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[No 2

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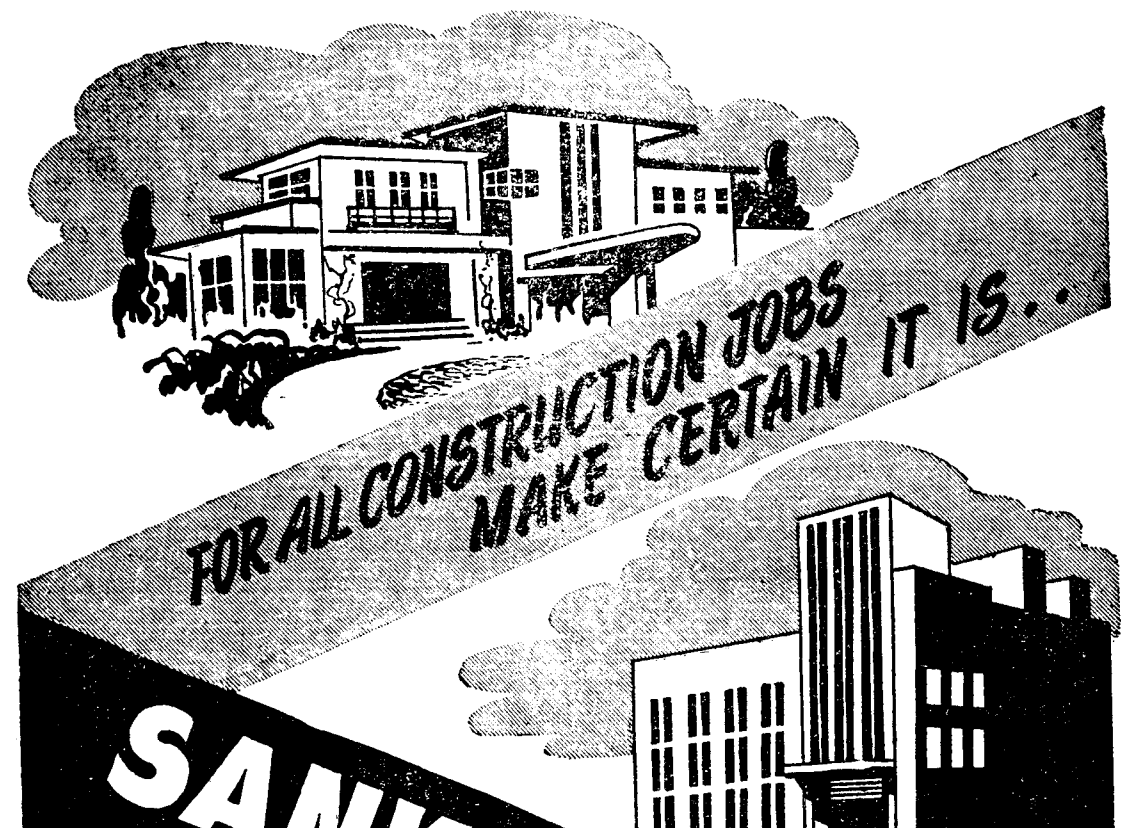
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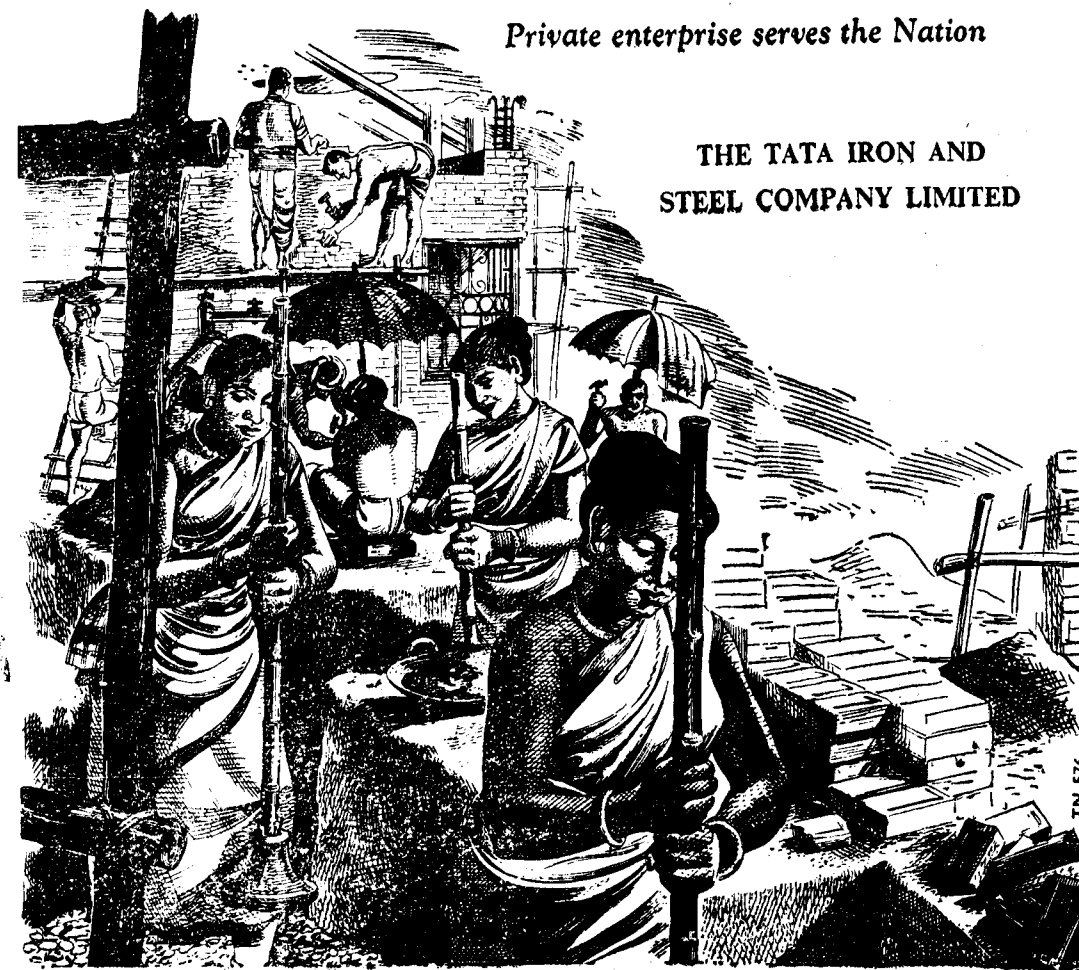
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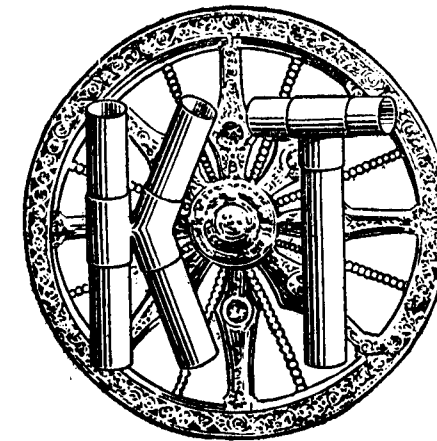
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[57]

FEBRUARY 1956

[No. 2

The Second Five-Year Plan

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his famous play said: "Into that Haven of Freedom, my father, let my country awake." The Salvation Army always calls its shelters "Havens" and its objective, 'the provision of a Happy Home for All.' Under the Socialistic Pattern of Society, "A Draft outline of the Second Five Year Plan" by the Planning Commission, Government of India, February 1956, price Re. 1 or 1s. 6d., pages 200, sets out clearly the objectives, procedure and the hopes and aspirations of our enthusiastic and revered Prime Minister Mr. Nehru to achieve such a desired end.

The introduction itself shows that every effort has been made to benefit by the experience gained in the working of the First Five Year Plan which ends in March, 1956. From 1955, with the expert assistance of Dr. Mahalanobis, the delicate feminine touch of Srimathi Durgabhai Deshmukh and the balanced criticism of Dr. John Mathai, the Finance Minister Sri Chintaman Deshmukh, the proposals have been drafted, drafted and evolved towards their present form.

Chapter I shows that the approach is realistic and the objectives, a sizeable increase in national income, a rapid industrialisation and an appreciable expansion of opportunities for healthy employment and a reduction of inequalities in income and wealth, are justified by a more even distribution of economic power.

The Socialistic Pattern of Society reminds us of old Sir William Harcourt's statement over sixty years ago in England "We are all Socialists now". While the First Five Year Plan was naturally preoccupied with food and agriculture, the Second Five Year Plan is appropriately concerned with industrialisation and other types of productive work.

As paragraph 23 of the First Chapter concedes, overall fiscal and monetary discipline is not enough, the plan has to be essentially flexible.

Chapter II shows how against Rs. 2356 crores estimated under the First Five Year Plan as probable achievement, over double the amount or Rs. 4800 crores of expenditure and achievement are aimed at under the Second Five Year Plan.

The plan is not based on orthodox economics or on Gandhian abstract ideology as interpreted by Professor J. C. Kumarappa. It takes a practical common-sense view of possibilities and probabilities and the Annexures to Chapter II deserve scrutiny and appreciation.

Chapter III on 'Employment Aspects of the Plan' cannot be viewed in quantitative terms, as flexibility of employment and change-over from employment to employment are the essential characteristics of democratic labour-economics like those of the United States of America. It has always evoked surprise and admiration in Indian

readers to find how in the United States of America, people forsake Government employment for business posts and sacrifice profitable business employment to work according to their competency in Government employment.

This naturally leads to Chapter IV in which administrative tasks and organisation are analysed brilliantly to show how the drive of individual effort can be maintained without sacrificing the momentum and solid achievement of democratic methods of doing things.

Chapter V on 'Development of Co-operation' shows how the Rural Credit Survey has enabled concrete proposals to be formulated.

Chapter VI on 'Land Reform' is rather controversial and one is never certain whether the old legal maxim was not right that often a reformatory innovation does more harm by its novelty than good by its efficacy.

Chapter VII is really a short chapter on the Community Development and National Extension approach.

Chapter VIII naturally deals with our most vital problem, giving the programme for agriculture in a predominantly agricultural country interspersed with forests and hills like India.

Chapter IX on 'Irrigation and Power' is a skeleton outline.

Chapter X on 'Industry and Minerals' is vital as owing to the Law of Diminishing Return, one must divert a portion of the growing population to non-agricultural pursuits.

Chapter XI on 'Village and Small Industries' is really a concession to the Mira Ben Kumarappa—Vinoba Bhave idealists. Extensive powers have been vested in the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, the All India Handicrafts Board, the All

India Handloom Board, the Small Scale Industries Board, the Coir Board and Silk Board. But unless the spirit of *Satish*, (the spirit of helping those less advantageously placed by buying their products developed almost as a religion, success may be followed by grave disaster. That is why the reviewer two decades ago in a Tamil journal suggested that at Noon on Friday which is sacred to the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians the Buddhists and the Animists as members of the Sukrawar Swadesa Prartana Sangham, two-minutes' silence should be observed with the silent prayer "May God give self-sacrifice and selflessness and brotherliness to buy goods made locally to help others to earn a self-respecting competence though other goods imported or made with machinery are better in quality and cheaper in price."

Chapter XII on 'Transport and Communications' tackles problems of railways, road shipping and inland water transport and ends with short notes on 'Air Transport and Broadcasting'.

A very short chapter on 'Social Services' may blind us to the fact that Rs. 946 crores have been provided under this head. Chapters on 'Health' and 'Housing' are very interesting reading. The welfare of backward classes is also tackled.

Labour Policy and Programmes, and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons are not neglected.

The note on 'Prohibition' is rather vague because we do not have a proper continuous propaganda in favour of prohibition as western countries. As one wag said "Prohibition is now working on a triple benefit basis. Eighty per cent of those who used to drink mostly between the ages of 30 and 40 have given up drinking and so their wives

children are happy and they are also happy with more money to spend on clothes, comforts, food and small luxuries. Ten per cent below the age of 30, especially from the age of 20 to 30, who are drinking to drink, have an adventurous cottage industry provided without any assistance, financial or otherwise, from Five Year Plans. These moonshiners distill illicit rick and have a gay time, generally escaping capture. The remaining ten per cent of those formerly addicted to drinking above the age of 55 or at least above the age of 50 get their drinks from the cottage industrialists and surrender before the police for providing their statistics of detection and conviction. In fact, the old man or woman says: "Life is so nice, the dinner gong rings for food. There is a barber and there are good clothes. The doctor comes daily and also gives us nice cots to sleep on. It seems one in N. S. Varadachari, the Member-Secretary of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee, wants to increase the sentence from two months to six months. We pray that he may live it two years so that we may die in peace." We may add that we are naturally

obsessed by wanting to find out what has happened in respect of prohibition. If we similarly obsess ourselves with adultery or other offences and have a separate department and a separate enquiry committee, we should equally and unnecessarily pain ourselves to please nobody.

The final chapter on 'Education and Scientific Research' justly concludes with the statement that special efforts to improve scientific education and the supply of scientific workers should be made as the rate of economic and social advance will finally be determined by the progress of pure and applied science in the country.

We are afraid that one cannot but be disproportionate in the treatment of a draft outline. But it is a matter for congratulation and joy that the Second Five Year Plan in its draft outline avoids some of the errors of talking with one's head in the air which characterise the First Five Year Plan and tackles brass tacks with solid common-sense tinged by a correct admixture of inspiration and enthusiasm.

— o —

The German Problem Today

Prof. G. D. H. COLE

ONE FEELS no disappointment at the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference to discover any basis for agreement about the problem of Germany. At no point did there even appear to be any prospect of an agreement. The Russians could not be expected to accept unification of Germany on terms that would not only leave western Germany a partner in N. A. T. O. and a member of the Western military alliance, which is clearly and even openly directed against the Soviet Union, but would also involve the absorption of the East German Democratic Republic being swallowed up by the west, of a re-united Germany being thus firmly integrated into the Western bloc. As for

the Western countries, there was no sign of a willingness to go back on the plan to re-arm the Bonn Republic as a part of the N. A. T. O. forces, or to resign the ambitions to bring the whole of Germany under a Government that would be simply an extension of the Bonn regime. It was to be expected that each of the four Foreign Ministers would do his best to appear as a supporter of German unity and freedom and to represent his own side's solution as the correct, peace-loving way of bringing this unity about. But there was never any real likelihood of a means being found of reconciling, or of compromising between, the directly opposed views of the rival blocs.

but the Germans would at least know more clearly how they were placed and be less likely to fall victims to irredentist orators calling them to prepare themselves for a war of revenge.

I am quite unable to believe that the accession of German divisions to the N. A. T. O. forces is of any real account, both because I do not believe that either N.A.T.O. or the Soviet Union can any longer be meaning to allow itself to be impelled into a new world war and because such a war, if it did come, would be fought under conditions that would bring it to an abrupt end before any decisive struggle between the massed ground forces on the two sides could be engaged. The insistence of the Western Governments on German re-armament is not really based on military considerations: what they really want is not a German army, or a German contingent in a N.A.T.O. army, but rather a political integration of Germany—or at least of Western Germany—into a West European political group sharply marked off from the countries on the other side of the "curtain", and thus serving as a bulwark against not only Soviet Communism but Socialism in any form. That is why the so-called "Europeans", who are working for a federalised Western Europe under capitalist leadership, are also the keenest advocates of re-arming Western Germany, and remain blind to the danger that a re-armed Germany may prove to be a renewed threat to the peace of Europe on its own account.

I too want an united Europe, but not on these terms. The united Europe to which I look forward will be a Socialist Europe, United Western Europe means disunited Europe, and therewith continued subordination to the United States and increasing power for that arch-enemy of Socialism, the Roman Catholic Church. It connotes national Labour movements which, putting anti-Communism above Socialism, make themselves thereby the dependents of capitalism and incapable of uniting the working classes in their support—for example, in France and in Italy. It makes nonsense of the struggle for Socialism and reduces Socialist programmes to secondary develop-

ments of the Welfare State—secondary, because they offer no challenge to the continuance of the capitalist foundations of Western society. It also constitutes the Western countries the supporters and allies of reaction outside Europe against the rising forces of democratic nationalism in Asia and Africa, and also in Latin America. Socialists who are prepared to ally themselves with capitalism and feudalism in pursuance of a world anti-Communist crusade have in my opinion no right to the name of Socialists.

I say this, not as a Communist: I am a libertarian Socialist with a deep hatred of all forms of authoritarian centralisation and *gleichshaltung*. I am, however, most of all an internationalist and an opponent of capitalism as a world force; I cannot, therefore, wish to see Germany, entire or divided, integrated into a Western bloc. I do not pretend to know whether the long-run effect of such absorption would be to establish a Western Europe united on a basis of hostility to Socialism or a recrudescence of German militarism as an independent force capable of being directed against either the Soviet Union or the rest of Western Europe. Both these outcomes would be equally unpleasant, and equally disastrous to the progress in the world. On all accounts it is desirable for Germany, the chief provoker of two calamitous world wars, to remain disarmed as long as the danger of further world war continues to exist at all. What urgency is there to re-unite the Germans under a common Government until we can feel reasonably assured that they will not before long be back at their old games, either dragging us into war with the Soviet Union in order to regain their lost provinces or, seeking to reach an accommodation with the Soviet Union—in order to resume their imperialist designs in the West? Where no settlement of the German problem seems practicable at present without these dangers, it is surely best to do no more than fix definitely the German frontiers and leave the other questions unsettled until they can be dealt with under more favourable conditions of less tense relations between the rival power blocs of East and West.

Democracy And Decadence Or Civility And Civilization

By "SOCRATES"

A senior Civil Servant, no doubt as good as Civil Service go at his administrative, Secretariat and social work, fired by the ambition to excel in sports joined a club of young men playing tennis. Being constipated in mind and body, he was a bit of a handicap to them in their pursuit of strenuous excellence. Noticing their frequent withdrawals from the court when he was sighted in the distance, he resigned in disgust from the club saying "The members of this club apparently have only customs and no manners."

These reflections were evoked by a perusal of a monograph written in a racy style about 'The Public Philosophy'.

The author, Mr. Walter Lippmann, has an appropriate name, as Walter means 'A rule-people leader' and Lippmann means 'A man who is given to much exercises of his lips directly or by his pen'. Walter, also on the other hand according to the New English Dictionary means 'The troubled rolling of the sea' and the author frankly confesses that much troubled in mind by the mounting disaster in Western Society and the Fraud of democracy, he began writing the book to come to terms in his own mind and heart with the same. With the author's broad dictum that, without a background of conventions and accepted standards of conduct, democracy will lead only to unhappiness and disaster, no one can quarrel. All life depends on tolerance and mutual adjustments, and in John Stuart Mill's analysis, in making a clear distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding actions. While in respect of self-regarding actions,

liberty and even licence is permissible, with regard to other-regarding actions, close restraint and even severe self-denial are called for.

Mr. Lippmann is much worried that mass public opinion and legislation subject to popular pressures have come to exercise a dominant and dangerous influence over the executive functions of government with the result that the modern democracies have grown steadily more incapable of ruling wisely in times of war and peace. In a sense, Shakespeare's Ulysses says this when he exclaims 'The rule of many is not good. Let there be one rule, one king'. The same analysis was made by Bishop Stubbs when he said that during the Lancastrian rule of the pious and impotent Henry VI, Political Liberty had outrun Administrative Order. He repeats the criticisms of Sir Henry Maine about democracy though apparently his attention has not been drawn to the more vigorous analysis of Sir James Stephens "in Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". Robert Lowe, when the Reforms Act of 1872 was passed, said "We must be up and doing to educate our future masters". Similarly, Mr. Lippmann thinks the failure of democracies is traceable to the omission to defend and maintain the political faith, or "public philosophy," which formed the basis of the convictions of the Founding Fathers when they established the Constitution, and which underlines the liberal way of life. As the blurb says "without such a generally accepted public philosophy, the enjoyment of private property becomes an end in itself, land is destructively exploited and wealth ruthlessly accumulated, freedom of speech degenerates into freedom of abuse".

This book is written by Mr. Lippmann as an "urgent book". Apparently he is apprehensive of global disaster if early steps are not taken. In Chapter III, he specially emphasizes what Aristotle said that what is the care and responsibility of every one ceases

* THE PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY by Walter Lippmann On the Decline and Revival of the Western Society in Atlantic Monthly Press Book—Published by Little, Brown and Company—Boston—Toronto. Copyright 1955—Price: 3 Dollars.

to be the care and responsibility of even one among the many. So people forget that all powers are under the law; that laws must be made, amended and administered by due process and that a legitimate government must have the consent of the governed. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and democratic rule. It will not be out of place to mention that preoccupation with international affairs and problems of planning and national development and solidarity have even under a former President of the Civil Liberties Union like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru failed to prevent a dozen prisoners still languishing in jails for over two years past though recommended for release by State Governments for want of a definitive order agreeing or refusing to release them in respect of Central Acts like the Arms Act and the Explosives Act.

Chapter IV, The Public Interest, has racy subtitles like 'The Equations of Reality' and 'What Is the Public Interest'. The enfeebling of the executive by over-much interference in day-to-day administration is deplored in Chapter V.

As Bryce pointed out in his 'Modern Democracies' and in his 'Hindrances to Good Citizenship', the adversaries are always ready when democracy does not choose an oligarchy of competent persons to guide and help it and deteriorates into what Emile Fagut called 'the Cult of the Incompetent'.

Having posed the problem in Book One, Mr. Lippmann tries to trace the causes and suggest remedies in Book Two on the Public Philosophy. Traditions of civility are lost and traditions of good behaviour are undermined. Thus, when our Prime Minister recently said he would crush any attempt to insult the National Flag, I was reminded that one method of filibustering in the U. S. A. was to read the Constitution of the United States at all times. Public functions were disturbed and proceedings of the courts and legislatures confounded by this method of Non-violent Non-cooperation. So, even in the land of the free, it was decided that liberty has its limits, that the universe is ultimately governed by reason and that what is true cannot fail to prevail as embo-

died in the dictum *magna est veritas et praevalerebit*, is not always practical politics.

Part II very well starts with a discussion of the explosive nature of ideas amplifying John Stuart Mill's dictum that one man determinately pursuing certain ideas and certain objectives is more effective in practical politics than 99 persons having only lukewarm interests. These he calls "Durkheim's anomic mass", that is, persons without a belief and faith that they can live by. He discusses in Chapter IX the Capacity to Believe the limitations on the Theory of Property the limitations on the liberty of unrestricted Freedom of Speech and the limitations on the right to dissent lest, as Mathew Arnold said "We are landed with the dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." In Chapter X, he worthily harps back to Socrates, who conformed even to sacrificing a cock to Aesculapius and to drinking the hemlock. The Realm of the Spirit and the Mechanics of the Balance must see that all persons are guardians of the order which intends to regulate all rivalries. Chapter XI on 'The Defense of Civility' points out that idealists like Bryan may say that the humblest citizens clad in the armour of righteousness is, as Sir Galahad competent to crush the rest of the world arrayed in error. As Abraham Lincoln pointed out: "You cannot fool all men all the time but you can fool all men for some time and some men for all time". As Hobhouse said: "A thing is not necessarily just or the will of God because it has succeeded for a time or even for some length of time" Unless real education is in widest commonality spread and the social conscience is alert and there is an invincible background of conventions and conduct, the world will be moving from one cataclysm to another. Of course, to a Hindu this does not present an ultimate pessimism as the four Yugas culminate in the Kali Yuga. If *corruptio optimi pessima* means the corruption of the best is the worst of all, the Hindu believes *rehabilitatio pessimi optima* and the reconstruction after the black Kali Age will be the glorious Satya or Kritha Yuga.

The Continental-Shelf

Prof. K. R. R. SASTRY

A geographer in 1898 used this expression continental-Shelf. Geologists and Oceanographers have proved through their investigations that in numerous places the continents do not suddenly disappear into the depths of the ocean; between the continental heights and the oceanic depths there is often a shelving plane; this is called the Continental-Shelf.

This shelf is the Sea-floor beneath the belt of marginal shallow waters which surround the Continents. The outer edge of the Continental Shelf lies at a depth of 100 fathoms under the water.

PROCLAMATIONS SINCE 1942

In the Continental shelf extending 50 to 60 miles from the coast large deposits of oil, uranium, tin and other minerals would occur.

Since 1942 a flood of proclamation has resulted by adjacent States asserting their rights over the Continental Shelf. It starts in the treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela of 26th Feb., 1952 regarding the gulf of Paria between Venezuela and Trinidad.

The proclamation by President Truman of 29th Sept. '45 is of great significance to the further development of International Law. First proclamation places the natural resources of the sea-bed and its sub-soil as far as 100 fathom line of the American Continental Shelf under the jurisdiction and control of the United States; the second proclamation has in view the extension of the sphere of American jurisdiction beyond three mile limit with regard to fisheries.

Further proclamations, orders-in-Council and decree have been issued by U. K.,

Mexico, the Argentina, Venezuela, Chili, Peru, Nicaragua, Costa-Rieca, Bahrein, Kuwait, Pakistan and other states. The present writer advised the external affairs ministry of India to issue a similar proclamation; the Government of India has not yet moved in the matter.

THREE VIEWS

Three possible views may be here discussed:-

The Continental Shelf may be held as *rescommunis* as no-man's land incapable of occupation. In this view exploitation of the bed and sub-soil should be reserved for all nations.

The second view is to look for it as *resnullius* as capable of occupation.

The last view is to vest jurisdiction and authority in the coastal State.

The idealistic view of holding it as *rescommunis* is against precedents in International Law. International Law has recognized that a State may assert its control and jurisdiction over submarine areas even outside its territorial limits. Vattel wrote "who can doubt that the Pearl fisheries of Bahrein and Ceylon may lawfully become property (Vattel Book 1, chapt. 22, page 287).

Besides there are the cases of the development of the coral reefs between Torres Strait and Cape Sandy, the Sponge fisheries, the oyster beds and the coal mines. History gives us the following instances-the Chank fisheries in the gulf of Mannar have been a subject of regulation by local ordinances in the 19th century. Palk's Bay which along with the Gulf of Mannar divides India from Ceylon has been held by a Madras decision to be an integral portion of British Dominion (Anna Kumar Pillai Vs

Muthur Payal 27 M. 551). Sir Cecil Hurst has ably stated that the claim to the ownership of the pearl and chank beds in the Gulf of Mannar can be based upon long usage and uncontested enjoyment.

The oyster beds of the East Coast of Ireland which are between 10 and 20 miles beyond three-mile limit have been brought by an order-in-Council under Sea fisheries Act of 1868 (31.32 Vietmi Chapt. 45, 47)-

Like-wise the claim of the bay of Tunis to enjoy the *fructus* of the banks outside the marginal sea and Mexico, legislation for regulating pearl fisheries of the Mexican coast outside the three mile limit can be cited. I can not do better than cite the authority of Sir Cecil Hurst- "the claim to the exclusive ownership of a portion of the bed of the sea and to the wealth which it produces in the form of pearl oysters chanks, Coral, Sponges or other fructus of soil is not inconsistent with the universal right of navigation in the open sea or with the common right of the public to fish in the high seas. (B.Y.I.L. 1923,24 page 43).

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

The International Law Commission at its third session has made a draft code on the *doctrine of the continental shelf*. Two articles are relevant for our purposes. Arti-

cle 'The Continental Shelf is subject to the exercise by the Coastal state of control and jurisdiction for the purpose of exploring it and exploiting its natural resources.

Article 3 "The exercise by a coastal state of control and jurisdiction over the continental shelf does not affect the legal states of superjacent waters as High Seas.

A FEW RECENT DECISIONS.

A few important law suits have been conducted on the subject of coastal waters and appurtenant sub soil:- The arbitration by Lord Radcliffe in the matter of a dispute between *Qatar and Petroleum Development, Quarter (Ltd.) U. S. A. V Texas*, and the award of Umpire Lord Asquith in the arbitration between *Petroleum Develop. Ltd.* and the *Sheikh of Ahudhabi*. Lord Asquith after a dispassionate historical examination of the doctrine of the Continental Shelf has come to the conclusion "there are in this field so many rugged ends and unfill-ed blanks, so much that it is merely tentative and exploratory, that in no form can the doctrine claim as yet to have assumed either to the hard lineaments or the definitive states of an established rule of International Law."

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Students in British Universities

By Mr. BRUCE BURTON

"You can lead a boy to college, but you can't make him think" so the old adage runs. The recognition of this important truth by the university authorities contributes greatly to a harmonious relationship between teaching staff and students at British universities. "A British University...both teaches and researches but is primarily a teaching body, and in teaching it believes that the essential is less that the pupil should be trained to know than that he should be trained to judge". These are the words of

one of the most celebrated figures ever to participate in British University life—Sir David L. Keir.

To be trained to judge, to learn how to learn, to be encouraged to use one's initiative, these are all regarded as essential ingredients of our university education. Every student at my own university of Oxford has to produce for his tutor at least one original essay a week. On the other hand, attendance at lectures is not compulsory (though it

is definitely encouraged). This means that some lectures are poorly attended. A Glasgow University Professor of Medicine, on an occasion when his lecture was attended by one student sent an attendant to bring in the skeleton, in order that he could begin his address with "Gentlemen".

The life of the British student is not all work. Pliny remarked "Studia hiliaritate proveniunt"—"Cheerfulness is the key to success in studies". Students all over the world know that!

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In all British universities there is a Students' Union, responsible not only for general student welfare, but also for organising facilities for recreational activity. As in India, the officers of these Unions are elected by the students themselves. There is keen competition the universities in all sports, but especially between Oxford and Cambridge, and their century-old rowing rivalry in the annual Boat Race is well known. There are, of course, other spheres of relaxation besides sport, and at Oxford I remember, there were countless societies and journals functioning regularly throughout the term, for the poet, the philosopher, the writer, the musician, the artist, the bridge or jazz enthusiast, and many others.

There are political and religious groups which cater for all views, the political societies mainly confining their activities to the propagation of the policies and ideas of the National Political parties they support.

INDIAN STUDENT MAKES HISTORY

Probably the most famous institution in Oxford is the Oxford Union Society. As in Indian universities, debating is popular among Britain's students and like its Cambridge counterpart, the Oxford Union functions primarily as a debating society. As each of the Oxford's thirty colleges has its own student welfare body, membership of the Union is a purely voluntary affair for the six thousand men students. None of the thousand

women students are permitted to join, but they are invited to view 'House' from the gallery of the debating chamber. Occasionally a lady undergraduate is invited to participate in one of the debates. Nearly a year ago I heard a fine speech by an Indian undergraduate, Miss Nandini Mehta (Lady Margaret Hall), who was the first woman ever to address the Oxford Union. The President at that time was Raghavan Iyer, her fiance, and the third Indian to become President of the Oxford Union. However, although at Oxford women are rarely allowed to participate in the Union debates, as in all other British universities they contribute greatly to student social life in other spheres.

INTERNATIONAL FORUM

In most other British universities, the proportion of women students is larger, education for women having steadily developed since the last war. Indeed, there have been a number of silent revolutions in British universities since the war. 'Oxbridge' is no longer the playground for the son of the idle rich. The majority of students at the two older universities are assisted by some kind of scholarship or grant, and the proportion is probably greater in the other universities. Educational democracy has come to stay.

An increasing amount of Britain's total student population is from overseas, perhaps perhaps 20-25 per cent of Oxford's students are visitors, particularly from the Commonwealth and the U. S. A. Indian students play an active and often prominent part in university life, and there have been many distinguished Indian cricket Blues.

One of the greatest needs of this generation is for some 'intellectual ivory towers' where young people of all nations can meet and discuss quietly together for a short time and then, refreshed by this intellectual pause, can go forth wiser as a result of the interchange of ideas.

Indian Automobile Industry

By "A MOTORIST"

At no distant date a completely Indian car will come off the assembly line. Already encouraging progress has been made by the Indian automobile industry, which is of recent growth, in the drive towards attaining self-sufficiency. A popular car has now attained 65 per cent, in terms of value, in respect of indigenous production of parts. In the manufacture of trucks, the level attained is about 50 per cent.

Considering that the re-orientation of the industry in the direction of complete manufacture of cars and trucks in India, rather than mere assembling of imported parts, was started in earnest only two years ago, this progress cannot be considered insignificant.

The importance of the development of a sound automobile industry, to serve the needs of trade and industry as well as the common man, cannot be over-emphasised. It was in March 1952 that the Government of India referred to the Tariff Commission the question of protection and assistance for the encouragement of the automobile industry.

The year 1954 was an important landmark in the development of this major industry in India. The Government gave effect to the recommendations of the Tariff Commission which gave definite indications of the lines on which the industry was to be developed. The types and makes of vehicles to be manufactured in India were decided upon and import licenses were restricted to those firms which submitted satisfactory programmes for the manufacture of those vehicles. Assemblers who had no manufacturing programme were asked to close down, but were given sufficient licenses to enable them to close down smoothly.

PROGRAMME OF MANUFACTURE

Under the manufacturing programme now being implemented, four types of cars, namely, baby, light, medium and heavy, and four types of commercial vehicles, i. e. trucks, buses, etc., with capacity ranging from one ton to five tons and more, are being produced in the country. In addition, the manufacture of diesel trucks and jeeps has also been licensed.

Under the programme the manufacture of vital sub-assemblies, normally expected to be manufactured by automobile makers, namely, engine, transmission, rear axle assembly, front axle and chassis frame, are being gradually manufactured by the licensed firms.

It may be interesting to note that the automobile industry in India is following the pattern of the industry's development in industrially advanced countries. According to this pattern, automobile manufacturers manufacture most of the major components, while the minor components and accessories are produced by an ancillary industry independent of but acting in close co-operation with the manufacturers of complete automobiles. In addition, raw materials and products like textiles, glass, paints, etc., are drawn from the producers in other industries.

In India, some of the manufacturers have begun producing complete engines with the exception of electrical accessories fuel pumps, carburettors, gaskets, and bearings. The major part of the components of the engines in one type of car and truck are also being produced. Complete gear boxes are

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being made for a type of car and a group of trucks. Propeller shafts and universal joints for a group of commercial vehicles are now produced. For one type of popular car, the rear axle, including differential, is in regular production, while for a group of commercial vehicles the production of axle will begin towards the end of this year. A complete chassis frame is being produced for a group of commercial vehicles, while all vehicles except one, use indigenous leaf springs.

SPARE PARTS

Ancillary industries producing spare parts and accessories have also made considerable progress in India. There are 18 firms licensed for making automobile ancillaries of which eight have gone into production. The rest are expected to commence production by the end of the First Five Year Plan. Some of the spare parts made by these ancillary industries are pistons, piston rings, cylinder liners, gudgeon pins, gaskets, valves, brake linings, clutch discs, radiators, shock absorbers, leaf springs, tyre inflators, fuel injectors and sparking plugs. In 1954, nearly one lakh pistons, 12.5 lakh piston rings, 84,000 sparking plugs and 3,200 fuel injectors were produced in the country.

All automobile manufacturers use indigenous items like tyres, tubes, all rubber components, batteries, upholstery material, body panels for trucks, cabs, brake fluids and sparking plugs and a large number of other items.

The production of cars and trucks in India in 1954 rose to 14,462 from 13,926 in 1953. The Indian automobile industry has a total paid-up capital of about Rs. 14.35

crores, almost entirely Indian. It provides employment to over 7,000 people, nearly half of whom are skilled and semi-skilled workers.

INCREASE IN DEMAND

One of the problems faced by the industry is the low demand for vehicles of all types in the country. If the demand were to rise, higher production would help to solve the other problems faced by it. Fortunately, of late, the demand has been on the increase. In the first five months of 1955, 7,613 cars and trucks were sold in India which is more than half the total number sold for the whole of 1954.

The progress of the industry is being closely watched by the Government whose endeavour it is to ensure the speedy development of the industry as well as a fair deal to the consumer. With this end in view, Government have taken steps to ensure that prices are kept at reasonable levels. They have recently fixed a maximum for the retail prices of spare parts and taken steps to secure better servicing facilities for car owners and for investigation of complaints regarding inadequate servicing and vehicle defects.

MOTOR-CYCLE AND SCOOTERS

Production of motor-cycles has also started. A firm in Madras has been licensed to manufacture motor-cycles in progressive stages in collaboration with a British firm. A scheme has also been approved for the manufacture of motor-scooters by an Indian firm in collaboration with an Italian company.

Colonialism in Modern World

By Mr. BORIS LEONTIEV

Many things have changed in the world after the First world war and especially after the Second world war. People have come to realize their strength and their lawful rights. They cannot any more be reconciled with slavery, with the state of subjugation and foreign rule.

The best, the progressive persons of the countries that suffered from colonial rule were never reconciled with colonial subjugation. The fight of the brave and the proud people for liberty and independence never ceased in India and Burma, in Indonesia and North Africa.

In the past century the rule of the colonizers over the enslaved peoples was yet considered impregnable. The peoples of the colonies were weak, unarmed and separated. They were continually told that they must obey the colonizers, that the foreign yoke is allegedly "for their good", and that it is too "early" for them to have independence.

Now the days of the colonizers' arbitrary lordship are vanishing into the past.

In 1917 the Great Socialist Revolution took place in Russia and it liberated the peoples that were formerly under Tsarist colonial rule. In a short period the most backward Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union had built their own industry, revived and developed to a blossoming condition their culture and acquired equal status with the Russian and other peoples of the country. This was a great example for all the oppressed peoples.

And after the Second world war the six hundred-million China, the biggest country in the world, had finally shaken off foreign

rule becoming a great and independent world power. The British colonizers realized that they cannot retain their hold on India, Pakistan and Burma,—they had to leave. Indonesia also became free of Imperialists. The French colonizers felt the full impact of resistance of the peoples of Indo-China and North-Africa.

At present the domination of certain states over others is condemned by history. Colonialism has become an obstacle for human progress and is doomed. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Oceania and Latin America have the same rights for national independence and state sovereignty as the peoples of Europe and North America. The colonial system has rotted to the core. Colonialism is the shame of the present age.

There are, however, certain politicians that are endeavouring to preserve colonialism in this world. With the aid of an armed fist, brutal inhuman methods they are trying to suppress national liberation movements in Malaya, Kenya, and a number of other countries. In those places where it is impossible to save dilapidated colonialism they are attempting to at least recover it in, some "new" and garnished form. Western Powers are endeavouring in a number of countries to save their capitals, their profits and their political domination and with this purpose they are drawing these countries into military alliances and giving them the so-called military "aid". The already formally independent state,—be it Pakistan or Iran, whether an Arab state or a country in South America,—is requested to enter a "defence alliance" pact and invite

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officers and troops of a large colonial power. The peculiar thing is that the very powers from which weak countries should protect their independence now offer services to the weak countries as if to defend them from an unknown enemy.

The British colonizers oppressed and exploited Iranians, they extracted billion profits from Iran. And now a military bloc, the Baghdad Pact, has been set up under their patronage. Now Iran is involved in it and along with Iran such countries as Iraq and Pakistan whose peoples are bearing the heavy consequences, the results of the rule of the same "patrons". Who are inflicting their military patronage upon Thailand, the Philippines, the states of Indo-China and the other countries of South-East Asia? They are promised patronage and "protection" from an unknown enemy by those who only recently were their oppressors—the monopolists of the United States of America, Britain, France.

Military bases of the great powers are being built under the guise of "aid" on the territories of former colonies. Camouflaged by economic "aid" the monopolists of the United States and France are setting up profitable enterprises in these countries. In the result the wealth of many Arab states, the oil fields, had already passed into the hands of foreigners and the states themselves lost their independence.

The so-called "new" colonialism hinders as much as possible the economic and other progress of the dependent countries bringing their enslavement. It stops them from setting up their own national industry. It puts their resources to the service of

American, British, Portuguese and French monopolies. The "new" colonialism aside from this threatens to turn these underdeveloped countries into shooting grounds and fields of battle. In pursuit of cheap gun fodder and using the pretext of "protection" the imperialists are endeavouring to draw these countries into an aggressive war.

The colonizers are still killing Malayan and African patriots, but they will never again succeed in having an arbitrary rule in the countries dependent on them. The hatred of peoples against the colonizers is great and indomitable. Only equality in rights for all the peoples large and small no matter what colour their skin corresponds to the demands of the age. The Soviet Union stood and is standing for such equality and independence of all the peoples.

The Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy are true friends of the peoples fighting for the recovery of their independence. They are hailing the progress of the countries of Asia and Africa. The economically backward countries can obtain without enslaving conditions many goods necessary for their economic development in the mighty Soviet Union, in the Chinese People's Republic and in the industrially developed European countries of People's Democracy. These peaceable countries will not thrust enslaving conditions upon them and do not intend to build military bases on their territory. This policy of the Soviet Union founded on respect of national aspirations and rights of the peoples of the East has earned its ardent acclamation of millions of people in the countries of the East.

What is Sarvodaya?

By Sri JAIPRAKASH NARAYAN

Considering the state of ceaseless struggle of conflicting motives, there is a great necessity for changing the basis of society. Sarvodaya, with its objective of everybody's welfare, suits our needs too well. Imagine for a moment, our thought, like the dream of Adam, came true one morning and we get rid of selfish interest, the outcome would be a society encompassing all the human race, based on the principle of 'Sarvodaya'. In such a society, the whole world would have a share in the wealth amassed by America. Production would not be a problem for any country, for the whole world would produce for the human race as a whole without any distinction. It will be a stage when everyone contributes to the idea of one for all and all for one and the danger of H. Bomb will have disappeared completely.

ESSENCE OF SARVODAYA

The outcome of a violent struggle based on the conflict of selfish aims can achieve collectivisation or distribution of land and wealth, but the selfish ends would still remain as a selfish struggle cannot give rise to unselfishness which is the essence of 'Sarvodaya'.

Man is a member of the world society and through his wisdom, he can find a basis on which all of them can live in a family. He knows that what he has got is not the result of his own effort alone but that of the whole society. Therefore, he must try to realise that aim and leave his selfish ends.

NEW PATH

Sages, from the time immemorial, have preached the need for discarding selfish ends for the service of humanity at large. Religion seems to have lost its force because even in its presence, men fall a victim to desire, hunger and poverty. To revive the force of religion, it must be connected with the needs of man. Gandhiji taught us how moral and social values could be practised on mass scale. I feel that the path of changing society in accordance with Mahatma's ideals

is an entirely new one, which has hitherto not been attempted in the world. What can be the method of pushing forward the view-point of truth? As long as our views are not accompanied by actual movement which affects the lives of the people, no movement for social transformation can achieve a mass character.

SYMBOLIC MOVEMENT

I am reminded of the Salt Satyagraha. The small Salt Satyagraha transformed the entire Nation. Indian people, who were afraid of the mighty British Empire, got courage and became fearless. The present Bhoodan Movement aims at generating the same type of spirit in the people which was created by Gandhiji's directive to break salt laws in 1930. Similarly Bhoodan or Sampattidan, which is much more comprehensive than the first is intended to infuse a spirit which should enable the people to contribute a little now and contribute their all later on thereby realising the aim of making everybody unselfish set forth by 'Sarvodaya'. The main idea behind Bhoodan and Sampattidan is that we should bring about a revolution in people's thoughts. In its objective of moral ascent, the Bhoodan movement is making a significant contribution. Thus Bhoodan movement is only a symbolic movement, a programme, to make the people understand the Sarvodaya ideal. Equitable distribution of land is only its secondary aspect. By the small sacrifice that the people make through this, a dynamic change is bound to come about in the whole social structure. Indications are already available of the society that would emerge. In that structure the individual would be an essential part of society working for its progress rather a self-centred social parasite.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE

If we do not work for implementation of Sarvodaya, it would lead to destruction. In fact the world has only one alternative; it must choose between Sarvanash i. e. total destruction and Sarvodaya.

The Amritsar Congress

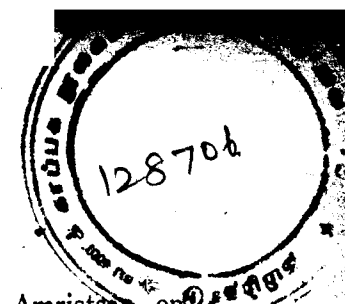
By

Mr. N. R. MALKANI

The 61st session of the Indian National Congress met at Amritsar on the 11th of this month under the presidency of Sri U. N. Dhebar. A gathering of about 2,50,000 people packed the site of the open session. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, as Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates and others and called upon the people to subordinate all considerations to the "supreme consideration of the unity of India". [Ed."I.R"]

THE Amritsar Congress session was held under a thick veil of gloom and a creeping anxiety. The gloom descended on the session because of the recent disturbances in Bombay and the anxiety arose out of the Sikh-Hindu tension in Punjab. The achievement of the session was the lifting of this oppressive gloom and the allaying of the anxiety. The partition inflicted terrible wounds on India and Pakistan, from which neither has yet completely recovered. But the sacrifice of Gandhiji achieved one thing which he could not achieve during his life time. India made a serious effort to scotch "communalism" and whatever signs of this pestilence remain are but a faint echo of happenings in Pakistan. The wounds inflicted by Bombay are fresh and apparently not very large, but to my mind are much deeper and thus far more dangerous. The creation of Pakistan, with all its evils, yielded one great benefit—the chance of creating a united India in reality. It was a unique event in our history and the greatest achievement of the Indian National Congress. The disturbances in Bombay and in Orissa and other places were far more dangerous as they seemed to destroy the very basis of our national unity. The wounds were inflicted by Indians on Indians and nobody was more responsible for them than the Congress. The Congress was found in the act of committing suicide as an organization and caught red-handed in undermining the one thing which was its greatest glory. The Amritsar session felt the mounting challenge of events and, I believe, succeeded in meeting it.

The session passed but seven resolutions two of which were important viz, the resolution on Economic Policy and the resolution on the Reorganization of States. But the latter dominated not only the economic but all other resolutions put together. In fact its spirit overflowed into others and its atmosphere pervaded the whole. The conferences of the Akali Dal and the Maha Punjab with their militant processions and strange slogans, only helped to arouse this spirit and make the atmosphere more tense. Unfortunately the mood of the session was set by speeches on that short, calm and soothing resolution on "The Message of The Buddha." Jawaharlalji moved that resolution. The resolution was the text and the speech the occasion for a strong and impassioned appeal. Much of it was irrelevant and the whole of it almost irreverent to the memory of the Buddha. There was neither solemnity nor any serenity in any of the speeches made on a resolution which could have become the text of noble speeches. As it was, the excitement of the recent events led to agitated speeches on the Buddha. But the speech made by Pantji while moving the resolution on the Reorganization of States in the Subjects Committee was the gem of the session. It was listened to with rapt attention and respect by a packed house, in pindrop silence. The agitated mass got the message that it was seeking. The gloom was dispelled and the anxiety removed. The question of linguistic provinces was given the proper place it deserved and no more. The masses were appreciated for making a sounder judgment than the



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classes; the Congress as an organization was put to shame for bringing its name into mud and wasting its greatest capital—the achievement of the unity of India; the honour India enjoyed abroad and the disgrace we had brought on it at home; and so on in a crescendo. Every word of the speech in Hindi was a word of strength, clarity and wisdom that touched our heads and hearts. We felt purged of our passions. We realized the greatness of our tasks and the smallness of our little selves. The speech was magnificent and almost pontifical. We got what we were yearning for. The nation owes a deep debt of gratitude to Pantji for his great speech at our great hour of crisis. By changing the mood of the session he gave the lead to the nation.

The Subjects Committee came to grips with grim realities where Pantji was followed by Shri Gadgil. It was good that he attended the session but it was intriguing to find what he had come to say. He entered the fray in the Maharashtrian fashion without any formalities and went straight to the subject of Bombay. His mood was more chastened but the mind was more divided for the heart was wet for Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay. There were no challenges and there was even a disclaimer about settlement "on the streets." But the mind was firm as ever. Unfortunately he made some references to men and affairs that brought the doughty Patil on his legs. For "massive retaliation" the speech easily won the palm in the whole session. The speech was that of an advocate turned politician who knows the occasion and rises to it. Patil talked as much in the House as at Gadgil. He rolled out argument after argument with dramatic technique and devastating effect. Gadgil had talked of "Country before Party" but what was the country but some narrow parochial affairs. The nation is above all things and not this "country" which was a euphemism for small interests. Patil thundered at the Samyukta Maharashtra Party which had sown the wind. The country was reaping the

whirlwind, which the Maharashtra Congress lack the guts to face. The light and heat of the speech, and there were both, enlightened and warmed the House. But there was a fitting end of the debate that came with Jawaharlalji's speech. He has a great knack of lifting the affairs of the nation to the perspective of global events and putting India in its rightful place in the world. There is a sweep in his mental horizons and a nobility in his aims that puts our pettinesses to shame. But the best followed what he asked in a note of touching pathos verging on sorrow. Bombay had inflicted wounds on itself and on the nation. Wounds of the heart are deeper than wounds inflicted by material losses. Our first duty is to heal these wounds. It was a note that was human and moving. The whole house responded to it. The speech was political but the mood that suffused it was that of the Buddha. May his blessings descend on Maharashtra and this nation in its hour of trial.

It was unfortunate that the resolution on Reorganization of States overshadowed all the proceedings of the session. As a matter of fact the pride of place should have been occupied by the resolution on the Economic Policy and Five-Year Plan. The first Plan had achieved its objectives and reached its targets, substantially. A draft outline of the second Plan was distributed in the Subjects Committee and the resolution was prepared in terms of this outline. It was up to the Committee to dive deep into this important resolution and dot the 'i's and cross the 't's. The resolution itself was good and comprehensive. But, to my mind it was not good enough as a whole and was, therefore, weak in parts. It lacked that sense of direction and even the tone of urgency, that was to be expected while we were launching the second Plan. The Avadi session was distinguished for passing the economic resolution setting a 'socialistic pattern' of society. The word "socialistic" has since

been made more crisp by dropping the suffix 'ic' but the pattern set in the Plan does not exhibit any socialist urge. Will this resolution evoke any considerable enthusiasm in the wide masses of the nation and release powerful energies for building a new socialist society? The resolution left me cold and if the proceedings of the session are any test left the listeners also cold about the promises of the new Plan. There was little in it to appeal to the masses of the nation as a 'Great Adventure' in which all should join to establish a juster society. The real problems of the world are and have been two—the problem of war and the problem of class. The problem of war is solving itself by bringing nations to a stalemate between armaments that annihilate both victor and vanquished. But the problem of class remains unsolved, taking class in a wider sense including differences of race, creed, human rights and human wants. In India these differences arise out of caste, creed, language, religion and of course economic want. They are on the increase and now happily we are much more conscious of them. The resolution fails to make any open attack on these class inequalities in terms of a clear and definite pattern of society based on social justice. Such a society may take a few decades to take shape and the journey may be slow, when the society is to be democratic and the methods are to be non-violent. But though the tempo may be slow the direction should be clear and the urge behind it powerful. I see little direction and feel still less urge behind the resolution at a critical time when a new

path must be made a great highway for the Indian nation.

The Avadi resolution was passed at the psychological moment when the fruits of our first Plan were visible, when the nation had turned the corner and could look around at home abroad with relief. In Andhra there was the challenge of communists and in Travancore there was the challenge of socialists. This was bravely met by the Avadi resolution on the socialistic pattern of society. The results were electric and satisfying. The time of this year has been unpropitious, clouded by the passions of provincialism promenading in the costume of "my language." The fear of God seems to have left us with the passing away of Gandhiji. The fear of man ceased with the defeat of rival political parties in Andhra and Travancore. The hopes and fears are personal and private in terms of the next general election and "my place" in it. The next Plan and the great national adventure in partnership and co-operation looks like a distant receding scene. If the resolution is without urge and on the whole weak, nobody dreams that its implementation with public co-operation will be enthusiastic. It is even less possible that the Administration of the British heritage will make that effort and give it its loyal support. The position can be retrieved only by a Congress Party that closes its ranks, purges itself of dross and puts great objectives before itself for achievement. Our socio-economic revolution is over-due but, our political organization is relaxed and somewhat spoiled by its success. It basks rather lazily in the sunshine of our great leaders.—(Hindustan Times)

The Labour Welfare In India

By Mr. J. R. KUMBHAT, M. COM

With the rapid industrialisation of India, the problems of labour and its welfare are coming into prominence. The raising of standard of living of worker upto a standard, making the best use of the available raw materials and labour are some of the urgent problems which can brook no delay. The past has gone when the industrialists thought a man to be a machine for extracting as much work out of him as possible. But with the change in time, the need for welfare work of a very comprehensive character in India is very great. To bring about stability in labour and efficiency in them welfare work cannot be neglected. Welfare is regarded as the best agency for securing industrial peace.

Under welfare activities may be included the thing done for social, moral, physical and economic betterment of the workers-by any agency official, non-official or private. Welfare work may include housing, medical and educational facilities, nutrition, co-operative societies, holidays with pay, social insurance, maternity benefit schemes, provident funds, gratuities and pensions, etc.

The welfare work undertaken by the employers is not obligatory but is enforced on them by legislation. Laws are not the only means of ameliorating the conditions of workers whether it be for improving employer-employee relations or for attaining higher standard of living for the workers. Another way of achieving these objectives is through collective bargaining and this pre-supposes existence of healthy organized trade unions.

In countries where trade unionism is highly developed, workers prefer that the state leaves them alone, to get the best bargain by direct negotiations with the employers. For instance, the Central Government, through the Coal Mines Welfare Funds Act,

has organized several welfare measures for workers in the Coal Mining Industry. The evolution of industrial legislation follows closely the standard set by good employer and the work of individual employers has great reaction on industrial legislation and thus gradually raises the general standard of comforts.

The necessity of Welfare Work arises from the beneficial effects of Welfare measures such as educational facilities, sports, entertainment etc. on the sentimental atmosphere in the factory and their contribution to the maintenance of industrial peace. Secondly, due to such welfare schemes, the present situation under which labour turnover and absenteeism prevail and the workers are constantly trekking to their village homes in search of social security and recreation, will yield place to a new situation in which the working class becomes more stabilized and economically efficient. Thirdly, the social advantage even apart from the humanitarian value of such activities are considerable.

In view of the above advantages, the Central government have passed some important Acts for better industrial relation between industrialists and labour resulting in Industrial Peace. As a result of such legislation the industrial relations continued to show improvement as evidenced by the decline in number of man-days lost. In 1951, the figures stood at 38,19,000 but fell in 1952 and 1953 to 33,37,000 and 33,84,000 respectively and during the first six months of 1954 has stood at 15,96,000. In January to June, 1954 the average man-days lost are of the order of 2,66,000 per month which compare favourably with 2,82,000 per month in 1953 and 2,75,000 per month in 1952.

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THE LABOUR WELFARE IN INDIA

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Some of the Labour Welfare Laws passed by the Parliament are:-

THE FACTORIES ACT of 1946 which completely revised the older Act of 1934, is fully comprehensive and contains detailed provisions regarding health, safety and welfare of workers, with coverage extended to smaller establishments. Provision has been added for licensing and registration of factories. If the Act is fully enforced and it is believed that effective enforcement is not as full as one might like them to be-it seems quite adequate for the purpose-intended.

THE PLANTATION LABOUR ACT came into force with effect from 1st April, 1954: The Employee's State Insurance Act, 1948 has so far been implemented in Delhi, Kanpur, Nagpur and seven industrial centres in the Punjab. The Industrial Dispute Act, 1947 continued to be the statute governing labour management relations, since it was decided by Government not to introduce the new Industrial Relations Bill at this stage. The normal period of one month for enforcing the award of an Industrial Tribunal was extended by an ordinance to four months in respect of the award given by the Labour Appellate Tribunal in the case of Banks.

THE MINIMUM WAGES ACT adopted in 1948 provides for the fixation of minimum wages in certain sweated unorganized industries and in agriculture. Progress in implementation has been slow due to certain practical difficulties. An amending act has since been enacted extending the last date for the fixation of wages to December 31, 1954.

THE INDIAN TRADE UNIONS (AMENDMENT) Act of 1947 provided for compulsory recognition by employers of representative trade unions by order of Labour Court. The Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 provides mainly for machinery for the

prevention and settlement of industrial disputes. The Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act, 1950 provides for setting up of an Appellate Tribunal in regard to appeals from decisions of various industrial tribunals in the country.

Industrial Relations: The Joint Consultative Board of Industry and labour, which met in April, 1954 reconstituted itself into a bipartite unofficial organisation for promoting the approach to industrial relations accepted in the plan.

THE EMPLOYEE'S STATE INSURANCE ACT, 1948 and the **EMPLOYEE'S PROVIDENT FUND ACT, 1952**, constitute the two important enactments in the field and indeed two of the most progressive measures of legislations in the whole labour field. The total number of workers covered under the Employee's State Insurance scheme is approximately 6 lakhs. More than 15 lakhs of employees in 1,900 factories benefited by the Employees' Provident Fund Scheme in six major industries namely, Cement, Cigarette, Electrical, Mechanical and General Engineering Products, Iron and Steel, paper and textile. The total amount of provident fund contribution from factories covered by the Act and invested in Central Government Securities upto the end of November, 1954 amounted to Rs. 32 crores.

Arrangements for the Central Labour Institute to be set up in Bombay, consisting of a Museum of Industrial Health, Welfare and Safety, Industrial Hygiene Laboratory, a Library-cum Information Centre and a Training Centre will start very soon, that the laboratory wing will be completed and that the whole Institute will start working early in 1956.

The Training and Employment Service Organisation Committee, popularly known as the Shiva Rao Committee, appointed by Government to enquire into the Resettlement and Employment Organisation recommended:-

- (a) placing the organisation on a permanent footing,
- (b) transferring employment exchanges and training centres to the states on the existing financial arrangements,
- (c) rendering establishment returns to the Exchanges on a compulsory basis by all employers and giving details regarding vacancies filled and the manner of recruitment,
- (d) bifurcation of the Directorate of Employment from a similar Directorate of Training,
- (e) levying of a cess on employers for provision of apprenticeship training, etc. are being considered by Government.

Three schemes viz. Central Labour Institute, National Productivity Centre and Compilation of rural cost of living indices costing Rs. 12.66 lakhs during the plan period were added to the development schemes of the Ministry of Labour. Thus the revised total cost of the development schemes of the Ministry of Labour now stands at Rs. 409.66 lakhs instead of Rs. 397.0 lakhs as originally planned. The implementation of the scheme relating to "Technical and vocational Training-construction of buildings" was held up pending acceptance of the

re-commendations of the Shiva Rao Committee on the future of training schemes of the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment. As regards the scheme relating to Training and Retraining of Retrenched Workers for alternative employment, it was decided to divert the funds earmarked for the above scheme to ease the unemployment among industrial workers. It is expected that Ministry of Labour will soon frame a scheme for this purpose.

Out of the revised total provision of Rs. 298.9 lakhs earmarked for Labour and Labour Welfare Schemes for the Plan period Rs. 90.61 lakhs had been spent upto 31st March, 1954. Among the manifold items included in the development schemes, the strengthening of Labour Inspectorates and Conciliation Machinery, establishment of Labour Welfare Centre, Adult Education and Pre-and-Post Employment Training Programme occupy predominant place.

In spite of the fact that we have done so much work for the betterment of our labour within eight years of our independence yet we have to travel a long way on the road to social justice. There is no room for complacency. The zeal of Government, Central and State, and cooperation of employers and workers will be there. Still a good deal of perseverance, progressive working targets with a constant eye on them and a bold determination to take some risks are all needed.

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Economic Conference Of Asia And Far East

The ECAFE Conference was inaugurated in Bangalore by India's Prime Minister on 2nd February 1956. The following brief notes indicate the scope of the activities of the ECAFE whose steady efforts have helped Asian and Far Eastern Countries to meet and exchange notes on a common forum and to reach conclusions helpful to national and international action. A current of sober but confident optimism marked the 12th session of the E.C.A.F.E. [Ed. I.R.]

Main tasks of the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East (ECAFE) are to:

- (1) Initiate and participate in measures designed to facilitate concerted action for the reconstruction and development of Asia and the Far East;
- (2) Make or sponsor investigations and studies of economic and technological problems and developments within Asia and the Far East;
- (3) Undertake or sponsor the collection, evaluation and dissemination of economic technological and statistical information.

Through its subsidiary bodies ECAFE deals with practically all important branches of Asian economic life. Main spheres of ECAFE's activities are economic development, research and planning, trade, finance, inland transport, flood control and water resources development, housing and certain social welfare activities.

Work in these fields is carried out through the convening of meetings and seminars, research and studies, organisation of training centres and study tours, and through advisory services.

Headquarters of the Commission are at Sala Santitham (Peace Hall), Bangkok, Thailand.

One of ECAFE's most important functions is to provide a forum for Asian and non-Asian representatives to meet, to establish personal contacts, to review existing economic conditions and problems, to exchange ideas and experiences and reach conclusions helpful to national and international action.

ECAFE can only recommend, while decision and execution rest with governments. However the bulk of ECAFE's recommendations have been accepted by Governments and put into effect. The Commission has thus contributed to the economic development in Asia in many significant ways.

Altogether, ECAFE since its inception in 1947 has convened some 80 meetings (up to December 1955), either under its own auspices or in some cases in co-operation with other United Nations agencies especially the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration and some of the United Nations specialised agencies.

PROBLEMS of mobilising domestic capital and of expanding domestic budgetary resources have occupied various ECAFE working parties during the last few years.

A careful study of deficit financing was made and a working Party of experts convened to deal with this problem.

On the subject of capital formation ECAFE has taken on hand a study of the role of expanded self help measures, such as community development programmes, including the capital formation aspects of economic development.

Earlier ECAFE had surveyed the foreign investment laws and regulation in the region and new information on foreign investment is now being compiled for a study to be published soon.

GREAT emphasis is laid in ECAFE's activities and deliberations on questions connected with industrial development. This is partly because industrialisation promises

fuller utilisation of manpower which is considered most important for the region and partly because industrialisation appears to promise quicker returns in increased productivity and higher standards of living.

Attention was given to the problem of training of personnel for economic development and to the part played by public enterprises in economic development.

In view of the vast human resources of the region the Commission stressed the need of labour-intensive techniques and the importance of traditional methods of self help and co-operation among the people.

ECAFE's work has developed in particular in the following branches of Asian industry and trade:

Cottage and small-scale industries: Improved production and marketing techniques were recommended by ECAFE on the basis of studies, meetings of working parties, and study tours. Activities concentrated on selected subjects include ceramics, handwoven textiles, bamboo and basket ware, hand-made paper.

Exhibitions of Asian handicraft products were organised in connection with working party meetings, as well as "market clinics" during which ECAFE, experts advised on production and marketing.

UNITED NATIONS efforts to achieve closer integration of the secretariat's economic and social activities led to the establishment within ECAFE of a social affairs unit to deal with questions of social policy, populations, community development, social defence, regional town and country planning, family and child welfare, and training of welfare personnel.

ECAFE'S work has greatly facilitated by liaison arrangements with governments both at their capital and in Bangkok (where a number of the governments' liaison officers have been appointed as permanent representatives.)

SEVERAL projects, such as on population, self-help and community development, statistics, water resources development, mineral resources, trade and transport, are also pursued through close co-operation and consultation with UN secretariat at headquarters and the other regional economic commissions.

CLOSE co-operation is maintained with the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration. ECAFE brings to the notice of TAA many regional needs for technical assistance. TAA has sought ECAFE's advice in preparing its own operational programme and in dealing with country requests.

ECAFE actively co-operates with specially FAO, ILO, UNESCO, WHO, WMO, through the machinery of working parties, special projects, and missions.

The Commission is served by a secretariat appointed by the secretary-general of the United Nations and its work is integrated in United Nations activities in the economic and social fields.

Administratively it is part of the department of economic and social affairs at UN headquarters in New York and it is headed by an Executive Secretary.

The Commission's Secretariat, originally but a handful of officers, has gradually grown and at present contains a total of some 180 persons, of which about one third are professional United Nations Officers, plus a small number of short-term special consultants, while the remainder are made up of non-professional or "general service" personnel mostly local recruits, who work as statistical and administrative assistants, secretariat staff, etc.

Geographical representation in the secretariat comprises some 200 nations.

Organisationally, the secretariat consists of the office of the executive secretary (including his deputy) and six divisions. (1) research and planning, (2) industry and trade, (3) transports, (4) a bureau of flood control and water resources development, (5) agriculture jointly with FAO, (6) administration as well as a social affairs section.

The secretariat's main duties are to carry out from day to day the tasks set by the Commission. It has an important part to play in assisting the commission to initiate,

plan and organise its work. The secretariat prepares reports and working papers, conducts field studies and services, meetings of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies.

ECAFE has become an effective and favoured instrument for further economic development of countries of the region.

As the Commission put it: "It has steadily grown in stature and its honour and dignity are now the concern of one and all."

Reduction of Armaments

By Mr. H. W. BALDWIN

Armaments, including the force levels of the Communist and non-Communist worlds and bases and positions, was a prominent part of the agenda at the four-power meeting last year at Geneva.

Washington has indicated that it believes Moscow would welcome a reduction or limitation of armaments and the United States is on record that it also favors such a course.

Reduction of armaments and of the financial burden they entail is, of course, an ultimate objective of any forward-looking policy. But two questions should be answered before United States armaments policy is frozen.

The first is: Would arms limitation or reduction now contribute to the attainment of the national objectives of the United States—the balancing, or neutralization of Soviet power, and a more stable world order?

If the answer to this question is determined to be in the affirmative, the second question is: In what way should armaments be limited?

THE SOVIET BACKGROUND

Obviously, a determination of whether or not Soviet weaknesses require a slackening of the arms race is of prime importance to the formulation of American arms policy.

Some Pentagon—and some political—opinions believe strongly that:

Soviet Russia has found the strain of producing both guns and butter extremely difficult. The continuing struggle for power at the top of the Communist hierarchy, the unsolved agricultural crisis, the need for consumers' goods, arms-aid to the Eastern European satellites and Communist China, the drain caused by Russia's assistance in the industrialization of China, and Moscow's efforts to build a strong, modern deep-sea navy, to modernize her army, and to transform her propeller driven defensive air force into a jetpowered offensive one are all elements producing strain. They add up, some officers believe, not to an imminent breakdown in the Soviet Union, but to a definite need for a breathing spell, a relaxation of tensions.

In two to five years Soviet nuclear developments and the modernization of the Soviet Air Force and Navy will tend to "neutralize" the United States' present nuclear and delivery advantages. A "breathing spell" would assist this process materially by speeding the relative rate of Soviet arms modernization.

If these contentions are correct, the Geneva meeting—and particularly the proposed limitation of armaments—might represent a Communist attempt to gain time—and above all, to reduce the present strain imposed upon Soviet institutions by the "cold war".

Viewed in such a light, the deliberate reduction in the United States arms budget that already has occurred, and, above all, internationally agreed upon reduction of armaments, which might lessen the strain on the Soviet economy, would play into Moscow's hands. The Soviet Union would buy time—and would become stronger with it.

On the other hand, there are strong and perhaps overpowering arguments for the continuation of arms limitation discussions.

An arms race, particularly a nuclear arms race, although not a primary cause for war, can be a contributory one—and it breeds an atmosphere of tension and danger. Public opinion, particularly in Allied countries, demands an affirmative approach to arms limitation. A refusal to discuss the subject would give the Soviet propaganda machine grist for its mill; Americans would again be branded "war-mongers." And high taxes, incident to large expenditures for armaments, are a burden in nearly all countries,

Some arguments in favour of arms reduction even reverse the economic arguments the Pentagon against it; the idea is possible that Moscow seeks to achieve a victory by bankruptcy and that the United States cannot afford continued arms expenditures of \$39 to \$50 billions annually.

The overwhelming weight of available evidence, however, refutes this last argument. Dudley F. Pegrum, Professor of Economics at the University of California, in a comprehensive analysis of the economies of the United States and of the Soviet Union prepared for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, comes to the conclusion that "the military equipment being turned out by the United States is much greater in terms of economic resources being devoted to that purpose."

U. S. SUPERIORITY SEEN

"Assuming that the funds are not being frittered away on gadgets, the United States must be accumulating a marked superiority over the U. S. S. R. in equipment," Professor Pegrum writes.

He further estimates that the "economic potential of the U. S. S. R. for all-out war in 1960 would be one-third of that of the United States...this gives an overwhelming superiority to the United States."

In other words the United States is far better able to stand the strain of producing both guns and butter and of continuing the present high level of arms expenditures than is the Soviet Union.

Obviously, the United States cannot refuse to discuss arms limitations. But it can direct the course of those discussions so that a limitations agreement—if, indeed, any can be reached—would benefit America more than it would Russia.

The Budget at a Glance

NEW TAX PROPOSALS

Presenting his Sixth annual Budget in Parliament on the 29th of this month the Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, expressed his satisfaction on the economic progress made during the year.

The first Five-Year Plan had been fulfilled to a satisfactory extent, and had laid "sound foundations for a more massive superstructure in building up the country's economy."

The current year's revenue deficit of 17.45 crores, was now expected to be converted into a surplus of Rs 12.31 crores, due largely to improvement in excise duties and saving in Defence expenditure. The overall deficit was now estimated at Rs 222 crores against Rs 327 crores originally anticipated.

For the coming financial year, at the existing levels of taxation, revenue was estimated at Rs. 493.6 crores, and expenditure at Rs. 545.43 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 51.83 crores on revenue account.

THE OVERALL DEFICIT FOR THE NEXT FINANCIAL YEAR WAS PLANNED AT Rs. 390 CRORES.

The economic conditions had recorded considerable progress on all sides during 1955. The last remnants of food controls were removed during the year. Industrial production had shown marked improvement.

Despite the satisfactory balance of payments position, the Finance Minister warned that the projected increase in the pace of development would strain heavily the payments position in future. It was, therefore necessary to make all-out efforts to encourage export industries and otherwise to save or earn foreign exchange.

To secure maximum economy and avoid wastage, the Finance Minister proposed to set up a special high powered committee for organising a thorough investigation both at the Centre and in the States, and also in the field of important projects.

The following are the new taxation proposals announced by the Finance Minister, Mr C. D. Deshmukh.

Duty on liquid gold for glass manufacture raised from 31½ per cent to 62½ per cent.

Duty on flashlights and flashlight cases raised from 39.28 per cent to 50.1 per cent.

Tea slab duty in the present price range of Rs 3-4 to Rs 4 per lb. will be reduced by two annas per pound, that is, from eight annas to six annas.

Excise duty on all categories of cotton fabrics except dhotis and saris raised by six pies per square yard. This will yield 14.50 crores.

A new excise duty on vegetable non-essential oil at half anna per pound on oil of factories operated by power.

Strawboard to be taxed at six pies per pound.

Increase of super-tax on incomes above Rs 1,50,000 from existing 88.6 per cent to 91.9 per cent.

Duties on soap, and art silk at 6 ps. per lb. Registration fee for postal articles raised from 6 annas to 8 annas.

Minimum inland telegram charges for ordinary telegram raised from 12 annas to 13 annas and express telegrams from Rs 1-8 to Rs 1-10.

A tax of two annas on bonus issue.

Tax on Registered Firms: Nine pies per rupee on income up to Rs 75,000, one anna per rupee on income up to Rs 1,50,000 and one anna six pies above this figure.

Partners of registered firms will get rebate on their share of income for income-tax, but not for super-tax.

WIDER KNOWLEDGE WIDER OUT-LOOK: by S. P. Kulyar (Prem Kulyar-Ambasta, Patna. Price Re 1/8)

It is evident the author is an earnest soul desirous of serving his country and his people. He is also a believer in knowledge. But what he has done in this book is to collect together some rather elementary notes on a great number of heterogeneous subjects ranging from God to How we get ill. Nor is the style higher than elementary. But for young people who may be desirous of getting some suggestions on quite a number of subjects - Our Home, The English Housewife, Health, Learning, Hypnotism, Ghost, The moon, Civilizations, Religious leaders, the atom and the stars, this is a useful compilation.

WONDERS OF THE TIME-SPACE: By Swami Madhavatirtha Vedanta Ashram, Post Valad, Station Medra. Price Rs 3.

It is a well known fact that in spite of the lack of modern scientific apparatus many great discoveries had been made in India by the ancient scholars in the fields of astronomy, biology, medicine and other subjects. The theory of relativity may also be seen behind some of the notions of our ancient writers. Swami Madhavatirtha shows in this book how Einstein's theory of time-space applies to psychology and philosophy. Here, is, for example, a revealing paragraph:

"The science of Relativity has been able to prove by mathematics the time, length and mass of an object are not facts, but rather relations between the object and the observer. In practical life one man tries to correct the mistake of another man, and vice versa; but when truth is known each one may be right from his own point of view at the time when the judgement is made."

The author has discussed a number of very interesting subjects from the point of view of time-space. Besides his explanation of the theory from different points of view are the discussions of the relation of man to the world, and the wonders of time-space.

THE IDEA OF A RURAL UNIVERSITY. Published by Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha) M. P. Price Re 1/.

In this age of revolutions there is perhaps no greater revolution than that in education. To India it is in a sense not a revolution but a recapturing of the ideas which had once been creatively active behind all real education. Apart from the requirements of the full development of human personality, the particular needs of India demand an education that is closely connected with the practical life of the land and especially what is connected with the hundreds of thousands of villages that make up India. Mahatmaji whose insight into things was marvellous saw quite clearly into this position. His ideas of basic education and emphasis on the realities of Indian life called to thinking minds and gave a new orientation and a new purpose to education. It is the views developing out of the changed or newly awakened outlook that are discussed in this very useful book.

It starts with an article of Mahatma Gandhi in the Harijan of 1938. But the main part of the book is Dr. A. E. Morgan's study, *The Higher Education of Rural India*. Most studies of education are unsatisfactory because a comprehensive view is not taken of the full life of man within his environments. Dr. Morgan's awareness of this makes his study very valuable.

The book contains also the views expressed at the All India Basic Education Conference 1951 by Shris N. B. Bhatt, K. Mas-hruwala, E. W. Aryanayakam, G. Ramachandran and Kakasaheb Kalelkar. The account of the Rural University at Sevagram must interest all educationists. The concluding observations of Acharya Vinoba Bhave touch on some of the typical and difficult but necessary questions connected with the new outlook on education. All these contributions are full of very valuable points of view and though not necessarily conclusive in themselves they are of the utmost importance in the study of the right education for the good of India.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Ceylon

EMIGRATION TO CEYLON

Prosecution of touts, abettors and potential illicit emigrants and patrolling of the coast line between point Calimere and Tuticorin by local police staff were some of the steps taken by the Government of India to prevent illicit emigration to Ceylon.

This was stated in the Lok Sabha on Feb 21 by Prime Minister Nehru in a written answer to a question by Mr. Krishnacharya Joshi.

Close liaison between emigration police and customs authorities and strict vigilance in areas notorious for illicit emigration were also maintained to prevent illicit emigration to Ceylon, Mr. Nehru said.

In reply to a question, Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, said 7,594 Indians had returned to India under the repatriation scheme of Ceylon upto Nov. 19, 1955. He said the Government of India had not so far formulated any scheme for the rehabilitation of repatriates from Ceylon.

In a written reply to a question regarding the number of applications by persons of Indian origin for Ceylonese citizenship finally disposed of during the year 1955-56 the Prime Minister said 7,379 applications were finally disposed of during the period October to November, 1955. All told till November 1955, 37,304 persons were registered as Ceylon citizens, 59,464 applications involving 1,91,929 persons were rejected, and 1,66,870 applications were still under consideration.

South Africa

COLOURED VOTERS BILL

The South African Parliament on Feb 27 approved Nationalist Premier Johannes Strydom's legislation separating coloured voters of mixed race from white electoral lists. Voting on the measure which required a two-thirds majority was 174 to 68.

Addressing the joint sitting of the two Houses called to approve the Constitutional measure, Mr. Jacobus Strauss leader of the United party (Opposition) challenged the Nationalist Government to resign and hold new general elections, if the courts later invalidated its recent Act reconstituting the Senate. He has already announced his party's proposal to test the validity of the Senate Act through courts.

Invalidation of the Senate Act would automatically nullify the legislation involving the new Senate which was recently reconstituted by the Nationalist Government to secure for its present measure the requisite two-third vote.

Members of the United Party said after the second reading of the Bill that they would only vote in the committee stage of the Bill.

Mr Strauss said, at the time that "never before has there been a bill which has concealed in it such a vast amount of potential harm for the people of South Africa".

Mr. Strauss said that if the courts found the Government legislation illegal, then the Government would be in "dire straits".

But if the legislation was held to be strictly legal, the United Party would strive to restore the wrongs done and repair "the ravages" to the Constitution along the hard road which would lie ahead.

It would be necessary to "build afresh" he declared adding that his party would try to build "something better and broader than

DIARY OF THE MONTH

FEBRUARY

- Feb 1 Saar Parliament favours union with Germany.
—Mr. S. R. Das is sworn in as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.
- Feb 2 Indo-U. S. Air Transport agreement has been signed.
—Rajendra Prasad inaugurates Bhoodan Padayatra at Cape Comorin.
- Feb 3 Mrs. V. L. Pandit arrives in Bombay.
—Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon is appointed Cabinet minister.
- Feb 4 U. K. & U. S. throw out proposal for International Conference on the Indo-China question.
- Feb 6 Draft of India's Second Plan discloses outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores.
- Feb 6 Portuguese troops trespass into India and exchange fire.
- Feb 7 United Nations Security Council unanimously approves the admission of Sudan to U. N. membership.
- Feb 8 U. N. Dhebar arrives in Amritsar: Working Committee of the Congress meets.
- Feb 9 The details of the Second Five Year Plan with Rs. 7,100 crores outlay is published.
- Feb 10 Subjects Committee of the Amritsar Session of Congress adopts resolution on bilingual states.
- Feb 11 The Dutch Indonesian talks fail.
- Feb 12 Amritsar Session of Congress ends.
- Feb 13 Jakarta abrogates the Dutch-Indonesian Union unilaterally.
- Feb 14 Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon is sworn in as Cabinet Minister.
—The Communists' Congress meets at Moscow for the first time after the death of Stalin 3 years ago.
- Feb 15 Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar resigns his office of Vice-Chancellor of Benaras University.
- Feb 16 Dr. Meghnad Saha is dead.
—The Shah of Iran and his wife arrive in New Delhi.
- Feb 17 House of Commons votes for abolition of death penalty in Britain.
- Feb 18 U. S. A. suspends export of all types of military equipment to Israel & other Middle East countries.
- Feb 19 Acharya Narandra Dev, Chairman of All-India Praja Socialist Party is dead.
—The title of "Saint" is conferred on President Rajendra Prasad by Sadhu Sevak Samaj.
- Feb 20 Dr. J. H. Cousins is dead.
—Ike restores shipment of arms to Middle East.
- Feb 21 Pak troops cross into Cutch and attack Indian patrol.
- Feb 22 Mr. B. K. Mukherjee, Retired Chief Justice of Supreme Court is dead.
- Feb 23 India Govt. protests to Pakistan against latter's violation of Indian territory.
- Feb 24 Soviet community Party Congress concludes its Session at Moscow.
- Feb 25 Government of India take over the entire capital & management of the Eastern Shipping Corporation.
- Feb 26 Dr. R. P. Paranjpye succeeds Mr. Jayakar as Vice-chancellor of Poona University.
- Feb 27 G. V. Mavlanker, Speaker of the Lok Sabha is dead.
- Feb 28 Pakistan Constituent Assembly pass the 2nd reading of the Constitution Bill.
- Feb 29 Ike announces he will run for presidency.
—Mr. C. D. Deshmukh presents the annual Budget in Parliament.

READERS' DIGEST

DULLES' VIEWS

The New Statesman and Nation in its Comments Column criticising under the Caption "Dulles under fire" says that "while the Russian leaders were junketing in India, Mr. Dulles unwittingly identified himself with Portuguese Colonialism". *The Weekly* said there was mounting criticism of the way Mr. Dulles was handling U. S. foreign policies. The weekly mentioned Representative Powell's letter to Mr. Eisenhower, bluntly asking him to remove the Secretary of State. The weekly also said that Mr. Dulles had been out-manoeuvred by the Soviet Union.

Captioned, "American reply to India; Clarification on Goa", *The Times* carried a despatch from its Washington correspondent about the U. S. reply to the Indian request for clarification of Mr. Dulles' statement. The correspondent said the American note, which had been passed on to Delhi by the Indian Ambassador, Mr. G. L. Mehta, might be assumed to take the line expounded by the Secretary of State at his recent Press conference.

About the Dulles-Cunha statement, the correspondent added: "Their reference to the historical and legal status of Goa could not, in the American view, bear such construction and the statement was concerned rather with the apparent efforts of the Russian leaders to stir up prejudice and hatred over the dispute. It is felt in the State Department that Indian opinion seized on the joint statement as a means of relieving the embarrassment caused by some of the more extravagant utterances of Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev during their stay as the guests of India; but the incident may well induce the American Government to examine some anomalous aspects of its policy towards colonial affairs—and they can be as denunciatory in one context as they are accommodating in another."

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THE PROBLEM OF GOA

The Manchester Guardian portrays Goa in its recent issue as a source of trouble in the Asian world.

The Indian Government is stopping the Indian demonstrators from entering Goa, but the problem of Goa can still be big with mischief", it commented.

"It may be a small place, and its rule by Portugal may not really incommode India, but it is a dangerous irritant to the immensely strong force of Asian nationalism. It is becoming a symbol, and a quite disproportionate amount of emotion moves round it.

"The failure of the Indian Government to evict the Portuguese has for the first time for a long while given the opposition especially the Communists a good weapon with which to attack it. This is the more important because the shadow of next year's general election already lies across India.

"It is being represented that the price of co-operation with the West is that India is asked to tolerate the Portuguese in Goa.

Further consequences may be a worsening of relations between India and Pakistan, the *Manchester Guardian* says:

"India notes that Pakistan has been less active than the other Bandung countries in withdrawing countenance from Portugal. Moreover by one of the odd ironies of history, the Indian Satyagraha at Goa has given the Pakistanis the idea of a similar Satyagraha in Kashmir. This threat is real, and India may soon have to make embarrassing decisions about what to do. Some Pakistanis say that is one reason why the campaign at Goa has been so suddenly interrupted.

"The present affairs may lead to some useful clearing up of ideas about the nature and justification of Satyagraha. For example, is it proper for a Government to use, or connive at, this means of conducting disputes when it involves action outside its frontier? But theoretical elucidation may be bought dearly if it is at the cost of too vivid events."

STUDY OF RUSSIAN

Mr. Nehru has expressed the hope that Soviet-Indian friendship would develop still further to strengthen world peace, in an interview with a Soviet correspondent published by *Pravda* Radio Moscow reported.

The interview was given to the *Pravda* correspondent in New Delhi and was published on the occasion of India's Republic Day.

In reply to questions, Mr. Nehru said that further development of Indo-Soviet relations required the strict observance of the Five principles of Co-existence already agreed upon by the two countries.

He hoped that exchanges would increase in the commercial, scientific and cultural fields and revealed that he intended "to develop extensively the study of the Russian language in India".

Turning to Asian problems, Mr. Nehru emphasised the repercussions of the Bandung Conference last year on international developments.

Mr. Nehru was quoted as follows: "The Bandung Conference has contributed in particular to the solution of problems linked with Indo-China. It has made the world understand that it could not ignore public opinion in the Asian countries. It has contributed to the liberation struggle of colonial territories. It is necessary to reinforce still further in the future the independence of the Asian countries".

Mr. Nehru also remarked that these problems were so closely tied up with other world problems that it was impossible to isolate them. He said in conclusion: "I rejoice at the strengthening of the friendship ties between our two countries. I think they will develop still further in future. We hope this co-operation will not only prove useful to India and the USSR but will contribute to the general peace".

LIVING MATTER ON MARS

The National Geographical Society of U. S. A. announces in a bulletin that what is believed to be living matter has been sighted on the planet Mars. It continues:

The Society refers in its announcement to "the greatest change in Martian Geography since the planet was first mapped 125 years ago."

The matter believed to be living vegetation was photographed as a vast blue green area covering about 200,000 square miles. The discovery was credited to Dr. E. C. Slipher, Leader of the National Geographic Lowell Observatory Expedition which photographed Mars from South Africa last year. Dr. Slipher alone took more than 20,000 photographs.

This announcement says the discovery of the new area near the planet's great Thoth Canal was totally unexpected. It added, "Never before has such a new dark splotch appeared except as an increase of an existing dark area." It helped to come to the "conclusion that Mars is not a dead world, that the darkening is due to the growth of plant life."

To learn more about possible plant life on the planet lichens which grow on barren rocks and mountain tops on earth may soon be cultivated in a laboratory under the physical and chemical conditions thought to exist on Mars, the Society said.

DEFECTS IN HINDI

Mr. Nehru said at the Publishers' Conference which met at Delhi last month that the malady from which Hindi newspapers and Hindi books were suffering was the "language used in them which is above the head of an average Hindi-knowing person."

Mr. Nehru asked the "Hindi enthusiasts" to "change and simplify the language to reach effectively the vast potential Hindi-knowing public in India".

Mr. Nehru said that the "gap" between the literary Hindi and Hindi understood by the common people must be narrowed down.

Mr. Nehru posed this question to the "Hindi enthusiasts". "Why is it that this enormous Hindi-knowing public does not read more whether it is Hindi newspapers or Hindi books?" Answering the question himself, the Prime Minister said: "Take the circulation of any Hindi newspaper or Hindi book. The circulation is so poor because, apart from other causes, the language used in these newspapers or books is above the head of an average Hindi-knowing person."

Mr. Nehru exhorted them to change and simplify the language. "I believe this is more important because the enthusiasm of some of our Hindi enthusiasts runs in making the language more and more intricate and difficult, which makes it out of reach of the common man."

Mr. Nehru added that a "tremendous factor in the growth of any language was that the literary aspect of it was not above the common man."

U. S. PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT

"Encouragement of the flow of U. S. private capital abroad is an integral part of the basic foreign economic policy of the United States. Recent pronouncements and actions of the U. S. Government provide proof of a policy promoting and encouraging the flow of U. S. private capital abroad, and evince a willingness to do a big part of the job of bringing about a fruitful meeting between U. S. capital and foreign investment opportunities", says a writer in the *USIS*.

The U. S. Government created a new office in the Department of Commerce in April (1955) known as the Office of Foreign Investment with a view to encouraging private capital investment abroad. In May last year the U. S. Congress approved of U. S. participation in the International Finance Corporation which would be established as an affiliate of the International

Bank for Reconstruction and Development and would work directly and intensively in the field of private enterprise. The U. S. Government would contribute \$35,168,000 as the U. S. share of the \$100,000,000 capital stock of the IFC.

Then there was the Investment Guarantee Programme, which provided, by means of inter-governmental agreements, insurance protection to U.S. foreign investors against the risks of inconvertibility of foreign currency receipts and loss through expropriation and confiscation. Through December 31, 1954, insurance totalling \$48.5 million had been issued to cover 69 investments of U.S. private capital engaged abroad. Of the total, \$45.9 million insured U. S. capital invested overseas against inconvertibility of foreign currency receipts, and \$2.6 million against loss through expropriation. Total fees collected amounted to over \$1 million; no payments under guarantee contracts were required. Up to May, 1955, twenty-four countries had signed such agreements with the U. S. A. The Government of India was considering the proposal for signing such an investment guarantee agreement with the United States. The latest reports indicate that a 25 years, guarantee has been decided upon.

Mr. Eric Johnston, head of President Eisenhower's International Development Advisory Board and President of the Motion Picture Association of America, however, pointed out that while foreign governments were mostly willing to import American private capital, they found it impossible to accept the American terms for such investment.

More than 2,000 United States private business companies and corporations controlled and operated business enterprises outside the United States with a book value of 16,200 million dollars, reports the *New York Times*. They were dealing in the production and distribution, in the words of the newspaper, "of everything from breakfast food to Diesel trucks and from crude oil and dried coconuts to bobby pins and antibiotics."

MILTON'S COTTAGE

The January issue of "*Coming Events in Britain*" has an interesting article on the above subject. The writer Monica Harcourt-Smith observes:

"I have found you a 'pretty box' in Giles Chalfont," wrote Thomas Ellwood to his friend John Milton in 1665, and a "pretty box" it certainly is, this cottage in the village of Chalfont St. Giles in Buckinghamshire (23 miles west of London), where the poet John Milton stayed in 1665-66 while the Great plague was raging in London.

For many years the cottage was a private residence, and when, in 1887, it was purchased for the nation as a memorial to the poet. Queen Victoria herself contributed £20 to the Fund. It is now a Milton museum, visited by thousands of people every year. Outside a notice-board announces: "Milton's Cottage. Open daily from 10—1 and 2 to dusk Tuesdays and Sunday mornings excepted." Closing time has to be at dusk, as, in order to preserve the interior in a condition as close as possible to that of Milton's day, no electric lighting has been installed.

Milton—who was born in 1608, almost within the shadow of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, London—was one of the greatest poets Britain has produced, and such works as *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained* and *Comus* stand unchallenged in their own spheres. The first edition of *Paradise Lost* may be seen in the cottage at Chalfont St. Giles, as well as portraits of the poet and the items of period furniture, including fire-irons and other seventeenth-century domestic articles which furnish the rooms. There are also some fine examples of hand-made Buckinghamshire lace, which was once made in many a cottage doorway. But to all visitors, the house itself has a great appeal, for it still retains much of its old-world charm.

Outwardly, it has been altered very little from its original L-shaped design. At one time it was divided internally into two cottages, and early prints show a porch over the front door, though this had disappeared by 1830. Whether the porch was in existence in Milton's time it is impossible to say; but it can safely be assumed that, in practically every other respect, the cottage has changed very little, and looks, outwardly, much the same today as it did on that July day in 1665 when John Milton was led by his wife and daughter through the garden gate to enter their temporary home. I say "led" advisedly, for Milton never saw his "pretty box". He was already blind.

They found their new home had three living rooms downstairs, each with a fine ingle-nook fire-place. The large chimneystack which abuts on to the road is one of the most noticeable features of the cottage. Upstairs three bedrooms with diamond paned latticed windows looked on to the garden. For Milton loved a garden; and, even if he could not see it, always insisted that his house should have one.

It was in this quiet retreat that Milton, dictating to his daughter Deborah, completed his masterpiece, *Paradise Lost*; and to him came, one day, his Quaker friend Thomas Ellwood, the man who found him the cottage. Milton gave him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* and told him to "read it at his leisure". When Ellwood, on a later visit, returned the manuscript, he said "Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise found*?" Whereupon Milton "made no answer, but sat some time in a muse." Some time later, "after the sickness was over and the city well cleansed", Milton returned to London, where Ellwood again came to visit him. It was then that Milton showed him the manuscript of *Paradise Regained*, and told him "This is owing to you. For you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

IS ART CONDITIONED?

"Art is conditioned to the extent it endeavours to define the Indefinable; it is unconditioned in the sense it has always got to suggest the infinite quality of Godhead. Therein lies its permanence and glow", says Shri P. Sama Rao writing in a recent issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. For in the great plethora of views held by philosophers like Shri Shankara, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Tolstoi, etc., poets like Goethe, Coleridge, Blake, Shelly, Keats, etc., and aestheticians like Ruskin, Croce, Santayana, A. K. Coomaraswamy, etc., there is no one way about either the conception, or intention, or execution of the work of art. Reason pure and simple, with its usual intellectualism, shuffles off its skeins with the purpose of apprehending what art is; but it also failed to grasp its spiritual content in the same manner as non-reason, inclusive of intuition and mystical sense, has failed to determine what its execution or technique should be in the light of individuality, *samskara*, self-perfection, and tradition. The infinite views, mostly confounding, are mainly due to the infinite variety of personality. There can still be only one view about art if only the thinkers shed their personalities and attorn to the one all-creative and exclusive source of all things in a great spirit of selfless consecration and cultivate the faith that whatever they conceive and execute artistically is only done at Its inspiration and guidance. All forms of art are but Its infinite manifestations in the concrete realm of physical being. Words are as much symbolic as the lines or sounds or colour washes or modelling are, and in their sublimity and fineness are reminiscent of God's personality. As Roger Fry suggests 'Art is a blasphemy' in that it strives to condition the Absolute by bestowing upon it the form, the melody, and the sense. For the Absolute is everything or nothing, just as mystic vision in its attempt to become It conjures. Thus art is both conditioned and unconditioned from different standpoints.

The *Bhramara-Kitaka Nyaya* (the aspirant becomes the very thing aspired after) is true both in the empirical and in the empyrean realms. A caterpillar developing into a charming butterfly, the devotee becoming the very god to whom he consecrates himself, and the beautiful thought concretizing itself into ineffable form are some of the incontrovertible instances of being transfigured into delectable becoming. Thus we see the seed growing into the sapling, the sapling into the tree, the tree into the blossom, the blossom into the fruit, and the fruit into the seed again. This eternal evolution of the self into its parent Self through time to the timeless Eternal is the one Law of Life, an artist, much more than anyone else, should not fail to realize this. The sweet touch of his personality which he adds to his product is not so much his own as his divine Creator's, of whom he himself is an indelible specimen. So an enduring piece of art is always reminiscent of this kinship; and the higher is its value, the more precisely it conveys the sensuous aspect of the Godhead. The beauty in nature is but His reflection.

"When once it is granted that inspiration is the motive-force behind artistic creation there is nothing like volition in the form of intention in the artist. That is the fundamental truth, although some amount of will is necessary for his initial dedication and consecration to the fountain-head of his artistic existence. If fineness and delicacy, melody and grace strength in flexibility and plasticity are the ideal qualities of the divine, rough daubing of paint, or the crude hacking of the model, or electric posing, all done with an eye to impressionism, cannot endow any permanent value to the product. Imagination should not be strained to transfigure beauty out of something quite disparate from it. It is not the essence of art to suggest anything out of nothing. The modern trends at realism, surrealism, expressionism, cubism etc however admirable they be intellectually are not the marrow of high art."

RED THREAT IN INDONESIA

Writing in *Freedom First* Mr. Hasan Muhammad Tiro says that communists in Indonesia are slowly gaining power. He writes:

"The 80 million people of Indonesia—sixth largest nation on earth, third richest in natural resources after the United States and the Soviet Union—are on the verge of complete communist domination. The communists and fellow-travellers, their sympathizers and native dupes already exercise virtual control over the army, police, government administration, Parliament and trade unions.

The present situation exists because the people of Indonesia have been denied the right to vote and elect representatives of their own choice. The present regime, headed by Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo, has been trying to avoid elections for years. The communists and their accomplices are aware that, if the people of Indonesia were given the opportunity to vote freely, they would almost certainly lose the election to the non- and anti-communist *Masjumi* and Socialist parties. While postponing Indonesia's first free election, the Sastroamidjojo forces are tightening their grip on all power levers of government.

There has been a series of purges of high-ranking anti-communist Government officials. Among the anti-communist Army officers who have been removed are General Simatupang (Armed Forces Chief of Staff), Colonel Nasution (Army Chief of Staff), Colonel Gatot Subroto (commander of the Seventh Division), Lieutenant Colonel Parman (commander of the Djakarta police force), and Lieutenant Colonel Kosasih (commander of the South Sumatra Division). These and others were purged for demanding that the regime hold a speedy general election for a democratic government. The communists maintained that these officers had interfered in political affairs and that their actions constituted insubordination. But the communists had only praise for the

pro-communist Army officers (Lieutenant Colonel Warouw in Celebes, Lieutenant Colonel Sudirman in East Java, and Lieutenant Colonel Kretarto in South Sumatra) who deposed and arrested their anti-communist superiors, simultaneously declaring their allegiance to President Soekarno. No charge of insubordination was raised against them. In fact, Soekarno soon recognized them as division commanders and promoted each of them to the rank of colonel.

As for the Government administration, the Governor of North Sumatra, Abdul Hakim, and the Mayor of Djakarta, Sjam-suridjal, were ousted after declaring their open opposition to the communist party. The Socialist Governor of Central Java, Milono, was also replaced by a fellow-traveller. On March 5, the regime removed Sosrodanukusumo, head of the Secret Police Department, to make way for the new Red chief of the newly-established Indonesian GPU. Iosradanukusumo, a *Masjumi* party member, was accused by the Minister of Justice of trying to help anti-communist Chinese leaders in connection with the deportation actions taken against them.

Meanwhile, the public's clamour for a general election gained momentum. To appease the public, the regime made a gesture in the direction of "preparing" for a general election by establishing a Central Election Committee in Djakarta. This body will be responsible for counting the votes if the election ever takes place. This Election Committee, however, is of strange composition. Represented on it are the PCI (the Communist party), the PNI (Soekarno's Nationalist party), the PRN (People's National party, whose leading figure, Minister of Justice Gondokusumo, prosecuted the anti-communist Chinese in Indonesia), the *Sobsi* (the communist-controlled federation of labour), the SKI (the People's Association party), the *Murba* (a proletarian party), and the *Perti* (a Moslem sect whose leader, Siradjudin Abas participated in the

Peking Peace Conference). The anti-communist Moslem *Masjumi* party (by far the largest party in the country) and the Socialist party were specifically excluded from representation on the Committee. Thus, the chance for an honest election has been precluded from the start by Soekarno's adroit stacking of the cards in favour of the pro-communist forces.

Since the Sastroamidjojo regime took over the government more than a year-and-a-half ago, no open criticism against the communist party has been tolerated.

The Sastroamidjojo regime has labelled the anti-communist forces "terrorists" and "fanatics", while in fact the Government itself employs terror as a matter of policy in order to intimidate the people. Massacres of anti-communist peasants and burning of homes by Government troops are daily occurrences in places far from Djakarta. The regime by means of the state-controlled radio and subsidized press, has blamed these barbaric acts on the anti-communist forces, while the latter have no facilities to make their voice heard by the outside world.

The writer of this article even presented a list of violation of human rights by the Sastroamidjojo regime to the United Nations during the last General Assembly. The writer concludes:—

"Then anti-communist forces in Indonesia challenged the regime to permit an international investigation of the atrocities. Nothing has been done. The communists and their allies have effectively dropped a bamboo curtain over Indonesia. They have assumed power in fact if not in name. But the people of Indonesia, who fought successfully for their independence, will not permit their freedom to be lost again—this time to communism—if they know that they have the free world's sympathy and support."

THE TEACHING OF DRAMATICS

The weekly journal *Thought* in its recent issue publishes an article on the above subject by Nissim Ezckiel. The Government of India is planning an Institute to provide instruction in acting and production which is likely to be attached to the proposed National Theatre. So the writer's observations on this subject are worth quoting:—

"The work of drama schools all over the country could best be supervised and co-ordinated by an educational Theatre Institute of the sort which functions so effectively in America. Such an Institute could, in addition, popularize the idea of theatre as an educational force, so that dramatics will not be confined to drama schools, amateur groups and professional repertory companies. A radical transformation is urgently necessary in the attitude to theatre which prevails in our universities. Dramatics cannot win any status worth the name in our educational institutions so long as it is confined to the production of plays at the annual school, college or hostel celebrations. An educational theatre institute would be able to encourage the formation of school and college dramatic societies which function throughout the year and build up their own traditions and accessories. What a little imagination and planning it would be easy to build up a small library of specialized books on theatre, a wardrobe, a collection of lighting equipment, models of sets, albums of photographs, and slides, and a complete record of every production, including the programmes and the publicity leaflets.

The writer concludes by saying that only by such projects and practical ideas that a student can be given to theatre and to the teaching of dramatics both inside and outside drama schools. If one is even moderately critical of the present trends in our theatre activities it is not difficult to note the absence of constructive schemes of this kind for stabilizing and strengthening of the present enthusiasm for the theatre.

WHY INDIA IS NEUTRAL?

- An American editor, who recently made a three-month tour of India, says if India "continues to develop as a free country and becomes more economically stable, she will be a great force for the same things in which we believe."

Worren Morrell, executive editor of the *Rapid City Daily Journal* said he believes the United States should continue to help India technically with industrial and agricultural experts. Writing in his newspaper, Morrell points out:

"The people of India are proud of their hard-won independence. They have been an independent nation only eight years. Like America when it first obtained its independence India is vigorously opposed to becoming entangled in any alliance with foreign powers. Indians really are neutral. They don't want to be tied to the Communist bloc or to the West. They are terribly afraid of becoming involved in World War III which they feel would be disastrous to them and set their progress back hundreds of years..."

Discussing the country further, Morrell says "India has good courts, a sound fiscal system, is the second most industrialised nation in the East. It has good leadership. We have poured billions into European countries to help those countries help themselves. By comparison, our aid to India has been small. India is largely developing its country without assistance."

If India continues to develop as a free country and becomes more economically stable she will be a great force for the same things on which we believe. We should continue to help them technically with industrial and agricultural experts. We don't have to dish out billions to India.

Morrell in fine says that the United States "step up the exchange of persons programme. Bring more Indians to America and send more Americans of all walks of life to India."

DEATHS BY ATOMIC

RADIATION

Prof. Haldane, 62-year-old biologist, predicted that deaths from nuclear radiation of atomic and hydrogen bombs, already exploded, could be expected to begin at once, according to a report from the London Press.

He believed that the total number of deaths to be expected in the future generations from atomic bombs so far set off, would be between 10,000 and 40,000, but the people who lived would be tougher than their ancestors.

There could also be some deaths in the first month of prenatal life which would probably be well under a quarter of the total.

A good many deaths would be prenatal leading to miscarriages and still births, he said. Other deaths would be from congenital liability to diabetes and various types of mental defects.

"These extra deaths may be expected to begin at once perhaps increasing for 200 years or so and most should occur within 5,000 years," he said.

Prof. Haldane said that research in America showed the people who survived in the coming generations would be tougher than their ancestors.

He was prepared to believe that as many as one per cent of the mutations produced by gamma rays in human beings, were useful. "And if every woman for some generations had 20 pregnancies, but only two children, on an average, were allowed to survive to breed, atomic bombs might produce a healthier human race," he added.

"More likely, we should become a race of blood thirsty savages" he said. He called for more university research into the effects of radiation, claiming that research by Government-appointed organisations was a waste of money. Their results would be more likely to be biased in favour of political views than had they been reached in university laboratories, he concluded.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS 0 DEPARTMENTAL 0 NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

On Feb. 9th, the draft of the Second Five Year Plan was published. The immediate impression one gets of it is its mammoth size—in its cost, its scope and its targets. It makes us think as to how far all the hopes can be fulfilled and the fears overcome. We are hopeful as far as the resources are concerned. It is a very bold bid to bring to the country the greatest measure of prosperity in the next five years. A detailed examination of the plan is given in the leading article in this issue. Yet we give below a summary of the plan involving Rs. 7,100 crores in a nut shell:

Objectives

1. A sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living.
2. rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;
3. a large expansion of employment opportunities, and
4. reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

Outlay

Public Sector: Rs. 4,800 crores; Private Sector: Rs. 2,300 crores.

IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

	(Rs. crores)	
	First Plan	Second Plan
	Total	Total
	Provision.	Provision.
Agriculture and Community Development	372	565
Irrigation and flood control	395	458
Power	266	440
Industries and minerals	179	891
Transport and communications	556	1384
Social services, housing and rehabilitation	547	946
Miscellaneous	41	116
Total	2,356	4,800

Financial Resources

	Rs. Crores.
1. Surplus from Current Revenues	800
(a) at existing rates of taxation	350
(b) additional taxation	450
2. Borrowings from the Public	1,200
(a) Market Loans	700
(b) Small savings	500
3. Other Budgetary Sources	400
(a) Railway contribution to the development programme	150
(b) Provident and other Deposit Heads	250
4. External Assistance	800
5. Deficit Financing	1,200
6. Uncovered gap	400

Total 4,800

Targets

National income to increase by 25% by 1960-61. Increase in per capital income from Rs. 280 in 1955 to Rs. 330 in 1960-61 or 18% as compared with 10% during First Plan.

OTHER INCREASES

Agricultural output by 18 per cent. Consumption of food grains per adult from 17.2 oz. to 18.3 oz.

Land under irrigation by 21 million acres, as compared to 17 million acres during First Plan.

Electric power: additional 3.4 million KW, to reach 6.8 million KW in 1960-61 as against 2.3 million in 1950.

Steel from 1.3 to 4.3 million tons; coal; from 37 to 60 million tons; cement from 4.8 to 10 million tons; also, increases in output of fertilisers.

Railways; Increase of 15% in passenger miles; 4% in freight tons.

Producer goods to increase by 150%

National Extension Services and Community Projects: Population served will increase from 80 to 325 millions.

Considerable advance in education, health, housing rehabilitation of displaced persons, and other social services.

Mr. DHEBAR'S APPEAL

Mr. Dhebar in his presidential address to the Congress spelled out in detail the ways in which Congressmen could help the implementation of the Second Plan, and even improve on its promise of up to 10 million jobs.

"We shall have to prepare public opinion," he said, "for shouldering large tax burdens. What does a little unpopularity matter if it can serve the cause of the country? It will be good for the cause of the organisation also. We shall know who will hang with us in times of adversity."

On the question of reducing disparities Mr. Dhebar frankly admitted that while "we have started on the road to Socialism in action, by the application of ceilings on land holdings, in other sectors of our economic life we have been still in a discussion stage more or less."

The Congress President said: Application of ceilings on private income is inescapable. There are other measures also which are being discussed, namely, graded surcharge on incomes beyond a certain limit, compulsory deposit of an amount equal to the surcharge on agricultural incomes, enhancement of estate duties and an annual tax on wealth. We hope to reach some positive decisions on these in the near future."

Mr. Dhebar called upon Congressmen to help in solving the problems before the country, by hard and unostentatious work after reviewing the various political, social economic and administrative problems before the Congress and the country, he said "Millions are on the march. Let us lead them through hard work and sacrifice to their cherished goal of a united and prosperous India."

He listed three fundamental needs for the success of India's planning: a correct social

approach, reorientation of the country's political and social institutions and the necessity for the Congress organisation to drag itself out of the ruts of easy political propaganda for an organised constructive effort.

The factors which would ultimately decide the future destiny of India were a trustworthy leadership, an efficient and incorruptible administration and a live, active and zealous organisation firm in its faith clear in its objective and loyal to its fundamentals.

The Congress President quoted figures to show the success of the First Five-Year Plan and said its success was also reflected in the maintenance of agricultural prices and the consequent demand for consumer goods as a result of increased purchasing power.

The president referred to the events of the past three months after the publication of the S. R. C. Report and appealed to the people to bear in mind that parochial and regional claims had in the past invariably weakened the foundations of the country's freedom. The leaders of Bengal and Bihar had given a bold lead, and if their mission succeeded a new page of service to India by the people of Bengal and Bihar would be added to history.

Touching on the problem of Goa and other Portuguese possessions on India, Mr. Dhebar said: "The freedom of India can be complete only when the last pocket of imperialism is liquidated."

Dealing with Congress effort to achieve social and economic equality, he said the Bhoo dan movement offered a radical solution, not only in material terms of a psychological change in the concept of ownership of property. "It was the first step in the process of levelling up and levelling down by voluntary popular effort not only in India but perhaps the world over. Village and cottage industries similarly offered a substantial answer to the problem of poverty in rural India and among the middle classes, chiefly women."

THE LATE Mr. MAVLANKAR

We are sorry to record the death of Mr. G. V. Mavlankar on Feb. 27.

Ganesh Vasudeo Mavlankar, "Baby" to Mahatma Gandhi, "Dada Saheb" to his compatriots in Gujarat, and "the Speaker" to the whole country, made a name for himself in all the fields to which he devoted himself—as a practising lawyer, a patriot, social worker, parliamentarian and as a constructive thinker.

Born at Baroda on November 27, 1888. Mr. Mavlankar set up practice as a lawyer at the Ahmedabad Bar in 1941. From an early age, he evinced active interest in social work as well as politics—an interest which never waned till the end.

Drawn towards politics he joined the Gujarat Sabha, a political organisation, and in 1914 participated in the "no rent" campaign in Kaira District.

He courted imprisonment several times during the national struggle. His successful term as President of the Bombay Legislative Assembly between 1937 and 1940 made Mr. Mavlankar the natural choice for the Speakership of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1946 on the eve of Independence. Mr. Mavlankar, whose interest in constructive social activities continued to dominate and influence him, was thus again forced into the political limelight.

After Independence, he succeeded to the Speakership of the Lower House of the first Indian Parliament which post he held till the end despite failing health.

Mr. Mavlankar took keen interest in the Commonwealth parliamentary conferences. He also initiated the annual conferences of Speakers of State Legislatures for discussion of Parliamentary practices and exchange of views.

Mr. Mavlankar was the Trustee of the Sabarmati Ashram for a long time and later Trustee and Chairman of the Kasturba National Memorial Fund. He was also connected with several educational organisations in Gujarat.

ACHARYA NARENDRA DEV

We also deeply regret to record the death of Acharya Narendra Dev, Chairman, All-India Praja Socialist Party, Member of the Rajya Sabha and noted educationist, in Project House, Erode, on Feb. 19,

In the death of Acharya Narendra Deva, India has lost one of her great patriots. For over four decades, he served India and the cause of her freedom with a crusading zeal and in that process made immeasurable sacrifices. His health was never too good, but even with that handicap, he never hesitated to put himself in the thick of the fight. He was a great thinker and a scholar.

LATE Dr. COUSINS

Dr. James H. Cousins who died on Feb. 21 at Adyar was a great friend of India. Born in 1837 in Belfast (Ireland) he was a poet, educationist and connoisseur of outstanding quality. One of the pioneers of the Irish Literary Revival and a friend of Yeats and AE, he came to India in 1915 at the call of Mrs. Annie Besant and found in Theosophy his spiritual resting place.

Besides lecturing in Japan and America on poetry and poetic composition, he was for some years Principal of the Madanapalle Theosophical College. He was Art advisor to many Princes and organised the Art Galleries in Mysore and Trivandrum.

His poems and plays, which fill several volumes; view all themes *sub specie aeternitatis* and, in spite of exquisite phrasing, command little general popularity. But some of his sonnets and shorter allegorical poems deserve anthologising and academic study.

His numerous prose-works include "Synthesis", a philosophical treatise of major importance, and "The Faith of an Artist" and "The Aesthetic Experience" which expound his theory of beauty and establish the value and validity of contemplation as a way of life and a means of knowledge. Most of his books have been beautifully produced by Kalakshetra, Adyar.

COURSE IN PUBLIC HEALTH

The post-graduate course in public Health Engineering leading to M. Sc. Degree in public Health Engineering of the Madras University, commenced at the Engineering College, Guindy under the guidance of professor Aaron Amramy. W. H. O. expert, and Professor N. R. Sitapathi.

Ten students were admitted to the course, eight of whom were deputed by the Madras Government and two from outside.

RESERVE BANK AND UNIVERSITIES

"The Reserve Bank of India has agreed to endow some chairs for the study of economic subjects in some Indian Universities; and for Industrial Finance a chair is being endowed at the Calcutta University," said Mr. A. C. Guha, Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, in the Lok Sabha during question hour. amount of each endowment is Rs. 25,000 for five years, added Mr. Guha.

DEGREE COURSE IN HOMEOPATHY

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the Union Health Minister, informed Dr. Barlingay in the Rajya Sabha that the Government had finally accepted the curriculum for a five-year degree course in the Homeopathic system of medicine, prepared by an *ad hoc* committee of the Health Ministry. The Calcutta Homeopathic Medical College had agreed to institute this course and the question of giving this college financial aid was under consideration.

SANSKRIT STUDY IN U. P.

The U. P. Government have decided to provide additional funds of Rs. 1.65 lakhs in 1956-57 for the preservation and improvement of traditional system of studying Sanskrit.

There are at present 1,000 recognised Sanskrit *pathashalas* excluding eight Government controlled and managed *pathashalas* in the State. Of these only 418 are at present on the grants-in-aid list.

The Government have decided to convert 98 Sanskrit *pathashalas* into model *pathashalas* and 200 more *pathashalas* will be on the grants-in-aid list.

Sir C. P. ON ENGLISH

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer said at Jamshedpore on Feb 18. that English was indispensable for higher education and research.

Inaugurating an education week he said they had now come to a stage when education should be adjusted to a new environment according to their needs. To bring about an allround development, he said, English, which was universally acknowledged, was the obvious choice as much in India as in other advanced countries. He asked the students not to ignore this language in the secondary stage.

Prof. S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI

We regret to record the death at on Feb. 17 of Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai retired Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, at the age of 68.

Educated in the Madras Christian College and graduating from there, Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai, stood first in the Presidency in Tamil. He studied law, and practised in Tirunelveli for a short period. He became the Editor of the "Tamil Lexicon" compiled by the Madras University and successfully completed the work in 1936. He was Reader in Tamil for ten years at the Madras University and Professor of Tamil, at the University of Travancore for three years. He has published a number of works.

Dr. MEGHNAD SAHA

We deeply regret to note the death of Dr. Meghnad Saha, eminent scientist and a member of the Lok Sabha, of heart attack at Delhi on Feb. 16.

Dr. Saha's contribution to the advancement of science and to the creating of conditions which have made scientific research on a large scale possible in this country has been very outstanding. He had great driving power and restless energy and he was one of those who are never satisfied with what they have achieved but are obsessed with the idea of all that remains yet to be done. His activity had been of a versatile character.

Mr. B. K. MUKHERJEE

We regret to record the death of Mr. Bijan Kumar Mukerjee, former chief Justice of India on 22nd of this month. Mr. Mukerjee became chief Justice of India on December 23, 1954, on the retirement of Mr. Justice M. C. Mahajan.

Born in 1891, Mr. Bijan Kumar Mukerjee joined the Calcutta High Court Bar in 1914 after a brilliant academic career. He had his early education in Hooghly, where his father was a lawyer. He became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1936 and continued there till October, 1948, when he became a Judge of the Federal Court of India. When India was declared a Republic on January 26, 1950, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of India. He became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India on December 23, 1954 on the retirement of Mr. Justice M. C. Mahajan.

LIFE INSURANCE BILL

Persons holding offices of profit in the insurance business controlled by Government will not be disqualified from becoming members of Parliament, according to a new clause sought to be inserted in the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill.

The new clause is proposed by the Finance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, as an amendment to the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill.

"It is hereby declared," the new clause reads, "that no person who holds any office of profit under an insurer, the management of whose controlled business has vested in Central Government, under this Act, shall be disqualified or considered ever to have been disqualified, for being chosen as, or for being, a member of either House of Parliament."

S. T. VALIDATION BILL

The Sales-Tax Laws Validation Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on Feb. 29, after rejecting all amendments.

Mr. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister replying to the debate, said they were only validating certain transactions to make levy and collection of the taxes legal. In this there was no fear of the States exceeding their authority. There was such a large area of uncertainty in this matter (following the judgement of the Supreme Court) that on the whole the needs of justice would serve if they validated this as they stood.

Referring to the objections raised on the grounds of morality, Mr. Deshmukh said: "We should not allow our conscience to be burdened by this thought at all. The State is entitled to collect what it can legally collect. Another view was taken by the Supreme Court—this situation having arisen, it is our duty to correct it. There is no question of ethics or morality here."

When consideration of the Bill was resumed points were raised that the Bill gave wide scope to all the States to pass any law for all inter-State transactions and passing of the legislation would mean regarding the judiciary with least respect.

PENKNIFE, A WEAPON ?

In the eyes of law, a penknife is a lethal weapon. Forgetting this point of law a gray-haired lawyer of the Bombay High Court was put up before a Presidency Magistrate on February 15. Following recent disturbances in Bombay City carrying of "lethal weapons" has been prohibited by police order, and the lawyer was accused of carrying a penknife. The Magistrate released him on a personal bond.

GALLOWS TO GO

The motion, to abolish the death penalty for murder as "no longer in accord with the needs or the true interests of a civilised society" has been passed by the House of Commons by a majority of 31 votes.

THE ECAFE SESSION

The 12th session of the ECAFE Conference was inaugurated in Bangalore on the 2nd of this month by the Prime Minister. The ECAFE has been steadily helping Asian and Far Eastern Countries to meet and exchange notes on a common forum and to reach conclusions helpful to national and International actions. The Session which was marked by a current of sober but confident optimism concluded its two-week activities on the 14th February. Throughout the discussion on several problems facing the region, delegates of various countries pointed out the need for an accelerated pace of progress in the economic field, and appealed for greater co-operation among the countries to achieve quick results.

The note of optimism, that distinguished the deliberations of the ECAFE, was based on the reading of Asia's current economic situation, as expressed in the reports presented by the various delegations, and the annual survey of the economic situation in Asia and the Far East prepared by the ECAFE Secretariat. The general feeling among the delegates was that Asian countries "seemed to have emerged from a long period of economic stagnation, and are now ready for a decisive march towards economic development."

The discussions revealed the problems that confronted the Asian countries in regard to industrialisation. The idea of regional cooperation was stressed to achieve price stability for export commodities.

ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES

Two features on development planning were stressed with considerable force. One was the interest of all Asian countries in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and the other was the putting into effect of Community Projects, an idea favoured particularly by India and Indonesia.

There was considerable appreciation, among Asian delegates, of United Nations assistance activities, which has by now become an integral part of national planning projects. This was the "largest cooperative effort in history" and it had provided through the U. N. and the various specialised agencies some 4,700 technical experts, and 8,500 fellowships and scholarships during the past five years. Several Asian delegates expressed the hope that the U. N. effort in this field would be increased further.

In a talk with Pressmen, Dr. Lokanathan, Executive Secretary, pointed out that the ECAFE had now established itself firmly and it was destined to play a more vital part in the region, not only in the work of economic development, but also in promoting close cooperation and coordination among various countries.

RISE IN INDO-BRITISH TRADE

Indo-British trade registered a further upward trend in 1955, when the value of mutual transactions totalled £ 288 million, representing an increase of 9.4 per cent over the preceding year.

While exports from India in the year under review was higher by 7 per cent than the 1954 level at £ 159 million, the British imports into India amounted to £ 129 million constituting an increase of 13 per cent over the value of trade in 1954.

As in the previous year, India stood sixth as a market for British exports. Machinery dominated the picture and represented 37 per cent of the total U. K. exports to India in 1955. The biggest increase took place in exports of iron and steel which rose from a little under £ 6 million in 1954 to nearly £ 9 million in 1955.

HOSTELS FOR WORKING WOMEN

The question of giving financial assistance to voluntary institutions willing to start hostels for working women of lower income groups in cities was considered by the Central Social Welfare Board at its meeting on Feb. 17.

To examine the problem in its details a sub-committee, consisting of Smt. Zarina Currimbhoy, (Chairman), Smt. Hannah Sen and Smt. Padmini Sen Gupta was set up.

It was pointed out that the problem of accommodation facilities for working women in cities belonging to lower income groups (those earning between Rs. 75 and Rs. 150 per month) was an urgent and important one. A large number of such women are without facilities for boarding and lodging. It was considered that voluntary institutions prepared to run hostels for these groups of women might appropriately be aided by the Board.

The sub-committee has been asked to visit important urban centres like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lucknow, Nagpur and also Delhi to examine the facilities available there at present and explore the prospects of opening such hostels. The sub-committee will make a report to the Board by the end of April next.

SUPERVISION OF FALLEN WOMEN

The Central Social welfare Board Proposes to start a short-term Course for training seventy supervisory personnel to be in charge of aftercare institutions to be set up under the aftercare programmes for delinquents and rescued women formulated by it.

The course will be of one year duration starting from July this year and expenditure on it, is estimated at Rs. 2,18,000, which includes grants to training institutions and stipends to trainees.

WOMEN OF GUJERAT

Women of Gujarat will seek a pledge from menfolk ensuring "human treatment" to fair sex.

The women will launch a signature campaign on Mar. 10. among men as part of their programme for "Stri Gaurav Din" (Women's Glory Day).

The pledge, to be signed by men, will bind the signatory to a code of behaviour, prohibiting in particular harassment and mental torture of women.

The campaign had been programmed by the sammelan of social workers of Gujeart Saurashtra and Kutch to ensure human treatment to women and "save them committing suicide".

MOPLAH WOMEN

Probably for the firsttime in recent years, a party of Moplah women' who usually observe purdha, appeared at Calicut on Feb. 19 on the stage and sang.

This was part of a two-hour cultural programme got up to entertain the Chinese cultural delegation.

The programme included "kalkottukali", "tavambaka," "talamkali"—all peculiar to Malabar—and a dance by the Todas of Nilgiris. It ended with "Kolkali," staged by a group of Moplahs from Chaliyam. This group, which took part in the Republic Day celebrations in New Delhi last month, gave an exhibition of fast rythmic movements during the programme.

ADMISSION OF A NEGRO GIRL

Miss Lucy, the first Negro admitted to the University, of Alabamn was barred from classes after a riot on February 6. The University Trustees, in barring her, said they were acting for her safety.

A Federal Judge on Feb. 29 ordered the University of Alabama to re-admit Miss Lucy, a Negro.

GENERAL

NEW WAYS FOR EVANGELISM

The Asian Regional Lutheran Conference met at Madras on 22nd January 70 delegates from churches in various countries in Asia representing about 15 lakhs of church members attended the Session. The Conference adopted a study group Report which, according to *The Mail* dated January 23 suggested that where there were restrictions, missionaries should come to India as technicians, doctors, professors, agricultural and industrial experts, etc.

Discussing 'reforms' desirable in the Church, the Report stressed that no reform was necessary in the content of the Gospel. However, the following changes in the approach were proposed:

More of the Church's ministry should be carried on by lay people; the Gospel should be presented in the 'living, modern language of the people' with more up-to-date translations of Christian literature, the use of modern scientific equipment for evangelism, including the use of radio; more attempts to follow 'Asian concepts of Christian life' for example, the Asramam fellowship idea.

Another study group Report accepted by the Conference said that the presentation of the Christian message to non-Christians 'involves not only the content of preaching but also the attitude'. Christians should be 'tactful, yet positive' it advised.

The delegates emphasized in the report that Christian preaching and teaching were not subject to adaptation to beliefs of other religious faiths.

Commenting on this the *Vedanta Kesari* of Madras says as follows:

"Evangelism,—which in working language means conversion—is no doubt the pride and passion of all Christian Churches, for according to the Christian (as Rt. Rev. D. Chellappa, Bishop of Madras, said at Vellore addressing on Sep. 11, '55 the Biennial Conference of the Tamilnad Christian Council)

evangelism means, 'exaltation of the Saviour and the humbling of the sinner.' Now according to Christian Church—of all varieties and creeds—there is only one Saviour who is Christ, and all are of course sinners, in other words potential Christians. It is the mission of the Christian Churches to redeem these sinners. It is a cosmic duty which cuts across all politics and ordinary ethical code. Therefore, the Lutheran Church has adopted the resolutions which they did. Note please, the tact and strategem the Church openly gives place to in their affairs. If in any country there are political restrictions—those cannot be without any reason of course—and the missionaries cannot enter by the front door, (why, in evangelism and war everything is fair except what defeats the purpose) let them enter by the backdoor, donning the outfits of technicians, doctors, professors, agricultural and industrial experts, etc., when the holy cloak is suspected. Whether this subterfuge serves the purpose of the Church or not, this strategem will at least induct in a necessity of suspecting as subversionists some innocent academicians, having nothing to do with the politics of religion. Why this Church is going in for this duplicity is not clear to us, but one thing is sure that it has thrown on the State a compulsion to watch their activities rather closely."

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Member, Planning Commission, underlined the need for training up a class of men as industrial managers.

Inaugurating the Department of Business Administration under the auspices of the Delhi School of Economics recently, Dr. Ghosh said it was not merely enough to have instruments of production, but it was essential that such instruments should be managed by people who knew their jobs.

The need for such a class of men was all the more urgent when the country was on the threshold of very large expansion of industries and business.

FEBRUARY 1956

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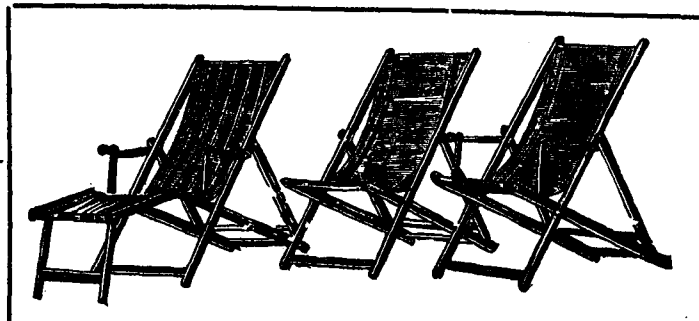
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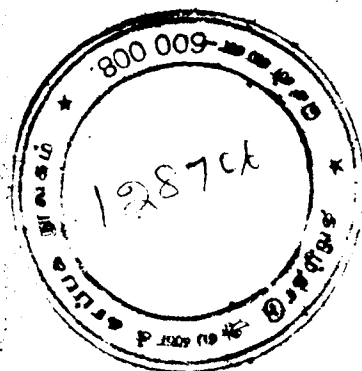
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