheme for giving financial assistance to voluntary Sanskrit organisations, institutions and pathshalas.

Under their scheme known as "Financial assistance to voluntary Sanskrit organisations, institutions and pathshalas," the Government will consider requests for only non-recurring grants to well-known institutions for important and specified purposes relating to expansion and development of Sanskrit. No grants are given for the maintenance of the institutions.

CO-OPERATION AS SCHOOL SUBJECT

Steps are being taken by the Government to teach school children the benefits of the co-operative way of life and to make them co-operative-minded. The State Governments have been requested by the Union Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation to introduce co-operation as a subject of study in primary and secondary schools. The intention is to acquaint students with the basic principles of co-operation through simple lessons without burdening them with academic theories or detailed information.

To make them familiar with the practice of co-operation, school children, it is felt, should also be allowed and encouraged to participate in the actual working of co-operative organisations, like school stores, canteens and clubs.

CAUSES OF STUDENTS' FAILURES

A high rate of failures at the University of Malaya had been mainly due to "emotional instability" of the students, the Chief Medical Officer of the university's Singapore Division Dr. Z. N. Kadri, said at Kuala Lumpur.

He was speaking at the first Asian regional conference of the World Conference of Organisations of the Teaching Profession. Dr. Kadri said that 12.93 per cent of the arts students and 20.88 per cent of the science students who joined the university between 1952 and 1955 had been academic failures. He expressed the need to divert attention to the problem of mental health of Malayan students.

Three other factors which continued to students' failure were: inadequate command of the English language; inadequate groundwork in science subjects, and inadequate "motivation" for the subjects selected.

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES

President Eisenhower on May 6, signed into law the Civil Rights Bill, 1960, describing it as "an historic step forward."

His action marked the culmination of three months of debate, at times degenerating into bitter filibuster, on the measure to provide new guarantees of citizenship rights for Negroes.

The President said in a statement: "The new law will play an important role in the days ahead in attaining our goal of equality under law in all areas of our country for all Americans."

A salient feature of the new law—and one of its most controversial aspects—is a provision authorising the use by Federal Courts of voting "referees" to investigate complaints of discrimination at the polls.

All American citizens are entitled to vote under the Constitution, but Negroes have been denied access to the polls in certain Southern States by local discriminatory practices.

NEW CHIEF JUSTICE OF PAKISTAN

Mr. Justice A. R. Cornelius was sworn in as the Chief Justice of Pakistan by Lt.-Gen. Burki, at a simple ceremony at the President's House at Rawalpindi on May 13.

Fifty-seven-year-old Mr. Justice Cornelius is the first non-Muslim to hold the office of the chief Justice of Pakistan.

He succeeds Mr. Justice Shahabuddin who retired on May 12.

Mr. Justice Cornelius has been a Justice of the Supreme Court for the last nine years.

SENTENCE ON SOVIET SPY

The United States Supreme Court on May 16 refused to reconsider its March decision approving the 30-year prison sentence given to Soviet Colonel, Rudolf Abel, found guilty of espionage for the Soviet Union.

Abel's lawyer, Mr. John Donovan, protested against the decision saying it opened the door to all sorts of police subterfuge and that it reduced unjustly the personal liberty of millions of foreigners in the United States.

Mr. Donovan submitted a new appeal to the Supreme Court. Abel was condemned by a Federal Court of New York for espionage in 1957.

PROPERTIES OF STHANAMS

The Supreme Court by a majority judgment declared the Madras Marumakkathayam (Removal of Doubts) Act, 1955, void and *ultra vires* of the Constitution.

A Constitution Bench of the Court held that the impugned Act infringed the fundamental right to hold and dispose of property as guaranteed under Article 19 (1) (f) of the Constitution.

A writ petition filed by K. K. Kochunni, Moopil Nair, the holder of the Kavalappara sthanam, and others, challenging the validity of the Act was allowed.

HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

The Union Law Minister, Mr. A. K. Sen, left India on May 6 for Tokyo to attend the regional conference of the United Nations on Human Rights commencing there.

The conference considered the extent to which the member-countries in the region implement the basic freedoms guaranteed under the United Nations Charter. South Africa does not come within the purview of this region.

LEGAL ADVISERS FOR COMPANIES

Presiding over the 30th State Process-Servers' Conference at Kumbakonam on May 2, Mr. C. R. Pattabhiraman, M.P., said that a bill was in the offing making it compulsory on the part of companies to have a legal adviser. He said that the type of litigation in our courts was changing and there was need for the expansion of the strength of High Courts in the States.

COMMONWEALTH COURT

The British Government will pursue the idea of some kind of "Commonwealth Court", a judicial body which might in time act instead of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the House of Commons was told on May 18.

Mr. Richard Thompson, Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, told the House of Commons: "We shall miss no opportunity to pursue it further in an appropriate form, along with the Commonwealth Governments who feel so minded on the subject."

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is the highest court of appeal for some Commonwealth countries, though not all.

Trade and Finance

U. S. FOODGRAINS FOR INDIA

President Eisenhower signed on May 4, an agreement under which the United States will send India 1,500 shiploads of wheat and rice over the next four years, to meet harvest deficits and build up a reserve.

The agreement, signed in the Cabinet room at the White House, Washington was historic in several respects. Mr. S. K. Patil, the Indian Minister of Food and Agriculture, who signed for India told the President it was "a signal honour to my country" that he had personally set his hand to the agreement.

Mr. James Hagerty, the White House spokesman, said he could not recall a previous occasion during Mr. Eisenhower's seven and a half years in the White House, on which he had personally signed an agreement with another country.

The White House said in a statement that the agreement was four times as large as any agreement previously signed with any country, since the United States began selling its farm surpluses abroad for local currency six years ago.

EXCHANGE CONTROL IN INDIA

The Reserve Bank of India has issued a publication, an "Outline of Exchange Control in India", bringing the foreign exchange regulations up-to-date and presenting them against a wider economic background. It replaces an earlier publication, issued in 1946 and revised in 1951.

Dr. B. K. Madan, Executive Director of the Reserve Bank, states in a foreword to the new publication that in preparing it "we have kept in mind not only persons interested in financial affairs within the country but also those outside, investors and the general public, who would like to have an idea, however brief, of the basis, the nature and the broad contents of the Indian exchange control."

SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES

Pressure on the Planning Commission from various Ministries of the Centre and from several State Governments for an upward revision of the sums allotted to them in the Third Five-Year Plan has been persistent for some time now and the Commission has been hard put to it to accommodate the demands. But it is giving in here and there grudgingly. And it is now reported that the allocation for small-scale industries in the Third Plan is to be lightly increased.

The last meeting of the Small-Scale Industries Board held in Jaipur in April had asked for the outlay on small industries to be increased from the total of Rs. 107 crores now proposed to Rs. 160 crores or by Rs. 53 crores. The Planning Commission is said to be agreeable to increasing it by Rs. 15 crores.

TRADE CENTRE AT BEIRUT

The Union Ministry of Commerce and Industry are now contemplating to set up a trade centre at Beirut which is the hub of the West Asian and Mediterranean markets.

The centre will sponsor visual commercial publicity to India's exportable goods and disseminate information on the goods, their specifications, quality, price, availability, services that could be rendered to the buyers, etc. The centre will give all possible assistance to the trade enquirers and prospective buyers so that their enquiries and negotiations could lead to positive results.

The intention of the Ministry is to run the centre with the assistance of an established commercial firm having sufficient resources and experience of the West Asian and Mediterranean markets. The firm so selected will manage the centre under the over-all supervision of the Indian Legation at Beirut.

RISE IN BANK DEPOSITS

Indian banking took "another stride" in 1959 in its role as resource mobiliser and credit purveyor for the country's economy, states the Reserve Bank of India's annual report on the "Trend and Progress of Banking in India" released to the press on May 30.

The significant rise in bank deposits since 1955, the report observes, "is indicative of the gradual spread of the banking habit among the people and the effort of the banking system in mobilising savings in the context of expanding money incomes."

On the country's economic situation the report says the year 1959 "witnessed a significant strengthening of the base of the Indian economy, but there was no abatement of inflationary pressures." There was a further step-up in the rate of investment in the public sector and private investment also recovered after slackening in the previous year.

GLAMOUR LESSONS FOR SENIOR SCHOOLGIRLS

A man faced women teachers and told them they should help older schoolgirls to look more glamorous. The man Mr. J. Elliott, chief education officer for Manchester, was speaking at the conference of the National Union of Women Teachers at Buxton, England last month.

He said that women teachers should give girls more advice on grooming and clothes. "I wonder whether women teachers have yet accepted the fact that rightly or wrongly clothes are of great interest to women," he added.

Miss J. Collins deputy headmistress at a mixed school criticised fashionable early marriages and said: "There is a danger girls might lose their ambitions."

She spoke of girls who marry straight from school and scuttling into domesticity—"teenagers with black stockings, unkempt hair, ill-fitting clothes and dejected bearing."

Children are being cheated of the education that is their right. So Mr. A. L. Jones told the National Association of Schoolmasters' conference at Hastings. A child, said Mr. Jones, should have an education best fitted to his age. Instead his education finishes at a predetermined age, confines his ability within predetermined limits and channels his aptitude along predetermined paths."

Mrs. AUNG SAN

The Burmese Foreign Office announces the appointment of Daw Khin Kyi, widow of the late General Aung San, as Ambassador Plenipotentiary to India.

Daw Khin Kyi will soon come to New Delhi. She will be the first Burmese woman envoy.

CHINESE WEDDINGS IN MALAYA

A three-man committee has been appointed to draw up arrangements for mass Chinese weddings, where the couples pool expenses.

The proposal has been made by Chinese leaders who have pointed out that some couples have had to pay high prices to get accommodation in restaurants for the traditional Chinese dinner after the wedding. A mass wedding, leaders have pointed out, would provide all the formalities at a minimum cost.

Mrs. SUBBAROYAN

We record with regret the death of Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan, wife of Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Union Minister for Transport and Communications, at Safdarjang Hospital New Delhi, on 3rd June.

Mrs. Subbaroyan was a well-known social worker and had played a prominent role in the freedom struggle and for the emancipation of women.

SMT. N. KRIPALANI

Shrimati Nandita Kripalani has been invited by the Soviet Government to visit the U.S.S.R. to assist the "Kuibyshev State Opera and Ballet Theatre" in the production of Rabinranath Tagore's play "Chitrangada". Shrimati Nandita Kripalani, who is a granddaughter of Poet Rabindranath Tagore, and has acted in most of his plays, left for Moscow on May 19.

MISS MARY GEORGE

The first Sudanese girl to be sent on an educational mission abroad by the United Nations Child Welfare Organisation, Miss Mary George, has returned to Khartoum after graduating from the Calcutta Higher Institute of Nursing with the award of a high-level diploma. She is joining the College of Nursing in Khartoum as a lecturer.

A WOMAN PROSECUTOR

For the first time in Madras City, a woman has been appointed as an Assistant State Prosecutor.

She is Miss T. A. Bhymee who has been appointed as Assistant State Prosecutor, attached to the Court of the Seventh Presidency Magistrate, Egmore, Madras.

STUDENTS' WIVES IN OXFORD

Wives of students from India, Pakistan and other Commonwealth countries need no longer feel "lost" in Oxford. The tendency in the past has been for some of the wives to feel neglected and "out of the swim" while their husbands settled down to the stimulating life of the University.

But now Mrs. K. C. Wheare, wife of the Rector of Exeter College, has started a committee of wives to help new comers from overseas to settle down.

AGE FOR MARRIAGE

The U. N. Commission on the Status of Women agreed last month on a draft international convention setting the minimum age for marriage at 15.

General

MR. R. M. SUNDARAM

We record with regret the death on May 14 of Mr. R. M. Sundaram, ICS. Member of the Board of Revenue, after a brief illness at the Government General Hospital Madras.

Born of a respected family of South Arcot district, Mr. Sundaram, after schooling in the Hindu High School, Triplicane, and taking his degree from Presidency College, Madras, proceeded to Oxford, where he studied at Balliol College. After qualifying for the Indian Civil service, he joined it as Sub-Collector, Kurnool in September 1928. He served as District Collector, Director of Agriculture, Director of Industries and Secretary to the Government in different departments before he became Member of the Board of Revenue in April, 1957.

ROCKEFELLER (JR.)

Mr. John D. Rockefeller (Jr.), who inherited his father's reputation as the "richest man in the world" but made it his life's work to give away money, died on May 11 at Tucson. He was 86.

His death came less than 24 hours after the announcement by the Rockefeller Foundation of new grants totalling nearly five million dollars bringing the total of gifts by father and son to an estimated 875 million dollars.

REV. H. A. POPELY

Rev. H. A. Popely, who was living in Coonoor in retirement after more than 30 years of service in the London Mission, Erode passed away on May 9 at his residence "Sunbeam" at the age of 81. He was well-known for his literary work as a translator of the "Kural" and his skill in rendering Tamil Christian music in the Carnatic style.

PROF. WHITEHEAD

Professor J. H. C. Whitehead, F.R.S., well-known mathematician, passed away on May 8. Prof. Whitehead who was 55, was Waynflete Professor of Pure Mathematics in the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Magdalen College, had been visiting the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton during the present term.

BORIS PASTERNAK

Mr. Boris Pasternak (70), famed Soviet writer, died at Moscow on May 30.

The Russian author was awarded the Nobel literature prize in 1958 but he refused it. His novel "Doctor Zhivago" became a world's best seller.

DR. M. (Mrs.) JOHN

The death occurred on May 14 of Dr. (Mrs.) M. John, retired Assistant Superintendent of the Kasturba Gandhi Hospital for Women and Children, Madras at her residence in Gopalapuram, after a brief illness. She was 62.

After graduation from the Madras Medical College, Mrs. John went to Edinburgh where she took her F.R.C.S. Degree. She again visited England and specialised in pediatrics and obstetrics. She was connected with the Kasturba Gandhi Hospital for Women and children for about 34 years, from where she retired in 1954. She was a well known doctor in the field of obstetrics and gynaecology.

GAMA

Gama, the former world wrestling champion, died at Lahore on May 20, after a heart attack at the age of eighty.

He was born in 1878 and was the undisputed champion of the world. He had victories over the European champion Zbysko and the American wrestler B. F. Retter. He weighed around 260 lbs. in his heyday and stood 5 feet 7 inches.

Gama went to London in 1910 after conquering India's top wrestlers. He was so small by European standards that he had difficulty in getting fights. So he hired a hall and took on 12 opponents in a single day.

On September 17 that year, he was matched with the Polish world champion, Zbysko. They grappled for two and a half hours until Zbysko muttered, "I am finished."

DR. IDA S. SCUDDER

We regret to record the death of Dr. Ida S. Scudder founder of the Vellore Christian Medical College and Hospital, at Kodaikanal on May 24. She was 90.

Widely recognised as one of the best in India, the Vellore Hospital has topflight specialists from four continents and dispenses the latest wonder drugs. In addition, its four roadside bus clinics take care of villagers' health.

Dr. Scudder was very popular among the patients who were moved by her love, kindness and self-less service. Though she had no money she had faith in God to find money like a true missionary. Such were her achievements, that she was an institution by herself.

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

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(Andrew Lang)

A SYMPOSIUM

Contributors: Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, Dr. Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, Justice M. C. Chagla, Dr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sri B. J. Wadia, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, Smt. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. B. Sanjeeva Rao and Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.

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