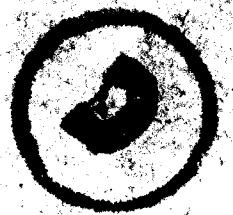


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Vol. 57]

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[No. 11

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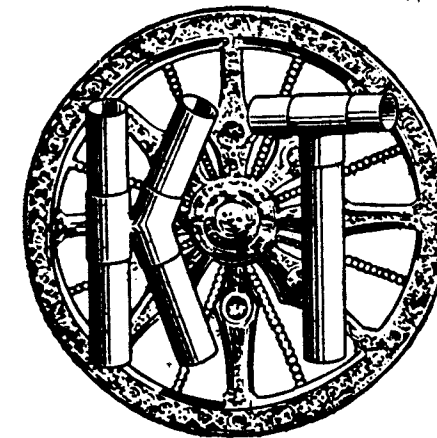
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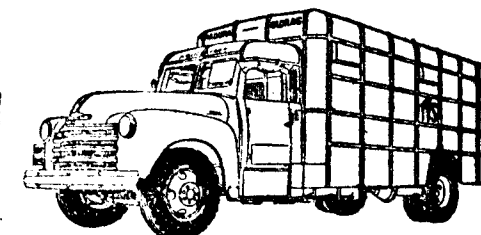
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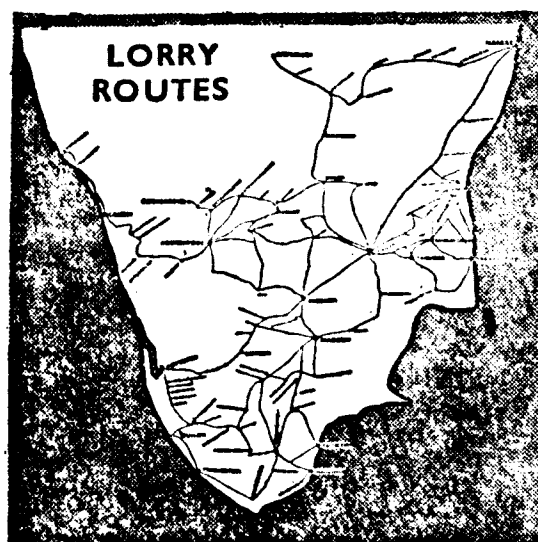
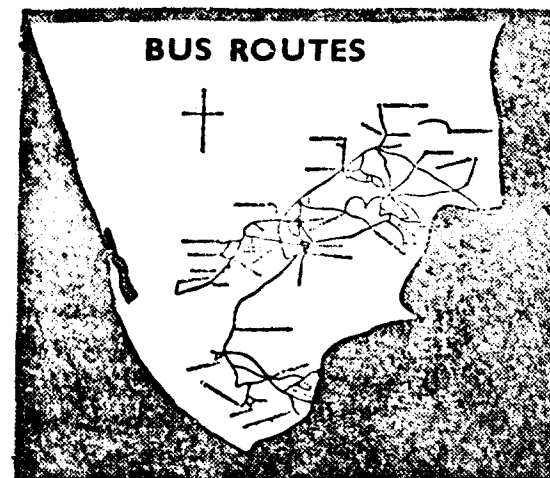
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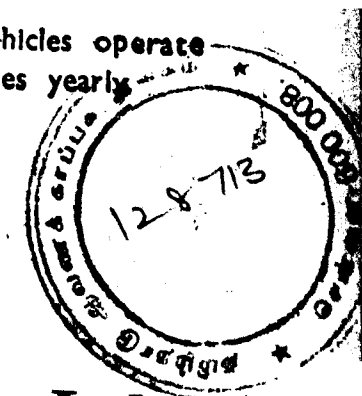
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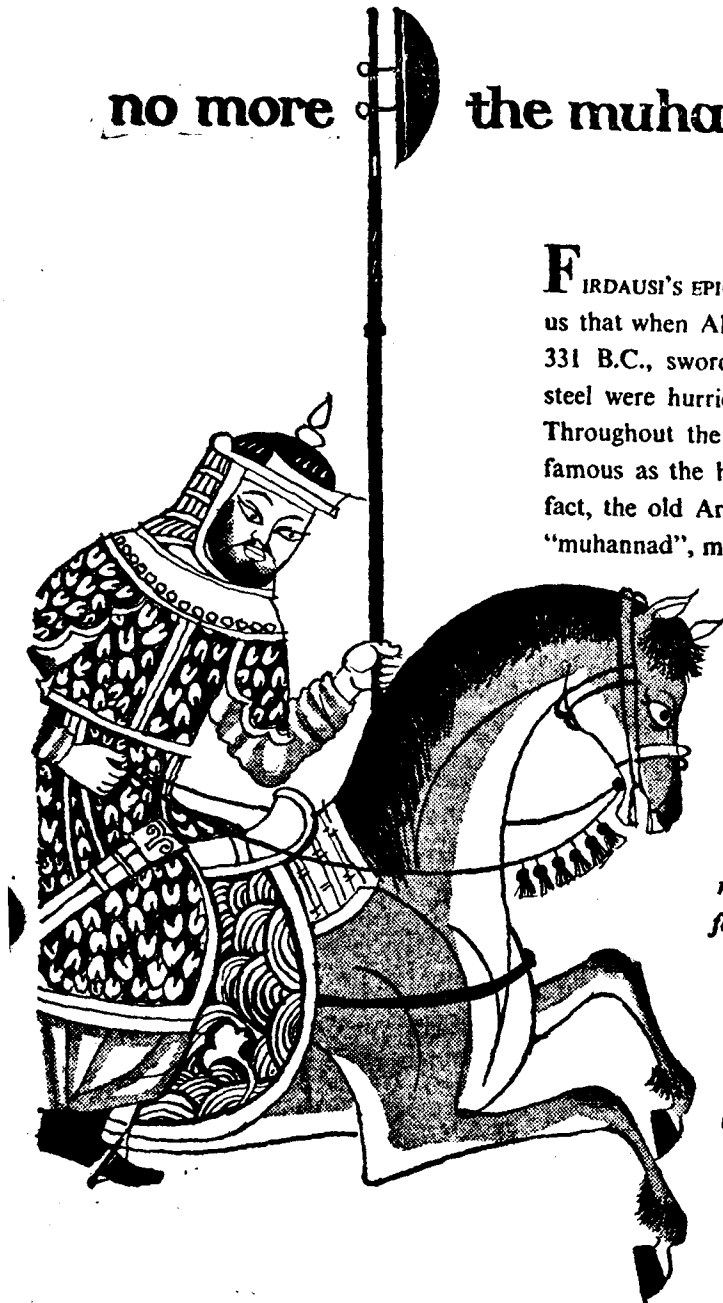
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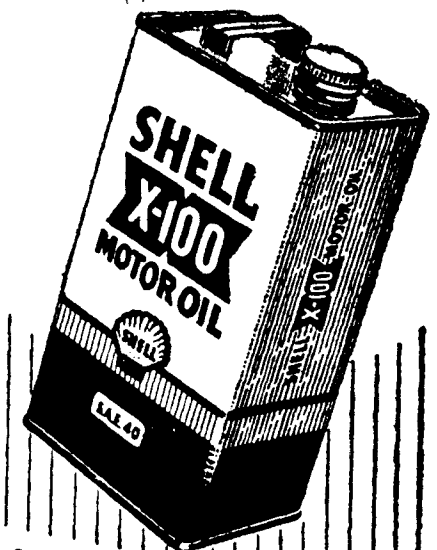
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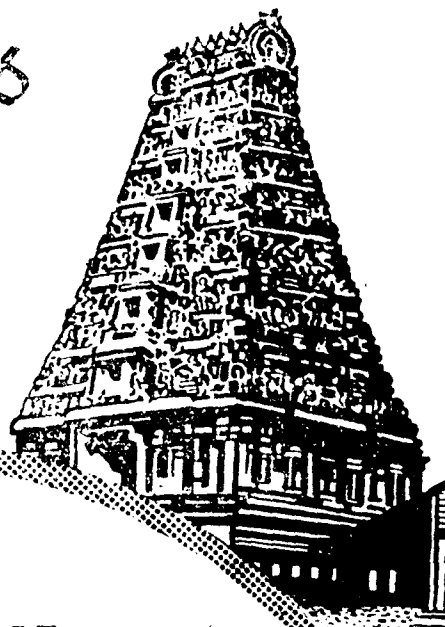


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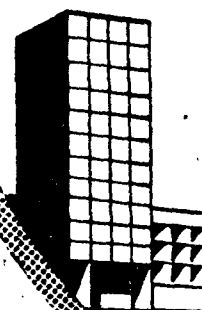
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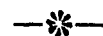
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NOVEMBER 1956

[No. 11]

"The Ideal Judge"

By

DR. KAILAS NATH KATJU

(Minister for Defence, Government of India)

My friends sometimes wish me to write about High Court and Chief Court Judges I have known. Seemingly this would not be a difficult task. The tables prefixed annually to Law Reports mention the names of Judges who functioned on the Bench in that year, and it should be easy to say something, good, bad or indifferent, about every Judge. But I find the task personally very difficult because there is no fixed yard-stick by which one can measure the merits or demerits of a particular judge. Dispensation of justice is said to be a divine attribute and in that sense the human judge partakes something of the divinity, and it is in that sense also that sometimes the tastes of judges are as inscrutable and their ways as mysterious as those of providence. Now, every human being has his own conception of his God. The well-known saying that God made man in his own image, in my opinion, is really contrary to facts and is not justified by experience. The truer dictum would be that every man makes his God in his own image and that is why you find different people, different races, different groups magnifying particular aspects and attributes of the Gods of their own conception. Every individual magnifies a million times in his own God the qualities and virtues that he values most, and endows his God with possessions and treasures he likes best to possess himself. Pastoral tribes always imagine their Gods to possess millions of cattle, being the only source of

wealth they know, and in our fancy we build the seventh heaven in which our God resides at a palace made of gold and ivory, studded with jewels and diamonds beyond compare. It is in that light that the estimate of judicial qualities differs from individual to individual, more strictly from one lawyer to another. Everyone has his own conception of an ideal judge. An absolute ideal judge does not exist. The figure varies from painter to painter. I have heard during forty years of my practice at the Bar hundreds of variations on this theme and it is a perennial topic. You get descriptions of ideal judges or admonitions of what judges should be from times immemorial. Bacon is the most famous. He admonished all judges to "make up your mind quickly, but disclose it slowly."

Some people like patient judges, others consider the so-called patient judge a great bore and an unmitigated nuisance. Some like judges who talk, others consider a talkative judge a great hindrance, and every interjection from the Bench as an undue unnecessary interruption and sometimes an impertinence. Some like quick-witted judges, others vote for dull people, who never can make up their mind and therefore are disposed to hear Counsel at any length. I can multiply these paradoxes indefinitely. I have for myself a very vivid idea of what a judge should be. I know many people do not share my views; many for whose opinions I have the greatest respect. Very

likely I may be in a minority of one in this respect. Very likely my picture of a judge has been drawn and coloured by the style of my own pleading at the Bar and the exigencies of my practice. Whatever the reasons may be, I have definite views on the subject. For instance, I do not like either the so-called acquitting or the convicting judge. I hate them both with an impartial dislike and if I had my way, I would fire them both—from the Bench—with great alacrity. When they describe a judge as an acquitting judge, many people imagine they are complimenting him. Similarly, when they say of a judge that he is a very convicting judge, it is supposed to be a very condemnatory statement. I think that if there is anything in these descriptions, it is a great reflection on the judge to whom it may be applied. What does an acquitting judge mean? It means that that particular judge is always inclined, reason or no reason, to look at the prosecution evidence with suspicion and to set up for himself a standard of proof which is really much too high and exceeds that prescribed by law. Similarly, a convicting Judge is supposed to be an individual who is prepared to accept the prosecution evidence almost wholesale without due scrutiny. Of one such judge it was said that he started on the assumption that the accused would never have been prosecuted had he not been really guilty, and in substance he put the burden upon the accused not only to prove his innocence but to go further and suggest some reason why he had been falsely implicated or prosecuted. I hold that both the acquitting and the convicting judges are unfit to hold their offices. What we require on the Bench is a Judge who would, without any bias one way or the other, pursue the truth without any concern as to where it would lead him to. Whether to the conviction or to the acquittal of the accused should be a matter of utter indifference to the judge. And then again, now that I see the great injustice which some

times results by what is euphemistically called the "weighing of evidence" as if there are any scales, by which you can weigh the spoken testimony. This is a very important topic because estimates of judges may depend infinitely on their capacity to weigh the evidence. I have come to the conclusion that very often we approach the consideration of the evidence in a very unsatisfactory manner. A witness comes and tells a story. You may hold as a matter of prudence that it would be unsafe to base any definite judicial decision upon the testimony of a single witness and, therefore, as used to be the practice in the olden days in many systems of judicial procedure, the law insisted upon the testimony of a stated number of witnesses on every point to establish the guilt or the liability of the accused or the defendant. But speaking generally and barring exceptional cases, the law has now removed all such restrictions, and it is not illegal to base the conviction of the accused even on the uncorroborated testimony of an accomplice. Well, the witness comes and tells a story. You are supposed to weigh his statement. I think that is an incorrect way of approach. There is no such thing as weighing. The real question is: has the witness made a true statement or has he tampered with the truth? Now, that takes us to the basic and fundamental question as to the propensities of human nature. Are men and women, left to themselves without a motive either way, disposed to tell the truth or to tell lies? If the principle is that the human impulse is to speak the truth, then the approach to a witness in a court of law is and should be to approach his evidence with a presumption in favour of human nature being inclined to tell the truth and to believe the witness, unless it is made apparent or likely that he has some reason to be partial to any particular party, or to conceal or suppress the truth. The moment you depart from this line of approach and you begin weighing the evidence in the

light of probabilities, you introduce enormous elements of uncertainties. Probabilities are not definite things. They differ from individual to individual, and they depend so much upon every individual's good sense and the like, upon his experience of human nature and a variety of other circumstances. Almost all judicial differences of opinion among learned judges are due to those divergent appreciations of the probabilities of the case. Each one of them is just, most anxious to do justice, perfectly impartial to parties but what is nectar to his learned brother may be poison to him. The pursuit of probabilities leads judges to disaster. I am saying all this because I have now come to think that there is a good deal of force in what many judges used to say from the Bench: "Here is this witness. He says so, why should we not believe him, why should we go into the probabilities or the improbabilities of the story. Give us some reason why he is telling a lie." As to the probabilities of a particular story, truth is stranger than fiction, and unless the witness says something which is a palpable lie, like that moon is made of green cheese, he may be really telling the truth. The mere fact that the story is unusual and uncommon is no reason to hold that it is not something which the witness actually saw with his own eyes or heard with his own ears. I now think that there is great force in these observations. That leaves the judge at any rate on firm ground. I quite realise that it does not eliminate all elements of judicial uncertainties, but then it does minimise them, because an enquiry as to whether any particular witness has any apparent reason for partiality to one side or the other is not so difficult as a pursuit after probabilities. It may be that with a corrupt police it may be putting too much of a burden upon an accused to show why a particular prosecution witness is lying. But then if he is not in a position definitely to establish some reason for a particular witness deposing against him,

he must demolish the direct testimony tending to prove his guilt by equally direct or substantial evidence tending to establish his innocence. I am making all these observations because, in my opinion, they have a most important bearing on estimates of judges I have known. This element of fictitious probabilities of the case sometimes made some judges pose as if they were almost all-knowing. You open a case before him and out comes an observation. This is grossly improbable, and then with a mind as close as any oyster's, he would commence the hearing of the case. I am not suggesting for a moment that in testing the veracity of the witness, a judge should not profit by his experience of past cases, of the working of human nature, and particularly the traditions and outlook on life, men and manners, customs and usages of the class from which the witness comes. These are all aids to judging whether the witness is telling the truth or not. It is from this point of view only that a judge would make a satisfactory judge on facts who has had some contacts with a variety of human relationship and who has been a good mixer in different classes and grades of people and society. The judge who, in my long experience, succeeded as being the instrument of the greatest amount of injustice was in his private life one of the most God-fearing, impartial and religious-minded men. What he suffered from was that he had not mixed in any society other than that of ascetics. Really his weighing the evidences may lead to very unsatisfactory results.

There is another important aspect of this matter. You cannot assess or evaluate a judge in the abstract. In the performance of his duties he contacts many people, litigants and witnesses, and above all, the members of the Bar who assist him in the administration of justice. As our current judicial system works, the Bench and the Bar are really parts of an integral whole. They act and react upon each other. Just as an experienced advocate moulds

his advocacy and his manner of presentation of his case keeping in view the particular judge before whom he is appearing so does every judge, after experience, consciously or unconsciously, regulate his conduct and behaviour with reference to the particular advocate appearing before him. I imagine, every judge, after a little experience, forms his own estimates of every single leading member of the Bar in his court. He behaves in one way with those whom, from experience, he has found to be dependable and trustworthy, and men of honour and integrity. They are always precise and accurate. For them, facts are sacred though comment may be free. And an advo-

cate, by his scrupulous anxiety to observe sanctity of facts as appearing from the papers on the record, considerably lightens the task of the judge and he is, therefore, trusted and treated with courtesy and consideration. Other advocates who may not inspire equal confidence are treated otherwise. Therefore, a very special responsibility rests on the Bar, vis-à-vis their judges. If their advocacy is of a fine order they may even mould an imperfect judge into a reasonable good one but, if it is not, then the imperfect judge may continue to add to his imperfections and seemingly continue to deteriorate as years roll by.

Twenty Years of Egyptian Sovereignty (1936—1956)

By

Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

Egypt, first a province and then a vassal of the Ottoman Empire for the greater part of the 19th century, passed under the effective control of Great Britain following Arabi Pasha's revolt in 1881. Egypt was declared a British 'protectorate' in December, 1914. The 'Protectorate' was terminated in 1922 and the independence of Egypt was recognised. Certain questions were however reserved for future settlement and Great Britain reserved to herself the liberty of action in four important spheres—(a) Protection of foreign interests, (b) security of imperial communications (c) defence and (d) the Sudan (under joint Anglo-Egyptian rule from 1899).

The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 "ended a period of prolonged strain, intrigue and inflammatory discontent." British troops were withdrawn from Cairo and Alexandria. They however stayed on in the Suez Canal Zone. Questions left for future consideration in 1922

were settled. Egypt was admitted to the League of Nations as a sovereign state in 1937. Britain was guaranteed an unfettered right of use of all Egyptian ports, railways and aerodromes.

Egypt maintained technical neutrality during World War II until 1944. The Anglo-American Allies however used Cairo as an essential base for operations all over the Middle East and described Egypt as a "non-fighting ally." But many a leading Egyptian was more Pro-axis than Pro-ally. Not a few were delighted when Marshall Rommel and his Afrika Korps arrived within striking distance of Cairo. Aly Maher Pasha was the Prime Minister of Egypt in 1942. His pro-axis predilections made him a *persona non-grata* with the English. They asked King Farouk to dismiss Aly Maher. Farouk having refused, the English surrounded the Abadin Palace, the royal residence, with tanks and forced him to

dismiss Aly Maher. Nahas Pasha, the leader, of the wafd (the Nationalist Party), a nominee of the English, was appointed Prime Minister.

The years 1945-52 were marked by persistent anti-British agitation punctuated by frequent riots all over Egypt. Prime Minister Attlee, declared in 1946 that British troops would evacuate Egypt and that an Anglo-American treaty would safeguard the security and independence of Egypt in future. Many however doubted the sincerity of the Attlee declaration of 1946. The promise of withdrawal is in fact, as old as British interference in Egypt. Lord Granville announced in 1883 that Great Britain intended to withdraw her forces from Egypt "as soon as the state of the country... will admit of it." The assurance was often repeated in later years and yet there was no withdrawal. In the words of Lt. Col. Nasser, "They (the British) always said that they were on the point of leaving, and always found an excuse to stay. At first they claimed they were in the Egypt to protect the foreigners against the Egyptians, although the foreigners never asked for their protection; then they claimed they had to stay to protect the Christian and Jewish minorities against the Moslems overlooking the fact that the Christians and Jews had joined the Moslems in demanding the withdrawal of the British forces from Egypt. The defence of the Suez Canal and the maintenance of their lines of communication with India and their Far Eastern Empire were further pretexts. When World War II came they said they could not go because the Suez canal was an important base, and after World War II they explained that they had to stay to safeguard the interests of the free World." (Foreign Affairs, January, 1955).

The Attlee declaration of 1946 was however well-timed and served a very useful purpose. It went a long way to pacify the impatient Egyptian progressives. But the declaration

itself was shelved like so many similar declarations. Egypt was infuriated. She was convinced, if she had not been convinced earlier, that England would not quit Egypt unless forced to do so under pressure.

The Wafdist Government of Nahas Pasha foisted upon Egypt in 1942 were still in office. Public opinion forced the Nahas Government to abrogate the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty in October, 1951. Farouk assumed the title of King of Egypt and King of the Sudan. Great Britain protested against the unilateral action. The protest went unheeded. Students, labourers, peasants and the middle classes next launched a nation wide campaign against the occupation of the Canal Zone by British troops. 35,000 Egyptian labourers in the Canal Zone went on strike. Resistance groups sprang into existence in Cairo, Alexandria, Ismailia and in other towns and cities. Women came forward as the helpmates of their men folk and took an active part in politics for the first time in the long centuries of Egyptian history. The Egyptian police and military refused to deal sternly with demonstrators in not a few cases. The Egyptian crew of British vessels refused to work for the British army. The country throbbed with new life. Egyptian masses were thoroughly aroused and awakened. An American journalist rightly described the Egyptian awakening as 'resentful.'

Egypt was a boiling cauldron during three months from October to December, 1951. The Ismailia incident precipitated crisis. Following skirmishes between the British troops and the local Egyptians in the Tel-el-Kabir area, the British Commander of the Suez Forces demanded the surrender of arms by the Egyptian police at Ismailia. The demand was treated with the scorn that it deserved. British tanks, artillery and air-force thereupon attacked the Ismailia police on January 26, 1952. Fifty Egyptian policemen were killed. Hundreds were injured. The whole country rocked with horror and indignation. Riots and demonstra-

tions followed. Cairo was sacked and in part burned by an infuriated mob on January 26, 1952. Promulgation of martial law in Cairo and drastic measures by the Nahas Government notwithstanding, Great Britain demanded the dismissal of the Prime Minister. "Fat King" Farouk agreed—he had to rather. Aly Maher Pasha formed a Government. He too went the way of Nahas Pasha before long. Aly Maher's successor Hilaly Pasha suspended the Parliament. Egypt was in a turmoil.

The most important event in the history of modern Egypt took place on July 23, 1952. A handful of comparatively obscure and youthful military officers headed by Maj.-General Naguib and Lt.-Col. Gamel Abdul Nasser seized power. King Farouk 'abdicated' on July 26 and made an inglorious exit from the Egyptian scene. His infant son was proclaimed king as Fuad II. But monarchy was abolished on June, 18, 1953. Egypt became a Republic with Naguib as its provisional president and Prime Minister.

Events have since "flowed with precipitous velocity." The titles of 'Pasha' and 'Bey' were abolished. As noted above, a republic was proclaimed. The constitution was suspended and the old political parties were dissolved. The new regime built up a Liberation Rally "as a new supra-party machine, struck against feudalism, staked out a land reform and sought to punish those guilty of corruption—in a word, they turned a brisk, stimulating new page in Egyptian history" (John Gunther in *Inside Africa*, p. 181).

Naguib and Nasser however parted company before long. The former passed entirely from the scene in November, 1954. Nasser took over the chairmanship of the Council of Revolutionary Command, the military junta which stayed the coup d'état of 1952, the Premiership and also the duties of the Head of the State. The Presidency was left vacant for the time. (Nasser was formally elected President of the Egyptian Republic sometime back).

Evacuation of the Suez area by the British military was a sore point. Great Britain perhaps was not very unwilling. The breakdown over the Persian oil taught her that "there was such a thing as being too obstinate for too long." The question of the future of the Sudan, however, was one of the more important factors that stood in the way of an Anglo-Egyptian rapprochement. The Anglo-Egyptian agreement over the Sudan in 1953 removed the obstacle and the Suez dispute was amicably settled in the following year. The Anglo-Egyptian agreement of October, 1954, called for the withdrawal of all British military forces from the Suez by June 18, 1956. 4,000 British civilian technicians are to remain in the Suez Zone for seven years. They will be under the administrative control of the Egyptian Government. The technicians are to supervise the maintenance of installations in the British military base stretching along the Suez Canal for two-thirds of its total length of 103 miles and covering a total area of 9,714 square miles. Britain may return in force to the Suez Canal at any time during the next seven years if Turkey or any of the Arab League Powers is attacked by the Soviet Union.

According to schedule, the last British troops left Egypt on June 18, 1956. It was expected that the departure of the British troops would turn a new leaf in the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations.

But all hopes were belied when President Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal on July 26, 1956. The Canal, rightly called "the richest ditch on earth,"—more than 10,000 ships steam through it every year—is owned and managed by the Suez Canal Company with its headquarters in Paris. The British Government owns about 43% of its valuable stocks. The majority control of the company however rests with private French owners. By a recent agreement all the assets of the company, the 99 year-concession of which is due to expire in

1968, were to revert to the Egyptian Government on the expiry of the concession.

Youthful Nasser has forestalled history by twelve years. That he is an absolutely honest and fearless patriot will be readily conceded. Whether he possesses that essence of Statesmanship, we mean a sense of realities, is not perhaps so easy to answer.

Many, we believe, will agree with Prof. Arnold Toynbee that it would have been better if the Egyptians "had waited until the Canal

reverted to Egypt at the expiry of the agreement in 1968. The great thing was to arrive at the situation by agreement and good will." Prime Minister Nehru too voiced a similar sentiment when he said in a public meeting in Delhi (September 23, 1956), "I would however say that the way Egypt took hold of the Suez Canal was not our way, we follow a different way...If they (the Egyptians) had followed a different way, so many difficulties would not have arisen. But they had a right to follow their own method."

"Theatre Centre Movement"

By

Mr. J. M. LOBO PRABHU, I.C.S.

(Secretary, Home Dept. Government of Madras)

The Theatre Centre Movement arises from the realisation that drama is not only one of the most imperishable forms of art, but is the vehicle for the classic purpose of both instructing and amusing the people. During the last two years, the movement has been finding it difficult to strike grass roots, first because of the competition of films and dance, and second because it has not reached on one hand the public and on the other, those who write, produce and act dramas. It is necessary to convert the competition of films and dances, into co-operation; as drama is the mother source, improvement in which can only enrich films and dances. What is important is that as in Shakespeare's England drama must take a place in the common life of the people, giving and taking its substance from human nature's daily share of hopes and fears. If drama could introduce a note of contemporaneity now sadly missing both in dances and films, it will do good not only to itself but also to films and dances. The past is no doubt a rich storehouse, but one cannot live on it any more than can on preserved foods. The instant

needs and desires of the generation, when subjected to dramatisation will be at once vital and popular, making the people both happier and wiser.

The scheme for a dramatic movement, which the Theatre Centre is considering, aims first at encouraging and testing all the dramatic talent available, second of doing this through district committees, third of using annual contests and festivals to discover, reward and advance dramatic talents. It is contemplated that every district committee will raise funds from benefit performances to award substantial Oscars (rewards) to the best playwright, the best actor and the best production. The contest at State level will be of the winners at district level. The Oscars awarded to them will be more substantial, Rs. 1,000/- for the playwright, Rs. 800/- for the best company and Rs. 3,000/- for the best actor. The State contests will be combined with a State drama festival and a State Dramatic Conference. The festival may be able to collect funds for the activities of the Theatre Centre while the Conference will discuss subjects for advancing the

dramatic movement. It is hoped that such co-ordinated attention to the creation, enactment and criticism of dramas will nourish the stage to a renaissance.

Some questions may be asked; first if drama can have much appeal in view of the competition from films and dances. The fact that no significant dramas are written, and few if at all are enacted, may suggest that drama as a medium has lost its place. If so, this is a phenomena only true of the country. Hollywood has not reduced Broadway in U.S.A. while playhouses in England, France and Russia are more popular than ever. The trouble is that Indian drama has been falling between two schools, contemporaneous one which is Foreign and the ancient which is largely mythological. No attempt to fill the gap has been consciously made, and the public is condemned to see either foreign dramas or ancient ones. The various themes arising from the new life of the country, if touched at all, seem to make a play between the ancient and modern, with a victory ultimately for the ancient. Life is a process of absorption, never more so than now when the country is free to choose its mores and modes. Drama has to reflect this process, holding the mirror up to the great transformation which is in progress. It has therefore not lost its role. On the other hand, it has acquired an urgent one. The new climate for drama can however be introduced by some freeing of the themes now popular. In schools, at public functions, there should be a bias for dramas reflecting our own times. The fashion would then spread to the films and private performances. The movement will grow on what it feeds, recognition encouraging indigenous dramas on current life.

The next question may be, if the organisation of subsidiary Theatre Centres in districts will be successful. This requires first a body of persons versed or interested in drama. Such a body can be presumed, as films and dances have made the people drama-conscious. In any case, educational institutions can always provide a few enthusiasts. What is required is directions and assistance from the State level.

The third question is of the accommodation and equipment. Open air theatres are being constructed everywhere, but several of them have not been used at all. I had suggested and experimented with combining the Community Recreation Centres with open air theatres. Where no theatres are at all available, cinema halls, and school halls can be used when they are not required for their own purpose. In respect of equipment, this could be simple, if the dramas reflect everyday life. In any case, here also some of the lease and lend process is possible.

Lastly how can the movement spread to the villages, where it is more necessary, and should be more successful. Perhaps a fashion to have a small one act play at all public meetings, which now are so common, may not only make the meetings more attractive but may give drama a foothold from which it can spread naturally. In the beginning, it may be necessary to have acting troupe from the towns but in the due course local schools, and societies can be expected to give tolerable renderings. What is required first is a supply of suitable One Act plays and second a determination to make drama a regular feature of public interest and information.

How to Borrow Money

By

"AN ECONOMIST"

Finance Ministers the world over might hope never to see their national accounts fall into the sorry condition of France's: a vast network of unwarranted subsidies and unpaid taxes. But they might still study closely French new ideas to keep the economy expanding vigorously. In earlier despatches, notable examples of this fiscal ingenuity have been described in *Eastern Economist* under the headings "New ideas in Public Finance" and "France on the Tightrope." Now the Socialist Finance Minister, R. Ramadier, has come up with an original formula for borrowing money, a formula that enables the State to gather in largesums of fresh money, that guarantees the lender against losses of capital by inflation and that makes the lender to the "public sector" a shareholder in the whole of the "private sector." This is the 1956 National Loan. It offers a fixed rate of interest but links the redemption price of the loan to the average of all the stocks and shares quoted on the Paris Stock Exchange.

The modalities of the loan are the following. It is a £ 150 million issue offered in bonds varying from £ 5 to £ 1000, with a maximum life of 15 years and bearing interest at 5 per cent. Interest payments for the first five years are exempt from the surcharge on individual income-tax, and capital gains made when the lender cashes his bonds are exempt from tax throughout the life of the loan. The possibility, in fact the certainty, of capital gains arises in this way: the redemption value of the bonds will rise in proportion with the index of stock and share prices, but this redemption price can never fall below par even if stock and share prices slump. The year 1955 is taken as the base year for stocks and shares. If by 1960 stocks and shares have risen 20 per cent above 1955, the holder of these new bonds

will get back his capital plus 20 per cent. The loan will begin to be redeemed from 1957, in annual slices determined by the drawing of certain bond numbers.

This is in fact a new variety of "indexed" loan, but whereas the loan floated in June had the rate of interest "indexed" on the national production index number, in this case it is the capital that is indexed. The method of indexing is interesting. There are two index numbers for the Paris Stock Exchange: one for variable yield securities (shares) and one for fixed interest securities (loans and debentures). The arithmetical average of these two is taken to determine by how much the capital of the new loan will be increased. An example will make this clear: supposing a subscriber buys a bond for £ 100 and his bond is included in the draw for 1961 and is redeemed in that year. Then, if by 1961 the index number for shares has risen by 40 per cent and the index number for loans and debentures has risen by 10 per cent, the average of these rises being 25 per cent, he will be repaid £ 109 plus £ 25.

Now there are several obvious objections to this unorthodox method of public borrowing, objections which will be referred to below. It is a type of loan that is suitable only to special circumstances, and in so far as these circumstances do not now exist in India it will have no application there. But such circumstance could easily arise during the second Five-Year Plan, especially toward its end and especially if domestic and foreign lending falls below expectations and if the inflationary danger becomes marked. Opinions about these possibilities in India differ, and can only be tested by the course of events. But the domestic loan target in the Plan is admitted to be extremely high, while the hope of substantial lending from abroad has been dealt

a severe blow by Colonel Nasser. As for inflation, it is a constant danger in any rapidly expanding economy, particularly under a regime of ambitious planning. So the capital-indexed loan may have some use in the near future.

Its advantages in the inflationary conditions of rapid expansion are several. By offering extremely attractive conditions it can bring in larger amounts of fresh money than could be obtained by less imaginative techniques, and thus helps to limit the inflationary push on prices. (The academic world here is just now divided by a controversy about how disinflationary public borrowing really is, but the weight of opinion is definitely in favour of the traditional view that Government loans are disinflationary for prices in general.) Further, it guarantees the lender against capital loss due to inflation, because inflation pushes up share prices to which the lender's capital is indexed. Inflation has for two generations been the great enemy of the public credit and we all know how much the cautious small saver has suffered from declines in the value of money, against which the new technique is designed to protect him.

But this loan is not merely defensive, it does not assume that inflation is automatic and inevitable. That was true of the Pinay gold-indexed loan which guaranteed the buyer of a bond of a certain value that he would be repaid the equivalent of 25 times the value of a golden Louis; such a loan does nothing more than offer a security against inflation. But the present Ramadier loan offers the lender the prospect of a capital gain even if no inflation takes place, if economic expansion continues at stable prices. It is not only inflation that raises the price of stocks and shares, but business expansion in general which can occur without a rise in the price level. Five, ten or fifteen years from now the franc may have lost none of its value (as it has lost but little over the last three years during the

remarkable boom in the French economy), but as expansion continues stock market prices will rise and the subscriber to this loan will see his capital increase in proportion. So the 1956 National Loan combines the virtues of the pessimistic Pinay loan, which merely provided a hedge against an inevitable inflation, and of the earlier Ramadier loan, which fixed the interest rate to the rising national output level. It is neither purely defensive nor totally optimistic: it is designed for a situation where expansion is expected to continue but where there is an undeniable danger of inflation—which happens to be an accurate description of the Indian economic prospect in the Second Five-Year Plan.

Finally, this type of loan has a great psychological value in a society where the public and private sectors are sharply divided by outdated ideologies. Where the State is hostile to private enterprise and where businessmen are hostile to State enterprise, an important fact is often lost to view: namely, that both sectors ultimately depend on the same factors of economic expansion and so the share holders of both sectors in fact have common interests. There are societies where men are divided into two opposed classes, the "malthusians" and the "speculators." The malthusians are the rentiers, the holders of safe securities and most civil servants; they do not care a fig for economic progress and only want to see the value of money defended, by stagnant conservatism and the avoidance of all risks. The speculators are the risk-takers, the enterprisers and gamblers and some trade unionists; they welcome inflation even if it damages other sections of the community, because their gains come from quick economic progress. This is a schematic picture, but it should be as familiar to Indians as to Frenchmen. Now the Ramadier type of loan, whether the interest rate is geared to national output or whether the capital value of bonds is geared to all stock market prices, shows these two classes that

they are really in the same boat. The latest loan, M. Ramadier has said, makes every public lender a shareholder in all industry; it is as though he had joined a holding company that combined public security with private inventiveness. Such "psychological" factors in economics are open to varying valuations, but many people may agree with me that in societies that are evolving from age-old conservatism to modern dynamism they are very important.

Now for the objections to this method of borrowing. Plainly, it is expensive. It places a heavy addition on the public debt, and the servicing of that debt (especially where, as in this case, "servicing" includes not just interest payments but capital gains) may be a great burden on a generation whose resources are naturally unknown to us. This objection is a grave one for the present French Government, because the loan is to be used to finance the war in Algeria. It would be less serious in a peacefully expanding economy, where it was fairly certain that the coming generation would have, thanks to our present efforts, increased resources with which to redeem the public debt. And notice that the Ramadier loans are freer of this objection than any other, because they only increase the public debt to unusually large proportions if national output rises and share prices increase. Obviously, if those things happen State revenues will have increased too, and the debt servicing will to that extent be a lighter burden. Share prices only rise as dividends increase, and dividends only increase as tax payments rise, so the State is assured of having the funds to meet its charges on the debt.

Next there is the objection that offering such attractive terms to public lenders will limit the flow of savings into private industry. Apart from the fact that public and private borrowing will always to some extent tap different fields (there are investors who will always buy State securities and will never put

money into shares), there is the point that the Ramadier loan is only especially attractive in so far as people believe business is going to do better, and private industry cannot complain of a situation where large numbers of people have a faith in rising share prices. But more important is the fact that in France today borrowing in the stock market is an unimportant source of industrial finance, most of which comes from auto-financing, that is, from ploughed back profits. The big investments of the post-war years are now paying off and industry has its own funds for further expansion. The trend towards auto-financing is world-wide, and will be especially notable in India later in this Five-Year Plan when current and recent investments are paying off.

Another objection comes from other parts of the public sector: such attractive terms will make it necessary for later loan issues from the State and semi-public institutions to be more and more expensive. This is true, as it is true of any loan that admits the fact that money is getting dearer. But as long as the terms offered are not unnecessarily lavish, they constitute merely an avowal of an actual trend, and when money gets dearer, lenders inevitably have to pay more for it.

One final objection might occur to suspicious minds. This type of loan gives the Government an interest to see that share prices do not rise, so that its debt servicing does not become too expensive. Thus an unscrupulous Government could take advantage of a business expansion to tax profits away, thus limiting share price rises and thus in turn limiting the capital appreciation on its own loans. There is no answer to this except that it is highly unlikely that the State would ever damage its own credit by such machiavellian shifts.

In listing the objections to a capital-indexed loan I have offered replies to each criticism, but should emphasise in conclusion that such replies do not dispose of the genuine objections

to this method of finance. It remains an exceptional technique of borrowing and should only be used where all the objections to it are outweighed by the clear and present danger of inflation due to economic expansion. Such dangers not uncommonly arise, and only in France, so the newest weapon in M. Ramadier's armoury could have uses in other times and other places.

No financial journalist could conclude a despatch on this subject without mentioning the pleasure it gives to be able to report imaginative thought about saving emerging from the camp of the Socialists. Socialism and saving have too long been contraries for us to miss the spectacle of a Socialist Finance Minister bringing more daring and ingenuity to the encouragement of investment than the Right has done in many years.

(*Eastern Economist*).



A Fair Deal For Labour

By

SHRI KHANDUBBAI K. DESAI,

Minister for Labour, Government of India.

A socialist society is our goal. The speed with which we are able to ensure for the workers in factories, in fields and in other avocations, and their dependants, who constitute the bulk of any society, decent earnings and minimum and comfortable standards working and living conditions, will be the surest indication of the direction in which we are moving.

It is true that our objective can be reached only through consistent and continuous efforts over a period of time. Even so, it is only fitting that we take stock of the situation from time to time, if only in order to avoid the shortcomings and pit-falls revealed by experience.

Nine years of political independence, though a very short time in history of a vast country like ours, have provided us an opportunity to do something for the working classes. What we have done so far to provide a fair deal for labour and what our intentions are for the immediate future—these constitute the purport of this article.

On the eve of the achievement of independence by this country the position was that except for a few items of welfare legislation which had gradually found their way into the Statute Book, there was no regular protective code of labour legislation.

The Royal Commission on Labour appointed in 1930's had made a number of recommendations for improving the health, efficiency, working conditions and the standard of living of the working classes. A fraction of these recommendations had been given effect to but a majority of them were still in the stage of consideration when the Second World War broke out in 1939. The reasons for this slow development are not far to seek. In the first place, the working classes who are vitally concerned, were poorly organised and inarticulate. Secondly, the Government of the day far from taking an active interest in the healthy industrialisation of the country was too engrossed in political pre-occupations to find time even to check gross abuses. However, the very considerable expansion in the industrial sphere caused by the Second World War

led to a measure of consolidation of labour and awakened in it a sense of frustration and injustice which it was as yet unable to remedy.

Simultaneously, the Indian National Congress, although primarily engaged in a political struggle, had been paying attention to the problems of labour and the National Planning Commission set by the Congress had chalked out a programme for labour. Further, the detailed enquiry undertaken by the Labour Investigation Committee, appointed by the Government in 1945, brought to light the unsatisfactory state of labour in several industries.

The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour, the assurances given by the Indian National Congress and the findings of the Labour Investigation Committee provided the frame-work for the Five-Year Programme for labour drawn up by the interim Government soon after assuming power in 1946. This programme was more or less restated, with necessary adjustments in the First Five-Year Plan.

The Labour Policy enunciated in the Second Five-Year Plan envisages an intensification and expansion of the steps that have already been initiated.

By far the most important matter which agitates the minds of the working classes is the wage question. In India, statutory regulation of wages has been only of very recent origin. By and large, the earnings of workers have been fixed either as a result of awards of Industrial Tribunals or collective agreements which reflected generally the level and trend of wages in similar undertakings in the same area. The Minimum Wages Act of 1946 applies only to industries where labour is insufficiently organised and is liable to be exploited by the employer.

Diverse and often conflicting opinions have been expressed regarding the adequacy or

otherwise of the existing wage level obtaining in the country. While trade union organisations have been agitating for a sizeable increase in the wage level and the fixation of a national minimum, the employers have been arguing that what is due to labour is being paid to them and that any further increase in wages should only be the result of an increase in productivity.

While it is difficult to generalise in this matter, an examination of the productivity and wage trends in Factory industries, during the period 1950-54, which synchronizes with the period of the First Five-Year Plan, reveals that the rise in productivity has been of the order of about 43 per cent or an annual rate of 8.6 per cent. The rise in real earnings in terms of wages during the same period has been of the order of only 14 per cent or at an average annual rate of 2.8 per cent.

This, however, does not take into consideration benefits provided by Contributory Provident Funds, Employees' State Insurance, Subsidised housing and other welfare measures which will reduce the disparity between increase in productivity and increase in real earnings to some extent.

The demand for wage increases appears, however, to be justifiable. But we have to undertake the revision in a rational manner. The Second Five-Year Plan lays down the wage policy which should be pursued. Suggestions have been made for the setting up of a Wage Commission but such a Commission will be considerably handicapped owing to lack of data. Urgent steps are, therefore, being taken to undertake wage census. In the meantime, it is proposed to set up tripartite Wage Boards for selected industries.

Closely allied to the question of wage is that of bonus and profit-sharing. It is unfortunate that no principle relating to the settlement of these issues have yet been evolved.

ed. It is our intention to undertake further studies in the matter.

The first major step towards the building up of a unified scheme of social security for workers was taken by the enactment of the Employees' State Insurance Act in 1948. The Employees' State Insurance Scheme framed under the Act applies to perennial factories using power and employing 20 or more persons and covers all employees earning less than Rs. 400 per month.

The Scheme provides for medical care of insured persons in the event of sickness, maternity and employment injury, in addition to cash benefits. Dependents of employees who die as a result of employment injury are also entitled to pensions under the Scheme. This Scheme is at present in force in about 30 important industrial areas and covers about 1 million workers. The rapid extension of the Scheme to other areas is in progress. One of the main reasons the Scheme has not made more rapid progress is that it has not yet been possible to meet the demand put forward by the workers that the medical benefits available under the Scheme to insured workers should be extended to their families also. This question is presently under consideration.

Provision for the future of the workers has been made through the institution of provident funds. A beginning was made in this direction in the coal mining industry. About 3.5 lakhs of colliery workers are at present members of the Coal Mines Provident fund.

The Employees Provident Fund Scheme which was started in 1952 covers about 4.55 lakhs of workers in both exempted and non-exempted factories. During the Second Five-Year Plan period, it is proposed to extend the benefits of the Scheme to all industries having a total employment strength of 10,000 workers throughout the country. With the proposed extension, the number of workers

who will benefit from the Scheme will be more or less doubled.

The question of increasing the rate of contribution to the Fund from 6½ per cent to 8.1/3 per cent is also being studied. Another matter to which attention will be paid is to examine whether the provident fund Scheme could be converted into suitable Pension Scheme which will be of greater benefit to workers.

Side by side with the progressive enforcement of the existing social security schemes, the possibility of combining these individual Schemes into an overall Social Security Scheme is being explored.

The un-coordinated movement of workers from the rural areas to cities and industrial centres had given rise to the problem of industrial housing.

Although the problem has been there for a long time, it is only recently that Government began to take effective steps to solve the housing problem.

Under Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme construction of 77,000 units was approved during the First Five-Year Plan period of which about 34,000 units were completed. In addition to this the Central and the State Governments have also undertaken construction of houses for their employees in the administrative services as well as in industrial and commercial undertakings.

The total number of houses constructed by the Central and the State Governments so far is about 8 lakhs. In the Second Year Plan, provision has been made for the construction of 142,000 houses under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme at an estimated cost of Rs. 50 crores.

The housing of workers in the mining areas is financed partly by the Coal Miners' Labour Welfare Fund through a Subsidised Housing

Scheme. In order to accelerate the pace of construction, a revised Subsidised Housing Scheme has been recently introduced. Under the revised Scheme a subsidy of 25 per cent and a loan equal to 37½ per cent of the cost of construction of house is payable to colliery owners. It has also been decided that the Coal Miners' Welfare Fund should undertake direct construction of 30,000 houses.

As for workers employed on plantations, the responsibility for providing them with housing accommodation is that of the plantation owners under the Plantations Labour Act, 1951. To enable small planters to construct houses, a scheme for the grant of interest bearing loans has been drawn up and a provision of Rs. 2 crores has been made in the Second Five-Year Plan.

Protective measures seeking to regulate condition of work have been laid down in the Factories Act, the Mines Act and the Plantation Labour Act. Taking into account the structure of industries in India and the extent of their mechanisation, the existing protective measures appear to be adequate. What is required is stricter enforcement of these measures with the co-operation of the employers and workers.

Legislation prescribes only minimum conditions. With a view to enabling better standards to be achieved, the question of evolving tripartite agreements on standards of health and safety in industrial undertakings has recently been considered at meetings of the tripartite bodies and steps are being taken to help in the framing of such agreements.

The existing legislation does not cover, except in a few cases, workers in shops and commercial establishments, in transport services and in the construction industry. It will be the endeavour of the Central and State Governments to include such workers within the scope of legislation.

The Central laws relating to factories, mines and plantations include provisions for welfare amenities at the work site. These relate to canteens, creches, provision of medical appliances and first-aid drinking water and sanitary facilities. The responsibility for the provision of the welfare measures under these Acts is that of the employer. In the case of coal mines and mica mines, however, special statutory welfare funds have been created by the levy of a special duty. The amenities provided to the workers under these two Funds cover, *inter alia*, medical facilities, maintenance of multipurpose welfare centres, educational facilities and recreational facilities.

The response of the employers to the demand for welfare facilities has been, except in some cases, inadequate. The question of enacting legislation for the creation of statutory labour welfare funds is, therefore, being considered.

The benefits of protective legislation will be reduced considerably if the wheels of Industry are frequently brought to a standstill by industrial disputes resulting in strikes or lock-outs. Disputes between Employer and Worker are bound to occur from time to time. But experience here as well as elsewhere, has clearly demonstrated that such differences can be settled through discussion across the table, negotiation and the conclusion of collective agreements, without detriment to any one.

There have been some healthy developments recently in this direction and this augurs well for the future. It is to be hoped that neither the employer nor the worker will think of reversing the trend.

Provision has been made under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, for the creation of machinery for bringing about peaceful settlement of disputes. The working of this Act had revealed several defects and recently we have tried to rectify the same by amending the Act. No perfection is claimed for the industrial relations machinery provided by Govern-

ments. Nevertheless, it is my earnest desire that the parties make the best use of the facilities made available by Government.

One of the charges brought forward against Government's Labour Policy in the past was that they have all along been concerned only with the welfare of the industrial workers while the large mass of agricultural workers has been done by way of protective legislation for agricultural workers, but the reason for this is to be found in the fact that agricultural operations in India are carried out on a more or less domestic pattern and it is difficult to secure proper enforcement of any legislative measure. Even so, Government recognised the need for providing at least the minimum protection to agricultural workers by including agricultural operation in the Schedule to the Minimum Wages Act.

Apart from this the Community Development projects and the National Extension Services have contributed not a little to improving the lot of the workers in the rural areas. Besides, the Second Five-Year Plan lays considerable emphasis on the development of cottage and small-scale industries which would not only provide subsidiary employment to the bulk of the rural population which is generally under-employed but also reduce the high pressure on land.

The precise extent to which the rural areas have been benefited by Governmental activity is not clear. It is, therefore, proposed to undertake an enquiry into the conditions of agricultural workers which would provide a comparative picture of the position as revealed by the All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry undertaken in 1951-52 and the position as it exists now. This enquiry would also enable Government to plan out further measures for improving the lot of the agricultural workers.

Attention has been concentrated in the preceding paragraphs on only a limited number of problems relating to labour. The Second Five-Year Plan deals with a number of other matters in the labour field. The recommendations contained in the Plan would result in expansion of training facilities and employment exchanges, the initiation of schemes for workers' education, training in trade union philosophy and methods, etc.

Side by side with keeping up the progress of protective measures, it is proposed to undertake a detailed enquiry into labour conditions in different industries and areas. Such a survey would reveal to Government the further measures that are to be taken in the years ahead for securing to labour its due share in the national dividend.

Foreign aid and planning in under-developed Countries

By

Prof. S. V. RAMAYYA, M.A., O.E.S.

Prof. Jacob Viner defines an under-developed country as one "which has good potential prospects for using more capital or more available natural resources or all of these, to support its population on a higher level of living or if its per capita income level is already high, to support a larger population on a not lower level of living." This definition is very comprehensive and covers much ground. Under-developed countries may be classified into two broad categories—Firstly, those countries where density of population is high, land is scarce and labour is surplus as in the Asian countries. Secondly, those countries which are sparsely populated where labour is scarce and land is plentiful as in Latin-American countries.

We are concerned herewith some of the general problems confronting planning in the first category of under-developed countries. In most of these countries planning would be successful, if the masses become literate, healthy and sufficiently well fed to be strong and energetic. There is the urgency of raising the low standards of living.

Scarcity of capital is an obstacle to economic development in these countries. The domestic accumulation of capital is bound to be slow as per capita incomes are low and consequently the annual rates of voluntary savings are low. The pace of economic development of these countries can be greatly increased if capital is forthcoming in sufficient quantities from advanced countries. Most of these countries are primary producing countries and it has been found that the terms of trade are always adverse in comparison with countries exporting manufactures and one of the ways of improving this situation is by industrialising them.

The capital requirements of these countries cannot be assessed accurately without reference to the objectives of planning. It is accepted that in the early stages of economic development the magnitude of foreign capital required is bound to be higher than in the later stages, as national incomes increase a large proportion of the development schemes may be financed by domestic savings. But many of the American economists seem to under-rate the significance of foreign aid to these countries. They seem to stress the necessity of mobilising domestic savings. Prof. Viner thinks that foreign capital will make but a marginal contribution to the capital needs of these countries. "These countries must foster conditions which will encourage domestic saving and prudent use of the proceeds in the development of productive facilities, material and human." Prof. Nurkse does not deny the desirability of external sources of capital but says that external sources can scarcely make a significant contribution unless there is complementary action on the home-front. The above views convey the idea that most of the under-developed countries are capable of raising substantial resources from their domestic economics and they must rely on themselves for their economic development. But this idea of the American economists is clearly mistaken. With very low standards of living, growing populations and increasing pressure on land and low agricultural productivity the amount of domestic resources that can be raised is bound to be low compared with the needs and requirements of development.

No doubt as the Gray report says "Private investment cannot be expected to solve the problem of financing development alone." In

the past most of the foreign capital went to extractive industries working mainly for export to advanced industrial centres. Prof. Singer also draws the same conclusion. Because of the Profit-motive the tendency of private foreign capital to flow to under-developed countries is limited. But now-a-days reliance is placed on government and international agencies. Foreign loans have the advantage that they can be used for domestic economic development in accordance with a coherent over-all programme. International grants can be used in the same way as loans. The ear-marking of particular loans of grants to specific investment projects (as the International Bank does) may be done to ensure the productive use of funds.

Some of the U. N. reports have drawn attention to the method of financing economic development by better terms of trade. It has been stated that a rise in the prices of raw materials and other agricultural goods, increases their export proceeds and makes it possible for them to import larger quantities of capital goods needed for their economic advancement. But the importance of this method of financing is often exaggerated. There are limits to the exportable surpluses and capacity of primary goods by these countries and for the continued rise in their prices. we cannot expect these favourable terms of trade to continue *ad infinitum*.

For financing economic development, I submit, the part played by International Agencies is not significant. Even though the International Bank is intended to promote the international flow of long term capital for two general purposes viz., to help to restore economies devastated or disrupted by the Second World War and to help to develop the productive facilities and resources of more backward areas, the part played by it especially in the development of backward areas is inadequate. Not only provision of capital is needed provision of technical skill is equally important.

The low levels of technology in under-developed countries can be eliminated only gradually.

Mobilisation of development capital by means of taxation, inflation, priority resource reallocation and foreign exchange control is also suggested. The use of public finance for capital formation is not an unrealistic notion. But there are limits to its efficacy. For instance inflation can be effective as an engine of forced saving but it may lead to misdirection of saving unless the government controls the investment. "The kind of tax system which would be best adopted to meet the requirements of economy appears to be one which would increase the resources for investment available in the public sector with as small a diminution and practicable of investment in the private sector and which is accompanied by the largest practicable restraint on consumption by all classes" similarly internal loans have also a place in development economy. The plans for economic development may call forth regulations of the import and export trades to conserve the foreign exchange resources. There may be a restriction of importation of luxuries and other non-essential goods in order to remedy the balance of payments difficulties.

The General Agreement on Trade and tariffs has had three objectives (a) to elimination of all kinds in international trade (b) to provide a code of fair trading rules to be observed by each country in its trade with others and (c) to reduce as far as possible the barriers to international trade and some of provisions have been altered to suit the needs of developing economy countries. Section A of article 18 provides facilities to under-developed countries to raise tariffs on bound items in order to promote the establishment of particular industries. Tariff changes can be made not only when there is agreement but even where there is no agreement between the parties concerned. Thus these provisions would benefit countries embarked on development programmes.

It has been stated that one of the obstacles for economic development is the rapid increase in population. This population increase can offset and more than offset the contribution to economic prosperity so these countries have been advised to limit their numbers. This advice seems to me to be unrealistic. Population control cannot be done within a limited period of time. It requires high standards of living, education and as planning proceeds, it will be easier to tackle the problem.

Finally I like to caution that economic development is not dependent only on investment. There are other contributory factors. These countries should develop administrative personnel competent for the great tasks of reconstruction. The persons chosen must be imbued with missionary zeal. Decentralisation of administration alone will not be enough. If as in India, the Panchayat is to become the centre of all economic activities the members must rise to the occasion and should not allow their personal interests to take precedence over national interests. During the war time when distribution of essential commodities was attempted through village committees, these had become centres of corruption and favouritism. What is required

is a new spirit of service and dedication to the cause.

The advanced countries have to play a significant role in the development programmes of these under-developed countries not only by provision of capital but by diffusion of technical knowledge and skills. "The contribution of international lending on a sound basis and at high and sustained levels plus a spirit of international collaboration in meeting the problems of urgently needed world development, should prove a pillar of peace in the maintenance of peace." It is equally incumbent on the part of these under-developed countries to put forth their best efforts to mobilised domestic resources and to see that these resources are utilised in an optimum manner.

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Teacher's Freedom and Responsibility

By

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One of the most surprising and interesting differences in educational practice between one country and another is in the amount of freedom—and responsibility—given to the teacher over what he is to teach. In some countries the State gives him the syllabuses, tells him what books are to be used in school, how much time is to be given to each subject, even the hour of the day when the subject is to be

taught. In other countries little or nothing is prescribed by the State. Sometimes the local community may be left to decide the content of education or it may be left to the judgment of the head of each school and the individual teacher. In Britain the State and the local education authorities lay down only the most general lines. The responsibility for deciding the syllabus, the time-table and the

details of the lessons rests with the head of each school and the individual teacher.

Why is the choice in Britain freedom for the Head of each school and the teacher, and not a centrally devised curriculum? How does such freedom work out in practice? Is it what it appears to be, or are there unseen controls?

One may well ask why freedom is given to individual heads and teachers, because the arguments for central supervision are very strong. Teachers and heads of schools vary considerably in their abilities; they are not all wise in selecting methods and lesson material for their children. Some children may suffer considerably from these inequalities. The sensible course would seem to be to use the best expert opinion in the country to devise the syllabuses, select the best books, choose the best methods and allot a suitable length of time for each lesson. In this way all schools benefit and children with weak and inexperienced teachers are more especially helped. Another advantage of uniform lessons is that children can move from one school to another without difficulty.

Opinion in England, however, has been greatly influenced by the teachings of Locke and J. S. Mill. Locke urged the need for freedom in teaching methods and Mill wrote of "a general state education" as 'merely a contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another.' He feared that such control of education would establish a despotism over the mind, leading eventually to one over the body as well. Thus an attempt by the State to supervise the content of education during the second half of the nineteenth century was never whole-heartedly accepted in England and in 1902 the new Official Handbook for Elementary Teachers stated (and still states in its latest edition).

"The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools is that each teacher shall think for him-

self, and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. Uniformity in details of practice (except in the mere routine of schools management) is not desirable even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use."

The argument used in favour of this freedom is that teachers teach their best only when they have themselves selected their materials and method. An essential vitality and sense of value is lost when a teacher has to follow another person's plan of work—a plan which was not devised with the interests of his particular children or his own interests in mind. In Britain we prefer to encourage this vitality, even at the risk of some teachers choosing material unwisely and at the cost of uniformity of treatment of children. To put it another way, we believe the spirit with which something is taught is more important in developing the children's minds than is the content of the lessons.

These, then, are the theories. But what happens in practice? Are teachers really as free to teach what they like as these principles would suggest? What would happen, for instance, if a teacher wished to introduce a method of his own or greatly curtail or even abandon a regular part of a subject such as mathematics?

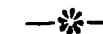
First, he would consult his headmaster or headmistress. It is the normal practice for teachers to discuss their schemes of work and the methods they propose to adopt with the head of the school. His approval is essential. If the proposed change was a controversial one, the head would have in mind the probable attitudes of a number of interested people—the governors of the school, the parents, the inspectors, other members of the staff, and the pupils themselves. He would also, no doubt, attempt to assess the ability of the

teacher to carry out his proposals successfully. Parents would be likely to oppose violent changes. Inspectors would have professional comment to make. "It is", says the Ministry of Education's Report for 1949, "no part of an inspector's function to tell any teacher what to do or how to do it" but it is their function to comment on what may be educationally desirable. A further point in the headmaster's mind would be the probable effect of the change on the pupils' chances in the public examinations.

For young children the public examination at 11 years of age is normally only concerned with a knowledge of the English language and arithmetic, and therefore changes in other subjects would not effect their chances, but at the secondary level the more intelligent children of 16 years of age and over sit for examinations in various subjects for entry into the Universities and professions. The requirements of these examinations would have a considerable influence on the headmaster's readiness to permit drastic changes. On the other hand, in the secondary schools for the majority of children, (who do not take examinations) much more latitude is possible and so there is a great deal of free experiment in what are called the secondary modern schools.

Thus it will be seen that there are a number of powerful considerations affecting the head of a school and through him limiting the teacher's freedom. By tradition the headmaster or headmistress holds a very strong—one might say—a key position in the matter of curriculum and syllabuses. And yet "it would be hard", writes A.D.C. Peterson in 'A Hundred Years of Education', "to find examples of either political or theoretical interference in the practice of individual schools. On the political side, for instance, it was even possible in 1949 for the headmaster of a large controlled secondary school to be an avowed and prominent Communist; while, on the theoretical side, experimental techniques in education are almost always encouraged rather than repressed." And the teacher, whether opposed or supported by the headmaster, at least is dealing with someone with whom he is in daily contact, who knows his children and is not a remote official or a committee.

This practice is in keeping with the British tradition. It is interesting that the question of freedom in teaching is not one of those which are argued about in Britain. It is taken for granted that the teacher in consultation with his Head must be largely free to teach what he and his Head think fit.



Arrow of Venus

By

Mr. AJITKUMAR MUKERJI

Kantichandra was in the prime of his life. After the death of his first wife, he refrained from looking for a second wife and set his heart on a sportive life. Tall, slim, wiry, he was a crackshot. Dressed like an upcountryman, he went about with his pet wrestlers Hira Singh and Chakkanlal and a few Muslim musical enthusiasts. There was no dearth of idle associates to play second fiddle. It was

the middle of Agrahayan. With a few friends of similar taste, Kanti went to the shallow lake of Naidagi to shoot game birds. They stayed on two large boats moored in the river and the minions occupied a few other boats which encircled the bathing ghat. The young ladies had practically stopped their bathing visits there and drawing water therefrom. The locality vibrated with the sound of gunshots

throughout the day. With the fall of eve, swelled the uproar of musical exercise which broke the sleepy silence of the village.

One day when Kanti was cleaning his gun in his boat, he heard the cackle of ducks from the neighbourhood and looked up. A girl was already at the ghat with two young ducks held close to her breast. The sluggish stream was small and covered with waterhyacinth. The girl had released the ducks in the stream and was trying to prevent them from swimming out of reach with anxious care. It was obvious that she was wont to leave the duck to roam freely in the stream everyday and it was only the visitation of the shooters that kept her from doing so.

The beauty of the girl had a morning freshness about it. It seemed that the creator had just fashioned a fullgrown maiden. It was difficult to determine her age. Her figure was full but her face looked so young that the worries of life had yet to touch it. She was not yet conscious of her entry into the charmed circle of youth. Kanti momentarily stopped cleaning his gun. He was charmed. It was too much to expect the vision of so lovely a face in such a locality. Yet her presence was more in harmony with a rural setting than with the royal harem. A bunch of flowers on a plant looks more pleasing than one in a golden vase.

In the midst of the musing, the frightened girl picked up the ducks and was hastening away with a pained look in her face. Kanti came out to investigate and found a joker of an attendant pointing his empty gun at the ducks to give the girl a fright. Kanti came up behind the man, snatched the firearm and dealt a mighty slap on the man's cheek. It spoiled the whole fun and the victim thudded down helplessly. Kanti came back to his boathouse and resumed cleaning the gun.

Kanti felt interested in her. In his spotting tour of the bird he had just shot, he threaded his way through the heath and came upon the residence of a householder, with rows of barns

in the courtyard. She was seated under the plum tree beside a clean cow-house and was weeping with a wounded pigeon held close to her breast. She was squeezing little draughts of water from the wetted hem of her Sari into the distended bill of the bird. The pet cat was intently watching the wood pigeon with her forelegs planted on her lap. She was occasionally tapping on the nose of the cat with her forefinger to check its greedy eagerness.

In a silent rural noon the moving scene, taking place in the midst of the peace and plenty of the householder's life was imprinted in Kanti's heart. The pattern of light and shade woven by the sparse foliage of the trees fell on the lap of the girl. The fat well-fed cow was lazing and putting the flies to flight with the sweep of its tail and horns and the rustle of bamboo leaves sounded like whisper. On the previous morning she looked like an angel of the forest; in the silent noon under the shade by the cow house, she appeared like the benign guardian angel of the household.

Armed with a gun as he was, Kanti felt guilt in her presence like a culprit caught in the crime. He felt the impulse to say that the bird was not the victim of his shot. He was thinking of the best way of introducing his defence, when he heard the call 'Sudha.' The girl stared. The call was repeated and she hastened into the house with the bird. Kanti thought her aptly named. He handed over the gun to an attendant and appeared at the front of the entrance. He saw a quiet shaven middleaged man, seated on the floor, reading the religious treatise Haribhaktibilas. The settled calm of his reverent face resembled the comely looks of the girl. Kanti bowed politely and said "Noble one, I am thirsty. May I get a jug of water." The Brahmin warmly received him and had him seated. He brought a few sugar cakes on a plate and placed it before his guest. After Kanti had his drink, the Brahmin enquired about his occupation and address. He satisfied his host's curiosity and said "Noble one, I shall feel flattered if I

am permitted to do you a good turn." His host Nabin Banerjee replied "my son, there is only one way in which you can serve me. My daughter Sudha is nearly of age. My debt to my family will be duly discharged if I can find a desirable groom for her. I know of none in the neighbourhood to fill the bill. I cannot venture far on the mission, as I stay at home to perform daily service at the altar of the idol of the Gopinath, the guardian deity of the family. Kanti said "If you see me in the boathouse, we can talk out the matter thoroughly."

Before the meeting, Kanti sent his attendants to investigate the reputation of Mr. Banerji's daughter in the neighbourhood. All spoke unanimously of the good breeding of the girl. The following day Nabin appeared at the boathouse. Kanti bowed very low and said that he himself was willing to take the girl for wife. This unexpected stroke of good luck rendered the Brahmin speechless for a few moments. He hesitated and thought that there must be something wrong in his first impression. He said pointedly "Are you asking my daughter's hand in marriage?" Kanti said "It depends on your consent". Nabin reiterated "Do you mean Sudha?" "Yes, Sir" was the reply. Nabin said with deliberation "what about formally looking her over?" Kanti pretended not to have seen her and said "That can wait till the exchange of love glance". Nabin replied in a voice husky with emotion "My daughter Sudha is a very obedient girl. She has no equal in the art of cooking and in domestic management. As you are taking her for wife without looking her over once, I bless you and hope that Sudha will make a loyal wife and serve you faithfully throughout life".

Kanti wanted to have the ceremony performed without delay. The match was to take place in the month of Magh. The neighbouring old brick-built mansion of the Majumdars was selected for the venue of the festival. The groom appeared in due time mounted on an elephant, in accompaniment of flaring torches and playing band. During the ceremony of the exchange of love-glance, he looked at the bride as usual. He could scarcely get a full view of the downcast face of Sudha crowned with the marriage cap and beautifully done up with sandal paste. His heart was full and his eyes burnt. In the marriage state room the 'grandma initiate' of the village got the groom to undo the veil. Kanti got a shock. She was not the girl of her choice. A sudden

electric shock ran through his spine and clouded his brain. The brilliantly illuminated room momentarily failed to evoke response from his retina and a black film seemed to cover the face of the newly wedded wife.

A cheat had shown one girl and foisted another on him. What could be more tragic than to come to such a pass after prolonged evasion of the lure of alliance with noble lineage. How could he save his face after such a discomfiture. His first response was one of great dislike for his wife. But it dawned on him that Nabin himself had suggested a formal meeting with the bride before marriage. He had ignored the opportunity. He thought it advisable to keep to himself the story of his shameful folly and its outcome. The situation was definitely unpleasant. He lost all taste for the funfare of the marriage state room. He felt that he had a grievance against all his acquaintances and burnt inwardly. At this time his wife by his side started and groaned in a frightened voice. A young pet hare had brushed past her.

Instantly the girl he had met by the riverside caught the animal and began caressing it. All voiced "There comes the mad cap" and beckoned her to leave the room. She ignored the warning, squatted near the couple and regarded everything with childlike naivete. When the maid came to take her away, the groom said "Pray leave her alone." Kanti queried "what is your name?" She silently swayed in response and the ladies in the room roared with laughter. Kanti tried another advance and said "Are your twin ducks growing?" Thus encouraged the girl regarded him attentively. Taken aback by her uncanny silence, Kanti threw another query "Has your woodpigeon come round?" This too failed to evoke a response. The girls laughed and tried to give the impression that her silence was a deliberate witty hit. At last he learnt on enquiry that the girl was deaf and dumb.

The impression that the deaf and dumb nymph of the riverside was Sudha was a wrong one. Kanti started inwardly. This lucky escape from marital relationship with the girl whom he had loved so much in the past, cheered him up. The distant vision had faded and his immediate environment stood out boldly. With a deep sigh of relief, he stole a glance at his charming wife drooping with shyness. Atlast the arrow of venus had found its mark.

(Adapted from Tagore's *Shubha Dristi*)

The Golden Age of Kerala

By

Mr. V. DHURANDHAR

The century following the spiritual conquest and unification of India by the peripatetic protagonist of Advaita—Sankaracharya—may well be regarded as the Golden Age of Kerala. A few years after the demise of Sankara, in 825 A. D., commenced the *Kollavarsham*, the era followed by the Malayalam calendar. In the first century of this era the Chera kingdom had completely outshone the cholas who came into their own only after the great Raja Raja Chola ascended the throne in 985 A. D. During this period, under the enlightened reign of the Kulasekharas who resuscitated the Chera kingdom, Kerala attained the pinnacle of prestige and prosperity.

Spurred in all probability by the amazing intellectual triumphs of the illustrious Sankara, Kerala surged forward on the crest of a cultural renaissance. This renaissance, however, might not have possessed the vigour and vitality that it had but for the fact that it had stemmed from the firm foundations of economic security.

The busy trade with Rome, Constantinople and Bagdad in the West and with China, Cambodia, Siam and the east Indian Archipelago contributed largely to the economic prosperity of Kerala. Numerous names of port-towns and nautical terms can be found in the literature of this period. Kandaler, Cranganore and Caddalundi were some of the busiest ports of the day. The principal exports from Kerala were pepper, ivory, pearls and sapphires, muslin, tortoise-shells, monkeys and peacocks. Indian commodities were the rage of the Roman market then and Pliny mourned that annually about 550 million sesterces (£ 22 millions) were drained out of Rome into India. The Roman writer Petronius raised the patriotic cry that "Roman ladies by dressing themselves in webs of woven wind from Ind rather immodestly exposed their personal charms". Not an inconsiderable percentage of the total export of these "webs of woven wind"—the muslin from India—went from Kerala.

The actual extent of the Chera kingdom of this period has not been conclusively established, but it is fairly certain that it included Travancore, most parts of Malabar and large areas of Salem and Coimbatore. Mahodaya-

puram (Tiruvanchikulam) was the capital. The rulers assumed the title of Kulasekhara Perumal. (Perumal is the equivalent for the "Lord Paramount.") Rajasekhara, Sthanu Ravi Varma and Rama Varma in the ninth century and Indukotha Varma and Bhaskara Ravi Varma in the tenth century were able administrators and during their reign Kerala enjoyed a degree of prosperity and peace which many a modern state might envy.

Though the kingdom was divided into a number of small dominions, the suzerainty of the Kulasekharas was absolute and unquestioned. The Chera inscriptions reveal details of their administration. Each dominion or *Natu* was directly under a chieftain or *Natuvazhi*. In the early stages, the chieftains were appointed by the rulers with the consent of the people. Later chieftainship was bestowed according to claims of lineage. Each *Natu* was subdivided into *Kuttams*. The *Kuttam* was administered by a village assembly consisting of 300 members and it exercised a chastening controlling authority over the chieftains. Apart from fiscal duties, the assembly was also responsible for the administration of criminal and civil justice. Thus the administration of the Kulasekharas was a monarchy regulated and controlled by a democratic organisation in which the voice of the people played an unfettered and decisive role.

In the fields of art and education Kerala occupied a pre-eminent position, in the front rank of progressive nations on either hemisphere. The whole expanse of the territory was studded with educational institutions and art centres of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Temples were then not only places of worship but also nerve-centres for the dissemination of knowledge. While the Buddhist schools specialised in teaching Medicine, the Hindu institutions imparted instruction in Philosophy, Logic, Mathematics, Grammar and Astrology. Astrology was very popular and the system followed was that of Aryabhata.

There was a well-equipped observatory at Mahodayapuram which was also provided with delicate devices for the accurate recording of time. It is on record that Ravi Varma Kulasekhara who ascended the throne in 844

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A.D. enlarged the observatory. *Sankaranarayaneeyam*, a well known Sanskrit work of the period, abounds in references to astronomical problems discussed by Ravi Varma with the scholars of his court. In all the towns making up the capital gongs were sounded hourly to indicate time for the benefit of the citizens.

The period under review witnessed a great awakening in the spheres of literature, dance and drama. The *lingua franca* of Kerala then was Tamil with certain dialectical variations from the original language followed in the Chola and Pandya kingdom. It was only in the eleventh century that Malayalam evolved as a distinct and independent language. The scholars and literateurs of the day chose either Sanskrit or Tamil as the vehicle for their expression. Kulasekhara Alwar, a true *Rajarshi* in the style of King Janaka of old, was the author of *Perumal Tirumozhi* in Tamil and *Mukundamala* in Sanskrit. The latter is a stirring devotional composition marked by the complete dedication and unreserved abandon of the author to the will of the Lord Krishna. It became popular all over India along with Sankara's works and Leelasuka's *Sree Krishna Karnamritam*. It is of interest to note that pieces from this composition like *Bhaktapayabhujanga*, *Satruchedai-kamantram* and *Vyamohaprasamausadham* have been recorded and popularised as prayer-songs by masters of classical music in our own day.

Ravi Varma Kulasekhara, Rama Varma Kulasekhara and others who succeeded them were great patrons of art and literature. The genius of some of the best brains ever produced by Kerala flowered under their patronage. Sankaranarayana composed the work bearing his name. He also wrote an erudite commentary on Bhaskara's *Laghubhaskareeyam*. Vasudeva produced *yamaka kavyas* of great beauty. He set an example for later authors by bringing out some excellent juvenile literature drawing his material from the *Ramayana* and the *Bhagavatha*. All his works are distinguished by the tessellated brilliance of his verse. Rama Varma Kulasekhara was the author of the plays *Tapathee samvaranam*, and *Subhadra-Dhananjayam*. He is also credited with the authorship of *Ascharyamanari*, a story in prose. Then there was Thola who created a furor with his satires and parodies coruscating with impertinent wit. Rama

Varma reformed the stage and for the first time had Bhasa's plays enacted in Kerala.

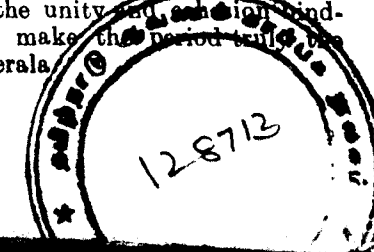
Sculptural and architectural technique also reached the acme of perfection. Most of the structural temples of Kerala were built during this age. The carvings and engravings on the roofs and walls of these temples are products of exquisite artistry, throbbing with the rhythm of life. Proficiency in painting was also high as is evidenced by the portrait of a lady in the Devishwaram temple. Mahodayapuram, the capital, was a grand model of planning and architectural skill and it was considered to be one of the finest cities of the South until it was razed to the ground during the later feuds between the Cholas and the Cheras.

In navigation too the people of Kerala were well advanced. Many types of vessels, small and big, were in vogue. The Kulasekharas had a strong fleet which played no mean part in the defence of the coastline until Raja Raja Chola destroyed it and became master of the Laccadives and the Maldives.

One of the happiest features of the cultural and social life of Kerala from earliest times was the communal harmony and religious tolerance which united the people. Though no student of history can gloss over the fact that there were a number of slaves and untouchables, it should be remembered that their condition was far better than that of their counterparts in some of the most civilised nations of the West.

Buddhists and Jains formed a significant cross-section of the population, though their religions were clearly on the decline. It is well known that Christianity found one of its earliest homes in the East in Kerala. A large number of Christians lived peacefully in various towns. The Arabs were trading freely with the West Coast. Christians were not only tolerated but accepted into the social fabric. All co-operation was extended to them in building Churches by the rulers and the people. In many a home a conglomeration of faiths existed amicably under the same roof. Mutual respect for places of worship was so sincere that votaries of one religion made offerings at the shrines of other religions.

Thus, even as the cultural renaissance was vitalised by economic stability, political power was fortified by the unity and cohesion binding the people to make the period truly the Golden Age of Kerala.



The New States of India

By

"A CHRONICLER."

With the reorganisation scheme coming into force from the 1st of this month the Indian Union now consists of fourteen States and six Territories. According to the new dispensation, more than 98 per cent of the total population of the country will be covered by the new States and less than two per cent will be left in the Territories.

The scheme effects no territorial change in the case of Assam, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. The one entirely new name is Kerala, though it represents mainly the old State of Travancore-Cochin. The enlarged Andhra State assumes the name of Andhra Pradesh. The territorial composition area and population and certain general economic features of the new States are described below :

Andhra Pradesh

Next to Hindi, Telugu is the mother-tongue of the largest group of people in the Union numbering about 33 million. The vast majority of these Telugu-speaking people have been brought together in the new State which has been formed by the transfer to the old Andhra State of the Telangana area of the Hyderabad State, comprising the districts of Hyderabad, Medak, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, Nalgonda and Mahbubnagar, part of the Adilabad district and some taluks of the Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar districts and some revenue circles of the Nandad district. The area and population of Andhra Pradesh are 1,05,963 sq. miles and 31.26 million.

Andhra Pradesh has been described as a river State, its economy being largely related to the two river systems, namely, the Krishna and Godavari. The integrated development of the two systems, held up hitherto for various administrative and technical reasons, will now be feasible as they will be brought largely under unified control. The Telangana area is financially more or less self-sufficient and does not significantly add to the financial problems of the new State. On the other hand, its merger will help greatly in the speedy implementation of the irrigation and power projects on the Krishna and Godavari which are among the most ambitious in the country and which

will help in the development of both areas. The Nagarjunasagar Project on the river Krishna, work on which was inaugurated recently, will cease to be an Inter-State project on the formation of the new States and will, when completed, irrigate about 27 lakh acres. Other projects contemplated under the Second Five-Year Plan will add, when completed, another three million acres.

The State of Andhra was, barring the famine years, largely surplus in food thanks to the early development of delta irrigation in the Krishna and Godavari basins. When its development projects are implemented, the new State may be expected to maintain and enlarge the surplus.

When the Andhra State was first formed in 1953, its power supply was inadequate and was dependent mostly on some thermal stations. A great deal of progress has been made since then and the addition of the Telangana area to the State will add considerably both to its hydro and thermal power resources.

Bombay

The new Bombay State has been formed by merging the State of Kutch and Saurashtra and the Marathi-speaking areas of Hyderabad (commonly known as Marathwada) & Madhya Pradesh (also called Vidarbha) in the old State of Bombay after the transfer from that State of the Kannada-speaking areas of the Belgaum, Bijapur, Kanara and Dharwar districts which have been added to the State of Mysore and the Abu Road taluka of Banaskantha district which has gone to Rajasthan.

The new State of Bombay is bilingual and brings together about 26 million Marathi-speaking and about 16 million Gujarati-speaking people. It emerges as the largest State in respect of area (1,90,919 sq. miles) and is financially the most powerful. It is expected to have the biggest revenue budget of any State in India. Its population is about 48 million.

The inclusion of Vidarbha adds to the agricultural and industrial economy of the new State since it brings with it the fertile black soil areas producing cotton and jowar and a

flourishing cotton ginning and textile industry. In Gujarat, irrigation and power development is now underway on a fairly big scale. The completion of these schemes will go a long way in the development of that area and incidentally of the State. Above all, the scheme enables Greater Bombay to route its financial surplus to the deficit areas. This surplus hitherto went to subsidise the Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada areas of the old State in the ratio of Rs. 3 to 3½ crore, Rs. 6½ crore and Rs. 1½ to 2 crore respectively. Greater Bombay is, as the S. R. Commission has pointed out, the hub and centre of the area not merely in a political sense, but also financially. The retention of greater Bombay's surplus for the benefit of the deficit areas will be one of the outstanding gains resulting from reorganisation.

Kerala

The new State of Kerala consists of the territories of the previous State of Travancore-Cochin except for four taluks of the Trivandrum district and a part of the Shencottah taluk of Quilon district. It takes over the Malabar district (without the Laccadive and Minicoy Islands) and the Kasaragod taluk of South Kanara (except for the Amindivi Islands) from the Madras State. Kerala's area is 15,035 sq. miles and population 13.55 million.

The State of Kerala brings a vast majority of the Malayalam-speaking people together. Cut off by a mountain barrier from the Madras State till the extreme southern tip at Aramboli pass, Kerala has had a cultural and social distinctness of its own all through the ages. Its north-western part is a rich plantation area producing tea, coffee, rubber and other products. The areas coming from Madras will add to the forest wealth of Kerala which if developed together with the plantation industries may help in wiping out the revenue deficit of this State.

Madhya Pradesh

This State will consist of the territories of the previous State of that name (except the Buldana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda districts), the former State of Madhya Bharat (except a small portion of the Mandasaur District), the former States of Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh and

the Sironj sub-division which was till now an enclave of Rajasthan in Madhya Bharat.

Under the new setup, Madhya Pradesh will be the second largest State in area (171,201 sq. miles). It has a large tribal population numbering a little less than four million in a total population of about 26 million.

The State, especially in its eastern parts, is very richly endowed with mineral resources required for metallurgy, such as iron and manganese. Financially, it is not expected to have any serious problem and its economic prospects are likely to be improved greatly with the development of the Narmada Valley which is now being taken in hand and the implementation of the Bhalai Steel Project. The position in regard to communications in the new State may, however, have to be reviewed and plans for providing essential links will have to be accorded fairly high priority by the new State.

Madras

The exchange of territories with the State of Kerala and the loss of some areas to the new Mysore State is expected to have practically no effect on the economy of the State of Madras except that it will lose some outlying forest areas. Madras will, however, gain by the addition of the taluks which produce rice, salt and contain valuable deposits of thorium. These taluks will constitute the new district of Kanyakumari in the Madras State. The area and population of Madras after reorganisation are 50,110 sq. mile and about 30 million.

Madras is not at present a greatly industrialised State. Its main development project is the South Arcot Lignite Project which according to current provisional estimates involves a total investment of Rs. 68.8 crore and whose anticipated production is of the order of 3.5 million tons.

Among the State's important power projects are the Mettur and Pykara systems, the Moyar and the Papanasam Scheme. The Periyar and Kunda projects have been taken up recently and on completion will produce 2,85,000 of kw. of energy.

Madras is a semi-urban State with its medium and large-sized villages bunched together in concentrated groups.

Mysore

The new Mysore State which brings together the Kannada-speaking people previously distributed in five States consists of the territories of the old States of Mysore and Coorg, the Bijapur, Kanara and Dharwar districts and the major portion of the Belgaum district in Bombay, the major portion of the Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts in Hyderabad and South Kanara district except for the Kasaragod taluk and the Kollegal taluk of the Coimbatore district in Madras. Its area and population are 74,326 sq. miles (provisional) and about 19 million.

The State of Mysore consists largely of an elevated table-land. With the inclusion of the hilly Malnad tract in the new State a solution to the problem of the development of that area which is about half a century old, is expected to be helped very considerably. The largely wooded Malnad area grows commercial crops like coffee, tea, betelnut, cardamom and other crops. In the new setup Mysore will have an outlet to the sea for the first time.

The areas which newly join the State are estimated to be financially deficit, but the deficit is attributable to the irrigation, power and other projects which have been taken up under the First Five-Year Plan and subsequently. These projects, when completed will add considerably to the agricultural wealth of the State.

The State is rich in hydro-electric power, particularly in and around the Shimoga district.

The Punjab

The new State of the Punjab is the result of the amalgamation of the territories of the two States of the Punjab and PEPSU and will cover an area of 47,456 sq. miles with a population of about 16 million. This merger brings together the Hindi and Punjabi-speaking people of the two previous States into two zones of the new State.

The economic prosperity of the new Punjab is closely linked with the development of the giant multipurpose Bhakra Nangal Project. The merger is in a sense a recognition of the new essential unity of the Sutlej Valley. With the extension of the irrigation facilities to most of the areas of the new State

on the completion of the Bhakra Nangal Canals, the new State is likely to become an important granary like the Punjab of pre-partition days.

It is hoped that the regional formula will enable the Punjab not only to develop as an economic unit but also to foster the cultural development of the two regions and the growth of both Hindi and Punjabi.

West Bengal and Bihar

The transfer of certain areas from the Purna district and Purulia sub-division of the Manbhum district of Bihar to the State of West Bengal, does not materially affect the economy of either State. The transfer of these territories has been neither entirely nor exclusively based on linguistic circumstances but has been dictated by the necessity of providing a connecting link between the two parts into which West Bengal has been split up as a result of partition of 1947. Apart from providing this vital link, the transfer will ensure a proper, smooth and efficient management of the Kasai River Projects. The provisional figures for the area, population of these two States are 67,000 sq. miles and 38.82 million in the case of Bihar and 33,805 sq. miles and 26.25 million in the case of West Bengal.

Rajasthan

The significant addition to the territories of the old Rajasthan State is that of Ajmer. In the pre-independent days the British looked upon Ajmer as a sort of sentinel standing watch over the Rajput Kingdoms. Its inclusion in the State of Rajasthan can be related not only to the disappearance of this situation but also to the compulsion of geography and social affiliations. The Sironj sub-division of the Kotah district of the old Rajasthan State which was an enclave in Madhya Bharat territories goes to the new State of Madhya Pradesh and in return the Sunel Tappa of the Mand-saur district becomes a part of the new Rajasthan State. The inclusion of the Abu Road Taluka which was a part of the Banaskantha district of the old Bombay State brings back the whole of the former princely State of Sirohi into Rajasthan. The new State has an area of 1,32,078 sq. miles and a population of 15.97 million.

WORLD OF BOOKS

PLANNING FOR AN EXPANDING ECONOMY—By C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, Bombay and P. R. Brahmanand, University Lecturer in Economics, Bombay. Rs. Eight, Vora and Co. Publishers, Private Limited, Bombay 2.

This is a scholarly study and criticism of the working and development of the First Plan and plastic proposals of the Second Plan by the most competent authorities possible. But it is more than that as it develops the essential trouble of "backward or undeveloped countries" in taking foreign aid from advanced countries or refusing to do so. The recent withdrawal of the offer of assistance by the U. S. A. and the U. K. to help Egypt build the Aswan Dam emphasises the accurate intuition of Dadabhai Naoroji, the Father of the Nation as Mahatma Gandhi called him that in economic life there can be no association between England and India and there can be no free competition or free international trade between England and poverty-stricken eastern countries like India. Ignorance of Realistic High International Finance on the part of even our highest advisers and leaders often reminds us of the little boy who had to point out that the Emperor far from being clad in silk and satin clothes was stark naked. As Paine said, our Burkes admire the gay plumage and forget the dying bird. We are proud and justly proud of respect and deference given to our Panch Sila and our Blasts of the Trumpet against Nuclear Bombs and Cypriot Atrocities. But we seem to lack enough financial resources and administrative ability to assure the most elementary principle of social justice, let alone Socialistic pattern of society of assuring an equality of emolument to Union and State public servants working at the same station and in the same buildings, let alone at different places. The Union Government is suffering like the old Turkish tyranny from apoplexy at the Centre with Planning Commissions and Advisers and fresh departments of State ad infinitum while the extremists like the Madras State are unable to give the Non-Gazetted Officers corresponding practically to those who now draw Rs. Two Hundred per mensem or less the real wages they got in 1939. The real lessons are to be learnt from

Japan which invented its own machinery apparently flimsy and fragile but really most suited to rapid production. Similarly Japan controlled disguised unemployment which is the worst curse of India by a system of military service and compulsory industrial and technical training making the Western Britain and U. S. A. again anxious about the high standard they maintain by exploitation of the East.

TREND AND PROGRESS OF BANKING IN INDIA During the Year 1955—Annual Report under Section 36 (2) of the Banking Companies Act, 1949. pp. 112 Price Rs. Three. Reserve Bank of India, Bombay.

This Annual Report contains the usual maps and concise accounts or Monetary and Banking Trends Abroad, The Banking Situation in 1955, Developments in Banking Organization and Control and Banking in the National Economy. The Appendices and Graphs are clear and exhaustive. India preferred deficit financing and expansionist economy. So the whole sale Price Index for December 1955 remained practically the same as in December 1954, Govt. monkeyed alternately with special price support and export liberalisation to keep up price and curtailment of exports and release of stocks to keep them from rising. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank of India to provide rural credit with provision to start branches in centres bound to be unremunerative for several years is a leap in the dark which can only be judged by the results after the lapse of a decade. Statement 2 of Appendix I showing that the advances of the Reserve Bank to the Scheduled Banks have risen from 76.57 crores in 1951 to 435.38 crores during the period of the First Five-Year Plan raises apprehensions that one form of Deficit Planning has been to float loans, nominally subscribed for by individuals and commercial bodies, financed by Scheduled Banks out of advances by the Reserve Bank, Banking Section, on the security of Government paper, which paper in turn is used as basis for issuing currency notes by the Reserve Bank of India, Note Issue Section. This kind of creation of currency not based on precious metals or commodities, if true, can only lead to ultimate disaster.

THE KONGU COUNTRY: By Dr. M. Arokiaswamy, M.A., Ph. D., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. (Madras University Historical Series—No. 22). University of Madras. 1956. Rs. 15.

Kongudesa comprises mainly the present-day districts of Salem and Coimbatore in the Madras State. The author remarks "situated between the Deccan and the south of the peninsula, Kongudesa was always in the nature of a march-land or cockpit for invaders from all sides all through the historical period from the time of the invasion of the Kosar in the first centuries of the Christian era down to the entry of the British in c. 1799 A.D." The author has to deal with foreign dynasties like the Rattas (correctly identified with the Rashtrakutas), the Gangas and the Cholas in so far as their rule in the Kongu land is concerned. He also gives a sketch of administrative history. Then follows a description of economic and social conditions. An interesting inscription from Aragalur refers to a curious custom of women helping the priest in the conduct of worship. The concluding chapters describe the Kongu country under the rule of the kings of Vijayanagar and their successors. There are a valuable bibliography and some illustrations. The author has taken much pains to present to the reader the history of these dynasties to which much attention has not already been paid by historians.

PROGRESS OF A PILGRIMAGE. by Suresh Ramabhai. Price Rupees Three, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha-Benares.

Suresh Ramabhai has with love and enthusiasm described the revival of Gandhian ideology suitably altered with reference to political independence by Vinobhaji. As he says in his Introduction, "Gandhi was being disowned, denied, (killed again) not with bullets but with the paper-flowers of a falsely devotionism that covered disregard of the teaching with louder praise of his person." This almost echoes Oscar Wilde's fantastic proposition that the murderer kills bravely his beloved with a sword or bullets and the flattering coward with kisses and words. While Mantaps are being raised for lip-worship to the memory of Gandhi, capital punishment and furnishing rifles to help diplomatic allies are defended and

practised. While women and children forced by poverty to earn money for rich distillers are sent to jail, "Delhi is flowing with wine" as Vinobhaji said recently. Vinobha revived the Christian Doctrine that man does not live by bread alone and the Hindu doctrine that man cannot live without bread altogether by his Bhoodan movement. This is an account of his Bihar March. The statistical achievement of about 23 lakhs of acres obtained is good: but like the political achievement of Independence it will turn to ashes in the mouth if it has not achieved "Right Thought in the Heart of the People". This is really a kind of Philosophic Anarchism in which Jana-Sakthi or sanctions of enlightened public opinion without Himsa Sakthi or Violence and with the minimum of Danda Sakthi or State Interference without creating an administrative bureaucracy will convert people by making them think and distribute work to them without communist totalitarianism. It would be futile profanity to summarise the Socratic preaching of Poojya Vinobhaji as he walked and talked despite fever and fatigue, denying all rationalistic remedies like Family Planning and Industrial Progress and Scientific achievements like the Radio. It is a Voice of one crying in the Villages "Prepare ye the ways of the Lord, make his paths straight for He is Messiah the Fifth Buddha who proclaims Friendship and work as the Gospel of the New Age". It is explosive teaching like Atomic power.

SONGS OF LIGHT. by T. L. Vaswani. Pp. 28, East and West Series. No. 21. Price 6 as. or 9d. 10 Connaught Road, Poona 1.

The sketches by Vaswaniji of three not widely-known mystics, Yusuf the Beautiful, Guru Angad, and Malook Das are masterpieces of compression and inspired writing. Yusuf's explanation that he behaves so as to bring on himself the reviling of the ungodly so that he may not be tempted by hypocritical self-righteousness is still valid when tyagis are to be tempted to enter the Indian Administrative Service.

INSTITUT FRANCAIS DE CIVILISATION. PONDICHERRY Inde.

This calendar of the French Institute gives a clear idea of the course of studies etc.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

On October 21, the South African Indian Congress met at Johannesburg and passed resolutions rejecting *apartheid* and all its ramifications and urging all Indians to oppose the implementation of the Group Areas Act. The Congress also issued a statement on the same day. It said the delegates felt the policy of *apartheid* was purely and solely aimed at creating an oppressive Fascist dictatorship of a minority over the majority of people in South Africa. The implementation of *apartheid* was causing bitter racial contention and conflict in South Africa and it was based on an ideology of race superiority. It would inevitably lead to racial oppression and strife and was therefore a serious threat to world peace.

The statement said the conference passed a resolution stating it would do all in its power to convene a national multi-racial conference to form a broad united front against *apartheid*. It added that the Group Areas Act had the effect of uprooting thousands of people in settled communities. The conference not only rejected this Act but demanded its immediate repeal and urged Indians to refrain from moving into such areas. "The conference expressed its strong determination to defend to the utmost Indian homes, places of business and other means of livelihood and all social, educational, cultural and religious institutions which were built and fostered with sweat and toil."

CEYLON

INDIANS IN CEYLON

Sir Edwin Vijeyeratne, Ceylon's High Commissioner in India said in an interview to the press on Oct. 12 that the citizenship question continued to remain a deadlock despite the best efforts of the Governments of India and Ceylon. He emphasised the need to find a formula to resolve the fundamentally opposite stands over the question at a near future.

The Government of India, Sir Edwin said, felt these people were essentially Ceylonese while agreeing to accept anybody as an Indian on application. The Ceylon Government, on the other hand, held that only those people could be accommodated in Ceylon who con-

formed to the requirements of the Ceylonese Citizenship Act.

More than 237,000 applications for registration as Ceylonese citizens had been received, each application representing a unit of one family.

Sir Edwin said: "The large number of applications, however, does not reflect any genuine desire of these people to become citizens of Ceylon." The manner in which the applications were submitted indicated that "interested parties are behind them."

CEYLON INDIANS' PROBLEMS

The Ceylon Democratic Congress which met at Colombo on Oct. 27 considered problems confronting Indian nationals resident in Ceylon with a view to redressing their grievances.

It was presided over by Mr. S. Thondaman, discussed the present position of Stateless persons, of Indians returning home under Ceylon's repatriation scheme and hardships suffered by them in getting themselves rehabilitated in India. It was felt that, if the status of Stateless persons and India-passport holders not caught up by Immigration Control were not settled immediately, the future would be black for such persons. In the absence of a special organisation to represent the interests of Indian nationals in Ceylon their case was going by default while their position was deteriorating daily. With a view to redressing their grievances the conference decided to collect data on their problems.

ETHIOPIA

INDIANS IN ETHIOPIA

Emperor Haile Selassie who arrived in India on Oct. 25 made a public utterance on Oct. 26 paying tributes to the Indians in Ethiopia for their contribution in cultural, social and Economical spheres. The Emperor, who was speaking at a reception held in his honour by the Indian merchants in Ethiopia, said: "We shall always remember the contribution of the Indian community to our national life." He said that the Gandhi Memorial Hospital at Addis Ababa, built and equipped by the Indian community was the "concrete form" of Indian people's goodwill for Ethiopia. "Indian merchants, businessmen and teachers live happily and harmoniously in our midst," he added.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Sep. 29. Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, U. N. Secretary-general reports to the Security Council Truce violations in Palestine area.
- Sep. 30. Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt decide to lodge a complaint in the Security Council against Israel.
- Oct. 1. France and Germany announce that they had reached agreement on the return of Saar to Germany.
- Oct. 2. Gandhiji's birthday celebrated throughout India with great enthusiasm.
- Oct. 3. First Indian Admiral Ram Das Karati takes over charge as Flag Officer.
- Oct. 4. Mr. V. K. K. Menon leaves for Cairo en route to London and New York.
- U. K. tests another Atomic weapon at Maralinga (Australia).
- Oct. 5. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan receives the Special Honorary Citizenship of Tokyo.
- Oct. 6. U.S. President announces that America will not reduce her armed strength.
- Oct. 7. Egypt rejects the Anglo-French proposals for negotiations on Suez based on international control of the Suez Canal.
- Oct. 8. Jordan decides to break the Anglo-Jordan treaty of 1948.
- First Session of National Assembly of Pakistan held at Dacca.
- Oct. 9. Pakistan Prime Minister accepts joint electorate for East Pakistan.
- Russia backs Morocco's rights in Tangier.
- Oct. 10. Bakshi Gulam Mahomed presents draft constitution of Kashmir to the Consambly affirming accession to India.
- Oct. 11. Massed Israeli attack on Jordan resulting in huge casualties.
- Two lakh Akalis join the Congress.
- Oct. 12. Pakistan National Assembly passes by 48 votes to 19 the Bill providing joint electorate for East Pakistan and separate for W. Pakistan.
- Oct. 13. Britain, France and Egypt agree on six principles for the Suez Canal settlement.
- Oct. 14. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and about 2 lakh scheduled caste men and women embrace Buddhism at Nagpur.
- Oct. 15. Earl Attlee in Madras.
- The Rajpramukh of Mysore accepts offer of Governorship of Mysore.
- Oct. 16. Mr. Y. B. Chavan is elected leader of the Legislature Congress Party of the New Bombay State.
- Oct. 17. Queen Elizabeth inaugurates the Atom age for Britain by switching current from Atom power Station.
- Oct. 18. Madras University Confers Degree of Doctor of Laws on Earl Attlee.
- Miss Padmaja Naidu is appointed Governor of West Bengal.
- Oct. 19. Russo-Jap peace treaty is signed.
- Dr. Hari Krishna Mehatab is sworn in as Premier of Orissa.
- President gives his assent to the Bill implementing States re-organisation.
- Oct. 20. Britain and Russia blame Israel for border Tension.
- Oct. 21. Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi is elected leader of Andhra Pradesh Congress Legislature Party.
- Mr. S. Nijalingappa is elected leader of the new Mysore Congress Legislature Party.
- Oct. 22. Elections in Jordan begin: candidates showing anti-British feelings are returned in greater numbers.
- Oct. 23. French Police arrest five top leaders of Algerian National Movement.
- Oct. 24. Anti-Russian riots break out in Hungary.
- Oct. 25. French and Tunisian troops fight on the Algerian Frontier.
- Emperor Haile Selassie arrives in Bombay:
- Oct. 26. France complains to U. N. Security Council about Egypt's military assistance to Algerian Nationalists.
- Oct. 27. Hungarian Prime Minister Nagy orders "cease-fire": Soviet troops to be withdrawn immediately from the country.
- Oct. 28. U.N. Security Council summoned to consider the situation in Hungary.
- Oct. 29. The Israeli army crosses the Egyptian frontier within 70 miles of Suez after attacking Egyptian Commando Units at El Kumtiller and El Akab.
- Oct. 30. Kashmir Constituent Assembly unanimously pass the clause defining the state of Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of the Indian Union.
- Oct. 31. Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt and Israel to stop fighting: Britain and France attack Egypt. Suez canal is blocked.

READERS' DIGEST

SUEZ AND SHIPPING

Mankind the new Socialist monthly sponsored by Ram Manohar Lohia is critical of the foreign policy of the Government of India. In its comments on the Suez issue it says: "The Government of India is not on the side of Egypt in her attempt to free the Suez canal from the control of foreign imperialism because the government of India believes that international interests, including its own interest, are involved in the future of the management of the Suez canal." This is hardly fair, for it is India's contention that the canal being in Egyptian soil, is hundred per cent Egyptian and that what the rest of the world is entitled to, is merely to see that shipping facilities to other nations should be provided under suitable arrangements in the interest of all nations.

But it is on solid ground when it contends that though the canal may be open to all, not all countries, particularly Asian and African nations, can possibly use it, as they own few or no ships. Surely therefore "what is in need of internationalisation is not the Suez canal, or similar strategic waterways, but the strategic service of shipping."

"There were only sixteen countries in 1953 that owned more than 1 million tons of shipping. Of these, ten were in Europe with a total tonnage of nearly 44 million, two were in Latin America with a total of nearly 5 million, only one in Asia (Japan) with just over 3 million and none in Africa. North America, had a total tonnage of nearly 29 million, while Russia had nearly 3 million tons. It has already been seen that, even by the year 1961, India will have less than one million tons of shipping. In other words, the countries of Asia and Africa and Latin America will not succeed in drawing level with Europe and North America in the matter of shipping in the foreseeable future. Whatever may be the fate of waterways like the Suez canal, the poorer countries of today will continue to be dependent on the richer and more powerful countries for their commerce. Only the internationalisation of shipping can free the smaller and poorer countries from the nightmare of this dependence.

A world authority must be created to take over the shipping of nations and run it in the interests of the world as a whole. Such an authority should not be subject to the domination or control of a single nation or a group of nations. Was not this the argument that was advanced by the imperialist powers at the London conference and embodied in the Dulles proposals? If the demand can be made for vesting the management of the Suez canal, despite its Egyptian ownership, in an international body specially constituted for the purpose, why cannot the same principle be applied in the case of the world's shipping? Such a step would result in a thousand times greater benefit to the overwhelming majority of the people of the world than any amount of internationalisation of the Suez canal."

BASES OF CO-EXISTENCE

Discussing the philosophical and sociological bases of Co-existence, Dr. Javan Dordevic of the Belgrade University, says in *The Review of International Affairs*, that it corresponds to the present state of the human society and its general and individual interests. This explains why the followers of active and peaceful Co-existence are to be found in practically every country, also among the social and political movements of different philosophical and political tendencies, as well as among the countries on various levels of general development with diverse social and political organisations as in India, Burma, Egypt and Yugoslavia. But, he goes on to add: This cooperation, constituting in a certain sense the vanguard of the higher forms of active coexistence, does not represent a policy of neutralism or that of a "third force". Neutralism is as politically impossible and morally unjustified as it is contrary to any active coexistence. By "keeping aloof", neutralism would not change the division of the world into blocs, even when diminishing the strength of both blocs. Hence it is politically and logically untenable to explain or reduce the struggle for coexistence to any forms of neutralism. Coexistence is an idea of universalism and it is opposed to all withdrawal into isolation.

IDEAL OF UNITED EUROPE

The *News Chronicle* (London) announced the other day that leading newspapers from six countries in Western Europe had agreed to form an association described as unique in the history of journalism.

The newspaper stated: "Responding to an invitation from the editor of the *News Chronicle* they have agreed to work together to promote and popularize united Europe as a practical proposition.

"Their object is to encourage co-operation between the people of Western Europe—not simply in terms of political or economic action but in the everyday activities of the man in the street."

The editors have subscribed to the following declarations:

"1. We acknowledge our common belief in the ideal of united Europe.

"2. We undertake that our newspapers will make every effort to break down international barriers and to make the unity of Europe a reality to the man in the street.

"3. As practical contributions to these ends we shall (a) arrange for the constant exchange of ideas among our newspapers; (b) arrange for the inter-change of articles of common interest; and (c) provide special facilities for correspondents of the papers in our group.

"In the fulfilment of these undertakings we shall make the fullest use of the organization of the International Press Institute.

"4. Finally, we undertake that in the event of any political, economic or social disputes arising between our respective countries we shall ensure that in our newspapers fair reports shall be given of the opposing points of view."

The newspapers are: France: *France Tireur* (Paris), *Le Figaro* (Paris); Germany: *Frankfurter Neue Presse* (Frankfurt); Italy: *La*

Stampa (Turin); Holland: *De Volkskrant* (Amsterdam); Belgium: *Het Laatste Nieuws* (Brussels); Luxembourg: *Tuxemburger Wort* (Luxembourg); and the U.K.: *News Chronicle* (London).

"GUARDIAN" EDITOR

Mr. R. P. Wadsworth, editor of the *Liberal Manchester Guardian*, who retired recently died on 4th November due to ill health.

He will be succeeded by Mr. H. A. Hetherington, at present assistant editor and foreign editor of the paper.

Mr. Wadsworth had been editor of the paper since 1944 and during his editorship the newspaper has more than doubled its circulation which now stands at 156,000. He joined the paper in 1917. He was 65 years of age.

NASSER'S BARGAINING POWER

"What the *New York Times* wrote about the Suez problem as it stands at present accurately reflects the view held by the vast majority of U.N. delegates and observers" says the *Express Service* correspondent from New York.

"The problem is to come up with a face-saving formula that meets President Nasser's insistence on Egyptian sovereignty without violating the Anglo-French demand for at least a supervisory hand in the running of the Canal.

"Whatever the formula, it will have to be based on the bargaining realities. There President Nasser seems to hold the whiphand. He has the Canal. World opinion defends him against a showdown by force. The general weakness of European economies seems to rule out pressure by economic boycott.

"The Soviet veto is proof against an adverse U.N. ruling. Thus the general feeling is that the final settlement will leave President Nasser with renewed prestige and in a better position than ever before to lead the challenge of Arab nationalism to Western interests."

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

This article in the current issue of the *Round Table* is a reply to that entitled "Pakistan and her Neighbours" in the previous number. Both authors, whom the Editor believes to be representative of public opinion in their respective countries were invited to express their sentiments with the utmost frankness. Naturally profound differences have been revealed in their interpretation of the policies and actions of the two governments.

Now Pakistan's complaint against India's alleged incitement of Afghanistan against her and India's persistence in the Kashmir affair are two artificial issues according to the Indian correspondent. Vague allegations against India, that she is alienating Afghanistan from her natural neighbour, Pakistan, will not help. Indeed, he says, if it came to that

it is Pakistan that has persistently offended India by being friendly with countries temporarily unfriendly with India. When Pakistan trades with South Africa, and sends rice to Goa notwithstanding that her own supplies are so inadequate that she has to borrow from India, she takes her anti-Indianism to an absurd extent.

Now to the Kashmir issue all sorts of irrelevant things are dragged in. The Maharaja acceded to India in conformity with the agreed formula just like any other feudatory prince. In any case what business has Pakistan to do with Kashmir? Her occupation of part of the territory, first denied than accepted as an act of patent aggression. That the Security Council allowed itself to be bogged into a morass of irrelevant issues can be no excuse for Pak's interference in Indian affairs.

Let us, first, have a look at the arguments adduced in the Pakistani correspondent's essay in the June number, for this is to be read alongside that unprovoked attack on India and Mr. Nehru. "There can be," he says, "no comprehensive and satisfactory defence scheme for Pakistan without Kashmir."

This was Stalin's argument for absorbing a part of Poland, and Hitler must have used it on many occasions. Karachi should be careful; some country might some day consider Karachi an essential requirement of its defence scheme. We are also told that "the upper reaches of the rivers on which Pakistan's agriculture depends flow through Indian-held Kashmir." On this basis India could occupy Tibet, for through the latter flow some of India's most important rivers. On this basis too, some day some country might seek to capture Pakistan, for the former's textile mills might be dependent upon Pakistan's cotton. If such arguments mean anything at all, it is that Pakistan probably wanted Kashmir so badly that she attacked Kashmir in the hope that India would not do anything.

Whatever India or Pakistan may think, the world outside can no longer remain indifferent to the Kashmir issue. For liberal opinion abroad the question to ask is: would it be good for the Kashmiris to force a change in the present situation? The answer cannot be in the affirmative says the correspondent, if the question is viewed against a liberal background.

First, Pakistan has rejected the Indian Prime Minister's suggestion—made in spite of opposition in India—that there be an understanding on the basis of the *status quo*. In the unlikely event of India's agreement to a plebiscite in Kashmir, it would be fought exclusively on the issue of religion. The result of the plebiscite cannot be known before-hand, but the very process of its holding will unleash forces which are only too predictable. The difference will not be known in Pakistan, but in India the air will be poisoned as it has not been since those dreadful days before and during partition. Once again everyone will be asked to think of himself as a Hindu or a Muslim and, whatever may happen in Kashmir, the future of India's own forty million Muslims will be in danger. Mr. Nehru cannot possibly allow this to happen, and if in claiming a plebiscite for Kashmir Pakistan is not taking this eventuality into account at all it is because she is less thoughtful of the fate of her coreligionists in India than she is of her insatiable political territorial ambitions. India knows what it is to receive a thousand refugees a day—as she does now from Eastern Pakistan—and is understandably anxious to avoid "solutions" of the Kashmir problem that will only lead to further problems for both Pakistan and India, for millions of men and women, Hindu and Muslim.

CONSTITUTION OF KASHMIR

The Kashmir Constitution closely follows the pattern of the Indian Constitution and through the legality of Kashmir's accession to India was above question, popular affirmations of it have subsequently come to refute all Pakistan propaganda and finally confirmed the fact of integration with India. The draft Constitution has set the seal of Kashmir's accession to India. Kashmir, it is declared, is to be irrevocably an integral part of India. It is now laid down that neither Kashmir's relationship with India nor the provisions of the Constitution of India as applicable to the State can be touched. The primary task facing the Kashmir Government, says *The Hindustan Times*, is to "rehabilitate the disrupted economy of the State, and in common with the rest of India Kashmir has gone in for development plans that are under way. With the Constitution of the State settled, the Government and the people would be free to devote their full attention to this task.

The draft Constitution has it, as the directive principle of State policy that the State shall establish and preserve a socialistic order of society.

"It is also specifically stated that the efforts of the State shall be directed to combat communalism and to foster brotherhood and equality among all communities under the aegis of a secular State."

In declaring that the territory of the State shall be the same as on August 15, 1947, the Draft Constitution, says the paper, envisages that "Pakistan's occupation of part of the territory by force will in time come to be ended. Elections to the Constituent Assembly from Pak-held areas could not obviously be held, and in the Draft Constitution provision is made for 25 out of the 100 seats in the new Legislative Assembly to be kept vacant for representatives from those areas."

NATIONAL MUSEUM FOR INDIA

The need for a national museum for India, a central treasure house of the country's vast artistic heritage has been felt for a long time. A scheme for the establishment of a museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology was considered by the Central Board of archaeology in

1945. This scheme was adopted, with slight modifications, by the Government and a detailed programme for its implementation has since been approved.

The antiquities and art treasures, worth about Rs. 50 lakhs which have been collected from various parts of the country, through gift, loan or purchase, are to form the nucleus of the National Museum. This collection has temporarily been housed in the Durbar Hall of the Rashtrapati Bhawan in New Delhi. It will eventually be removed to the new building of the National Museum now under construction at the junction of the Rajpath and Janpath in New Delhi. The foundation stone of this building was laid on May 12, 1955, by the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and it is expected to be ready in another five years at a total cost of Rs. 80 lakhs.

The National Museum today has a large collection of stone sculptures, about 4,600 paintings, representing all the major schools of Indian Art—the Western Indian, Rajasthani, Pahari and Mughal Schools—about 480 bronzes, some of them unique pieces, about 275 articles of textiles, 4,000 Persian and Arabic manuscripts, 890 Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit manuscripts, 7,500 coins, and a valuable collection of jades and jewellery. An arms section is also being built up. The Pre-historic section is composed of objects from archaeological sites like Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, Jharkar, Jhangar, Armi, Tharri, Gorandi, Nal etc., including the recently excavated sites at Rupar in the Ambala district of the Punjab and is located in what is called the Indus Room. This sculptures are arranged in different galleries and have been classified into different schools. There are large gaps still and many more schools are sought to be represented during the ensuing years so as to make it a fully representative collection. Some of the outstanding sculptures exhibited in the galleries include the Standing Buddha from Mathura the Rampurva Bull Capital, the figure of Lokanath and the Flying Celestials from Aihole.

ENGLAND'S UNCROWNED MONARCHS

This is the title under which Byrum E. Carter's "The Office of the Prime Minister" is reviewed in the pages of *The New Leader* by David C. Williams—and it is an apt title too. For the conduct of foreign affairs and of war, has, in recent years drastically transformed the status of the head of the Government giving him greatly increased power to cope with an increasingly dangerous world.

"The Royal Family relieves the Prime Minister of a heavy burden of the Presidency—its ceremonial duties. The growth of party

discipline has made his role as leader of his party much less onerous, and has actually made him largely independent of Parliament. Lloyd George declared in 1931 that "Parliament has really no control over the Executive; it is pure fiction," and this remains true except upon extraordinary occasions."

It is in his relations with his Cabinet that the Prime Minister may be distinguished from a dictator subject to periodic plebiscites.

"The Prime Minister largely controls the avenues of promotion, and it is his painful duty from time to time to dismiss men, sometimes of great prominence, who have outlived their usefulness. Yet there are always a small number of Cabinet members whom he cannot dismiss—and who, at least in the Conservative party, have on occasion dismissed him."

The problem of disability or death in office, which looms so large on the current American scene causes no concern in Britain.

"One or more of the Prime Minister's colleagues, thoroughly tested in high responsibility and privy to all the business of state are always at hand to take over. On the other hand, the Prime Minister does not have the advantage of a weekly press conference to mould public opinion, and is further handicapped by the tradition, ignored upon occasion, that the important decisions must be first announced in the House of Commons."

Yet the fact remains that in Britain as in America power has become increasingly concentrated. The task of modern democracy, therefore, "is less to limit that power cannot, in the nature of things, be limited it than to choose wisely the individual into whose hands it is placed.

TOLERANCE AND NEUTRALITY IN POLITICS

"Democracy can be realised only when it is predicated upon tolerance," writes Kotaro Tanaka in *United Asia*. Tolerance, in fact, forms the basis of democracy. It is essential

between the State and its individual citizens as well as between private individuals.

In his relation to the State the individual citizen's demand for tolerance in politics has come to be guaranteed by Constitutions in the form of the freedom of religious beliefs and conscience. Such guarantee has been provided to him against a possible danger of the State becoming intolerant and oppressing religious beliefs and conscience by wielding its supreme power, as has often been evidenced in history. In this sense tolerance is political morality and the guarantee of freedom means the guarantee of tolerance.

Freedom forms the core of personality. Thus tolerance resolves itself into respect for personality. The State guarantees freedom, since it is found to respect the personality of its component citizens.

At present the world is divided by two forces with different ideologies, and the question of the possibility of their peaceful co-existence is being discussed at large. The co-existence may have various implications, but in the last analysis it is found to be the question of tolerance which has nothing to do with ideology, that is the question of purely political order.

As a matter of course, one party's acknowledgment of co-existence would not mean approval of the ideology of the other. On the other hand, certain countries are adopting neutral policies between the two worlds which are pitted against each other. If they go no further it would remain simply the matter of politics. Such policy may be determined according to the judgment of its expediency for the circumstances peculiar to these nations or for the realisation of world peace. But when the policy transcends mere neutrality and comes within the province of neutralism, it is no more a matter of politics but of truth. If there is to be considered, in addition to the two opposing ideologies, a third one, that one will represent an ideology different from neutralism. Should there be a neutralism, it would rather be regarded as an attitude in which a person adopts neither of the two alternatives between which he has to choose. But such an attitude has nothing whatever to do with the problem of tolerance. It is the natural consequence of philosophical relativism.

In brief, under present day spiritual climate of our country, says the writer, we cannot but feel "the lack of tolerant-mindedness on the one hand and the deficiency in the truth-seeking spirit on the other. These two spirits are not opposed to each other. They come under their respective orders which are of different dimensions."

TELL IT TO THE POLES

Columbia magazine for August, in its Editorial on the above topic says: It will be a pity if the very neutral Mr. Nehru, having some free time on his hands as the result of cancellation of his planned visit to Washington this summer, does not fill it in with a trip to Poznan where he can expound to the Poles his theory that Communists are rather pleasant fellows once you get to know them. The Poles must be in a confused state of mind on this point, at the moment, after their experience in late June when workers who asked for bread received bullets instead from their Communist masters. Perhaps a little of the wisdom of the mysterious East, which Mr. Nehru dispenses so blandly, would persuade them that the volleys were not fired in anger but were really a warm gesture of affection for the masses. But we doubt it.

The news that has trickled through the Iron Curtain since the demonstration at Poznan and its characteristically savage repression by the Communist terror proves what needs no proving: that the Kremlin rules its slaves by the club and the gun and that it makes no difference whether Stalin or Khrushchev or some other of the mobsters sits in the top spot.

The Communists were quick to try to place the blame for the uprising on "foreign agents". No foreign agents are necessary to inspire rebellion against the Red regime; desperation is spark enough. Archbishop Josef Gawlina, in Rome, had pertinent comment in that connection when he declared that if free elections were held in Poland "there is no doubt 97 percent of the people would vote against the Communists." His Excellency, who is spiritual head of all Polish Catholics in exile, said that Communism in Poland is "supported solely by terror, without which it would not last or retain control."

The Archbishop noted the strong feeling throughout Poland caused by the confinement of Cardinal Wyszynski since he was banished from his See in September, 1953. He said that Poles have asked why a number of their bishops, sentenced for alleged anti-State activities, were not released from prison under the recent amnesty granted to political prisoners by the Polish Government.

"The Polish nation," His Excellency added, "asks how many Poles are still in Soviet

Russia out of the 2,000,000 deported during the war. They want a further investigation of the Katyn murders, when more than 10,000 Polish officers were slaughtered by the Soviets. They ask for news of the 800,000 Polish children taken away from their parents by the Communists."

The reasons for uprising in Poznan are to be found in the years of cruel oppression visited upon the Poles as well as upon all the other captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain. The Soviet gangsters have an answer for everything except the questions the free world asks. The "foreign agent" dodge will fool no one. It is too much to hope that the uprising of the Poles in Poznan marks the beginning of the overthrow of the Communist tyranny but it may serve at least to check the fatal credulity of those who think that the beast has changed his spots."

THE NEW VIOLENCE IN INDIA

The Government and the press in India have become greatly alarmed, says Taya Zinkin in *The Manchester Guardian*, by the spate of violence which they feel is sweeping over the country "with the Gandhian shamelessness." After referring to the outbreak of violence in the various States and its repercussion even in hospitals and passenger trains, the writer speaks of internal factions among university students.

"University corruption is frequent; overcrowding is appalling; and it is no longer possible for most teachers to give their students any personal attention. Some Indian students live in wretched conditions: they have no recreational facilities, few books and, at the end of their studies, they may have to wait for two years before they get a job because they chose the wrong subject, or did not make a good enough grade."

Student frustration takes many forms, most of them unfortunate. In the West students are both too conscious of the penalties of expulsion and too keen to acquire knowledge to riot. "This is because in the West, Colleges are the key to a better future to many opportunities—and the students know it. The Indian student is too frustrated to care. If he gets expelled in Bengal, Bihar, or Uttar Pradesh, he becomes a hero who is reinstated after a strike on which he can almost depend. So many of his predecessors have failed to find the jobs

they wanted that he does not bother about education for itself."

So long as the Universities do not cater for India's real needs, the education they provide is partly a waste of time, according to the writer.

"When India is famished for engineers, chemists, agronomists, and economists the universities still churn out mostly historians and arts students; only the first-class historian or arts graduate can hope to find a job, to his liking, whereas even a fifth-rate engineer can find a job, somewhat related to his training. So long as the Indian student feels like a stagecoach in the motor-car age there will be more frustration and more indiscipline. And both can only lead to more violence."

BEAUTY AND ART

Under the heading "conspectus of beauty and its relation to art" in a recent issue of the *Modern Review* Mr. K. L. Goswami says that in beauty we realise an emotional equilibrium where the impulses are harmonised. Art fulfils itself in harmonious expression which may not be beautiful. The writer observes:

The fact that certain forms, colours, tunes move us and others do not provoke any emotional participation, leads us to questions which await answers. Dissonance caused by misarranged notes in music or colours in painting jades the aesthetic sensibilities and dissipates the harmony content. It happens due to the lack of what Clive Bell termed as significant form. The presence of it in objects, evokes a kind of peculiar emotion we call works of art. The quality and intensity, of course, differs and largely depends upon the content of emotional expression. The difference between a creative artist and a mere copyist is the difference of this peculiar emotional experience in expression. The artist paints a landscape or creates a tune which is in complete harmony with this aesthetic feeling. This creation becomes just not an object, a face but is expressed in a significant form which invests the object with peculiar traits carrying with it sparks of creation. These can be intellectually measured in terms of balance, rhythm or harmony but in reality it is instinctive in origin. That is why a primitive art is not a lower kind of art than a civilized one but rather a product of lower kind of civilization having more elemental force.

Aesthetic sense is, thus, immured in even primitive people. These are amply exemplified in the cave drawings of animals at Altamira in Spain as well as in those of the Bushmen of South Rhodesia and South-west Africa. However, the plastic sensibility found in this period disappears in the Neolithic period. Foregone illustrations deny the common acceptance of co-relating beauty with art. Art fulfils itself in harmonious expression which may not be beautiful. In paintings, particularly of the surrealists or savage primitives, they attempt to express in grotesque forms which are far from being beautiful. They are a far cry from a Greek Aphrodite or a Byzantine Madonna. From the standpoint of classical concept of beauty they are definitely ugly and unbeautiful but nevertheless they can claim to be called works of art.

ISLAMIC VALUES

The *Muslim Sunrise*, U.S.A., publishes an article on "Islamic Values in Education" by Sir Muhammad Zafurullah Khan. The writer points out:

"Those who ponder over *Rahman*—that attribute of God which provides for man's needs before they arise—those who reflect while standing, sitting or lying down, they will reach the point of realizing: *Thou hast not created all this in vain!* There is purpose and meaning in all existence, in life and death. It is the learned who fear God most: man's relationship with the Divine depends upon the development of his intellect.

Much as knowledge enhances virtue, virtue in turn is the very prerequisite of wisdom. Islam insists on purity of life for the scholar; it emphasizes that none but the righteous will penetrate into the true meaning of the Holy Quran. The Lord does not bestow His light on those who do not heed Him.

Islam is not a religion in the narrow sense in which the concept of religion is often interpreted. Islam is a way of life, and it covers all aspects of life. For Islam there has never been a barrier between spirituality and science, or between religion and education.

For the Muslim child, religious training begins at the very moment of his birth. When a child is born to a Muslim, the first sound he hears is a call to prayer, whispered into his ears by a person chosen for the child's spiritual guidance: "Come to prayer! Come to salvation; God is above all."

DRAGON'S TEETH IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

"Not a dog barked," comments Vighneswara in his weekly *Sotto Voce* in *Swarajya*, "when the Madras Legislature decided to decimate the mirasidar class". The tenant class, the beneficiaries, "have only to show themselves sufficiently grateful at the coming elections for their cup of felicity to be filled to the brim!"

The small mirasdar—and he is nine-tenths of the species—has all the stigmata, he says, of the ideal scapegoat.

He is large in numbers but with no sense of class solidarity. He is, notwithstanding his ownership of land which may be a few cents or a few acres, often poorer than the man who ploughs and sows it for him, because of his conventional necessities and inescapable disabilities. He must educate his sons, find a dowry for his daughters, maintain dependants and the village economy generally. Above all he must underwrite the changes and chances of the agricultural life for the Government which expects him to pay kist irrespective of flood or famine and the tenants who in a lean year must be kept fed and insured by seasonal loans against their own misfortunes.

The life of the small mirasdar is one long harassment—"uncertain weather, chronic insufficiency, duns at the door." Why then has he stuck to it, he asks, in spite of two harrowing depressions in three decades?

The answer may be that he has no option, that hope (of a bumper harvest and soaring prices) springs eternal in the rural breast, that ownership of land has a certain *cachet* in a static society. It is true, too, that land long represented almost the only investment in a country which had little commerce and less industry. But the one thing that has kept him at the treadmill is, paradoxically enough, an obscure feeling that land-owning was for him the only true freedom. This is a class which has traditionally looked upon service as slavery.

This expropriatory legislature has been made possible, says Vighneswara, "by the skilful exploitation of regional, economic and communal differences."

The Congressman has thus "joined hands with the Communist and the Dravida Kazhagamite to sow dragon's teeth in the countryside."

PRIESTS AND POLITICS

Jana Colombo's illustrated monthly in its section-Religion-points out, that it is one of the peculiarities of modern political and ecclesiastical thought, that the cleric—whatever brand of religion he may represent—who upholds the political status quo, is described as "non-political", while the religious leader who so much as dares to suggest that the existing regime is even slightly imperfect is immediately branded a "political priest" an ecclesiastical renegade who might be capable of the most extreme forms of insurrection.

This anomalous position had a strange illustration in London, when Archbishop Fisher spiritual head of the Church of England by virtue of his being appointed to the post by a secular government, stood up in all solemnity in the House of Lords—one of Britain's most treasured political institutions and denounced Archbishop Makarios, the doughty fighter from Cyprus, as a political ecclesiastic who had put his finger in a pie that he should have left severely alone.

Archbishop Fisher's political audience applauded his political speech in Britain's hallowed political sanctum, and sagely agreed that Makarios who had dared to oppose the alien and secular rule of the British colonialists, was a miscreant who had entered politics which should not be within his diocesan purview.

The British Archbishop's political denunciation of Archbishop Makarios, as first, a "political" preacher, and second, a cleric who had disturbed the peace, brought to mind the troubled days of World War 2, when the Very Rev. Fisher saw no harm in the most deadly forms of violence being used by the Allied armies, in the name of peace and democracy.

Observers add, however, that as the spiritual head's post is a secular appointment his statements must be taken as political rather than political and evaluated at that somewhat lower level.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

ATTACK ON EGYPT

On the 28th of last month the Israeli Government announced mobilisation. The announcement said the mobilisation was the result of Iraqi troop concentration along the Jordan border and Jordan's adhesion to an Egyptian-led unified command.

But on the 30th November the Israel Army began attacking the Sinai peninsula in a surprising manner. Kusseima in Sinai desert immediately fell into the hands of the Israelis. Fighting continued incessantly and Israel army came very near the Suez line on the 30th. Sir Anthony Eden the Prime Minister of England announced in the Commons on that date that the British and French Governments had asked the Egyptian Govt. to agree for Anglo-French forces moving temporarily to key positions at Port Said, Ismailia and Suez. Sir Anthony also said that Egypt and Israel had been asked to answer to this communication within 12 hours by ceasing fighting. Sir Anthony warned that "British and French troops would land in the Suez area to restore peace." Of course this news came as a shock to all nations including U. S. A. which moved an urgent resolution in the U. N. Security Council which called on all nations to refrain from the use of force or threat of force in Egypt. Britain and France, as was expected, used their veto power.

On the 31st British bombers began to attack Cairo. British and French fleets reached Port Said. Air offensive by bomber aircraft under Anglo-French Command was launched against military targets in Egypt. The Israel army encouraged by the Anglo-French support captured Sinai Base. All navigation in the Suez Canal has been stopped.

On the 1st of this month it was clearly understood by all that Egypt was at war with Britain and France. Pandit Nehru indicated the action of the United Kingdom and France as "naked aggression returning to the predatory ways of 18th century." The Franco-British offensive against Egypt was going on vehemently. In spite of reverses President Nasser said that Egypt will not surrender."

On the 2nd November the United Nations General Assembly met at a special session voted overwhelmingly the American resolution expressing grave concern at British, French and Israeli military operations in the Suez area and urged "an immediate ceasefire."

THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION

The General Assembly, noting the disregard on many occasions by parties of the Israel-Arab armistice agreements of 1948 of the terms of such agreements and that the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory in violation of the general armistice agreement between Egypt and Israel; noting that armed forces of France and the United Kingdom are conducting military operations against Egyptian territory; noting that traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted to the serious prejudice of many nations; expresses its grave concern over these developments and:

(1) Urges as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire and as part thereof halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;

(2) Urges the parties of the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreement.

(3) Recommends that all members refrain from introducing military goods in the areas of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of this resolution.

(4) Urges that upon the ceasefire being effective steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation.

(5) Requests the Secretary-General to observe and promptly report on the compliance with this resolution, to the Security Council and to the General Assembly for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter; and

(6) Decides to remain in emergency session pending compliance with this resolution.

The vote was 64 in favour and 5 against and 6 abstentions.

President Eisenhower in his speech at Philadelphia on November 1, condemned the Anglo-French aggression and said:

"We cannot and will not condone armed aggression no matter who the attackers, no matter who the victim.....". There can be only one law—or there shall be no peace."

(Continued on Page 475)

Utterances of the Day

THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGGRESSION

We give below extracts from the speeches of prominent men throughout the world condemning the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt:

EARL ATTLEE

Earl Attlee, described the Anglo-French aggression in Egypt as "quite wrong and stupid," and urged the British Government to accept the U.N. cease-fire resolution.

He told Pressmen at Palam Airport, before leaving for Karachi on Nov. 3 that the first thing to do now was to "stop all this madness first." He added: "I cannot of course say anything made to order about a settlement at the present moment."

MR. DHEBAR

Congress President Dhebar compared the British and French attack on Egypt to Hitler's aggression on the other countries and the "treacherous attack," by the Japanese on Pearl Harbour.

Mr. Dhebar, who was speaking at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, at New Delhi on October 4, said the British and French Governments, by their action, had sought to recreate the atmosphere with which the world was poisoned by Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo.

"We, the people of India, have to raise our voice from every corner of our country against this barbarous Anglo-French aggression in Egypt."

RICHARD NIXON

Vice-president Richard Nixon said, in an election speech at New York on Oct. 4, that America's "break" with the Anglo-French policies in Asia and Africa was, for the U.S. "a declaration of independence that has had an electrifying effect throughout the world."

PANDIT NEHRU

The British and French action in Egypt was described in his speech at Hyderabad on Nov. 1, by Mr. Nehru as "clear and naked aggression." And nations of Asia and Africa were not going to tolerate it.

Mr. Nehru said: "In all my experience of foreign affairs I have come across no greater case of naked aggression than what England and France are trying to do." His distress and sorrow over the happenings in the Middle East Mr. Nehru said, was "all the greater" because England had been a force of peace in the past few years: India's sympathies were entirely with Egypt, he added.

U BA SWE

In his speech at Bombay on Nov. 2, U Ba Swe, the Prime Minister of Burma said: "Steps must be taken, for the immediate cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egyptian territory and the countries concerned must, without reservation, refer the cases of dispute to the United Nations, which it must be remembered, is the only hope of mankind. In any collective action under the auspices of the United Nations, Burma is prepared to put in her share of contribution towards the successful consummation of any constructive and effective action for the solution of the problem."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

In an election speech at Philadelphia on Nov. 1. Ike condemned the Anglo-French aggression. He emphasised that "in the relations of nations there often exists a just and proper area for compromise." But, he said, compromise must not be stretched to the point of breaking moral principles.

"This would be a surrender that we shall not make—we shall continue to practise the peace that we preach," he added.

ISKANDER MIRZA

Major-General Iskander Mirza, President of Pakistan who is on a State visit to Persia told a joint session of both Houses of the Iranian Parliament at Teheran on Nov. 1 that Pakistan had nothing but unreserved condemnation for aggression.

The Pakistan President was referring to the Anglo-French military action against Egypt.

He added: "We stand for peace, justice and fair play and have no hesitation in saying that in today's dangerous world we do not regard force as a wise or proper substitute for the solution of international disputes."

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Speaking on the resolution in U.N. Assembly Mr. John Foster Dulles said in feeling terms: "If we agree that the existence of injustices in the world which the U.N. has been unable to cure means that the renunciation of force is no longer respected then we would have torn the U.N. Charter to shreds and the world would again become a world of anarchy and all the great hopes placed in this Charter would have vanished".

Political

(Continued from Page 473)

On the 3rd of this month (the fourth day of the hostilities) Sir Anthony Eden told the House of Commons that Britain has informed the United Nations that she would willingly stop military action in Egypt if the United Nations will put in a force to keep peace between Egypt and Israel.

A second condition will be that both Egypt and Israel should agree to accept a United Nations force to keep the peace.

A third condition was that until the United Nations force is constituted both Israel and Egypt should agree to accept forthwith limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between the combatants.

The Egyptian Government announced that it would accept the United Nations' resolution on condition that the "attacking armies cease their aggression forthwith." The fight was going on. Egypt is reported to have sustained heavy losses. In fact her air force has been crippled.

The Arab countries were not remaining quiet. The Arabs blew up oil pipe line, which were connected to Mediterranean ports. On the 4th of November again the United Nations Assembly met at a special session and adopted a Canadian resolution asking the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, to submit within 48 hours a plan for an emergency United Nations force to "secure and supervise" an end of hostilities in Egypt. Voting was 57 in favour, none against with 19 abstentions.

Sir Anthony Eden reiterating what he said ever since the hostilities began said that Britain went to fight because the United Nations could not stop the Egypt-Israel tension. He continued:

"The United Nations will take over this police action, we shall welcome it," the Prime Minister added. "Indeed we proposed that course to them. And police action means not only to end the fighting now but also to bring a lasting peace to this area which for ten years has lived or tried to live under the constant threat of war."

"Until there are United Nations forces there ready to take over, we and the French must go on with the job until the job is done."

Sir Anthony Eden, who was speaking from 10, Downing Street, began by appealing "let us forget our passions and parties and look at the problem in the light of our country's needs and dangers together as fellow-countrymen."

On the 5th news was very disquieting. For the Surrender of Port Said in the Suez Canal Zone was announced in an allied communique dated 5th November. Even British and French parachutist forces were reported to have landed in the Suez Canal area. The ruthless fight went on in spite of World's protest and universal condemnation of the British action. It is no surprise, therefore, Mr. Anthony Nutting, Minister of State at the Foreign office has resigned as a protest. But a ray of hope is visible in the formation of the International Police force under the auspices of UN and under the Command of General Burns of Canada. It will remain in Middle East and guard peace.

Just at the time when the Rape of Egypt was going on in its intensity Russia gave a warning to Britain, France and Israel that her forces would land in the battle zone if the three powers do not cease fire in deference to the U. N. resolution. Better sense prevailed at long last, for Britain and France ordered their forces in Egypt to cease-fire at midnight on 6th Nov. nearly a week after the two countries had sent an ultimatum to Egypt asking her to allow the Anglo-French forces to occupy the Suez Canal zone.

We fondly hope that the U.N. will not prove to be the old League of Nations. We trust a major war will be averted and better sense will prevail and peace will be restored.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

On the 7th of this month in a massive personal triumph Mr. Dwight Eisenhower soldier-statesman, won the Presidential election with a bigger margin over the Democrat leader Mr. Adlai Stevenson than in 1952 and goes back to the White House for another four years. Neither doubts over his health nor attacks on his foreign policy shook the loyalty of the American electors.

But President Eisenhower failed to carry the Republican Party to success in Congress.

UNIVERSITY GRANTS

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, addressing the United Nations Day anniversary meeting of the Nagpur Rotary club last month, observed that overcrowding in class rooms, paucity of hostel accommodation, dearth of qualified teachers and absence of closer contact between teachers and students, were some of the possible causes for a perceptible fall in the standard of University education.

He said that the University Grants Commission, besides sanctioning grants to the Universities for their expansion plans, would also pay attention to these questions.

Mr. Deshmukh pointed out that in India there were about 75,000 students in the constituent and affiliated colleges out of a population of 375 million. In Great Britain, the students numbered 100,000 out of a population of 50 million.

While Great Britain spent Rs. 55 crores annually on its one lakh students, in India provision of only Rs. 27 crores had been made in the second Five-Year Plan which was roughly Rs. 6 crores annually, he added.

Introduction of general education and three year Degree course would cost Rs. 5 crores each, Mr. Deshmukh said. He hoped that he would be able to persuade the Finance Ministry for more funds for educational purposes.

A MATTER OF MERIT

This country, says the *Hindustan Times*, has a rich tradition of bright, young scholars from poor families, making good by Herculean effort, aided occasionally by some rich man's helping hand. Parents love to tell their children stories of great men, who had to study under street lamps, but who nevertheless rose to be a civilian or a famous doctor or lawyer or even a High Court Judge. It would be wrong, however, to draw a lop-sided moral from these heroic tales of youthful struggles against odds. Poverty may, in a sense, be a spur to effort and ambition, but it is more often a frustrating obstacle and a cruel denial of reasonable opportunities. The right lesson, of course, is that if those great men made good it was in spite of their poverty and not because of it.

BASIC EDUCATION

The Assessment Committee on Basic Education, has recommended the establishment of post-graduate Basic Colleges at State level and their recognition by Universities in its report dated Oct. 18.

The committee consists of Mr. G. Ramachandran of Gandhigram (convenor) Dr. Saeed Ansari of Jamia Millia, Dr. M. D. Paul of Madras Government and Mr. R. S. Uphadhyaya, ex-Deputy Director of Basic Education, Bihar (members).

The Committee is of the opinion that the peaceful and constructive evolution of a socialistic pattern of society depended largely on the development of basic education and, consequently, the public should be educated on all issues concerning this system. The Committee has suggested the exploitation of all avenues of publicity for the purpose.

The Union Ministry of Education, the Committee recommends, should convene a conference of State Education Ministers as also of Education Secretaries to clarify the Standing Committee's concept of basic education throughout the country on generally approved lines and its completion within the specified time, suited to the conditions in States. It might well be followed by a declaration by the Central and State Governments reiterating the place of basic education under the Second Plan.

THE BARODA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

Dr. John Matthai, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, said at Baroda that "the small group of national leaders we have at present" should deliberately withdraw from party politics, so as to allow "the more important divergences of opinion within the ruling party to crystallise into new party divisions."

Dr. Matthai, who was addressing the Convocation of the Baroda University on Oct. 13 said the "outstanding quality of the leadership" of the Congress Party made it difficult for any other party to form either an effective Opposition or the nucleus of an alternative Government in the near future.

"It is the responsibility of the present leadership, so far as it lies in their power, to pave the way for a party system on the usual parliamentary model, without which neither a parliamentary State nor a parliamentary Constitution will be safe," he added.

THE LAW COMMISSION

The Law Minister, Mr. C. C. Biswas, told Mr. K. C. Sodhia in the Lok Sabha last month that the Law Commission hoped to submit its report to Government on the question of reform of judicial administration by the middle of next year. He was replying to questions on the progress so far made by the Commission.

Mr. Biswas said that there were two sections in the Commission, one dealing with the reform of judicial administration and the other with the revision of statutes.

The Minister said that the section dealing with the reform of judicial administration issued an exhaustive questionnaire to more than 12,000 persons and organisations. The response to the questionnaire had been "poor" and replies were received from only 600 persons and organisations. Therefore, this section of the Commission now proposed to visit important places in the country and discuss with leading lawyers the question of reform of judicial administration.

CONVERSIONS IN NEPAL

Religious conversion of any Nepalese—forcible or voluntary—will become a punishable offence in Nepalese jurisprudence if the Government accepts the recommendations of the official Law Commission which was appointed some time ago to prepare a draft Penal Code for the country.

The Indian Penal Code makes only forcible conversion an offence. The Law Commission has justified its recommendation saying that peace and amity existing between the various sections of the people would be gravely jeopardised if conversion was permitted in the country. It feels that at the present stage of social development in the country, conversion would be dangerous.

EXECUTION OF DECREES

Justice P. N. Ramaswami held in the Madras High Court on Oct 4 that the Court had no authority, except in the circumstances mentioned in the proviso to Sec. 51 of the Civil Procedure Code, to order to execution of a decree save in the mode asked for by the judgment-creditor on the ground that the decree-holder should in the first instance proceed by another mode.

Applying this principle His Lordship allowed an appeal preferred by the South Indian Bank Limited against the order of the sub-Judge of Coimbatore refusing to issue an arrest warrant in an execution petition.

JUDICIARY IN KASHMIR

An official amendment seeking the appointment of High Court Judges in the State by the President of India was moved in the State Constituent Assembly when it reassembled on October 22.

The Draft Constitution of the State, presented to the Assembly on October 10, provides for appointment of High Court Judges by the Sadr-Riyasat.

The Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Mr. G. L. Dogra, presenting the Draft Constitution in the Constituent Assembly had said that the Drafting Committee "ventures to suggest that provisions relating to the Judiciary, which are in accordance with the directives contained in the Basic Principles Committee's report in this behalf, may be altered to extend that power of appointment and removal of High Court Judges be vested in the President of India."

Mr. Dogra said that the Constitution Drafting Committee was of the opinion that the appointment of High Court Judges by the President would "inspire people with greater confidence" in the independence, integrity and impartiality of the Judiciary.

THIEVES IN ASHRAMS

Don't send the thief to the jail but send him to an ashram, give him two acres of land and ask him to work on it, was the advice given by Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

Addressing a public meeting in Coimbatore district on Oct. 10 Acharya Bhave said in olden days the custom was to cut off thief's hands as a punishment for his action. But now the thief was sent to jail which was a mistake. By sending the thief to jail, his wife and children suffered while the thief himself got three square meal and good rest.

WALL-LESS PRISON

A wall-less prison for well-behaved prisoners, the first of its kind in the State, will be opened at Mulankunnathukavu, near Trichur, in Travancore-Cochin this year.

Government sanctioned establishment of the prison which will house 50 prisoners. Attached to the prison will be a dairy farm a sheep-breeding centre and an agricultural farm for providing work for the prisoners.

The establishment of the open prison is one of the recommendations of the Jail Reforms Committee appointed by the State Government.

AID FOR INDIA'S PLANS

The *Economist* in its article dated Oct. 19, said that "paradoxically, it is not impossible that the unintended publication" of the letter of the President of the World Bank Mr. Eugene Black to Indian Finance Minister Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari on the Indian Second Five-year Plan, "will actually assist the Bank play an important part in providing external financing for India's development efforts."

Mr. Krishnamachari's remark that the differences are not quite as great as they seem to appear in public debate is perhaps the key to the exchange of letters between the Finance Minister and the Bank President, this weekly said.

The *Economist* said in its article that if the World Bank "had tried to dictate economic policy to India it would deserve sharp criticism. It would also be acting out of character. An institution founded by Governments and launched with taxpayers' money could not very easily propagate doctrinaire opposition to all socialist measures and the Bank which has lent money to Communist Yugoslavia would look silly if it strained at the gnat of India's mild 'socialist pattern after swallowing Marshal Tito's camel.'"

Mr. Black might however have realised that some part of his letter would create a false impression if quoted out of context as they were almost bound to be. This was particularly true of the passage in which the President of the Bank urged India in its own interest to give every encouragement to private enterprise."

The *Economist* said that Mr. Black was not "preaching the superior virtue of private enterprise as such but endorsing the judgment of the Bank Mission which visited India earlier this year." It added:

"Nor was his warning that the Bank could not specify the amount it would be able to lend India during the period of the Plan a veiled threat to withhold aid. The Bank would be departing from the usual practice if it committed itself to specific figures for a period of several years particularly in the case of an outside request for loans such as India is making."

"The studied moderation on Mr. Krishnamachari's reply suggests that he quickly and rightly interpreted Mr. Black's anxiety to save India from getting too far into the red in purely financial not political terms."

"The Indian Government may also be alive by now to the fact that Mr. Black's ability to raise new capital depends largely on his success in convincing hard-headed businessmen in New York and elsewhere that the sucker for 'give away' programmes and that his Bank touches is as sound as a bell."

EUROPEAN FREE TRADE

Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari characterised the proposal for a European Free Trade Area and British participation in it as only just a "proposal" like so many other proposals that were being mooted from time to time and said that they in India need not at present be "very much concerned about it."

Mr. Krishnamachari was asked to indicate how it would affect the Second Plan, particularly whether it would be advantageous for India, at least so far as its purchases were concerned, to agree to such a proposal. This question was put by Pressmen at Madras on Oct. 8.

Mr. Krishnamachari said that the proposal was still in the air, and just as it took a lot of time for the European Community for coal and Iron to be evolved, he expected that in this case also it would have to wait for a long time before it came to be accepted.

As to the possible repercussions on India's export and import trade if and when this proposal came to be accepted, Mr. Krishnamachari felt that India might lose its present advantage in respect of one commodity, namely tea. This, however, seemed to be protected for the present by the exclusion of primary products from the common tariff. The Finance Minister did not think that India would be placed in a more favourable position in the matter of imports from Western Europe.

NEHRU'S REPLY TO WORLD BANK

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, on Oct. 22 at Calcutta declared that real democracy and unrestrained private enterprise were incompatible.

He was referring at a Press Conference to the criticism made by Mr Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, on India's Second Five-Year Plan.

Mr. Black's points of view he said, were in favour of private enterprise, and broadly speaking it was the American point of view also.

Our Finance Minister had replied to him clearly and moderately pointed out that with regard to our basic policy we have come to certain decisions. That is the position."

The Prime Minister said the idea of equating democracy with private enterprise was "according to our thinking, not justified."

HOME SCIENCE FOR GIRLS

Mrs. Uma Nehru, member of Parliament, said that a scientific training in Home Science must be started earlier in girls' life in this country and it should be continued right through the high school and university stages.

Mrs. Nehru, who was inaugurating the third biennial conference of the Home Science Association of India on Oct. 4 said at present home science was one of the most neglected subjects in India and even when it was taught it was confined to very elementary training in first aid and allied subjects.

SOUTH M. P. WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Pundit R. S. Shukla, Chief Minister, laid the foundation-stone at Nagpur on Oct. 7 for a Rs. two-lakh building of the South Madhya Pradesh Women's Conference, for which the State Government has donated a plot of land.

The Conference, with its 14 branches in the State is conducting a crafts centre for lower middle class women, and proposes to open a cooperative society, a family planning centre, a training class for social workers, and a hostel for girl students in the new building.

WOMEN'S SAVINGS DRIVE

Rs. 4.82 crores have been collected under the Women's Savings Campaign launched three years ago, according to a Press note dated Oct. 14 issued by the Office of the Central Advisory Committee of the Women's Savings Campaign.

The Press note said that the scope of the campaign would be expanded and its agent units would be increased from 200 to 590. The single-member State representatives would be replaced by properly constituted State boards.

WELFARE EXTENSION PROJECTS

Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board, said at Hyderabad on Oct. 21 the Board proposed to train 40,000 women for work in the Welfare Extension Projects started under the two Five-Year Plans.

The training of 25,000 had already been taken on hand and of these, the training of 8,000 Gram Sevikas had been entrusted to the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust.

MISS PADMAJA NAYUDU

Miss Padmaja Nayudu is appointed Governor of West Bengal. She is the daughter of the late Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu.

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS

About 500 women candidates will be set up by the Congress for the 14 new State Assemblies in the next general elections in pursuance of the party's decision to give 15 per cent representation to its women workers in the Assembly elections, the A.I.C.C. Women's Department stated on Oct. 9.

The Department said that there would not be dearth of qualified women candidates for the Congress in the next elections, as an intensive training programme for women workers had been launched by the Congress throughout the country in pursuance of the party's policy to give maximum encouragement.

In the existing State Assemblies, there are 80 women members on the Congress side, as against 12 on the Opposition.

WOMEN ARE STRONGER SEX

"I do not believe in equality of the sexes and, please God, I never will", said the Bishop of Lancaster, at Blackpool, England recently.

Women are not the weaker sex. They are the stronger sex.

They have proved that time and time again by their courage, the way they are able to bear pain and the sacrifices they make for their homes and families.

I think that the sooner we men realise the true place of women—and women realise it, too—in the home and in society, the better.

I am quite sure that a lot of moral delinquency is caused through the endeavour of women to become something that the good God never meant them to be.

MISS WORLD

Petra Schurmann, 23-year-old Miss Germany, was on Oct. 15 judged to be 'Miss World' in a 24-nation beauty contest held in London.

The title carried with it a prize of 500 sterling, a silver rose bowl trophy and a sports car valued at more than 1,000 sterling.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Speaker of the Delhi Vidhan Sabha, asked women to keep aloof from party politics.

She was addressing Mahila workers at Hyderabad last month. Smt. Masuma Begum, member of the State Assembly, presided.

Dr. Nayyar appealed to the women to create public consciousness among their sisters and increase the number of women in public life. She also advised women to engage themselves actively in Bhoodan and Sampattidan work.

General

Mrs. MARCELLA HARDY

We regret to record the death of Mrs. Marcella Hardy at Madras on Oct 23. She was aged only 51.

Mrs. Hardy who was born in Scotland of Belgian parents, graduated with honours from Oxford University and also studied in Spain and Germany. Having chosen India as her country of adoption, she came to live in Madras about 15 years ago. She had made a detailed study of religious thought, both of the East and of the West. Besides being an accomplished musician and a connoisseur of arts, she was a linguist, knowing four European languages as well as Tamil, Telugu and Hindi. Before her death she was engaged in the study of Sanskrit.

It was mainly due to Mrs. Hardy's untiring efforts that a French Group was established in Madras, which later developed into the Alliance Francaise. She contributed a number of articles on Indian arts and literature to various newspapers and periodicals in India.

AWARDS FOR FILMS

India won three awards in the first Manila International film festival held at Manila on Oct 8.

The awards were statuettes in the form of carabaos (water buffaloes).

India won a silver carabao for "Khajurogo" as the best documentary depicting cultural values, and golden carabaos for the best supporting actor and actress both of whom appeared in "Pathar Panchali". Mr. Subir Bandyopadhyaya and Miss Chunibala Devi.

The Argentine film "Edad Deficil" (The Difficult Age) won the golden carabao as the best screen play.

France's "Le Monde du Silence" (The Silent World) won the award as the best documentary film.

The best actress award went to Miss Maria Schell in the German feature film "Die Ratten" (The Rat), which also won a golden carabao for best direction.

NOBEL PRIZE FOR MEDICINE

This year's Nobel Prize in medicine has been awarded to a West German and two Americans. They are: Dr. Werner Forssmann of Badkreunach and Prof. Andre Cournand and Prof. Dickinson W. Richards (Junior).

The joint award marks their discoveries in the fields of heart catheterization and pathological changes in the circulatory system.

REVOLT IN HUNGARY

Situation in Hungary is still not better. As we go to press it is reported Hungarian rebels are still battling on near the uranium mine and other points near Budapest though their main resistance had been broken by Russian military might.

Refugees crowding over the frontier at Fuerstenfeld, South East Austria, said the Hungarian Political Police, A. J. V. H. were indulging in a "wild fury of revenge" in a message dated 6th November.

In reply to India's query for information and concern over the Hungarian situation, the Russians have replied that their entry into Hungary was made at the request of that country's Government. The Russians have also hinted that they were on the point of withdrawing from Hungary as they did in Poland. But when the Middle East situation worsened and a section of Hungarian leaders took the extreme attitude of even inviting foreign intervention which threatened the security of the Soviet Union, they felt obliged to lend armed support to the Hungarian Government.

ATOMIC POWER IN U. K.

Queen Elizabeth ushered in the atom age for the ordinary people of Britain when she switched current from the world's first full-scale atomic power station at Calder Hall Cumberland on Oct. 17 into the nation-wide electric grid system.

With the inaugural ceremony, Britain took the lead in the world race to harness atomic energy for peaceful uses.

The power station, in northwest Britain, cost more than £1,65,00,000 and took three and a half years to complete.

LATE Dr. P. RAMA RAU

The contribution the late Dr. P. Rama Rau had made in the field of radiology was praised by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, unveiling his portrait, at the Madras Radiological Institute, Poonamallee High Road, Madras on Oct. 17. The portrait was a present by Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar. Mr. V. V. Giri presided in the absence of Dr. P. V. Cherian, Chairman, Legislative Council.

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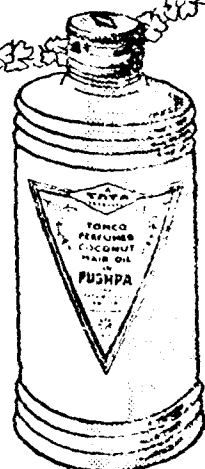
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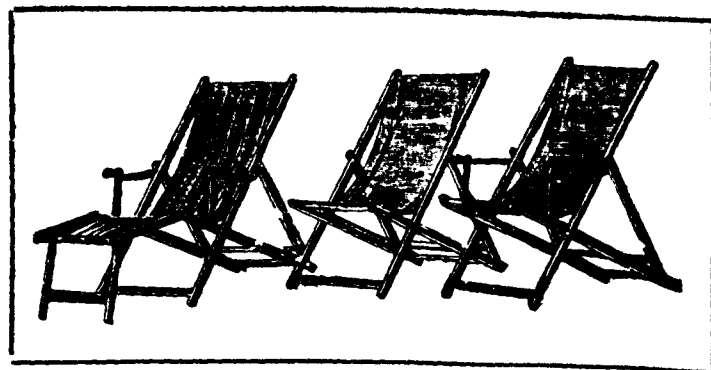
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