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# The INDIAN REVIEW

59th Year

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Vol. 59.

OCTOBER 1958

No. 10

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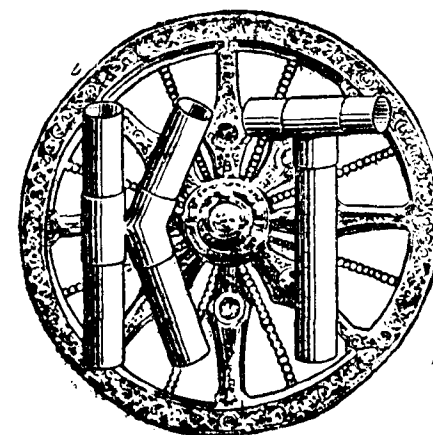
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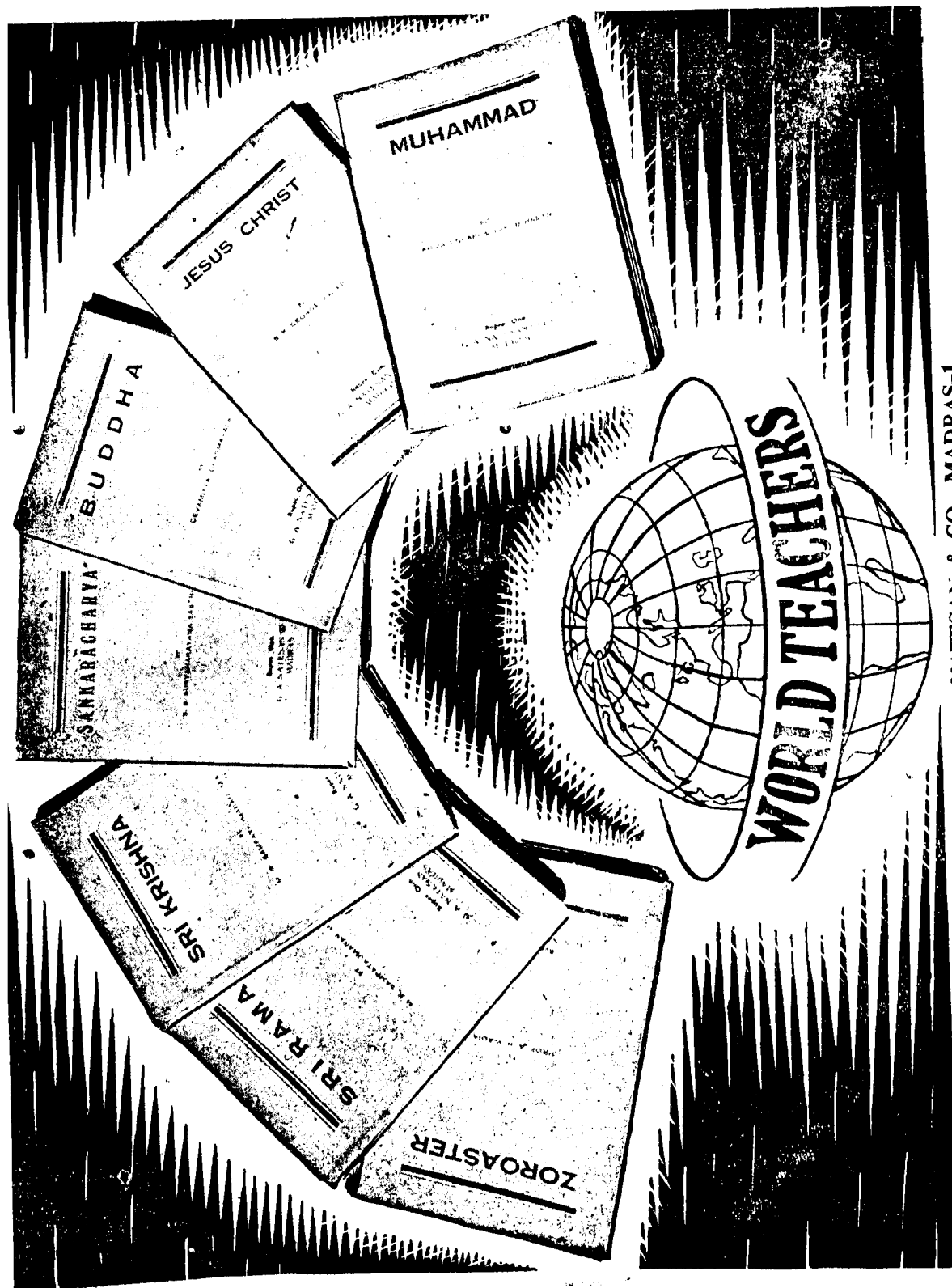
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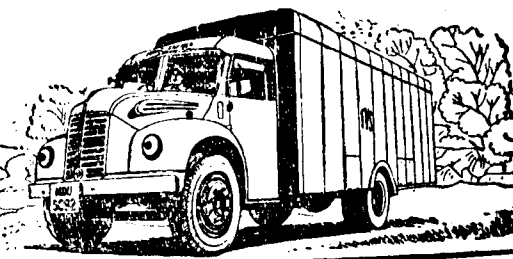
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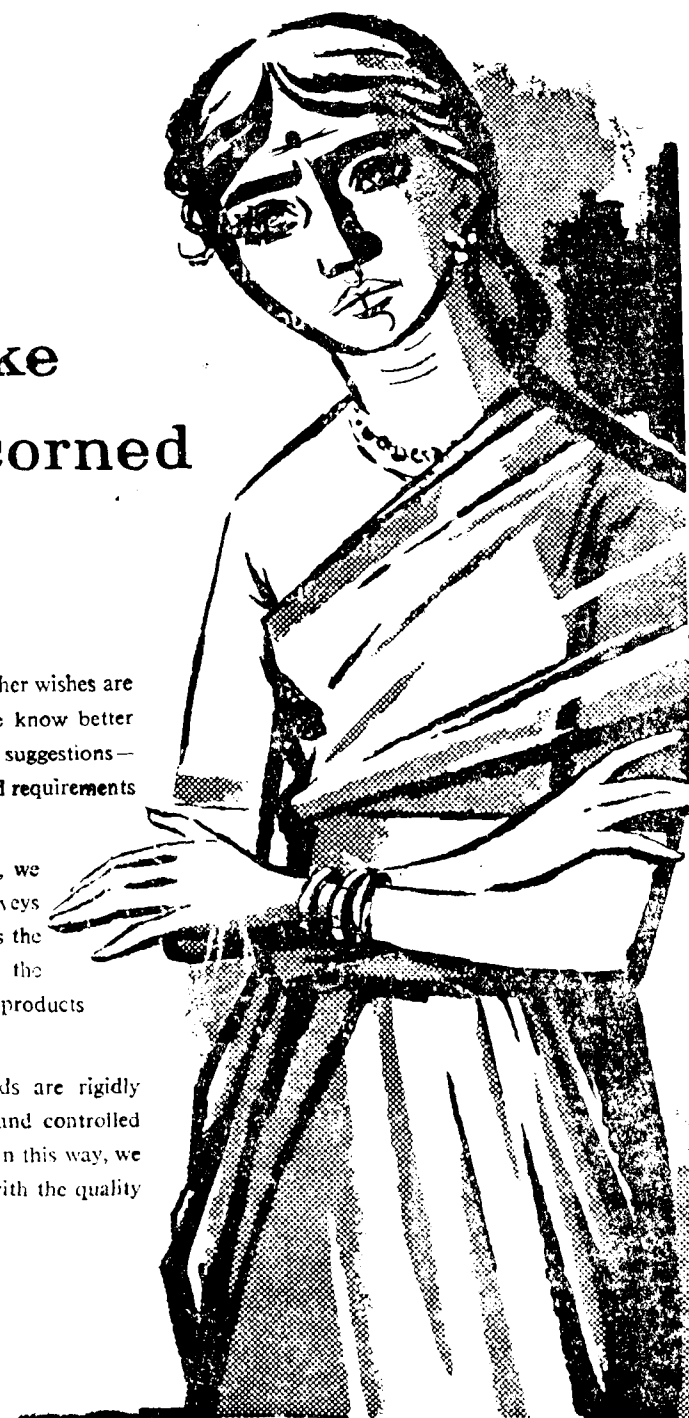
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Managing Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 59 ]

OCTOBER 1958

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## EDITORIAL

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

#### China

The "Chinese Incidents" are illustrative of a new international situation. War has become such a terrible venture that every one is hesitating to plunge into it as of old. The communists strafed the island of Quemoy and Matsu. They claim that these islands and the others held by Chiang Kai-Shek legitimately belong to the mainland Government of China. In another age there would have been a war for their possession long ago. Why have the Chinese communists kept quiet all these days, and why, even today, they are indulging in what is really an expression of discontent more than a proper military offensive? Because a war between China and Formosa is a war between the U.S.A. and Russia, in other words, the third World War. Russia and U.S.A. also, on their part, are also indulging in mutual threats. U.S.A. reiterates its pledge to the Nationalist Chinese that Formosa will be protected. Russia says that any attack on the Chinese mainland will lead to Russian interference. Each side is trying to find out how far the other will go. The latest is that the U.S.A. is prepared for talks. These talks were held at first through the medium of the ambassadors of China and the U.S.A. at Warsaw. Nothing came out of it. Now the U.S.A. is rallying round to the view that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu need not be taken as technically coming within the province of Formosa.

But the question is a wider one. How long can Formosa be sustained with American oxygen? When the Chinese Government changed hands and the communists came to power on

the mainland, can it be said that their claim to Formosa was not straightaway established? How long can the so called Nationalist China be allowed to falsify the character of the Security Council by sitting on it as the representative of six hundred million Chinese? How can an impartial observer justify the stand that is being taken by the U.S.A. in respect of China's entry into the United Nations?

These are the major questions that the Far East problem has highlighted. Today it is Formosa. Yesterday it was Lebanon. The day before it was Hungary. But the malady is deep seated, a world in which two major powers are trying to force their ideologies down the throat of humanity, each in its own way, and each blaming the other and expressing wonder at the wickedness of the other side. What kind of a world are we building up?

#### The Racial Problem

Another question that has assumed great importance during the last few months is the colour problem. We are used to stories of the Klu Klux Klan and the atrocities committed by the whites on negroes in the U.S.A. We have learnt to take the segregation of the Indians in South Africa as part of a Commonwealth tradition. But the two incidents that have brought the problem to the forefront are the segregation of negro children in schools in Little Rock, U.S.A. and the racial riots at Notting Hill in London, Great Britain. The incidents in the U.S.A. arose out of judicial decisions ruling against segregation in schools. So the Governor of Arkansas, Mr. Orval Faubus, has closed the schools, rather than

allow white children to study with negro children. This is like the mother-in-law who said that as long as her daughter-in-law became a widow, she did not mind her son dying. He is prepared to allow the schools to remain closed and to deny an education to the people, rather than allow common schools for both. A move is now being made for creating private agencies to run segregated schools and thus circumvent the law. Protests are not wanting. We are told that a recent poll showed that 71% of the senior and junior high school pupils in Little Rock wanted the schools reopened, integration or no, integration. It is also in the news that a mothers' committee have asked for the acceptance of limited integration. But it seems that the forces of hate and of racial superiority are forging ahead with their destructive programme of undermining the principles of freedom and democracy. How can we talk of American leadership in the world in the context of this pitiful inability to be decent at home?

In London, the racial problem is a post-war one. It suited England to sustain a high note of democracy and freedom as long as the problem was not a practical and immediate one. It was necessary for post-war Britain to allow free immigration of the peoples from at least the directly administered colonies into England, so as to maintain the principle of the Commonwealth. It also served the country's interests. The demands of the immediate reconstruction programmes after the war left Britain with insufficient personnel at all levels. But now, after the return to stable conditions, and following the possibility of lowered demands abroad, and specially from the U.S.A. which is just readjusting itself to the aftermath of a menacing recession, British labour is wonder-

ing if it is safe to allow England to be swamped with black labour. The "Economist", which has never allowed itself to swerve from the narrow path of intellectual rectitude, has said that "The problem before Britain today is not one of West Indians, West Africans, or Pakistanis. It is the country's own problem, of law and order, and of the kind of education that leaves these young people with nothing better or more inspiring to do than to be ruffians". The journal also points out that as British economy needs a revolving pool of around 2% unemployed, coloured immigrants who are in the unemployed pool are keeping native Britons out of it; in other words, they fulfill the function of a cushion in the economy. The way in which the teddyboys who maltreated the coloured people have been punished is also a matter for pride to Great Britain. Nine youths were hauled up before the court of Justice Salmon. He said "You are a minute and insignificant section of the population who have brought shame upon the district in which you live and have filled the whole nation with horror, indignation, and disgust. Every one, irrespective of the colour of their skins, is entitled to walk through our streets in peace with their heads erect and free from fear". He sentenced the boys to rigorous imprisonment for four years. It is reported that relatives and friends in court were shocked by the severity of the sentence and that they gasped in dismay. But look at the other side. The riots have not spread and coloured people are walking in London with their heads erect. Great Britain has shown that she is still a great nation, one of the greatest in this world, and that she will not allow serious problems to be decided by means of brute-passions.

#### INDIAN AFFAIRS

##### The Plan and its Problems

The main events in India have taken place abroad, paradoxical though the statement may appear. The major issue in the country is the mounting cost of living and the paucity of

goods and the crisis in the financing of the plan. The plan finances are being continually upset by the factors that have to contribute to its omnivorous money-hunger not playing true to the forecasts, but changing abruptly. The

first is the monsoon. It has upset the economy of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In fact, we are accustomed to the south being considered to be the danger zone in food, and the north coming to its aid, but now the roles are reversed and the north is the victim of bad seasons. This means heavy import of food. Then one finds no way of reducing defence expenditure. So much of the money which is raised ostensibly for plan-expenditure is being diverted to day to day needs. This is a situation that calls for bold thinking. If this diversion is to continue, how is the Government justified in asking the inhabitants of the country to sacrifice because a great plan is being executed for the sake of future prosperity? Then, the Government finds that the amounts which, it was anticipated, would be available by way of taxation and loans, are not materialising. The scandal of the small savings drive is bringing the good name of the Government into contempt. Officials, who have to dispense favours, like the revenue and sales-tax executives, and others who have to maintain law and order, are going round the country, levying sums which are in fact, forced levies. With present prices, surplus over consumption expenditure is meagre, and Government themselves have to thank their soft-pedalling on the labour front for this state of affairs. Indeed, all sections of the community are being asked to sacrifice for the sake of the plan, except labour who are being pampered at the expense of the consumers who form ninety per cent of the population. Small traders have started to complain that monies which they have to have for buying goods in the wholesale market are being taken away as savings, at low rates of interest, and that they have therefore to borrow at higher rates. There is a grave economic danger inherent in this situation. It is one thing for a Government to channel off the real surplus of a community over the needs of current expenditure, so that the priorities in investment are controlled and carried out in the best interests of the community as a whole; but, it is quite another thing for the Government to take away current consumption money either domestic or in business, because, this is the surest way of reducing business and increasing inflation by starting a chain of uneconomic borrowing at high rates and the pushing up of prices. It is time that the loan and savings drives are examined by some one who can see behind the facade of immediate results. Then there is the need to purchase machinery from abroad.

The foreign exchange gap has been fluctuating from 800 to 1220 crores. We have become the world's most accomplished borrowers. We have pushed up the costs of machinery by asking Indian buyers to make instalment arrangements with foreign manufacturers. This has pushed up the costs of machinery from 25 to 50%. We have asked sugar manufacturers in the country to sell below cost in the foreign market and to spread the loss over the Indian people, who are already paying twice as much for their sugar as people in other countries. Every step that is being taken to carry with the monster plan of the Government leads to an inevitable spiral of inflation. In this background, there is nothing to rejoice in the receipt of huge loans from the countries of the West.

So far as these countries are concerned, there is an element of enlightened self-interest in the whole arrangement. America, for instance, has to dispose of her farm surplus, and to maintain markets for her goods, both capital and consumption. This is the new colonial policy, that of economic aid. Farm output cannot be curtailed easily. The volume of U.S.A. industrial production demands a world market U.S.A. aid thus comes to helping the buyer to pay later; it is an international deferred payment policy.

Meanwhile the Commonwealth countries have shown that when they meet, the old division between the haves and have-nots is not gone, but continues in a disguised form. Australia and Canada seem to be the only real have countries. Great Britain is like a person who was once rich and to whom the mendicants still go from force of habit, and who, on his side, still gives something as a matter of prestige. In fact, the economists of Britain are now averse to Commonwealth preferences, because it may mean that she may have to buy raw materials like cotton, at a higher cost from within the Commonwealth, while the raw material countries are getting to be commonwealth minded.

It is necessary that the entire approach to the plan is changed and a new orientation introduced in which the anxiety for quick results is tempered to the condition of the country. Otherwise the material side will loom large and human beings will be made to serve the ends of a prosperity which will cause more trouble in the making than give results at the end.

## Latest Events

### REVOLT AGAINST PAKISTAN

The former ruler of the princely State of Kalat, in Baluchistan, has raised the banner of revolt against Pakistan and had almost declared the accession of his State to Pakistan null and void, Pakistan Press reported on Oct. 4.

The former ruler, Mr. Ahmad Yar Khan, whose State acceded to Pakistan in March, 1948, is reported to have refused to visit Karachi on summons from President Iskander Mirza and asked the latter to go to Kalat "to discuss pending matters in Miri Fort which is in his possession."

Press reports said that the ruler followed up his refusal to go to Karachi and later by removing the Pakistani National Flag from Miri Fort and hoisting his own ancestral flag in its place. As the flag was hoisted, volleys were fired from shot guns and rifles amidst prolonged beating of drums. Firing of guns was followed by prayers.

But the Pakistan Government "deposed" and arrested under the Security of Pakistan Act, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, 50-year-old former Ruler of Kalat in Baluchistan on the 6th October.

The arrest was made by Pakistani Government forces after a gunbattle with his followers and a hostile crowd at Kalat.

### U.S.A. AND QUEMOY—MATSU

President Eisenhower said on Oct. 4 that the United States would not become involved in military hostilities "merely in defence of Quemoy or Matsu." He made this statement in a letter to Senator Theodore Green of Rhode Island, Democratic Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

However, the President wrote: "The Chinese and Soviet Communist leaders assert and have reason to believe, that if they can take Quemoy and Matsu by armed assault that will open the way for them to take Formosa and the Pescadores and, as they put it, 'expel' the United States from the West Pacific and cause its fleet to leave international waters and 'go home.'"

"I cannot dismiss these boastings as mere bluff. Certainly there is always the possibility that it may in certain contingencies, after taking account of all relevant facts, become necessary or appropriate for the defence of Formosa and the Pescadores also to take measures to

secure and protect the related positions of Quemoy and Matsu.

"I am striving to the best of my ability to avoid hostilities, to achieve a cease-fire and a reasonable adjustment of the situation," the President declared.

### CRISIS IN BURMA

The announcement by U Nu, the Prime Minister, that he would hand over the reins of the Government to General Ne Win, the Army Chief of Staff, to organise general elections has averted a situation with the ingredients of a potential civil war, informed Burmese sources said at Rangoon on 3rd Oct.

A split in the ruling Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPEL) earlier this year and Nu's subsequent survival as Prime Minister with Communist support, they said, led to a situation in which the strongly anti-Communist Army feared the Communists would gain influence and power.

At the same time, some of U Nu's Ministers—fearing that the Army might stage a *coup d'état* to install the rival AFPEL group led by U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein in power—were secretly taking precautionary measures.

Stringent army security moves which preceded U Nu's announcement and gave rise to rumours of an impending military coup were started, according to these sources, when the Army learned of the movement of the armed Union military police under Home Ministry control—to Rangoon and other plans, such as the mobilisation of the armed forest guards.

Troops disarmed everyone found with guns and deployed anti-aircraft guns round Rangoon airport to check unauthorised aircraft movements.

These sources said this dangerous situation was developing when Nu returned from a tour last month aware of what was happening and the general lawlessness in the country caused by political rivalries. He held consultations with his political colleagues and with the Army.

The decision to make General Ne Win temporary Prime Minister to organise elections was taken on Oct. 2, but before making the announcement, Nu assured himself of support of his rivals—Ba Swe and Kyaw Nyein.

## Economic Bond Uniting the Commonwealth

By Mr. F. CASSELL

of "The Banker", London.

THE Commonwealth is not primarily an economic association but economic bonds play an important part in its cohesion. Those bonds are mostly loose and informal and the strongest of them are not the result of deliberate policy but have evolved quite naturally as the Commonwealth has developed.

The economic strength of the Commonwealth is not to be sought in preferential tariffs—though those are still important—or in foreign exchange controls. It lies rather in the resources, skill and initiative of members and the trading, financial and personal relationships to which these have given rise.

A Commonwealth whose frontiers stretch from the northern-most tip of Canada to Antarctica, and from Hong Kong and Sydney to Vancouver and the Falkland Isles embraces almost all geographic and climatic conditions.

This variety has made the Commonwealth the major source of many of the world's most important primary commodities. It supplies more than half the free world's wool, jute, sisal, cocoa, tea, pepper, barley, asbestos, manganese, platinum and gold, and more than a third of its tin, chrome, rice, groundnuts, copra and natural rubber.

It is also an important producer of aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, silver, wheat, sugar, diamonds, wood pulp and vegetable oils. Even more important, the Commonwealth is particularly richly endowed with the new minerals, such as uranium, zirconium and titanium which will be consumed in increasing quantities as the nuclear and electronic age develops. If the Paley Commission's forecasts of the United States' growing dependence on imported raw materials prove correct, the Commonwealth should become, in the future, an even more important source of the world's raw materials.

This natural wealth, however, is no more than the foundation of the Commonwealth's

prosperity. Capital and enterprise are needed if that wealth is to be exploited.

It is here, perhaps, that the Commonwealth partnership—and the imperial relationship before it—has made its greatest contribution. The Commonwealth has meant stable government, and the confidence this inspired has encouraged the free flow of capital and labour between members, and, in recent years, also attracted much capital from outside countries.

The United Kingdom remains the commercial and financial hub of the Commonwealth and the pattern of trade is still very broadly the exchange of United Kingdom manufactures against the primary products of other members.

This pattern is gradually changing as more and more Commonwealth countries build up their industries and the process is causing some difficulties, as for instance in the Lancashire cotton industry, because the United Kingdom puts no tariff or other obstacles in the way of Commonwealth imports. But the general complementary nature of Commonwealth trade remains.

The "sterling" Commonwealth—that is virtually the entire Commonwealth except Canada—provides one vast market of some 640,000,000 consumers in which there are no currency barriers to trade.

But the Commonwealth is not a closed system: rather more than half its trade is done with outside countries.

The strength of the Commonwealth, however, is something greater than the mere addition of its resources and trade. The partnership itself contributes to that strength notably by sterling members pooling their hard currency earnings and by overseas sterling members holding most of their reserve in the form of balances in London, to be run up or down according to their balance of payments needs.

In the days of soaring commodity prices which followed the outbreak of the Korean war, overseas sterling countries allowed much of their increased earnings to accumulate in London and thus considerably eased the pressure which Britain's higher import bill might otherwise have put upon the pound.

In the past year, when commodity prices have been falling, these countries have been able partially to offset the reduction in their export earning by drawing on their balances in London, and their drawings have in effect been

financed by the bigger balance of payments surplus which lower import prices have given Britain.

This complex system of Commonwealth trade and payments has grown up unplanned and unco-ordinated by any central body. The system is not perfect; at times, since World War II, it has shown serious signs of strain, but it still affords members an important element of stability which, with prudent administration, should enable them to avoid the extremes of inflation and deflation.

## World Bank and Indian Railways

By

Mr. P. C. MUKERJEE,  
*Chairman, Railway Board.*

The first Five-year Plan was the first co-ordinated attempt made in India at planned economic development of the resources of the country and as this met with considerable success, the second Five-year Plan was formulated and is being implemented with much higher targets.

The large-scale expansion of the basic and heavy industries, as included in the Plan, has a substantial effect on the traffic load on the railways. According to the latest estimates, the railways are expected to be called upon to carry 168 million tons annually by 1960-61, as compared to only 114 million tons carried annually by 1955-56.

In other words, the increase in freight carrying capacity would have to be of the order of 47 per cent.

In addition, a provision for an increase of 3 per cent per annum in passenger train services has been made. Much of this increase, however, would be absorbed in the normal increase in population that would take place during the five years and as far as can be seen, there is not going to be any improvement in over-crowding.

Apart from an increase of 47 per cent in freight traffic and 15 per cent in passenger traffic, the railways have also to provide for rehabilitation of their assets, and for certain ancillary items which in a complex undertaking like the railways, have to be taken note of, so as to achieve integrated planning.

In terms of physical targets, the railway Plan provides for 842 miles of new lines, 1607 miles of doubling of track, 826 miles of electric traction—since raised to 1442 miles—8000 miles track renewals, 2,364 locomotives, 11,575 carriages and 107,247 wagons.

The achievement of these physical targets and acquisition of so much equipment is obviously not possible from indigenous resources alone.

At the commencement of the Second Five-year Plan, indigenous capacity for most of the items of railway equipment fell much below the requirements and there were certain important items for which indigenous capacity did not exist at all. It was inevitable, therefore, that the foreign exchange component of the railway Plan of Rs. 1,125 crores should come to so high a figure as Rs. 425 crores.

This, in turn, meant a heavy drain on the slender foreign exchange resources of the country.

The railways have been making a sustained drive for creating and developing indigenous capacity and the value of stores and equipment purchased indigenously has risen from Rs. 68 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 126 crores in 1956-57. The imports have continued to be at a high rate, in spite of substantial increase in supplies from indigenous sources, because of the size of the railway programme. The imports pertain, however, only to items which are either not being manufactured in the country or for which indigenous capacity is fully booked.

The first loan to the Indian railways from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was made in 1949, when a sum of 32 million dollars was made available for the purchase of locomotives.

The question of a World Bank loan for the second Five-year Plan was mooted early 1956, followed by technical discussions between a team of senior railway officers and representatives of the Bank in Washington. Later, a technical mission from the World Bank came to India for an on-the-spot study. This was followed by final negotiations, resulting in the grant of a loan of 90 million dollars to the Indian railways in July 1957.

This loan of 90 million dollars covers essential equipment for the railway development programme including such items as track materials, locomotives (electric, diesel and a

few steam), wagons, electric multiple coaches etc., The equipment has been supplied from Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Japan, United States, U.K., and Yugoslavia.

The railways have had to enter into heavy commitments for a further phase of their development in connection with their electrification schemes, acquisition of rolling stock and track materials. The World Bank has, therefore, sanctioned a further loan for 85 million dollars to cover payment upto March 1959.

The World Bank has a very detailed procedure which it follows in the preliminary examination and negotiations for a loan, and later in regard to its disbursement. In all respects, the approach of the Bank officials, who are drawn from different countries of the world, has been extremely businesslike and helpful.

Even in the case of equipment not available in India, the procedure observed by the Indian railways has always been to go in for global tenders and on the basis of this accept the most economical offer. This has helped the Indian railways to comply with the Bank's requirements and so obtain the funds.

We are, indeed, very grateful to the World Bank for its assistance, in covering a fair proportion of our foreign exchange requirements. It is very good news that the annual Fund Bank Conference is being held in New Delhi this month. As railwaymen, we hope that the busy delegates would find some time to see something of our vast railway system.

### *I Remember*

I send my good wishes to Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. on the occasion of their Diamond Jubilee. During this long period, this firm under the direction of its distinguished founder, Sri G. A. Natesan, has played a notable part in the political and cultural development of India. I remember how we used to look forward to the INDIAN REVIEW even in my boyhood. I hope the firm and the INDIAN REVIEW will continue their role of service in the dynamic India of today.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

# Raja Rammohun Roy

THE INAUGURATOR OF THE MODERN AGE IN INDIA

By Dr. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The Death Anniversary of Raja Mohan Roy was celebrated on September 27. The following extracts from the address delivered by Rabindranath Tagore on the occasion of Ram Mohan Roy's centenary in 1933 will be of interest. [Ed. I. R.]

**R**AMMOHUN ROY inaugurated the Modern Age in India. He was born at a time when our country having lost its link with the inmost truths of its being, struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to circumstance. In social usage, in politics, in the realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition and ceased to exercise our humanity. In this dark gloom of India's degeneration Rammohun rose up, a luminous star in the firmament of India's history, with prophetic purity of vision and unconquerable heroism of soul. He shed radiance all over the land; he rescued us from the penury of self-oblivion. Through the dynamic power of his personality, his uncompromising freedom of the spirit, he vitalized our national being with the urgency of creative endeavour and launched it into the arduous adventure of realization. He is the great path-maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, initiated us into the present Era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.

Rammohun belongs to the lineage of India's great seers, who age after age have appeared in the arena of our history with the message of Eternal Man. India's special genius has been to acknowledge the divine in human affairs, to offer hospitality to all that is imperishable in human civilization, regardless of racial and national divergence. From the early dawn of our history it has been India's privilege and also its problem, as a host to harmonise the diverse elements of humanity which have inevitably been brought to our midst, to synthesize contrasting cultures in the light of a comprehensive ideal. The stupendous structure of our social system with its intricate arrangement of caste testifies to the vigorous attempt made at an early state of human civilization to deal with the complexity of our problem, to relegate to every class of our peoples, however wide the cleavage bet-

ween their level of culture, a place in a cosmopolitan scheme of society. Rammohun's predecessors, Kabir, Nanak, Dadu and innumerable saints and seers of medieval India, carried on much farther India's great attempt to evolve a human adjustment of peoples and races; they broke through barriers of social and religious exclusiveness and brought together India's different communities on the genuine basis of spiritual reality. Now that our outworn social usages are yielding rapidly to the stress of an urgent call of unity, when rigid enclosures of caste and creed can no more obstruct the freedom of our fellowship, when India's spiritual need of faith and concord between her different peoples has become imperative and seems to have aroused a new stir of consciousness throughout the land, we must not forget that this emancipation of our manhood has been made possible by the indomitable personality of the great Unifier, Rammohun Roy. He paved the path for this reassertion of India's inmost truth of being, her belief in the equality of man in the love of the Supreme Person, who ever dwells in the hearts of all men and unites us in the bond of welfare.

Rammohun was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man, to realise completely the significance of the Modern Age. We in this country, however, owe a special responsibility, not only of bringing to light his varied contributions to the Modern Age, but of proving our right of kinship with him by justifying his life, by maintaining in every realm of our national existence the high standard of truth which he set before us. Great men have been claimed by humanity by its persecution of them and wilful neglect. We evade our responsibility for those who are immeasurably superior to us by repudiating them. Rammohun suffered martyrdom in his time and paid the price of his greatness. But out of sufferings his power of transmuting them to carry on further beneficent activities for the good of humanity, the Modern Age gained an undying urge of life.

# The Metric System

By

Shri B. R. BHAGAT

Union Deputy Minister for Finance

**I**T is said that the wheel was first devised in China but was used only for prayers. The principle of the wheel was taken from the Chinese by other people and applied to develop the science of mechanics. In the result, while mechanical traction helped industry in Europe to make rapid strides, China, tied to her human and animal labour, lagged behind for centuries.

The zero was first invented in India nearly 2,000 years ago. To what extent the principle of the zero affected Indian systems of philosophy is an interesting subject for speculation. It is clear, however, that the mathematical implications of the zero, and decimals, were not exploited fully for application in the practical life of the Indian people.

From the early middle ages to comparatively recent times, India remained divided into many kingdoms and principalities. Attempts to bring the country under one unified political system were only rarely and partially successful. A natural concomitant of the political fragmentation was disparity in economic tools and practices. Different areas of the country had different systems of coinage and different weights and measures.

Political fragmentation, natural limitations like mountain ranges and lack of navigable waterways and the static condition of technology resulted in a largely self-sufficient economy centred in individual villages. The disparate practices in coinage, currency, weights and measures must have been additional obstacles to the development of trade, commerce and industry between the different parts of the subcontinent. Significantly, it was Akbar, who among many monarchs alone came near achieving political unity, was the person who thought of instituting decimal

systems of coinage, weights and measures in the country.

In Europe, however, and in America when it came to be discovered and developed, technological changes went on apace and with them the tools and practices of trade and commerce were sharpened and made more and more workable. It is interesting to recall that shortly after the American War of Independence, President Jefferson introduced the dollar divisible into 100 parts. It is also significant that shortly after the French Revolution, Talleyrand introduced the metric system which came to be of great help in the age, then just opening, of fast developing industry, trade and commerce in Europe.

It was not till well into the 19th century, however, that a unitary political consciousness emerged in India. Once it emerged, it made rapid strides. The realisation of the need to have integrated economic tools operative all over the country was, however, a slow process. Although a law was passed in 1870 enabling the metric system to be adopted in the country, it remained a dead letter.

When political independence was achieved and the country became one political unit with the absorption of 600 odd princely states, the necessity of devising uniform economic tools for adoption at once came to the front. The urgency was accentuated by the realisation that the country was about to enter a phase of industrial and economic development the like of which was never seen in the previous millenniums of its history. It was foreseen that unless the basic economic tools were suitably adjusted here and now, adjustment in future would become more and more difficult. The case of the United Kingdom which still clings to the old system of pounds and shill-

ings, tons and cwts. served much more as a warning than as an example.

At first it was felt that as the weights and measures reform would be the more important change, it should be adopted earlier than the reform in coinage. During the deliberations that the coinage reform would be easier to put through it would help the people of the country in getting accustomed to the application of decimals in reckoning of all kinds and would thus facilitate the adoption of the reform in weights and measures.

Events of the last year and a half bear witness to the wisdom and felicity of the decision to make decimal coinage the first priority. Before decimal coinage was inaugurated, there had been protests in different parts of the country from influential individuals that the people would not take kindly to the reform and that the disruption of old habits would create many complications. It is pleasing to note that these forebodings have been belied.

Decimal coinage was introduced on April 1, 1957 and the introduction was preceded and accompanied by suitable publicity measures to reach not only the towns people but as far as possible into the villages also. The new system in coinage has come to be accepted by the people with relatively very little fuss. There were a few difficulties in the initial stage over matters like the 13 nP postal charge, some coins carrying dots on their reverse side and others not and the discrepancy that while one anna is equal to 6 nP, 4 annas are equal to 25 nP. Within a short time, however, the people realised that some small difficulties are inherent in any large reform and that the best thing to do is not to reject the reform but to adapt oneself to it and point out constructively to what extent and how these small difficulties can be removed.

In the result, quite a few matters have been settled amicably between the public and bodies like post offices and transport authorities and a few small difficulties have come to be ignored.

Decimal coinage has now come to be accepted all over the country; over 100 crores of pieces are already in circulation and the three mints at Calcutta, Bombay and Hyderabad between them are turning out more than three million pieces a day. The volume of the old coins in circulation is shrinking. The pie, the half-pice and the yellow nickel brass two-anna pieces will become obsolete in a few months.

Within the next three or four years, when the old coins are longer to be seen, the decimal coinage system will be the only system in the country. People are already realising the advantages of calculation in terms of tens and this will facilitate the gradual adoption of the metric system in weights and measures.

It will be unwise not to recognise that the application of the metric system to weights and measures will cause greater strain to the individual than did the adoption of decimal coinage. There may be difficulties here and there in the initial stages, but if the public shows intelligent understanding and confines criticism to constructive lines and if the Government can demonstrate that it is determined to do its very best to make the adoption of the metric system as painless as practicable, there is no doubt the neat pattern of the course of a decade or so, supplant the present jungle of diverse and confusing methods of reckoning and will make for easier dealings in trade and commerce and easier development of industry.

The weights and measures reform may be more difficult than the reform in coinage, but there is no gainsaying that it has much greater potentialities. The decimal coinage reform was largely a matter of convenience but the weights and measures reform will combine with this the more important achievements of helping the nation to feel united within itself and bringing it nearer to other nations. The Punjabi measure, the Madrasi measure and the Bengali measure will disappear and in

their place will come standards which are the same all over India and are also identical with the standards in the major part of the world.

An additional point of interest is that, in the process of adopting the metric system of

weights and measures, no part of the country has an advantage over others and no part of the country suffers from a handicap. The reform is a stimulating challenge to be met by all and the benefits it will yield will be reaped by all.

## II

By Dr. C. V. RAMAN

THE metric system of weights and measures has been accepted by most countries, and indeed in many of them it is the only legally permissible one. Now that India has taken her place amongst the nations of the world as a unified and independent Republic, it is in the national interest that the metric system is also adopted by us.

Men of science all the world over have long recognized the immense advantages following from the adoption of internationally accepted units for physical measurements of all kinds. Further, scientific research is by its nature international, and hence the adoption of agreed standards for all physically measurable quantities is essential for its progress.

Length, mass and time are the three irreducible entities accessible to physical observation which resist further analysis. Hence, the ideas and methods of science are directed towards expressing the measures of all other physical quantities in terms of the fundamental units of length, mass and time.

The initiative in establishing the units of measurement adopted for these purposes came from France in the years following the great political revolution in that country. Fortunately for the world of science, the scientific prestige of France at that time was very great. In every field of exact knowledge, she led the world and there was therefore no hesitation anywhere in accepting the lead thus given and hereby establishing the metric system as a

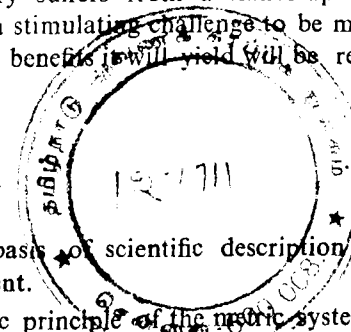
universal basis of scientific description and measurement.

The basic principle of the metric system is that the fundamental units should be derived from permanent and naturally existing standards. It was also contemplated that the subsidiary units actually used in practice should be related to the basic units in multiples or sub-multiples of ten, the computational advantages of the decimal system thus being availed of.

These objects have indeed been attained in the system, though not quite in the fashion originally intended. In practice, the standards actually used are certain internationally accepted proto-types, these being again reproduced as closely as possible in the national proto-types deposited in the respective countries.

With the advance of civilisation, scientific knowledge and scientific results increasingly permeate all types of human activity. Machines of many kinds, mechanical and electrical energy, the artificial production of heat or cold, systems of illumination, electrical communication, radio and television may be mentioned as illustrative examples.

All of them involve accurate measurements of some kind or other, and hence it is inevitable that the system of units which scientific men have adopted for their own purposes penetrate into other fields and thus become universal. This is a highly desirable result and the nation may therefore rightly acclaim and adopt the system with enthusiasm.



# Professor Jean Frederic Joliot-Curie

The Great Harbinger of Atomic Age

(b. March 19, 1900 — d. August 14, 1958)

By

Mr. MAHESH DAS MUNDHRA

**A**MONG the pioneers of atomic research Jean Frederic Joliot-Curie and his wife will be remembered with much respect. They bore an honoured name to which they added, as Sir James Chadwick has said, "lustre by many contributions of great importance in radioactivity and in the development of nuclear physics."

Born of middle-class parents in Paris on March 19, 1900, Jean Frederic Joliot made up his mind to become a scientist while he was still of ten only. In 1923 he graduated in engineering from the Ecole de Physique at de Chimie Industrielles, Paris. He came in contact with Paul Langevin, famous French Physicist and Professor at the College de France, and was influenced by his ideas in various other directions, including politics, besides science. After spending next two years in heavy industry and military service, in 1925 at the recommendation of Langevin he joined Mme. Marie Curie, Director of the Radium Institute of the University of Paris, as an assistant. There he met his future wife Irene (1897-1956), the elder daughter of Pierre and Marie Curie, who was his fellow assistant in her mother's laboratory. They were married next year.

While working in the laboratory of Mme. Marie Curie, he became much interested in the study of atomic physics and chemistry. He got a second bachelor's degree and in 1927 his Licence es Sciences by investigating the properties of alpha rays from radioactive elements.

On his thesis on electro-chemical explorations of the properties of radioactive and inactive elements in extremely diluted solutions he was awarded Docteur es Sciences degree by Paris University in 1930. Upto this period he

was carrying his researches independently for the most part.

He began to follow the path of his famous parents-in-law after 1930. Symbolised by their hyphenated name Joliot-Curie, again to quote Sir James Chadwick, "there began a collaboration of husband and wife in scientific work rivalling in productive genius even that of her parents. Equal in partnership, each was a fitting complement to other, and together they published some remarkable work."

Together they began atomic bombardment experiments. They fired alpha particles at the light metal beryllium. Their researches prepared the ground for James Chadwick's discovery of the neutron in 1932.

Bombarding the element boron with alpha particles obtained from polonium, the method of production of the other newly discovered particle known as positron or positive electron. Here it may be mentioned that the radioactive element polonium was discovered by Mme. Marie Curie in 1898 and was named by her after her native land of Poland (called *Polonia* in Latin). Their efforts resulted in their own production of artificial radioactivity in 1934.

Irene herself said, "In 1934 Frederic Joliot-Curie and myself discovered that artificial transmutation does not always transform a nucleus into another known stable nucleus, but may produce a new radio-active nucleus, unknown in nature."

They opened up a fruitful new avenue for scientific research which led the scientific world to the final splitting of the atom.

The discoveries of the Joliot-Curies were widely acclaimed. In 1933 and 1934 they received the Henri Wilde and Marquet prizes of the Academic des Sciences. They won the

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Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1935 for the discovery of artificial radio-activity. Both were, again in 1940, honoured by the award, made only once in five years, of Columbia University's Barnard Gold Medal for Meritorious Service to Science.

Frederic was also a foreign member of Britain's famous Royal Society and a recipient of Hughes Medal for 1947.

The Joliot-Curies were honoured by a large number of learned Societies throughout the world. On the twentieth anniversary of the discovery of artificial radioactivity they were awarded Lavoisier Medal by the Paris Academy of Sciences.

Frederic Joliot-Curie served various scientific research institutions of France as well as Paris University as a director and professor. He became a professor of College de France in 1937.

He and his wife continued their researches in atomic physics and in February 1940 they were among the first experimenters to attain the long-sought chain reaction in nuclear fission.

He was a great patriot. During the Second World War when France was run over by the Nazis, the scientist stood in the forefront of underground activities as a leader of the Front National, the Resistance movement in the university circles of Paris. Under the pretence of theoretical research of the atom, he directed the manufacture of explosives and wireless equipment for the use of the Maquis, often with the Germans working in nearby rooms or on the next floor of the laboratory buildings. He did many more things which bear like legends.

As soon as France was liberated he was honoured by his countrymen. He was appointed as Director of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

In the post-war period he directed the atomic energy researches in his country as well as held several official posts in this connection.

In 1946 he was elected to the presidency of the newly formed World Federation of Scientific Workers, a trade union organisation dedicated to the "initiation of action to insure that science plays its proper part in helping to solve the urgent problems of our time."

Of contemporary French scientists he was the most prominent in political affairs. He was a member of the Communist Party which he joined in 1940.

He was appointed French High Commissioner for Atomic Energy and alternate French delegate to the International Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations by General Charles de Gaulle in 1946. Later in 1950 he was removed at American instigation from all official posts in connection with atomic energy because of his Communist affiliations.

He was a man of wide interests and contributed in various branches of knowledge. To quote Irene, "Prof. Joliot-Curie who has made some biological work with Prof. Courrier has studied iodine metabolism of ionic iodine and of thyroxine. They have shown that radioactive thyroxine injected to a female does not go through the foetal membrane into the foetus; on the contrary, if ionic active iodine is injected, it passes in the foetus which elaborates radioactive thyroxine. It shows that the foetus makes its own thyroxine."

He had a great interest in common people. He expressed the human side of science. He said, "In the laboratory I give a great deal of thought to the persons with whom I associate. For a scientist it is necessary not only to know people, but to work with, popular organizations. When he formulates ideas, they often stem from associations. I do not care for an intellectual vacuum."

He was a great champion of peace. He advocated the peaceful use of atomic energy. "French science," he expressed, "does not want to have anything to do with atomic research other than for peace. All our efforts are being utilized in the development of this

tremendous energy for the advancement of humanity."

He emphasized the need for scientists to inform the public of the useful things which science can provide, and to try to promote international exchanges of scientific literature and of personal visits as a contribution to improve international relations. He and his wife visited India in 1950.

He was the Chairman of the World Peace

Congress. In 1951 he was awarded Stalin Peace Prize.

His wife died in 1956. They have left one daughter Helen, married to a grandson of the late Prof. P. Langevin, and a son Pierre. It is hoped that they will maintain the tradition of the Curie family.

Frederic Joliot-Curie died on August 14, 1958, in Paris. By his death the world has lost a really great scientist and a really great man.

## Need of Foreign Capital in India

By

Shri R. B. MATHUR

FOREIGN capital has always played an important part in the Economic Development of all big countries like U.K., U.S.A. and Germany. The necessity of foreign capital arises because of shortage of consumer goods and capital goods in an underdeveloped country as compared to the demand. On the other hand, in some countries there is abundance of goods and unless they export these goods to less developed countries their economies are bound to shatter. But the total demand from all under-developed countries is always more than the supplies available in a few advanced countries and hence the advanced countries have to give small quantities to various countries according to the need and other conditions prevailing in those countries. Economically, the principle of free mobility of goods and capital must operate to keep the price of money equal to its demand and hence the countries with an abundance of capital must come to invest to other countries where, other things being equal, they can get better price for the money than what they can get in their own country.

The same principle of Economics must operate in India unless it is checked by some artificial pressures or by Governmental inter-

ference. India's need for foreign capital is very great and the huge deficit in available means and estimated resources is considered to be of the order of Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 1,500 crores under the Second Plan. The figure was originally placed at Rs. 800 crores but now it is estimated that not less than Rs. 1,500 crores will be required for the foreign exchange requirements of the country. According to one estimate the aggregate of foreign exchange expenditure both under the Public sector and the Private sector on the imports of Machinery and Vehicles has been estimated at about Rs. 2,150 crores.

Shortage of Industrial Finance has always been inherent in the Indian economy. The rate of capital formation in India was 4% in 1949- a year before the 1st Five-year Plan. In the second Plan, it is estimated at 6% of the total National Income. The necessity of foreign Aid is all the more great in India because of a rising trend in price structure and the inclusion in the Plan of additional projects. This also involves the Balance of Payment difficulties. Between 1948-49 and 1955-56, the payments deficit was Rs. 810 crores. In 1957 the deficit was about Rs. 290 crores.

In order to achieve its aim India must encourage ways of attracting foreign capital in as much quantity as possible. Internal sources of finance are already full and any further taxation results in the slackening of production. The production and investment must be encouraged internally and it is the internal strength and development of private enterprise which automatically helps to create a good sense of security for foreign investment. Govt. to Govt. assistance is subject to political considerations but private investors in foreign countries judge the question of investing in foreign countries mainly from the profit motive and also if they could repatriate their profits and capital to their own country. In this connection the following extract published in the annual Number of *Capital* of 1957 from an article written by Mr. Neil McInnes is very interesting. Mr. Neil McInnes is dealing here with the internal weaknesses of underdeveloped countries which go to check up the flow of foreign capital. He says :—

"Even supposing external Aid were much more lavish, there are serious internal and structural obstacles, within underdeveloped economies to rapid industrialization. The internal resistances to economic progress, resistances connected with the very nature of underdeveloped countries, which can be overcome only slowly even when external Aid and central direction are adequate and consistent. In particular, we will refer to the disabilities that flow from the initial absence and very slow emergence, of a class of native entrepreneurs.

"It is not suggested that such internal and structural weaknesses in Asian Society are final, fatal and perpetual, simply that the importance has been under-estimated and this is part of the explanation for recent disappointments. Moreover, most of the interest in pointing out these weaknesses in Indian Society is just that they are being gradually overcome and that reasonable suggestions can be made

about hastening this process. Next to concentrate for a moment on a structural deficiency in Indian Society which is handicapping industrial advance does not amount to saying "the fault is not in our friends but in ourselves" and concluding from this that external assistance will be useless until a vigorous class of national capitalists has grown up; on the contrary it can be shown that every step that is taken to encourage local initiative and enterprise will be at once rewarded with an increased flow of foreign Aid. In other words, it is the embryonic state of local enterprise that is the chief obstacle to the import of foreign capital, and the two problems should not be separated — as they have been done by the planners who hoped to secure foreign capital for government. Plans while doing nothing to encourage (and even much to discourage) the emergence of local enterprise. Lastly it will be evident that the assumption throughout is that India proposes to stick to both democracy and the mixed economy, in which alone the strengthening of private national industry has any meaning. (Not that a totalitarian economy escapes the problem of the emergence of domestic economic initiative but it faces it in quite different conditions)."

From the above, it is very clear that foreign Aid or participation of foreign capital will always depend on a vigorous local enterprise. Now we should examine the conditions of the local enterprise in India in view of the various developments after independence.

Firstly, ever since the declaration of a Socialist Pattern of Society, the fear of Nationalization is always there. Secondly, because of the expanding scope of the public sector in our Plan, the private enterprise has not only a smaller scope but has to be taxed heavily to contribute to the public expenditure. Thirdly, the assurance given to labour and a rising standard of living for them together with the vast non-developmental expenditure have all increased inflationary trends with a spiral of

high wages and higher cost of living and lesser profits. Fourthly, taxations affecting corporate finance have been working very adversely. The Dividend tax, the Wealth tax and the Expenditure tax are all deterrent to the growth of private enterprise. Lastly, the various inconsistencies in government policies and other irregularities in the administrative work, have all created an atmosphere which has all the more increased the already existent inherent weaknesses described earlier, in which the initiative and enterprise of the individual has faded and disappointment follows.

However, this does not mean that we should be very pessimistic about the future. Foreign capital can be made available provided there exists the necessary climate for its healthy development. The first point which any government or individual considers before any Aid programme is the political stability and the value of the local currency in terms of foreign currency. But so far as these two factors are concerned, India is fortunate in having both of these. Indian Rupee is regarded as a valuable currency in the comity of nations. So far as government to government Aid is concerned there are various other factors which the foreign governments have to consider and it may be that all the conditions necessary may not be existent or some of the conditions for giving Aid may not be acceptable to the Importing country in the light of National interest. However, Private foreign Aid is less subject to such considerations and it is the view of some responsible and respectable personalities who have toured in the foreign countries, that there exists quite a good deal of goodwill in some countries specially in U.S.A. to help India. But it is a question of profitability on private foreign Investment and an assurance regarding safe repatriation of the capital and a clear declaration that this foreign capital will not be Nationalized. People who are willing to invest abroad will see the progress and the development and the self-confidence of the Indian Private Sector as the test and the

flourishing of Indian private capital will attract huge capital from abroad both in the private as well as public sector.

The services of the various Chambers of Commerce and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce can be usefully utilised to form a Committee of experts who should constantly keep in touch with foreign private parties or institutions to explore the possibilities of greater investments. At present there is no system whereby foreigners are explained about the prospects of specific enterprises. Unless there are regular contacts this may not be possible. Africa has followed this kind of system and as a result West German Capital is flowing to Africa. Further, we should not concentrate on only a few big lending countries like the U.S.A. or U.K. or Russia for help. We should also explore the possibilities of foreign Aid in smaller countries, and a thorough search for capital should be made in smaller continental countries by private parties.

While making efforts to acquire foreign capital we should not forget that conditions in the western countries are not the same now as they were in the 19th century when, for example, there were huge surpluses with the British public who were moving in search of profitable investments in the East and the African and American countries. In every country, with the increase in population and with the consciousness of labour for a better standard of living, the economies are now faced with the problem of more and more equal distribution and welfare of the masses whereas in the 19th century, Savings were huge and hence investment and Production were very great. In other words, more attention was towards production and savings as opposed to distribution which is the case now. A rapidly rising population cannot wait for long for more production and hence the pressing demands have reduced the production and savings of every country. This is as much true of Britain as of U.S.A. and Germany.

It follows, therefore, that India or any other newly developing country cannot look to huge amounts of capital from the West in the present times as was the case earlier and the little surpluses which are available, if they are invited, India has to provide them with adequate facilities if she wants it otherwise there are other backward countries also which are in dire necessity of foreign capital and which provide adequate facilities for foreign investments.

With this emphasis, it will not be out of place to mention here that although India's policy of full employment is worth appreciating, and it must be the aim of our Government, still we must consider that we are very much short of technical hands and business administrators. Our Government should relax, for some time, the terms and conditions for the import of foreign technicians and businessmen who should be given freer scope for establishing business in India. Of course the obliga-

tion of training the necessary Indian staff must be there but rules regarding their appointments and taxation of their personal incomes, etc., should be suitably relaxed. Taxation of perquisites should be liberalised and home leave passage expenses should not be included in the total taxable income. It may be that there is a slight fall in revenue due to relaxation or concessions but the amount of foreign capital which India will get and the technical know-how coupled with business administrations will soon revolutionise the country. Indian businessmen will also benefit from the close association of foreigners and very soon a better confidence can be created. In some cases the insistence by the Government of India that foreign capital should come to India only in partnership with Indian capital and the latter should have the upper hand in management and administration is not wholly justified in view of the fact that Government has at all times power to control and direct their activities in the National interest.

## Misuse of Satyagraha

By

Mr. SHYAM K. PANDIT

INDIANS all the world over will continue to observe October 2, as the birthday of Gandhiji. Naturally we raise our hearts in gratitude and in obedience to the Great Soul that led the country to independence and which remains to be the greatest force in our nation's life. Under his guidance, influence and inspiration we have been able to raise politics to a higher ethical plane, banish the very thought of violence from the minds of men and nation and create a spiritual power based on love, truth, ahimsa and service. He firmly believed and during the struggle for freedom exhibited beyond doubt and suspicion that men who are wedded to non-violence are the bravest and the most selfless of men and

best fitted to lead the world from destruction to a life of peace and mutual enrichment. Satyagraha based on truth and non-violence is the most powerful weapon to eradicate each and every evil from the society. Non-violent Satyagraha is the impregnable steel armour of groups and individuals with irrevocable fight for the dignity of man, for higher social values, economic well-being, etc., when these are denied or usurped by any power. But Satyagraha has to be resorted to after attempts for bringing about conversions through arguments and discussions and other legal and constitutional remedies have failed. Precisely following are the essential ingredients and prerequisites of a Satyagraha :—

1. When dignity of human beings, higher social values, economic well-being, etc., are denied or usurped by any power.
2. Attempts of bringing about conversion through arguments and discussions have failed.
3. When legal and constitutional remedies have exhausted.
4. It must be based on Satya and Ahimsa.

During the struggle for freedom Mahatmaji, many times offered Satyagraha but whenever he observed that any of the aforesaid prerequisites and ingredients are lacking, he at once suspended Satyagraha.

But today the newspaper daily brings the news of one Satyagraha or the other (individual or mass) on one pretext or the other. Satyagraha is threatened or resorted to every time on every conceivable occasion. There is a talk of Satyagraha when necessary or rather overdue modifications are proposed in the forms of marriages. There is repetition of similar talks when a new tax is sought to be levied for financing schemes of national uplift. For matters minor or major the threat of Satyagraha has become a commonplace affair. After the demise of Gandhiji, the term, "Satyagraha" has been indiscriminately used for all sorts of protests, reasonable or otherwise. This pious mantra expounded by the Father of the Nation has degenerated into a threat. Today organisations, unions, etc., on the basis of their strength want to get their demands reasonable or otherwise, appropriate or in-appropriate, timely or untimely passed. The talks of Satyagraha appear to have become the fashion of the day. Only a few months back Government servants of one department of the Government of India demanded that their pay should be increased otherwise they shall resort to Satyagraha. All the reasonable persons do agree that the conditions of these Government servants must improve. They must have a prosperous life. Their all wants, desires and demands must be fulfilled.

The position of the most of the Satyagrahas and Satyagrahies is just like a wife who on account of some other family feud refuses to prepare meals for her husband who is already late for his office. Husband cannot help going to the office. Furthermore, owing to the closing dates of the month he does not have even 12 n.P. to take a cup of tea. Under these circumstances he is left with no other alternative than to accede to the viewpoint of his wife no matter whosoever might have been responsible for the trouble.

Today we are passing through an acute economic crisis and we have limited economic resources. In this transitional period we are to lay the solid foundations of Bharat of our dreams. At this juncture we are to make use of our resources in such a way that Bharat of our dreams may not in any way be obstructed. The nation requires sacrifice from all of us. But unfortunately majority of Satyagrahies do not have this outlook before them. They are concerned with their own demands no matter whether the state has sufficient surplus economic resources to meet the demands of increased pay. Will the demand for increased pay not force the Government to curtail the expenditure on essential basic development schemes on which the steady future development of the nation depends? Today Satyagraha seems to have a question of seizing power. Such Satyagrahas are decidedly against the very soul and purpose of Satyagraha. It will be better to call such threats as Duragraha (obstinacy). But people make use of this pious mantra because they know that the word carries respect in the very hearts of the Indians. But it should not be forgotten that repeated misuse may force the people to detest it. However, it should not be construed that there should not be any Satyagraha.

In a democracy where the administration is in the hands of the elected representatives of the people, there is less scope for Satyagraha. Under such a political set up majority of the questions can be settled by talks over the table.

It must be conceded that in a democracy which is responsible to public opinion and is based on adult franchise there cannot and should not be frequent occasions for resorting to Satyagraha. The question of Satyagraha comes in a democracy only when under the high-pressure of power, or numerical majority, or riches, the intellect of those who are in a position to redress the grievances has been dubbed or their hearts hardened. If a democratic government does a grave injustice, the hearts of the persons at the helm do not melt, and righteous men and groups feel that a great injustice is done, Satyagraha may surely become necessary. He

who decides on Satyagraha should have a clear conscience and open mind, his judgment should be unbiassed. If Satyagraha fulfills the conditions laid down by the father of the Nation then it is bound to touch and melt even the hardest heart.

Unluckily majority of the Satyagrahis do not even bother to fulfil the exacting conditions laid down by Mahatmaji before resorting to it. In order to safeguard the purity of Gandhiji's mantra it is the moral duty of all of us to create strong public opinion against the misuse of Satyagraha.

## The Problem of Power in Europe

By

Mr. JAMES STANOVNIK

**T**HE post-war economic development of Europe gave rise to a major problem which will become all the more acute with the passage of time, namely the shortage of power. Before World War II Europe mainly satisfied its power requirements from its own sources while frequently disposing with small net export surpluses of certain forms of energy. However when post-war industrial production began developing at an average annual rate of 3.5 percent and power consumption at slightly less than 2 percent, and while European production of primary energy amounted to only one percent, a deficit in the power balance of the continent was created to the equivalent of approximately one-sixth of total consumption at present. According to certain estimates, the deficit may even rise to one-third of total consumption over the next ten years.

Although the price of power is not a decisive factor in the final value of industrial products, the problem of power supply is nonetheless invested with a strategic role in industrial

development. Owing to the immense significance of power for over-all economic development in most countries the state is assuming a greater or smaller, direct or indirect role in its production, distribution and determination of its prices. For this reason power supply is no longer a purely commercial and economic problem in contemporary economic policy as it is also a political problem where strategic considerations often play an important part.

All this provided sufficient cause for the UN Economic Commission for Europe to ponder this problem seriously and devise new ways and means for its solution. For this purpose the Commission requested its Secretariat to prepare a study in which all the relevant problems will be analysed and the possible development of the present trends and tendencies indicated. It gave the initiative for the convocation of a meeting of government experts who would examine this study and put forward their opinions as regards the course of further studies.

The special meeting of government experts was held in Geneva at the end of March. The results of this meeting are doubtless encouraging.

The present European power deficit problem can only be resolved in one or the combination of several of the following ways:

(a) by means of the fuller utilisation of existing sources of primary energy in Europe as well as by means of the more rational utilisation of power which will enable the waste and losses entailed by transformation to be substantially reduced.

(b) by means of imports of primary energy from non-European sources.

(c) by means of transition to new sources of energy ranging from nuclear to solar energy and the power generated by sea waves.

There can be no doubt that the so-called conventional sources of energy (coal, wood, petroleum, water power) have certain advantages over the "new" sources (nuclear energy produced by fission and fusion, power generated by wind, solar energy, the energy generated by the temperature differences of sea, water and the force of waves). The initial economic calculations indicate that the production costs per unit of electro-nuclear energy will be approximately twice higher than the cost of thermal or hydro energy. Consequently the construction of nuclear stations would be profitable at the present level of technical development only where the transmission costs of conventional energy would be notably higher than the transport costs involved by the functioning of nuclear reactors. Apart from this, the problem of disposal of radio-active waste as an inevitable product of nuclear reactors is becoming increasingly acute. All that applies to the economic estimates for nuclear reactors under the European climatic conditions and at the present level of technological development also applies to other "new" sources of energy.

It is far more difficult to decide, however, whether to assign priority to the efforts to br-

ing about the more intensive exploitation of the autochthonous European sources of energy or to imports of primary energy from non-European sources. In as far as the prices of overseas primary energy c.i.f. the European ports do not exceed the comparative production costs of the same form of energy in Europe, then,—with the exception at the expense of imports. There are political reasons however,—the tendency to independence in the supply of so vital an element of industrial development—and strategic,—namely the assuring of domestic sources of supply in case of war which tend to assign preference to home production over imports.

Crude petroleum is the fundamental European problem with regard to power imports. Europe is importing 90 percent of its petroleum requirements. While the share of Central America and the Middle East in European imports (which were almost ten times below present level) was almost equal before the war, Europe is at present covering 86 percent of its requirements from the Middle East and 10 percent from Central America.

This, however, is not due to the geographical proximity of the Middle East nor the price difference, as the prices of crude petroleum are fixed in accordance with the comparative prices of hardcoal on the U.S. Eastern seaboard which means that Europe is actually paying a monopolised world price for its petroleum imports. In this respect the possibilities of supplying Western from Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. are acquiring an ever greater significance; before the war Europe covered 6 percent of its requirements from these sources while satisfying a more 0.5 percent of these needs at present.

Hardcoal for coking is the second foremost heading on the list of European power import. Comparison of the present and pre-war sources of supply indicates that imports from Poland and Great Britain have been reduced by 50 percent. Imports of hardcoal from the U.S.A. are now equivalent to the purchases made from West Germany. The favourable

conditions of production as well as the high level of mechanisation in the U.S. coalmines have enabled the latter to offer competitive prices on the European markets although transport costs account for almost half of the price of U.S. coal imports to Europe.

There are consequently both political and economic reasons which speak in favour of a more vigorous development of the European primary power sources. In this sense Europe is already faced by the problem of a more rational use of the individual forms of energy, namely the substitution of the inferior exploitation of given forms of energy by the more profitable forms of energy (the substitution of petroleum by electricity in transport, or the substitution of electric power by gas for household use etc). Europe still disposes with substantial power resources which may compete with all overseas imports and whose significance for the European economy was not fully realized so far.

The vast Yugoslav power resources are extremely interesting in this context. With 66.5 billion kwh of water power potential Yugoslavia is one of the richest countries in Europe in water power. The advantages of the Yugoslav water power potential lies in the fact that the great part of our rivers are a rich source of winter energy for which there is a particularly strong demand in the other European countries. Besides, notwithstanding its rapid economic development our country will not require its entire water power potential in the near future and in spite of the electric power production in Yugoslavia increased threefold, we are at present exploiting only 4 percent of the water power available. The fact should also be stressed that the immense Yugoslav water power sources are favourably located for exports. The Economic Commission for Europe has been studying the Yugo—Elexport project for several years already. This project has now worked out to the last technical detail and is ready for realization on the basis of international financing. Doubt was expressed

at the expert conference in Geneva as to the technical and economic feasibility of large scale transmission of electric power. The view prevailed, however, that such a transmission is not only technically possible, but—in the concrete case of exports from Yugoslavia to Italy,—also mutually desirable as stressed by the representatives of Italy and Yugoslavia alike.

The prospects of generating thermal electric power in the rich lignite basins as a by-product in the production of high grade fuels and metallurgical coke also called forth keen interest. In view of the fact that the Yugoslav lignite deposits are located in the vicinity of the deficient regions,—Kosovo and Metohia are quite near the Greek frontier,—such an exploitation opens fresh prospects of electric power exports.

The study of the possibilities for the solution of the European power problems reconfirmed that the artificial barriers erected by bloc policy frequently constitute the greatest obstacle to the economic future of Europe. Europe would be able to rationalise its power consumption to a large degree if it would link up the rich Nordic sources of hydro-energy with the Central European coal deposits and the Balkan sources of winter energy and lignite. Such a network which would level off the differences in the production of electric power would lead to the partial substitution of hardcoal and petroleum consumption in Europe which constitute the basic problem in the power deficit of the continent at present. Such a network would transcend not only the national but also the bloc limits however. As long and until these barriers are not removed Europe will continue to pay dearly for its power imports, this being but the price of a given policy pursued.

At a time marked by the maturing of more favourable conditions for co-operation between the eastern and western European countries, the progress made by the Soviet Union in the field of power production is especially signifi-

cant. According to the present rate of development, the Soviet Union will produce more primary power than countries of Western Europe together by 1960. The Soviet Union has now brought about a 10 per cent annual increase of hardcoal production, a 5.2 per cent increase of brown coal, a 13.3 per cent increase of petroleum production, while output of natural gas is rising at an incredible rate of 44.5 per cent and water power 20.5 per cent. Such a rapid development enables the Soviet Union to satisfy its growing power requirements and also become an exporter of various forms of energy not only to the countries of Eastern Europe but also a force which can contribute to the solution of the power problems of Western Europe. At the experts' meeting in Geneva, the Soviet Minister of Power Stations Pavlenko stated that the U.S.S.R. is willing to assist the construction and supply fuel several thermal electric plants in the most deficient European power centres; he further indicated the possibilities of opening a waterway from the U.S.S.R. to Europe

which would enable the cheaper supply of fuels from the remote parts of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet delegation gave the initiative at this session for the examination of the manifold exploitation of the Danube as an artery which would facilitate the supply of energy from European and overseas sources. It should particularly be noted that the U.S.S.R. is no longer conditioning its co-operation in the solution of the European power problems by the abandonment of the plans for West European economic integration.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the artificial political barriers between East and West which were called forth by post-war developments will be removed to an even greater extent through the implementation of practical co-operation in the field of power production and other domains. Such a disappearance of bloc frontiers however is not and cannot be a mere consequence of agreement but a result of concrete economic achievements in international co-operation.

## Multi - Purpose Projects in India

By

PROF. B. C. MAMORIA, *M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.*

THE multi-purpose projects are so called because of the manifold benefits they yield. Apart from providing irrigation facilities for additional food and commercial crops, the two other main benefits they confer are the control of floods, which cause enormous destruction to crops, property, cattle and human life every year and the generation of large blocks of hydro-electric power. Among the other benefits which accrue from the projects are the development of internal navigation, which relieves pressure on the railways pisciculture, the provision of drinking water and the eventual development of the rivers for purposes of recreation. The importance of

these projects in the country's economic development is evident from the high priority given to them in the first Five-year Plan. Nearly a third of the total Budget for the First plan was earmarked for irrigation and power projects and some of these are among the world's largest.

1. *Damodar Valley Projects.* This multi-purpose project is intended to tame the turbulent Damodar river and its tributaries which overflow their banks and bring destruction and devastation to large parts of Bihar and Bengal. The full execution of the project will take many years. It will comprise 8 storage dam with hydro-electric installations, a giant

2,00,000 kw. thermal power station, and extensive power transmission grid and an irrigation barrage with canals and distributories. The phase of development included in the First Five-year Plan provided for the construction of four dams at Tilaiya, Konar, Maithon and Panchet Hill, with an installed hydro-electric capacity of 1,04,000 kw; a barrage at Durgapur, with an irrigation-cum-navigation canal and a thermal power station at Bokaro with an initial installed capacity of 1,50,000 kw.

The all-concrete Tilaiya Dam, 112 feet high and 1,147 feet long, built across the river Barakar, was completed in record time at the end of the monsoon in 1952. It was formally inaugurated by the Prime Minister on February 21, 1953. Its 26-square mile reservoir will provide irrigation for 24,000 acres in the Kharif and 75,000 acres in the rabi seasons. The Bokaro Thermal station was commissioned on the same day as the Tilaiya Dam. It has an installed capacity of 1,50,000 kw., which will eventually be raised to 2,25,000 kw. The Tilaiya hydro-stations went into commercial operation in February 1953 with two sets of 2,000 kw. each. It will meet the power requirements of the mica mines at Koderma and Hazaribagh district.

The Konar Dam 910 feet long and 160 feet high has a concrete section across the bed of the river and with earthen sections on either side. It was completed in May 1954. In addition to supplying water for cooling the Bokaro thermal plant, it will provide irrigation to 1,04,000 acres of land. Eventually, it is proposed to instal an underground hydro-electric power station below the dam with a capacity of 60,000 kw.

The Maithon Dam 1,300 feet long and 165 feet high on the Barakar river is one of the two key dams on which flood control and irrigation in the lower Damodar Valley will depend. It will store 11 lakh acre feet of water and underground hydro-electric station near the dam will have a capacity of 60,000 kw. and will irrigate about 2.7 lakh acres of land.

Maithon power station was completed by the end of 1957.

Work on the biggest of the four dams at Panchet Hill is in progress. Designed primarily for flood control, it will impound 12 lakh acre feet of water and will be 1,800 feet long. A hydro-electric station will be built near the dam with a capacity of 40,000. Panchet Hill power house will be commissioned in 1958.

The 2,271 foot long and 88 ft. high barrage at Durgapur in West Bengal was completed ahead of the target date and was formally opened by the vice-president on August, 9 1955. It will irrigate over ten lakh acres of land through a network of canals and distributories. Nearly 85 miles out of 1552 miles of these canals will be navigable and provide an alternative means of communication between Calcutta and the Coal-fields. The canals will be completed by 1958.

*Tungabhadra Projects.* This Multi-purpose project, which is now a joint undertaking of the Governments of Andhra, and Mysore, comprises a dam 7,942 feet long and 160 feet high across Tungabhadra near Malapuram and a system of canals with power stations on either side.

The dam was inaugurated on July 1, 1953. The reservoir which has a water-spread of 133 square miles, will ultimately store 30 lakhs acre feet of water. The two canals on either side will irrigate nearly 2.5 lakh acres in Andhra and Mysore states and about 4.5 lakh acres in Hyderabad. There will be two power stations on the Andhra-Mysore side, one below the dam and the other at the end of a 15 mile canal at Bukhasagaram. Initially, the stations will have two generating units of 9,000 kw. each. A hydro-electric station will be constructed below the dam on the Hyderabad side also, where two generators of 9,000 kw. will be installed in the first instance.

*Kakrapara Project.* This project financed by the Bombay Government, may be regarded as the first phase of the development of the Tapti valley. The construction of a weir 2,175

feet long and 451 feet high, on the rocky river bed near Kakrapara, 50 miles upstream of Surat, was completed in June 1953, the scheme is expected to irrigate 6.52 lakh acres in Surat district.

**Machkund Project.** A joint scheme of Andhra and Orissa, this hydro-electric project is designed to harness the river Machkund which forms the boundary between the two States. A 134-foot high and 1300 foot long storage dam has been constructed at Jalalpur on the Machkund river to store 5.88 lakh acre feet of water. There will be three generating units, each with a capacity of 17,000 kw. Later, three more units will be installed and the total power output brought to 1,02,000 kw. The project will cost about 13.60 crores for generation only, one set was formally commissioned by the President of India in August 1955. Another was commissioned in December 1955 and the third in June 1956.

**Mayurakshi Project.** This important project undertaken by the West Bengal Government is mainly an irrigation project though it also provides for the installation of a 4,000 kw. Hydro-electric plant. This power will be supplied to Birbhum and Murshidabad districts in West Bengal and Santhal Parganas in Bihar. The first stage of the project was completed in 1951 with the construction of a diversion barrage at Tilpara near Suri in West Bengal. The 113-foot high and 2,067-foot long Massanjore Dam, the most important structure of the Mayurakshi Project, was completed six months ahead of Schedule in June 1955. The canals on either side will irrigate 6 lakh acres of land. A storage dam—Canada Dam—for the Mayurakshi will have a capacity of 72 lakh acre feet of water and will provide rabi irrigation to nearly 1 lakh acres.

**The Bhakra-Nangal Project.** The Bhakra-Nangal Project in the Punjab envisages the construction of a dam, 680 ft. high across the river Sutlej near Bhakra Gorge, about 50 miles above Rupar in Ambala district. The total storage capacity of the reservoir is esti-

mated to be 7.2 m. cubic ft. of which nearly 5.5 m. cubic ft. will be available for hydro-electric power generation and irrigation purposes every year. The dam will form a lake 50 miles long and 2 to 3 miles broad. This dam would rank as the highest straight gravity dam in the world. Stored water would provide irrigation facilities for nearly 3.6 m. acres of land in the Punjab and Rajasthan and generate about 3,65,000 kws. of electric energy. An additional 1,70,000 kws. would be produced of Nangal-Hydro-electric canal which forms a feeder channel for the Bhakra Canal system. The length of the dam is about 1,700 ft. and the width of the base at its widest point about 1,100 ft. During construction of the dam the river has been directed through two 50 ft. diameter diversion tunnels one on the right hand and the other on the left, going through hillsides. Each tunnel is  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile long.

The Nangal schemes provides for an auxiliary dam or barrage across the river at Nangal after 8 miles down stream for Bhakra which will divert the river into Nangal Hydro-electric canal and at the same time as a balancing reservoir for taking up daily fluctuations from the Bhakra dam and for meeting daily and weekly load variations on power houses on the Nangal hydro-electric canal. The Nangal dam is a massive concrete weir 1,029 ft. long 400 ft. wide and with its deepest foundation going down to 50 ft. below the river bed. The water way consists of 28 bays 39 ft. wide each provided with a gate which will head up the water about 50 ft. above the existing river bed. The canal system of Nangal Dam was opened on July 8, 1954, and the Ganguwal Power House on January 2, 1955, and the Kotla power house was commissioned on July, 30, 1956.

**Kosi Project.** The most important scheme in Bihar is the Kosi-project. This project will comprise a dam about 750 feet high across the Chattra Gorge in Nepal to store about 11 million acre feet of water and it will be capable of generating 1.8 million

ws. of cheap power. There will be two barrages on Kosi, one in Nepal across the Kosi to control and stabilise the river channel and to divert its supplies into two canals, one on either bank for irrigating about a million acres in Nepal territory; and a second barrage near the Nepal-Bihar border with two canals on the left and one on the right bank for irrigating over four million areas in the districts of Purnea, Darbhanga, and Muzaffargarh in Bihar and will produce one million kws. of hydel power. This project is roughly estimated to cost Rs. 177 crores and its completion will take about 14 to 16 years. This will be a multi-purpose project for providing irrigation power, navigation, flood control, silt control, soil conservation, drainage, reclamation of water-logged areas, malaria control, fish cultures and recreation facilities. It will irrigate about 13.97 lakh acres.

**Hirakud Project.**—The unified development of Mahanadi valley as designed by the I.W.I.N.C., comprises three units namely, the Hirakud dam project (10 miles from Sambalpur), the Tikerpara dam project (130 miles downstream), each with its own canal system and hydro-electric power installations. The three units are capable of independent development and also of forming an integrated part of the basin-wide plan. It has been decided to make a start with a Hirakud dam project.

The Hirakud dam project comprises the construction of dam 15,748 feet long, and 150 feet high will be the longest in the world and will impound 67.5 lakh acre feet of water across the Mahanadi about 9 miles upstream from Sambalpur. This project after completion will provide irrigation to 1.8 million acres of land, generate 1,23,000 kws. and will also provide navigation facilities. This is in addition to nearly 1 m. acres of rich silted soil in the Mahanadi Delta which will be released from the flood menace for perennial irrigation. The total estimate for Hirakud is set at 70.8 crores.

**Nayar Dam Project.**—This project will involve the construction of 600 ft. high dam to store 1.4 million acre feet of water on the river Nayar, a tributary of the Ganga. Hydro-electric plants to be set up will have an installed capacity of 2,00,000 kws. at Narora dam

and 32,000 kws. at Vyasjhat. The water released from the lake will be used to irrigate an area of 2,38,000 acres and will also improve the irrigation of 1,068,000 acres at present irrigated by the upper Ganga canal system. It is estimated to cost 24 crores of rupees.

**Chambal Project.**—Chambal is the largest river in M.B. and Rajasthan, having its origin in Vindhya range and falling into the Yamuna after flowing for over 600 miles. The river has a fall of about 2,400 ft. The river flows over rocky surface and its banks are 2 to 300 ft. high. The river is 2,500 ft wide but at Chawrasigarh the gorge narrows down to a mere 600 ft. This river has a total drainage area of 55,000 sq. miles. The dam sites have been selected at 3 places—below Chawrasigarh fort, above Chulia falls and above Kotah city for power development, and for irrigation a barrage 2,000 ft. long will be constructed about 6 miles down stream of Kotah. Two canals will be dug from above the barrage—one on the left side towards Bundi and the other on the right side through Kotah to M.B. With canals commanding over a million acres of land and will produce about 4 lakhs tons of foodgrains.

The first dam named after Mahatma Gandhi is being constructed near Chawrasigarh. This Gandhi Sagar Dam will be 1750 ft. long and 200 ft. high above the bed of the river. It will hold about 7 million acre of water. The surface area of the lake would measure 225 sq. miles. About 60,000 kws. of power will be generated and this dam will cost 10½ crores of rupees and will be completed by 1960-61.

The second dam above the Chulia fall has been named the Rana Pratap Sagar Dam and the associated power project (the Bhupal Power Project). This dam will be 3,500 ft. long, and 90 ft. high above the average river bed. It will submerge about 50 sq miles and will impound about 1.40 million acre feet of water. Water from this reservoir will be taken by means of two 15 diameter concrete—6800 ft. long into a surge tank and thence through steel pen stock pipes to the power house about 3 miles above Bhainsrodgarh. It will generate 90,000 kw. of power and will be ready by 1961-62.

The third dam will be known as Kotah dam and will be built in river Gorge about 10 miles north Kotah city. It will be 150 ft. high, 80 ft. wide, and 1800 ft. long. It will generate 50,000 kw. of power.

The whole project will cost about Rs. 50 crores in all out of which Rs. 40 crores will be shared by Central Government and Rs. 5 crores each by M. P. and Rajasthan governments. It will provide water to over a million acres of land and will produce 4 lakh tons of food-grains besides supplying and unlimited capacity of lakh kw. of power. This power will be supplied to Sambhar salt Lakes, Marble mine Makrana, Soap stones mines of Jaipur and Bhilwara, and to Zawal mines of Udaipur and cement factory of Lakhari and to cotton textile mills of Kotah, Kishangarh, Bhilwara and Jaipur.

#### Difficulties :

Following difficulties have been experienced in the actual operation of the irrigation, power and other projects :-

"There has been an absence of a well-defined policy in regard to the purchase of plant and equipment. This has resulted in piecemeal purchase of diverse makes and types. Consequently it has been found that while machines are on the waiting list for spare parts in some places, large quantities of spare parts have been found lying in stock in other centres and for which no use could be found." This has involved much loss of money and delay in the execution of the projects.

In order to avoid waste, the Plant and Machinery Committee (1953), has recommended that important mechanical equipment should be standardized so that such difficulties might be avoided. For this purpose a Standing Committee of the Experts and Ministers concerned should be set up and it should be charged "with the responsibility of ensuring that neither inflation of prices nor other dis-

advantages resulted from the proposed standardization. Equipment manufactures in India should get overriding priority as soon as it was available in the country, provided the quality thereof was up to the mark".

Considerable amount of money and material has been wasted by wrong planning, careless management and supervision. According to Rau Committee, "Konar project suffered a loss of Rs. 1.64 crores due to mismanagement. Owing to the absence of competent technical advice, there was no proper appreciation of the magnitude of the problem involved in the construction of the early stages. Overall planning was made impossible by frequent and numerous change in the design and programme".

The river valley and other projects in India have been experiencing much difficulty in getting engineers and technicians of the requisite qualifications. There is a shortage of technicians and the persons who are working on big projects are nervous about their future after the works on these projects are over. However, a Committee has now been appointed to go into the various aspects of the question of technical man-power requirements.

The irrigation and power projects give rise to the problem of imposing a betterment levy and of increasing the irrigation rates. In Andhra, Bihar, U.P., M. P., Rajasthan, the water rates have recently revised. Bihar, Madras Punjab, M.P., U. P., and T.C. have accepted recommendations for the creation of non-lapsable Irrigation Development (Ways and Means) Fund. For the present, the States report that they are not able to build up the fund owing to the non-availability of the resources. The betterment levy and the enhancement of irrigation rates in some of the States has imposed a heavy burden on the cultivator. Hence it is necessary that while levying these charges care should be taken to consider the repaying capacity of the cultivators.

## Iqbal and Free Will

**THE** Problem of Free Will and Pre-determination has always been one of the most significant and crucial problems in the history of human thought. It has been discussed in almost all ages since man began to think consciously, and all the great leaders in the realms of religion and philosophy have tried to pronounce judgment on it. If we believe in a life hereafter, and in punishment or reward for deeds done in this world, then it becomes a matter of paramount importance and necessity to settle the question whether we are free in our acts or whether there is a higher Will than our own which has pre-determined the course we shall follow. For it is apparent that reward or punishment can be meted out only if we are free agents, making our own choice of the good and evil acts. There would seem to be no justice in making a man responsible for acts which are pre-determined.

The problem, therefore, lies at the root of religion and morals, and calls for a satisfactory solution at the very outset. Iqbal has expressed his views on this fundamental problem both in his poetical works and in his 'Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.'

It must be remembered that Iqbal wrote his Lectures before 1928, and was therefore, unable to take account of recent developments in physical science which began at about that time, and which have entirely revolutionized the whole concepts of matter, energy and causality. If he had knowledge of these latest development he would have perceived at once that the advocates of mechanism and pre-determination had really no case, and there arguments stood refused by the very physical principles on which they were based. He tried to refute their arguments by other methods. All the same he has arrived at the right conclusion about the freedom of the age. He remarks that this freedom of conscious behaviour follows from the view of ego-activity which the Quran takes.

The Quran lays down :-

"And say : The truth is from your Lord ; Let him then who will, believe ; and let him who will, be an unbeliever."

Again, the Quran says :-

"If ye do well, to your own behoof will ye do well : and if ye do evil, against yourself will ye do it."

Iqbal points out : 'Islam recognises a very important fact of human psychology, that is the rise and fall of the power to act freely, and is anxious to retain and the power to act freely as a constant and undiminished factor in the life of the ego. The timing of the daily prayer, which according to the Quran bestows self-possession to the ego by bringing it into closer touch with the ultimate source of life and freedom, is intended to save the ego from the mechanising effects of sleep and business. Prayer in Islam is the ego's escape from mechanism to freedom.'

Iqbal explains further the concept of the human ego's freedom by considering the Quranic legend of the Fall of Man. He shows that contrary to the account given in Jewish literature, the Fall does not mean any moral depravity ; it is man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with throb of personal causality in one's own being. He affirms that goodness is not a matter of compulsion ; it is the self's free surrender to the moral ideal, and arises out of willing co-operation of free egos. He says that a being whose movements are wholly determined like a machine cannot produce goodness, and then arrives at the conclusion that freedom is a condition of goodness. The Quran says :-

"And for trial will we test you with evil and with good."

The Quranic verse describing man's acceptance of the "Amanat" : the trust of personality, is a clear and irrefutable indication of the ego's freedom :-

"Verily we proposed to the Heavens and to the earth and to the mountains to receive the 'trust' ; but they refused the burden, and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but has proved unjust, senseless."

Iqbal admits that a most degrading type of fatalism has prevailed in the world of Islam for many centuries. He ascribes its prevalence partly to philosophical thought, partly to political expediency, and partly to the gradually diminishing force of the life-impulse which Islam imparted to its followers. The Quran was misinterpreted to establish the theory of the 'accomplished fact' in order to support vested interests, and to make the oppressed people reconciled to their fate. Iqbal points out the analogy of modern philosop-

hers like Hegel and Augustus Comte justifying intellectually the capitalistic structure of Society. Iqbal denies vehemently that the morally degrading fatalism which the European critics of Islam sum up in the word "Qismat" has any basis in the Quran. It has been thrust on the ignorant masses by distorting the Islamic teaching, and misinterpreting the Quranic verses.

Apart from his lectures, in his poems also Iqbal has taken up this question repeatedly, and given us some of the most beautiful lines ever written on the subject. For instance, he tries to explain in 'Javeed Namah' that whatever is happening to us is not imposed upon us from outside but it is taking place according to our own nature:—

"The inhabitants of the Earth lost their ego and did not understand the secret of 'taqdir' (fate). That secret is simply this: it (fate) alters when you reform yourselves. If you become mere dust, fate scatters you in space. But if you turn into stone, it drops you on the grass. If you become dew, your life is evanescent like the drop; but if you become an ocean, you survive for ever."

This shows that although God is the creator of our being as well as of our actions, still whatever happens does so according to our nature, and in this sense we are the arbiters of our destiny. The creative activity of God never ceases; whenever He wishes for something, He just utters the word 'Be', and it becomes.

Iqbal utilises this incessant creative activity of the Almighty God, to show that a man's fate can be altered:—

"O you who say that this and that was fated to happen, and therefore it happened, you have not understood the true meaning of destiny. You have seen neither yourself nor God. A true believer has a sort of intimacy with God and says to Him:—"We are with you so you be with us. "The believer's determination is the instigator of God's Will; the arrow that he shoots in the battlefield comes from God Himself." This last line of Iqbal is nothing but a translation of a Quranic verse.

Iqbal has condemned in strong terms those fatalists who ascribed their miseries and sorrows to the working of the inexorable fate, and thus try to shirk their responsibility. He inter-

prets the attitude of such a fatalist in 'Javeed Namah' in the following words:

"It is God's will that some people are needy and deprived of all the goodthings of the world. God has made the rulers and the ruled. None but God has willed these things, and therefore, we cannot fight against our fate."

When the wise old man on Mars hears these lamentations of the good-for-nothing fatalists, he turns round and exclaims:—

"Since you believe in ignoring your own personality and true nature, the world of your ideas has become your prison. If what you say is true religion, then it makes a needy person more needy still. What sort of a religion is it that puts you to sleep, and keeps you in perpetual slumber? Is it a religion or an enchantment? Is it a religion or a narcotic drug?"

Then the Martian Philosopher enjoins the fatalists to demand another fate from God, if one fate does not agree with him. It is quite in order if a man prays to God for a fresh destiny, because there are an infinite number of fates in the limbo of possibilities, and the work of Creation is unending.

When the Muslim people lost their energy and vitality and began shirking arduous tasks, they adopted the wrong interpretation of the concept of "Qismat" and "Taqdir", and called their lethargy and inactivity by the grandiose terms of patience, contentment, and submission. Iqbal has repeatedly pointed out the fallacy in such arguments, and explained that "Tawakkul" or "Taslim" does not mean that one should lay down one's tools and step all activity; it means that one should always continue to make one's best efforts, and then leave the result to God:

"Every branch points to this subtle truth, that even the plants have the desire for the wide space. The seed does not remain content with the darkness of the soil; it yearns to shoot out and to grow. Do not suppress the functions of your nature; this is not what is meant by submission. If you have the courage to go forward, the space is unbounded, and God's country is infinite."

In one of his Urdu poems, Iqbal has given a very fine illustration of the condition of those people who plead their impotence against the workings of fate, and thus wish to escape the

unishment for their evil deeds. The Devil oes before the Almighty Lord, and pleads not guilty, because his refusal to bow down before Adam was predestined. The Lord asks the devil when he found this out, before the refusal or after. The Devil replies that he found his out afterwards. Then the Lord turns to the angels, and says:—

"His evil nature has taught him this argument: he says; 'It was Thy Will, O Lord, that I should not bow down before Adam. He is trying to make out that his flame is nothing but smoke.'"

As I have explained above, Iqbal has stressed this point of man's freedom of action and their responsibility for their deeds, because he saw that his people were steeped in a centuries-old fatalism which had deprived them of the power of action, and had brought them down to a very low cultural level. He had, however, not lost sight of the other aspect of this thorny question. He knew that the true path for delivery lies between determinism and freedom.

As a matter of fact, the Quran also expresses both aspects of the question in quite plain words. Thus we have a thesis and an anti-thesis. The thesis is:—

"And whatever has happened to you, it is your own hand that has earned it." This shows man's complete freedom of action, and his full responsibility.

Since the objects of God's knowledge are eternal and unchangeable, it follows as a corollary that their characteristics and capabilities are also eternal and unchangeable, since these capabilities cannot ever be conceived as removed from the objects themselves.

An object of God's knowledge is called 'Ultimate Reality', 'Eternal Category' or 'Nature of Thing'.

Now creation requires Will, and God's will depends upon His Knowledge, since all His Acts are believed to have some reason. Creation, itself is nothing but the realization or expression of the eternal categories (i.e., of the objects of God's knowledge). Only its expression or creation is new, and it is then called a 'thing'. The 'thing' are intrinsically eternal as known objects; externally they are God's creations, and in their individuality and personification they are separate from God.

Now consider the act of creation. Although the things are being created by God, this crea-

tion is taking place according to the characteristics, capabilities and nature of the things themselves. We have seen that the nature of a thing is eternal and unchangeable. It is not being created because it already exists from eternity. This is the exact point which the determinists miss, and whose ignorance causes all this confusion. People usually argue like this. "So-and-so has sinned because his nature was evil; his nature was also made by God; therefore, he is not responsible for his evil deed." But the very premise is wrong; so-and-so's nature was not created, it was already there. It is useless to cry; 'Why was I made like that?' You have not been made like that: you have always been like that—potentially of course. Yours potentialities are your own. That is why you are considered a free agent, and made responsible for your acts. This is 'Qadr' (Freedom). The realisation of the potentialities, i.e. the creation, is from God. This is 'Jabr' (Determination).

The apparent contradiction is thus removed and the conflict resolved. The creation is from God, but it takes place according to the nature of the thing. The nature of the thing, being an object of God's knowledge, is eternal. Thus we get the reconciliation between these two aspects. Although everything is created by God and, to this extent, it is determined, still its external realization, 'creation', and its action are taking place according to its eternal nature. Herein lies its freedom. The Quran has stated this explicitly:—

"The Lord gave you what (your eternal nature) asked." At another place the Quran says:—

"We give them their full share without any loss." Mohiuddin Ibn-i-Arabi has explained this as follows:—

"Whatever is ordained for us, it is according to our nature; rather we are ordaining it ourselves according to our nature."

The pre-determination is thus proved to emanate from the nature and characteristics of things; creation simply follows these characteristics. That is why it is said:—

"The determinations is yours, and therefore, it is for you to ordain."

That is why we are responsible for our good and evil deeds, and as such, merit reward or punishment.

The whole problem becomes quite clear now, and we understand the meaning of such verses of Iqbal as:—

"Exalt the ego to such an extent that before each determination the Lord should ask thee: 'Say' what dost thou desire?"

# WORLD OF BOOKS

**NEHRU'S SPEECHES:** Vol. III (March 1953 to August 1957). The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, New Delhi. Rs. 6.50.

In this neatly got up volume our beloved Prime Minister Nehru's speeches have been recorded on various matters of great interest not only to India but to the world at large. The contents include—our Goals and Methods, the Plan and its Problems, Democratic Process, States' Reorganisation, Kashmir, Foreign Affairs, the Goa Problem, Education and Culture and various other miscellaneous problems. Indeed the speeches are very much more than the utterances of the head of a Government. Apart from speeches, mostly delivered extempore, the volume includes some prepared statements also. This book will be of great use to all students of politics as it has covered almost the important topics of the day. The publishers have taken good care in the choice of the selections of his speeches and the volume is brightened with several portraits of the Prime Minister.

**43,000 YEARS LATER:** By Horace Coon. The New American Library of World Literature Inc. Signet Book. 501, Madison Avenue, N.Y. New York-22.

In a moment of incredible madness the powers have destroyed the earth and the book is a biting commentary on human foibles and failings. Three explorers from another planet discover the earth destroyed in the 20th century and the narrative describes how it appears to them in the year 43,000 when they discover the Earth and submit a report on Earth's civilisation and past glory. Published in 1958, in the beginning of Atomic age there is an astounding forecast of the future. The book reveals the extraordinary imagination of the author and provides quite interesting reading.

**MAHABHARATA:** By C. Rajagopalachari, Bhavan's Book University, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, (5th edn.) Rs. 2.

Shri C. Rajagopalachari has done a great service in presenting to the public through Bhavan's Book University, a fine simple rendering in English of this great Epic. The fact that four editions of this book have already been sold out bears testimony to the popularity of this book.

**TEN YEARS of PAKISTAN:** 1947-1957. Price Rupees Two and Annas Eight. Pakistan Publications, Karachi.

To us in India that is Bharat, this account of India that is Pakistan present the other side of the Medal. It is both factual description and propaganda. Part One deals with Law and Administration, Constitutional Development, Civil Services, Economic Survey, Public Services, Defence, Welfare and Foreign Affairs. Part Two deals with provinces subtly including Kashmir as one of the Provinces. Like two reversioners under the now dead-and-buried Hindu Law claiming through a life-estate holder Pakistan and India, the former by a Standstill Agreement dated 15-8-47 and the latter by an accession from refugee Mr. A. dated 27-10-44 claimed from the same "Maharajah." Both later democratically claimed the support of the "People" and even the United Nations have not been able to arrange a satisfactory compromise to both parties.

The general account of reorganization and developmental programmes supported by an array of statistics is most impressive and negative reports that law and order and availability of food and the amenities of life have regressed since the Partition.

**INVENTIONS AND INDIAN INDUSTRIES:** By K. V. Karanth, M.A., MIE. Formerly Chief Electrical Inspector to the Madras State. Newspapers Publishers Private Ltd., Kodialbail, Mangalore.

These essays on the Absence of the true Spirit of Modern Industrial Working in Indian Industries, Why India is lacking in the said True Spirit, Whether Our National Research Laboratories Help, How the Ambar Charka is an example of how to Build Industry, steps for developing Inventive Talent and arrangements for exploiting Inventive Talent are full of criticisms which sound harsh to the few statesmen and industrialists and technologists who may care to read them." as the author himself anticipates. He was Chief Electrical Inspector and not Chief Construction Engineer and so like a Brahma Rakshasa he has usefully catalogued the defaults and the "shorts". To know what has to be set right is the first step to progress and the book is full of forceful writing.

# INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

## S. AFRICA

### GROUP AREAS PROCLAMATION

Indians in Durban are to contest the validity of the recent Group Areas Proclamation for Durban. The decision was taken by three organisations—the Natal Indian Organisation, the Natal Indian Congress, and the Durban combined Indian Ratepayers' Association.

The group Areas Act provides for separate business and residential areas for various racial groups. Under recent proclamations, Durban Indians allege, they will lose their means of livelihood and sustain capital losses through official under-valuation of their property if they are forced to vacate their present locations in the city.

### APARTHEID IN U. N.

The General Assembly's Steering Committee recommended on Sept. 17 that the 81-member world forum again debate at its current session the racial issues in South Africa.

Mr. G. P. Jooste of South Africa objected to discussion of South African treatment of people of Indian origin and coloured people as interference in the Union's internal affairs.

## BURMA

### CURBS ON REMITTANCES

The hardship caused to the dependents in India of persons working in Burma by the restrictions imposed on remittances of money was forcefully brought to the notice of Government during question-hour in the Lok Sabha on Sep. 17.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, stated in reply to a series of supplementaries, that in hard cases the matter was usually taken up with the Burmese Government by the Indian Ambassador in Rangoon.

While Indians, who had not opted for Burmese citizenship were permitted to remit Rs. 20 per mensem to their wives and children residing in India, each case for permission to remit money by Indians, who had acquired Burmese citizenship to their dependents in India was decided on merits by the Government of Burma.

## CEYLON

### STATELESS INDIANS

More than seven lakh persons of Indian origin have been rendered stateless with the disposal by Ceylon of the bulk of citizenship claims of Indian settlers in the Island, authoritative estimates revealed this month.

Of 2,37,034 applications for Ceylon citizenship made by Indian settlers, the Ceylon Government had disposed of 2,35,870 till the end of July 1958, allowing 34,719 applications and rejecting the rest.

On an average of 3.5 persons per family unit represented by an application, the disposal so far had meant rejection of claims of 7,04,028 persons and conferment of citizenship rights on 1,21,516.

In this connection Mr. C. Rajagopalachari speaking at a public meeting at Madras on Sept. 22 advised these stateless people not to leave the island in order to come to India for that would be tantamount to giving up their rights for ever; and never again could they hope to go back to Ceylon and get their citizenship rights, now denied to them.

## U. K.

### INDIANS IN ENGLAND

There are 54,000 Indians and Pakistanis in Britain and about 1,100 of the Pakistanis are unemployed, according to figures worked out by the mass circulation "Daily Mirror".

Although the Indians and Pakistanis have not to any marked degree been involved in the recent "race riots" between West Indian immigrants and hooligan elements in London and some provincial centres, the journal introduced readers to facts about men and women from both countries who have settled there.

The 1,100 Pakistanis it estimates as unemployed, the journal points out, went there before Pakistan began to restrict the influx last spring by requiring intending migrants to show evidence of waiting employment there.

The "Daily Mirror's" calculation is that one in every four non-European in Britain today is from India or Pakistan. It included students, white collar workers, waiters, doctors, millhands. Ten thousand were studying to become lawyers, doctors, solicitors, nurses, bankers, engineers. "Those who get the highest degrees return home to big jobs waiting for them. The rest settle here."

## DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Sept. 1. Indo-Pak border talks at Karachi fail.  
—Five thousand Atomic Scientists meet in conference at Geneva.
- Sept. 2. Sea Battle off Quemoy : Eleven communist boats were sunk by the K. M. T. naval detachment.
- Sept. 3. Ceylon Senate (Upper House) passes Government Bill providing use of Tamil language.
- Sept. 4. Britain announces financial aid to the tune of £ 40 million to India.  
—Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha rejects by 269 votes to 95 the no-confidence motion against Sampurnanand Ministry.
- Sept. 5. Russia warns Ike that she will give a "devastating counterblow" if U.S. interferes with direct action in the Far East.
- Sept. 6. Chow-en-lai announces his readiness for Far East talks.
- Sept. 7. U. S. defies China's "stay out" warning : Escorts supplied to Quemoy.
- Sept. 8. Morarji Desai calls on Mr. Eugene Black, President of the World Bank at Washington.
- Sept. 9. Mr. Feroze Khan Noon, Prime Minister of Pakistan arrives in New Delhi : Nehru—Noon talks on border issues begin.
- Sept. 10. Tunisia joins Arab League.  
—U.S. Planes violate Chinese areas.
- Sept. 11. Mr. Nehru and Noon reach agreement re. Indo-Pakistan border disputes.  
—U. K. Krishna Menon leaves for New York.
- Sept. 12. Mr. P. V. Cherian is elected chairman of the Madras Legislative Council.
- Sept. 13. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is arrested in Quetta.  
—China's fifth warning to U.S. re. the latter's entry into China's territorial waters.
- Sept. 14. Mr. M. C. Chagla is appointed India's ambassador to the United States of America.  
—Gaffar Khan is released.  
—Congress Working Committee meets in New Delhi.
- Sept. 15. U.S. rushes modern equipment into Formosa.  
—Mr. Nehru leaves for Bhutan.
- Sept. 16. Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon is elected President of the 13th session of U.N. General Assembly.
- Sept. 17. Britain announces at Montreal Commonwealth Economic Conference lifting of controls on Dollar imports.
- Sept. 18. Dr. Bhagawan Das is dead.  
—Lamas welcome Nehru at Yatung on his way to Bhutan.
- Sept. 19. A Free Algerian Government is proclaimed at Cairo : Iraq and U. A. R. recognise it.
- Sept. 20. Khrushchev warns Ike that he would regard the attack on People's China as an attack on Soviet Union.
- Sept. 21. America returns the Soviet note as "unacceptable."  
—Justice Vivian Bose submits his report on the role of certain officials in investments of the Life Insurance Corporation in the Mundhra concerns.  
—Nehru arrives in Bhutan's capital Paro.
- Sept. 22. Lebanese cabinet resigns : Gen' Chehab takes charge.  
—Dr. Sherman Adams, Ike's Assistant resigns.
- Sept. 23. President Rajendra Prasad leaves Delhi to Calcutta on his way to Japan.
- Sept. 24. U. N. General Assembly rejects proposal for seating communist China. It postpones the issue for another year.
- Sept. 25. U.S.—Chinese talks in Warsaw re. cease-fire in Quemoy break down.
- Sept. 26. U. S. Envoy starts exit talks with Lebanon President.

## READERS' DIGEST

### THE U. S. AND WORLD PROBLEMS

Mr. G. L. Mehta, former Indian Ambassador to the United States, criticises the United States for failing to see that all the world's ills cannot be traced to Communism and that, whether or not this is the case, the United States alone cannot set things right.

Writing in the September issue of the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Mehta says :

"I cannot help feeling that there is too much of a tendency in the United States to analyse and interpret international friction in terms of cold war and a readiness to trace nearly all conflicts to Communism. Many of the troubles and disputes in the world to-day are not due to Soviet Russia—whether it be Algeria, or Cyprus, Kashmir or Goa or West Irian, *apartheid* in South Africa, or revolutions in Latin America."

"To attribute these and several other conflicts and problems to Communist conspiracy is to oversimplify many complex issues and contradictory forces in operation."

But, Mr. Mehta also warns against other nationalities oversimplifying the United States.

"In India, as in other countries in the East," he writes, "there is the understandable, though erroneous, tendency to regard the United States and its people a somewhat bigger and healthier, if rather immature version of Britain and the Britishers."

Turning to the technical achievements of the United States, Mr. Mehta says that they have tended to foster in Americans what another writer has characterised as "an illusion of omnipotence."

"Truman, Acheson and Marshall were accused of 'losing China,' the Eisenhower administration is blamed day after day for the weakening of NATO and the Western alliance by French action and inaction in Algeria and North Africa."

"It seems as though many people fervently believe that America can set right whatever is wrong in the world and that it is her duty to do so."

Mr. Mehta asserts that those "the ghosts of Karl Marx and Lenin need not perpetually haunt, the lobbies of Congress and the corridors of the State Department but the fact is they do and it is necessary for others to remember it."

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### THE PARADOX OF SOVIET POWER

Boris Shub, discussing the Paradox of Soviet power in the columns of *The New Leader* observes that while the achievements of Soviet science and technology have astounded the world and filled Soviet citizens with pride, the failure in 40 years, to supply the majority of people with decent homes, clothing and food continues to breed general discontent.

"Despite the pressure for a better life and more freedom, the obstacles to the transformation of Soviet society from totalitarian to democratic foundations remain formidable. Forty years without a free press, institutions of self-government, normal contact with the outside world have atrophied political life. Events since 1953 have resulted in the considerable awakening of Soviet public opinion, but political decision remains the exclusive preserve of the top leadership. Meanwhile, the best energies of the country continue to be concentrated on the double task of expanding Soviet might and raising living standards in the face of great economic difficulties."

The progress made by the Soviet Union on both these fronts since World War II is a powerful argument in favor of continuing along the present path.

The great break-throughs in science and technology can well be viewed by Soviet citizens as justifying past sacrifices and pointing towards an abundant future. To the young who choose science, engineering and industry, the future looks unlimited. This is one of the major assets in the hands of the leadership. So is the resulting prestige of the Soviet Union in the world : A dozen years ago, the country lay in ruins ; today, it is the second industrial power, and a leader in science and education."

This is the reality and the menace of Soviet power. As long as it rests in the present hands, he says, no one can predict how that power will be used.

"During the past forty years, it has been repeatedly employed to promote conflicts and chaos, and to destroy liberty in a good part of the world. In pre-sent hands, Soviet power is still being used for that purpose in all vital areas where Western leadership has been unequal to the challenge of the times."

## RULE OF THE NON-BLOC COUNTRIES

One of the features of the present international situation is the existence of a group of countries which do not belong to any of the existing military blocs. India, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Sweden and a number of other countries which make up this group, take no part in this bloc division, and stand aloof from the cold war and rivalry between the two blocs.

This non-alignment, says Dr. Alas Bebler, Under-Secretary for Foreign affairs, Yugoslavia in the *Review of International Affairs*, does not implicate an identical foreign policy of the non-bloc countries. Each of them takes a different attitude on a number of questions, in keeping with its geographical position, its special interests, concepts, traditional ties, etc. But what they have in common links them together, and makes them a special factor on the international scale — a factor whose very existence operates in definite directions."

"This direction is appeasement between the existing blocs, elimination of their sharp rivalry and — as a future prospect — a world relieved of bloc divisions."

"That the policy of non-inclusion in blocks which their Governments have adopted and are pursuing, is not neutrality," that is passivity, as it is sometimes alleged, but an active, positive and constructive policy, which aspires to collective peace, on which collective security alone can rest."

In other words, non-alignment with blocs is not an end in itself, but an expression of the policy of peace. It serves a high purpose — the strengthening and stabilization of peace in the world.

"At the last session of the General Assembly of UNO the role of non-bloc countries was shown by the fact that on the question of coexistence a joint resolution was submitted by India, Sweden and Yugoslavia, and that the Assembly unanimously adopted this resolution. Thus the role of these countries was manifested with symbolic clarity."

"The fact that a considerable number of countries are standing apart (and can afford to do so) in the bloc division of the world is encouraging in itself. Nor one of them is a great power. The strength of these countries is not in their economic and military potential, but in their policy, which responds to the feeling and wishes of their peoples, as well as to the aspirations for appeasement and lasting peace in all countries."

## THE BOMB TESTS: WHAT NEXT?

Need there be any more bomb tests after this summer? asks *The Economist*.

"The present United States series in the Pacific began on April 28. And Britain's latest big bomb was exploded at Christmas Island on the same day. This is the Western Government's answer to Mr. Khrushchev, and he (unlike Lord Russell) probably expected no other.....But what happens next? Mr. Khrushchev's offer still exists. He has for the time being stopped testing. He can, of course, resume tests if he thinks the Americans have got dangerously far ahead of him in the Pacific in the next month or so. But retracting so open-handed a gesture may be tricky. Going back might be made almost impossible for him if the West were now to put a positive and negotiable scheme on the table for discussion at, or near, the summit."

### CONCEPT OF HINDUISM

The dominant idea of Hinduism is the unity of the spirit under a plurality of forms, writes Sri N. V. Pardeshi in *Prerana*. Every religion must be in accord with the common experiences and needs of people, "but it is to keep hold on the higher minds it must also rest somewhere upon a philosophic theory; and pantheism is the philosophy of natural religion. Reflective minds can at once recognise the identity of all divine energies which underlie the incessant stir and semblance of life in the world. The highest God as well as the lowest creature is a mere vessel of the invisible power; and the God is manifestation of that power."

The mysterious allegorical Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, at the summit of Hinduism, suggests and personifies its regular unchanging operation. "To those who attack Hinduism it would be futile to insist that our mythology is a romance, or a disease of language, that the divinities are only phantoms, that the idols are merely carved stones or cunning casts of clay"

The highest devotion of Hinduism has for its object spiritual knowledge, the rescue of the soul from the "ocean of illusory and ephemeral existence; and this liberation is attained by the soul's passage through the vicissitudes of innumerable lives. There is no extravagance in supposing that the great Hindu dogma of the transmigration of souls still prolongs metaphysically the rule of change and transition by which the whole universe is so widely governed."

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Reviewing the position of Indians in South Africa during the last ten years and the discussion in the United Nations on the question of apartheid, Prof. S. B. Mookerji of the Khalsa College Amritsar warns the European Settlers of the serious consequences that would follow the continuance of such a policy of racial discrimination. Writing in the *Calcutta Review* he says:

"South Africa is faced to-day with the grave problem of dealing with thousands of non-European citizens, who denied all opportunities of socio-economic betterment, have been turning in hopelessness and frustration "to the idle and lawless alternatives left to them". The powers that be seem to be blind to the disastrous consequences of their racial policy. Not a few Europeans demand that lawless non-European youths should be deported from the townships and placed somewhere out of the way. Such a step, like the quack's prescription, which in reality it is, might work for a time. But it does not go to the roots of the problem. It is but a palliative at best, not a cure."

According to him, Racialism is doubly dangerous. Positively, it drives potentially useful citizens to the ranks of criminals. Negatively, it steadily drains away the vitality of the whole community by depriving it of the loyal and devoted services of those who might have enriched it in various ways.

"The European settlers in South Africa are rushing headlong to the abyss. They must not forget that all genuine revolutions are directed against the power and privilege of an exclusive group. They should remember in their own interest that "Even the most submissive people cannot stand, in the long run, the rule of others with whom they have no community of counsel or spirit, into whose ranks they cannot be admitted. They can be temporarily kept in check by force and diplomacy, but such a subjection can never be indefinitely maintained even through the most ruthless forms of slavery".

"Non-Europeans—the Africans, the Coloureds and the Indians—are denied the enjoyment of a full life in South Africa. As P. S. Joshi puts it, "Under the pretext of civilisation, the Bantu has been robbed of his free-

dom, the coloured, of his heritage and the Asiatic, of his equality".

"The day may not be far off when the more or less ten million non-Europeans in the Union of South Africa will rise against about two and a half million of its European population and the consequences are not pleasant to contemplate. Rightly did Mahatma Gandhi tell an Indian delegation from South Africa in the late forties—"One day the black races will rise like an avenging Atilla against their white oppressors unless some one present to them the weapon of Satyagraha".

In conclusion he recalls the wise words of the late J. H. Hofmeyr, one of the most level-headed Afrikaner statesmen that ever lived, who said years ago—"We have to re-examine our prejudices and some of our traditional attitudes. We have to get away from the wickedness of exploiting colour prejudice for political purposes".

## FAMINE THREAT IN WEST BENGAL

West Bengal is said to be on the verge of a famine equal in magnitude to the one that visited the unfortunate State about a decade and a half ago in 1943. All the elements of a disaster are there, according to the *Modern Review*, real shortage aggravated by hoarding, official bungling and central apathy. During almost the whole of the past year rice prices have remained unusually high. While any sensible government would have taken the warning at the beginning of the harvest year the State Government remained complacent. At some time when the Centre was inclined to believe in the truth of food shortage in West Bengal, the state Government strongly denied the existence of the same so that the supply of Central rice which might have gone to ameliorate the distress of the people here was diverted elsewhere.

The shortage is not of rice only but of all foodstuffs generally. The prices of some articles of food again are so high that these are well beyond the reach of the middle classes. Rice, wheat, sugar, milk, fish, vegetables and the greater majority of the items of daily use have all become very dear, in some places very difficult to procure even. Unless, it says, quick and effective measures are taken the already aggravated suffering of the people would defy description.

## HITLER'S LOST VICTORY

Hitler could have conquered Britain if he had invaded during the summer of 1940 following Dunkirk, according to Field-Marshal Erich von Manstein.

Then why didn't he?

He didn't want to.

The Field-Marshal has made this claim in a review of the war published under the title of "Lost Victories," a precis of which is reported by *Nafen*.

In the middle of 1940, the Germans enjoyed "the decisive advantage of not initially having to face any organised defence of the British coastline in the form of troops that were adequately armed, trained and led."

"It is a fact that, as far as her land forces went, Britain was to a large extent, defenceless. Her defencelessness would have been well nigh complete had Hitler not allowed the British Expeditionary Force to escape from Dunkirk."

Hitler's "fatal" mistake was to stop the German tanks short of Dunkirk. If they had continued their advance across France, the British Expeditionary Force would have been destroyed.

Field-Marshal von Manstein believes that Hitler's orders on this point were inspired by a belief that refraining from such a massacre would make it easier to negotiate peace with the United Kingdom.

"Hitler had neither wanted nor expected war with Britain, consequently, he wished to avoid a show-down with her for as long as was possible. This attitude, and doubtless also the fact that he had not expected such a staggering victory over France, explains Hitler's failure to adopt a war plan which aimed at defeating Britain, too, once France was overthrown."

"The point is that he did not want to land in Britain."

"His political concept was at odds with the strategic requirements that followed from the victory in the west. The disastrous part of it was that this concept of his encountered no sympathy in Britain."

## THE REAL DANGER

As the geo-political pattern has changed, as the relative importance of Europe has declined, and new nations in Asia and Africa have entered the strategic equation, so America has been forced to modify her traditional view of the indispensability of the nations of Western

Europe says *The New Statesman*. "Is Paris worth a Bourguiba?...America has not yet been forced to answer the question, and naturally she will seek to delay the moment of choice, if possible indefinitely; for if new cold war frontiers are opening in Asia and Africa, the old one remains in Europe, as vital as ever. The real danger of de Gaulle is that he may oblige America to make an immediate and decisive choice: for the wild men of Algiers, with whom he is now associated, have made it clear that they cannot defeat the Algerian rebels without reconquering Tunisia."

## THE DARWIN-WALLACE CENTENARY

The collection of facts has always been an essential part of science, but progress depends in the main upon the interpretation of numerous seemingly isolated facts in terms of some general principle. No generalization is of deeper significance than the theory of organic evolution that was announced jointly by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace in July 1858, says Sir Garwin de Beer in *Endeavour*.

Thus one hundred years have gone by since the concept of evolution was brought to the attention of thinking men in a manner which has compelled its acceptance. The demonstration that the members of the plant and animal kingdoms are as they are because they have become what they are and that change, not immutability, is the rule of living things, is one of the most important contributions ever made to knowledge and its effects have been felt in every field of human thought. During the hundred years that have elapsed since Darwin and Wallace first published their theory, the fact of organic evolution is now universally accepted and its mechanism has been formally explained.

"The alternative to evolution is so naive that it comes as a shock to realize that as recently as one hundred years ago, ideas such as called for the following questions could still be current: 'Do they really believe that at innumerable periods in the earth's history certain elemental atoms have been commanded suddenly to flash into living tissues? Do they believe that at each supposed act of creation one individual or many were produced? Were all the infinitely numerous kinds of animals and plants created as eggs or seeds, or as full grown? And in the case of mammals, were they created bearing the false marks of nourish-

ment from the mother's womb?' Darwin might well allow himself to ask these questions, for he and Wallace had found the answer to them."

So soundly was the theory of evolution by natural selection grounded that research does nothing but confirm the links in its chain of evidence and the inferences to be drawn from them.

"Its field has extended from the explanation of the production of plants and animals to every aspect of the intellectual life of man, and it would be imprudent to doubt that its greatest triumph may yet lie in the highest aspect of that life."

## MODERN TAMIL DRAMA

Under the heading "Tamil drama to-day," Prof. A. Srinivasaraghavan writes in the *Mail* that the Tamil with an ancient and distinguished cultural tradition have begun to write good dramas. Giving the history of Tamil drama, the writer says:

The dramatic forms that were alive in Tamil at the beginning of the century were mainly three: the music-play of the type of "Nandanar Charitram" and "Rama Natakam":

The dance-play whose archetypes are found in the literary forms of "Kuravanji," "Pallu" and "Nondi Natakam," and the folk play, a vigorous if crude medley of speech, music and dance.

The first two kinds of play have claims to formal literary excellence. Their themes are mostly religious. All the words in these plays are set to music. But the diction, though learned, tends towards the vigour and directness of common speech. Also, in the dance play particularly in the "Kuravanji" and the "Pallu" the life of common folk is given a place. When this happens, the play sheds its symbolism and attempts realistic portrayal, anticipating thereby the play of today.

The folk play was distinctly on a lower level. Though music dominated it, words as speech had a place in it. But the words were mostly 'gags' improvised by the actors. The themes were generally from the puranas and the folklore. The characters were merely types—kings, ministers, priests and peasants. There was no attempt at unity of impression or structural coherence. The play meandered on seemingly unending, though shifting tunes of conventional bombast. The redeeming feature came when the clown (every play had a clown) or a group of peasants as dramatic personae came on the improvised stage. Then suddenly,

the play was on the firm earth, the dialogue leapt into life and in rich dialect, the common man poured forth his heart in a convincing burst of humour or pathos or irony. Here, in these occasional patches of realism, lay the germ of the Tamil play of today.

The first progressive movement in Tamil Drama was largely the result of our contact with western literature, chiefly English. At first plays in 'high' verse on the Shakespearean model were attempted "Manonmaniyam," "Mana Vijayam" and "Kalavati" are examples. They were not meant for the stage and they lack the ebb and flow of passion, the impress of mood and character which makes for great dramatic work. Still they set a high standard and kept to an organised story with a beginning, middle and end.

But modern drama is successfully portraying everything. The pioneer of modern Tamil drama is Mr. P. Sambanda Mudaliar, who fortunately, is still with us. He wrote his plays for the stage, insisted on his words being memorised and spoken by the actors, tried to cut music out of the main action of the play, attempted the creation of characters and the evolution of a story out of the manifold clashes of personality and circumstance. He wrote many types of plays—romances, farces, translations and adaptations, social appraisals. He lifted Tamil Drama from the misty symbolisms of the musical and dance pastorals and the rough and tumble banalities of the folk-play, to clarity, dignity and significance.

There is a great deal of creative activity in the field of Tamil drama today. Many factors have contributed to it. Contact with foreign literature is one. Many plays from English and European Literature and also from Sanskrit and Hindi and Bengali have been translated or adapted. The growth of nationalism gave rise to plays on our ancient glory like "Avvayar," "Mudal Muzhakkam," "Imayathil Nam," "Sivakamiyin Sabatham," "Katta Bomman" and "Raja Raja Cholan." The spirit of social reforms that came to birth with the new political consciousness, gave rise to plays like "Andaman Kaithi," "Gumasthavin Penn" and "Velaikkari." The rise of a number of Tamil journals and the growth of All-India Radio brought about a demand for short plays. A large number of one act plays on a variety of themes have been written and some of them are of considerable merit. Some of these are in verse.

## "THE LION OF KASHMIR"

The *Round Table*, commenting on the release of Sheikh Abdullah—the lion of Kashmir as he used to be called before his fall from grace—observes that it is proof of the Government of India's inherent liberalism. Liberal it has been, but there is evidence that New Delhi may have begun to wonder "whether it has not been a trifle too liberal."

"Abdullah has not so far deemed it necessary to thank anybody for his release after comfortable detention; for his detention he has been blaming pretty nearly everybody."

The Sheikh has also been using his freedom pretty freely, and some of his recent utterances have not been far short of treason. He was once an opponent of the Muslim League and a very ardent supporter of secular India. Since his release he has not found one word to say against Pakistan, a frank theocracy. He has blamed India on many counts, Pakistan on none. Even the issue of Pakistan's aggression, for protection against which he of his own accord asked India to come to Kashmir's rescue, he now thinks irrelevant. Most disturbing of all, there is a strong communal undertone in all his recent speeches, delivered mostly in mosques. He says he is worried about the future of Kashmir's two million Muslims, a worry clearly based on forgetfulness of the fact that in the rest of India there are nearly forty-six million Muslims, unworried."

It is unlikely that Sheikh Abdullah will be sent back to prison in the near future, except under the gravest provocation.

"When it is remembered, however, that the chief justification of the Indian attitude to the Kashmir dispute is that Kashmir is a test of Indian secularism, which goal every liberal everywhere must do everything to encourage, the Sheikh may easily go too far and the Government of India may have to limit its tolerance. It is not a political future Sheikh Abdullah has been seeking, at least not in the political way. He has chosen the communal way by appealing only to the Muslims—a way the Muslim League chose and which created, besides Pakistan, carnage on a scale perhaps unknown in history. The slightest possibility of a repetition of that is bound to be viewed in India with the gravest concern, and few will blame India for that."

## REHABILITATING THE REFUGEES

At last, the demonstration of the East Bengal refugees has been withdrawn on the assurance of Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, given to the refugees on the 11th April, that no refugees would be forced to go outside the State" and that doles stopped on the ground of unwillingness to go outside West Bengal would also be restored. Commenting on this the *Radical Humanist* observes: "To be fair to the cause of refugees, the Opposition political parties should have withdrawn the demonstration immediately after that assurance which betrayed the required sympathetic feeling for the refugees. In welcoming the Government, too, for this judicious step, one may ask, bewildered, why the Government does never concede to the demands of the people unless forced to do so in a most ludicrous manner. Flexibility may be a virtue of democracy, but surely thinking before leaping is wisdom. Stupid flexibility bordering on timidity and unimaginativeness on the part of the Government in all matters of interest has strengthened the hands of the Opposition parties gradually."

The implications of the Chief Minister's assurance seem to be very wide and far-reaching. "The Opposition's claim that lands would be available in the State of West Bengal itself and that it would not be necessary to force the refugees to go outside this State seems to have been conceded, for when "no refugees would be forced to go outside the State (of West Bengal)", it means that even if all of them express unwillingness, they would either be rehabilitated within this State or a *status quo* would be maintained. In the latter case, they would be kept only on tenterhooks in regard to their future, which may have vitriolic repercussions on the society. And surely the Government does not mean this!"

Dr. B. C. Roy's assurance however contradicted Mr. Khanna, the Union Rehabilitation Minister, who argued, during the course of the recent debate in the Lok Sabha, that West Bengal with the existing high pressure on lands could hardly accommodate any further pressure. "How can the two positions be reconciled? As a matter of fact, West Bengal, next to Kerala, according to the Government of India's census report of 1951, is the most densely populated State, density being 806

persons per square mile. The notion of pressure-points may be a bit illusory, we agree, if one takes into account the possibility of large fallow lands being reclaimed. If, however, the State of West Bengal has to have a sound economy, not only the existing pressure on lands has to be rehabilitated; and in that case, we are not as yet certain, if the whole of the prospective new lands would not be required for that purpose."

To get the relevant facts is not very difficult. The Government, says our contemporary, may immediately appoint a fact-finding committee with some competent representatives from the Opposition political parties. "This will also help disarm and outwit them. If its revelation makes rehabilitation outside West Bengal unavoidable, with much care, profoundest sincerity and prodigal sympathy, the displaced persons must be made to realise the position."

## THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

The *Aryan Path* takes exception to the Union Minister of Education Dr. K. L. Shrimali's view of the Public-School System. He had characterized it as "the greatest source of Social inequality." This says the journal is neither fair nor correct.

While conceding the Minister's plea for reduction in the cost of public school education if it is to be within the reach of an average parent, one cannot agree with his statement that the public-school system is only training "snobs and not good citizens." Originally started in England with the purpose of training the sons of feudal nobles for democratic leadership, these public schools have undergone a tremendous change and have brought out such eminent products as Pandit Nehru from Harrow, Mr. Attlee from Haileybury and the late Mr. Roosevelt from Groton School, who bear eloquent proofs denying the Minister's allegation. And are such leaders of the British Labour Party as Strachey and Dalton of Eton, Gaitskell and Crossman of Winchester, and we can name others, all snobs? A public school draws body from every part of the country, who by living together learn how to resist the tendencies of petty loyalties to region, class, creed and clan. Public schools are one of the great unifying factors in this respect.

Further, they have ensured an educational process which is well balanced and brings out self-reliance and initiative in the child. Character-building is not just woolly idealistic talk but a practical reality in these schools.

## ASHRAM AND KIBBUTZ

Kibbutz in Israel is the counterpart of the Ashram in India. Don O. Noel who recently visited both countries says in the course of an article in *Jewish Freedom* that he is particularly interested in the remarkable political influence which each has in its country.

Despite the deep differences in their basic characters, and despite their numerical unimportance (*kibbutzniks* number less than four per cent of Israel's population; *ashramites* are an infinitesimal fraction of India's) both exert a formidable influence on their societies, and on the actions of their governments.

"The Nehru government, for instance, is at present pursuing a course of agricultural reform which is sharply divergent from the program advocated by Vinoba Bhave and many of the *ashram* leaders. Yet such is the latter's hold on the popular imagination that Nehru is forced to compromise his program, to accept parts of the *Bhoodan* program, and at times to cloak his program in *Bhoodan* phraseology, in order to win the implicit, if not the explicit, support of the *ashrams*."

In much the same way the Ben-Gurion government, after it had decided on withdrawal from Sinai and the Gaza Strip following the Suez War, could not announce its decisions and implement it until it had hastily sent propagandists to the *kibbutzim* to win their support.

"Although general popular support, of course, had also to be found, it was the *kibbutz* approval which was considered crucial to eventual public acceptance, and during the few days' interval before the decision became final, it was the *kibbutzim* which the government tried hardest to persuade."

The two movements are found in two countries which, agewise, are diametrically opposite:

"Israel is one of the world's youngest countries, and India one of the oldest. But both are societies which are growing and changing rapidly; both *ashram* and *kibbutz* are idealistic movements which, however different the nature of their strength, exert a powerful influence on the development of their respective peoples. As an outsider visiting and comparing the two countries, it seemed to me that both will benefit deeply by the existence and influence of these idealistic, communal groups in their midst."

## BHARAT-ENGLISH

R. K. Narayan, the well known writer who has just come back from a tour of the U.S.A. says that we are likely to develop a Bharat-brand of English just as the Americans have evolved a brand of their own.

The time has come for us, he says in the course of an article in the *Hindu* to consider seriously the question of Bharat-brand of English. "So far English has had a comparatively confined existence in our country—chiefly in the halls of learning, justice, or administration. Now the time is ripe for it to come to the dusty street, market place, and under the banyan tree. English must adopt the complexion of our life and assimilate its idiom. I am not suggesting here a mongrelization of the language. I am not recommending that we should go back to the days when we heard, particularly in the railways, 'Wer U goin', man? (where are you going, man?). Bharat-English will respect the rule of law and maintain the dignity of grammar, but still have a Swadeshi stamp about it unmistakably, like the Madras hand-loom check shirt or the Tirupathi doll. How it can be achieved is a question for practical men to tackle."

## BATTLE FOR MIDDLE EAST OIL

According to the *Financial Times* a new phase in Middle East oil operations is foreshadowed by recent regulations in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran in the grant of new concessions in the Persian Gulf. These concessions have aroused fierce competition among companies from U.S., Europe and Japan.

"Twenty companies, including Royal Dutch-Shell, many U.S. concerns and one Japanese, have qualified to bid for concessions in the waters of the Persian Gulf now being offered by Iran. Some of these companies propose partnership agreements with the National Iranian Oil Company, but others are prepared to pay large bonuses for a concession on the normal 50-50 basis. According to some reports, one U.S. concern may offer as much as \$50m. as a bonus for the whole area. Bids have to be lodged by the end of next month."

"Several companies, including Shell and U.S. independents such as H. L. Hunt and Pan American, are believed to have offered bonuses for Kuwait's undivided half-share in the off-shore areas of the Neutral Zone bet-

ween Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The Japan Petroleum Company has recently obtained the concession for Saudi Arabia's undivided half-share in this area."

But this award is of no practical use until Kuwait has granted its share of the concession.

"If Japan Petroleum's negotiations with Kuwait fail, it will have to come to terms with the successful bidder, as Aminoil did with Getty Oil over the on-shore area of the Neutral Zone. Agreement in the present case may prove more complex, in view of the terms of the Saudi Arabia concession, terms which so far have not seemed to satisfy the Ruler of Kuwait."

Needless to say Saudi-Japanese agreement like that of ENI-AGIP with Iran ones much to the political motives of the governments concerned.

## ALL ABOUT CANADA

The Overseas Edition of *The Financial Post*, Canada's national weekly of business, investment and public affairs—"Canada 1958"—presents one of the greatest development stories of modern times. The story of her evolution from colonial status to industrial nation is effectively told in these pages with the aid of pictures, diagrams and graphs revealing the record of her achievements in the past and the prospects before her in the near future. Every aspect of Canadian life and prognosis is featured in this edition with special reference to economics, finance and trade possibilities. The record of allround progress, however great, world seem small when compared with what lies ahead of her, owing to her infinite potentialities. The dynamic industrial growth is a recent phenomenon. But consider its size which is at once its strength and weakness.

Only Russia is larger (8.6 million square miles) and the U.S. is actually 200,000 sq. miles smaller.

However, much of Canada is rocky and mountainous and much is in the Arctic or sub-arctic. Canada's 16.5 million people occupy only about a third of the area and only 7.6% is developed farmland.

Trade conscious Canada will participate this year at 18 Trade fairs and shows, including seven in the U.S. and an international edition like this will meet the needs of businessmen all over the world. Canada faces new challenges and "new opportunities are opened to us," says the Prime Minister in a message.

## MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

## CHINA'S SEAT IN U.N.

After a heated debate, the General Assembly of the United Nations rejected on Sep. 23 an Asian-African move for a discussion by the world organisation of the Chinese representation issue and adopted a United States resolution shelving the issue during the current session of the Assembly.

But observers noted that four nations—Greece, Libya, Iceland and Austria—who voted last year with the United States on a similar resolution abstained, Iraq crossed over to the other side and with Cambodia, which had remained neutral last year, voted in favour of inscription of the item on the agenda of the Assembly, writes the *PTI* Correspondent of the United Nations.

The Steering Committee of the United Nations had first defeated an Indian proposal asking the General Assembly to discuss the China issue and adopt instead an American resolution to apply a "moratorium" on the question. India and six other nations from Asia and Africa in another determined bid to raise the issue went before the General Assembly with an amendment that Steering Committee's recommendation be set aside as also the proposal of "moratorium."

The vote on the amendment was 29 in favour, 40 against and 12 abstentions. The United States' resolution was accepted by 44 votes to 29 with nine abstentions. Last year a similar resolution by the United States had obtained 48 votes without the support of South Africa which had boycotted the session.

Though the Far-East situation is at present not on the agenda of the Assembly, the developments there gave the proceedings of the Assembly an added significance and urgency and all the 22 participant delegates, many of whom were Foreign Ministers, referred to the situation which, all said could lead to grave consequences.

## NEHRU - NOON MEETING

The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan arrived at "agreed settlements" in their two-day conference at New Delhi (10th & 11th September) in regard to most of the border disputes in the eastern region.

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They also agreed to an exchange of enclaves of the former Cooch-Bihar State in Pakistan and Pakistan enclaves in India.

A joint communique embodying the decisions of the Prime Ministers' conference was released simultaneously at New Delhi and Karachi.

The two Prime Ministers, the communique said, also agreed to issue instructions to expedite demarcation of the border in the light of the settlements arrived at and to consider further methods of settling the disputes that were still unresolved.

The communique added that the two Prime Ministers had agreed to keep in touch with each other to consider steps to be taken to "further their common objective of maintaining and developing friendly and co-operative relations between their two countries."

The communique said the Indian Commonwealth Secretary and the Pakistan Foreign Secretary would, in consultation with their engineers, submit proposals to the Prime Ministers in regard to two of the unresolved disputes, namely, in regard to Husainiwala and Sulaimanke, on the western border.

Three other disputes on the western border and two in the eastern region would require further consideration, according to the communique.

## "ATOMS FOR PEACE" CONFERENCE

On the 1st of last month five thousand atomic scientists from 66 nations assembled at Geneva and heard pleas for an end to secrecy in atomic research and for international agreement on many phases of atomic power.

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations Secretary-General, greeting the delegates to the United Nations's Atoms for Peace Conference, said the need for international agreement on many phases of atomic power was "obvious."

Prof. F. Pening of France presided. He told the delegates he believed the conference would result in the complete elimination of secrecy in the field of controlled thermo-nuclear relations.

MORAJI DESAI ON INDIA'S  
NEUTRALITY

Addressing a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association in New York on Sep. 11 Mr. Desai said: "India's alleged neutralism is not an attitude of indifference or of unpreparedness to judge between right and wrong; nor does it rest on any assumed role of being, so to say, outside the fray and, therefore somehow above it all."

"All that India is seeking is to establish for itself a record of fair-play and open-mindedness, a freedom to assess—subject of course, to all the limitations of human judgment in these matters—each case on its merits, of readiness to see the strong and weak points on either side," he said.

"The issues which confront us all to-day," Mr. Desai said, "are too complex to be settled in terms of 'yes' or 'no' or of 'for' or 'against'—these are differences of degree, differences of emphasising in particular contexts as well as differences in basic approaches, which all have to be reckoned with." "Friendship for all and readiness to absorb the best from all peoples of the world is at the foot of India's foreign policy," the Minister said.

## MR. NEHRU ON CHINA

General Tang Kwan Sun, special representative of General Chang Ching Wu, the Chinese Central Government's representative in Tibet, gave a dinner on Sep. 19 at Churitung in honour of Prime Minister Nehru.

Replying Mr. Nehru said that the toast for India-China friendship was dear to him. These two great countries had been neighbours for thousands of years. There had never been war between them—a record which few countries had. With that part of China, the Tibetan region, "which is our neighbour we have had close cultural and religious relations also for one thousand years which we have cherished."

## MR. GROMYKO'S WARNING

Mr. Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, speaking at United Nations on Sep. 21 demanded the withdrawal of American troops from Formosa and renewed the Russian pledge to help China "at any moment to beat off aggression by joint efforts."

"Let nobody else be misled by the true meaning of the present actions of the United States Government in Far East and of the

consequences they will inevitably entail if they are not curbed in time," he told the General Assembly.

"The United States Government is taking risk when it comes out with threats and embarks on the road of adventures in its policy with regard to People's China. The sponsors of military provocations against China have evidently forgotten that China is a mighty power whose people is united around its Government and has no small experience in giving a rebuff to foreign invaders."

"One should not also overlook the fact that China is not alone and the Chinese People's Republic has true allies who are ready to help it at any moment to beat off aggression by joint efforts and the Soviet Union is among these allies."

MR. ANANTASAYANAM IYENGAR  
ON DEMOCRACY

Mr. Anantasayanam Iyengar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, said at Chandigarh on Sep. 21 that "India is one of the few countries in the East where political democracy has struck deep roots."

Mr. Iyengar, who was speaking at the two-day Seminar on Parliamentary Affairs, said, whatever might be the verdict of the world in respect of the targets and achievements of "our economic plans" the whole world "has unanimously acclaimed the political stability in India."

SIR LESLIE MUNRO ON  
DISARMAMENT

Opening the 13th session of the U.N. last month Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand, retiring President, told the 18-member world forum that it was "urgent" to intensify efforts at disarmament agreement.

Sir Leslie said that disarmament was the "central problem," which "brooks no delay."

"In the critically important field of disarmament" he said, "it will be recalled that the Assembly ended its 12th session in a state of deadlock, deprived of agreement either on what practical steps should be taken to check the arms race, or on the forum in which a solution should be sought."

"In view of this deeply disquieting fact, it is especially encouraging that the Geneva talks on the technical aspects of suspension of (nuclear) weapons tests should have been brought to a successful conclusion."

## PAN-AFRICAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

A Pan-African "freedom movement" has been launched with the aim of establishing in eastern and central territories "a Government of Africans, by Africans, for Africans."

A conference of 21 delegates from Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Nyasaland reached complete agreement on the new movement's constitution, Mr. Eridadi Mulira, President of Uganda's Progressive Party, told Press representatives at Kampala. The conference was held in Mwanza, Tanganyika.

A declaration by the conference said: "We dedicate ourselves to the great task of restoring our freedom...pledging ourselves to this task and cause until imperialism is wiped out of our motherland."

The new Government, the declaration said, would fight "White racialism and Black Chauvinism" and seek liberty of the subject within the law.

The statement added: "The movement will press for recognition of full trade union rights in all African territories, and work for complete equality and justice in all social, educational, political and economic affairs."

"The movement shall work for the establishment and perpetuation of trade parliamentary democracy in every territory within the African continent."

## CEYLON TAMILS

The Federal Party Members of Parliament representing one million Tamil-speaking people in the Northern and eastern provinces of Ceylon, have tabled a motion in the House of Representatives on Sep. 21.

The motion, signed by seven Members of Parliament, including Mr. Chelvanayakam, stated that the Tamil people have lost faith in the *bona fides* and willingness of this Government to implement any recommendations of the Committee ensuring and guaranteeing the basic human, political and economic rights of theirs.

The motion also states the happening of May 1958 and the policies and actions of the Government reveal are planned campaign of genocide against the Tamils of Ceylon in the light which any guarantee of fundamental rights under the present political set-up would be futile.

The best solution, according to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, for all the problems of the Tamil-speaking areas in Ceylon was "to give

local autonomy" to those areas and to give them the rights of a federated unit in the Government of Ceylon."

## MISREPRESENTATION OF W. ASIA

Mr. Jayaprakash Narain said at New Delhi on Sep. 21 that the Western press was largely to blame for a great deal of misunderstanding and misrepresentation about West Asia.

Mr. Jayaprakash, who has just returned from a four and half month tour of Western Europe, Yugoslavia, Britain and the Middle East, said at a press conference that President Nasser of Egypt, had been painted as a kind of dictator, exploiting Arab nationalism and sentiments for building up an Arab empire. He had found no basis for this kind of thinking.

In many countries of West Asia—and this applied to a lesser extent to India—it was just impossible for the Western type of party system to function. They had some kind of a transitional system of Government.

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF U. S. AND  
RUSSIA

Russia has more divisions and submarines and is "probably ahead of us in development of long-range missiles, but the U.S. is militarily superior to the Soviet Union today."

General Nathan Twinin, Chairman of the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, gave this summing up of the relative strength of the two nations in a speech to a defence organisation at Washington on Sep. 20.

America's strength lay in "our superior strategic retaliatory power our flexible and mobile tactical power, our industrial prowess and our economic strength," he said, adding no one could predict the relative strength of the two nations in the future.

## NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION

As we go to press, on the 30th of September heavy voting was reported from all parts of the French Union whose 47,000,000 electors are deciding by referendum on the new Constitution proposed by General Charles de Gaulle.

The first half a million votes counted in all parts of France and reported by *Retuer* correspondents showed an overwhelming number of "yes" votes, amounting to 87 per cent of the total cast.

Thus France has given Gen. De Gaulle a triumphal vote of confidence and the Communist Party its first serious defeat since the end of World War II.

## MONTREAL CONFERENCE

Four hundred representatives from 125 Commonwealth universities were warned at Montreal on Sep. 1 of the threats to the freedom of institutions of higher learning and the dangers of too great a concentration on the study of science.

The increasing demand for scientific specialists must not be permitted to result in a sacrifice of the study of the Humanities, Sir Hector Hetherington, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow, declared.

He told the opening session of the eighth quinquennial congress of universities that recognition must be given to "the absolutely central significance for all our university work of the Humanities."

The Governor-General of Canada, Mr. Vincent Massey, warned that if universities must have financial assistance from the State they must guard jealously their intellectual freedom.

**INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' HOSTEL**  
The first international students' hostel in Delhi was inaugurated at New Delhi last month by the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Mr. Humayun Kabir.

The hostel which will be managed by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations is located near the Delhi University.

The Minister in the course of his speech disclosed that very soon another international students' hostel will be opened in Calcutta, and in course of time there will be hostels in Bombay and Madras also. For the present, he said, clubs for foreign students have been opened in Bombay and Madras. A women's hostel will also be set up in Delhi for the convenience of women students from overseas.

## EDUCATION FOR THE POOR

The Madras Government are now considering a proposal for grant of educational concessions to all poor children, irrespective of their caste or religion.

Disclosing this in the Legislative Council on Sep. 13 Mr. R. Venkataraman, Minister for Industries, said the Government will take a decision very soon on the proposal.

## STUDENTS AND POLITICS

The All-India Congress Committee has accorded its approval to the Madras move for arriving at an all party agreement for non-involvement of students in active politics, and it awaits sanction by the executives of other political parties.

It may be recalled that, at the instance of the ruling party, leaders of all political parties in the State Legislature met some time back at the Secretariat to consider the question of students and politics. Following free and frank exchange of views, it was agreed that there should be an agreed arrangement by which they could ensure, non-involvement of students in active politics. The question of what further steps should be taken in the matter was left over till each party had obtained the approval or ratification of this move from its central executive.

In pursuance of this unanimous desire at this meeting, the Legislature Congress Party referred the matter to the A-ICC, which has now put its seal of approval on it.

It is hoped that similar approval will soon be secured by the other political parties.

As soon as the general sanction of all the party high commands is obtained, arrangements will be made, said a Ministerial source, to constitute a small sub-committee to devise ways and means of implementing this arrangement.

## PLAN ALLOCATION FOR EDUCATION

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman, University Grants Commission, said at Bhopal on Sep. 20 that the arguments advanced for reducing the allocation for education in the Plan period from Rs. 27 crores to Rs. 17 crores were "mechanical and fallacious."

Addressing the students of the Government Post-Graduate Hamidia College, Mr. Deshmukh said that there was bound to be some shortfall in the expenditure but that was no argument to prune the allocation and reduce their demands. If funds were made available, he added, avenues for their gainful utilisation would automatically be forthcoming.

Mr. Deshmukh disclosed that he had made an offer to the Union Finance Ministry to challenge the spending capacity of the Commission without fixing a ceiling on funds, and expressed the hope that the offer would be accepted.

## JACOBITE SYRIAN CHURCH

On Sep. 12 The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court allowed an appeal by Moran Mar Basselios Catholicos, holding that the appellant was validly appointed as Malankara Jacobite Syrian Christian Church in Malabar and as such became an ex-officio trustee of the properties belonging to the church.

The unanimous judgment delivered by the Chief Justice, Mr. S. R. Das, accordingly set aside the decision of the Kerala High Court and restored the decree of the trial court dismissing the suit filed by the respondent Tukulam Paulo Avira and others who claimed themselves to be the "real trustees" of the church property.

The decision of the court thus ended one of the longest-fought pieces of litigation arising out of a controversy between two rival sections of the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Christian community in Malabar on the claim to spiritual leadership and right to administer the properties belonging to the church.

## PROHIBITION LAW &amp; POLICE

The Bombay High Court has held that the police cannot force a person, suspected to have violated the Prohibition law, to submit himself to a medical examination against his will.

Mr. Justice Datar and Mr. Justice Tarkunde, in disposing of a revision, gave this ruling on Sep. 12 and ordered the acquittal of D. S. Patil of Nasik, who was convicted and sentenced by a Magistrate under Sec. 355 I.P.C. for use of force to deter public servants from discharging their duty.

## SUPREME COURT ON PROOF READERS

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court on Sep. 22 refused special leave to the "Hindustan Times" Ltd., and Bennet Coleman and Co Ltd., proprietors of the "Times of India" and "Nav Bharat Times" to appeal against an award of the Industrial Tribunal, Delhi, holding that proof readers and copy-holders of the petitioners' establishments were entitled to the benefits of the Working Journalists Act.

## U. S. SUPREME COURT'S RULING

The U. S. Supreme Court on Sep. 22 refused the Little Rock School Board any delay in integration at Central High School.

The decision was announced to a packed courtroom by Chief Justice Earl Warren at Washington.

He said the decision was unanimous.

"The judgment of this court is effective immediately", the Chief Justice said.

"The ruling will have a profound effect on the whole course of school integration throughout Southern States."

It means in effect that seven Negro children are now to be admitted to Central High School in the Arkansas state capital of Little Rock, which was the scene of race rioting when Negro children were admitted under court orders last year.

ASSAULT ON COLOURED MEN  
IN U. K.

Nine youths who each pleaded guilty of wounding and assaulting coloured men in London were at the Old Bailey, Central Criminal Court, London each sentenced to prison for four years on Sep. 15.

Passing the sentence the Judge said: "It was you men who started the whole of this violence in Notting Hill."

The youths, aged between 17 and 20, set out on what one of them and described as "a Nigger hunting expedition." They were alleged to have attacked five coloured men causing three of them grave injuries.

Mr. Justice (Sir Cyril) Salmon told them: "You are a minute and insignificant section of the population but you have brought shame upon the district in which you live."

Everyone, irrespective of the colour of their skins is entitled to walk through our streets in peace with their heads erect and free from fear. That is a right which these courts will always unfailingly uphold."

Earlier, the Prosecution had said that the prisoners toured Notting Hill in a car in the early hours of the morning beating up coloured men with iron bars torn from a railing, a car starting handle, table legs, pieces of wood and a knife.

## THE LAW COMMISSION REPORT

The Law Commission in its report on judicial reforms has underlined the need for selection of Judges purely on merit instead of being influenced, as has happened in the post-Independence period, by political, parochial and caste consideration.

The Commission is believed to have observed that even for purposes of eliminating delays and improving the quality of justice, this basic criterion should determine recruitment to the Judiciary as mere increase in its strength would not achieve these objectives.

## NEED FOR FOREIGN CAPITAL

At the Commonwealth Economic Conference at Montreal on Sep. 24 Mr. Morarji Desai, India's Finance Minister, was said to have laid great stress on the need for financial development.

He also referred to the need for the Commonwealth to be an outward looking group. All countries needed capital but it was essential to recognise that the need of the underdeveloped countries had a priority beyond others.

Mr. Desai said that Britain was the main provider of capital in the Commonwealth but he thought that there was no reason why some importers of capital should not assign some capital for foreign investment. He said that experience of Canada in this respect was enlightening.

Mr. Desai explained that Canada was a capital importer but still spared a portion of its resources for assisting development in the Commonwealth. He added that this was a most heartening sign of Commonwealth co-operation. Economic development should be the keynote of their deliberations, he added.

Mr. Desai welcomed the United States initiative in proposing greater resources for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

## BRITISH AID TO INDIA

Britain announced on Sep. 14 that she would make available to India nearly 40 million sterling in financial aid before Mar. 31, 1959.

A Communique issued by the British Treasury on the conclusion of the talks of India's Finance Minister Morarji Desai with British leaders said Britain would also give "continuing consideration to the long-term problem of Indian development" during the rest of the Second Five-year Plan.

The communique referred to the recent talks in Washington held under the auspices of the World Bank and said that the United Kingdom hoped that the other participants "will similarly be willing to take action."

## MANUFACTURE OF TELEPRINTERS

India will soon have a plant to manufacture teleprinters, the Union Minister for Transport and Communications, Mr. S. K. Patil, announced at Bombay on Sep. 19.

"Things would be moving within the next six months," if the details regarding foreign exchange and payment were settled, he told Pressmen.

## EXPANSION OF RAILWAYS

The World Bank has approved of a loan equivalent to 85 million dollars to India to help her meet the foreign exchange costs of a programme to improve and expand the Indian Railways which is an important part of India's Second Five-year Plan.

The First Pennsylvania Banking and Trust Company of Philadelphia will participate in the loan without the World Bank's guarantee to the extent of 500,000 dollars representing parts of the first five maturities which fall due between January 15, 1963 and January 15, 1965.

The Bank's loan will help to pay a part of the cost of rolling stock, locomotive and other equipment during 1958 and the first quarter of 1959.

The improvement and expansion of railways have progressed satisfactorily in the Second Five-year Plan and shortage of rail transport is now less acute than it was two years ago.

## TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY

Mr. J. R. D. Tata Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, said at Bombay on Sep. 18 that the company "must make fresh issues of capital as suitable opportunities arise."

Addressing the 51st annual general meeting of the company, Mr. Tata added: "If and when proposals for an issue of capital are made to you your directors will bear it in mind that in these difficult days the capacity of the shareholders to produce additional money is limited, and also that any fresh issue should from the start be assured of a fair return based on current equity yields."

## IMMUNITIES FOR I.F.C.

The Lok Sabha on Sep. 29 passed by 112 votes to 25 the International Finance Corporation (status, immunities and privileges) Bill, after a heated debate.

The Bill gives the International Finance Corporation, which was formed in 1956 to promote investment in the private sector particularly in under-developed countries, certain immunities and privileges in India. Important among them are that the archives of the Corporation in India will be inviolable. Property and assets of the Corporation, wherever located and by whomsoever held, will be immune from search, requisition, confiscation, expropriation or any other form of seizure by executive or legislative action.

## Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA

Dr. Anima Sen Gupta is a vivacious young woman from Calcutta, who recently received doctorate degree in sociology from the American University in Washington. She is currently making a speaking tour of the United States, sponsored by the People-to-People programme.

The People-to-People programme is a privately-financed and privately-sponsored U. S. citizens' organisation interested in promoting international understanding. It was inaugurated by President Eisenhower.

In an interview Dr. Gupta said that she was excited and happy about the tour and very anxious to tell the American people about India. In each place Dr. Gupta will speak to civic organisations, teachers, church groups and women's clubs. She will live with American families throughout her trip, and looks forward to these associations.

Dr. Gupta did undergraduate work at London University and taught in a high school in Calcutta before going to the United States. She received her Master's Degree at Columbia University in New York City. The subject of her thesis was "Social Foundation of Education." She has been in America for the last five years.

## WOMEN IN MEN'S JOBS

Women are being attracted to more and more occupations on the Indian Railways which hitherto were the exclusive domain of men.

The Northern Railway has, for instance, one gang-woman, a job traditionally held by men. Another woman is a khalasi, removing coal ash.

An analysis of 563 women employees on the Northern Railways has shown that women are also working as travelling ticket examiners, ticket collectors and the like.

## RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, head of the Indian Red Cross Society, was presented with the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies' highest decoration, the badge of honour, at a ceremony in Moscow last month.

The award was made for her "active participation in the promotion of co-operation and consolidation of friendly ties between the Soviet and Indian Red Cross Societies," *Tass* said.

## MISS LALITA BOSE

Miss Lalita Bose, niece of Netaji Bose, who arrived in India, last month, is trained to be of greater service to the disabled women of Bengal.

She went to Britain to study the method of calico and velvet and silk printing at the suggestion of Prime Minister Nehru and Mr. Meherchand Khanna, India's Minister for Rehabilitation. Miss Bose is the Secretary of Arta Seva Kalyan Silpa which has its headquarters in Calcutta.

During her short visit to England, to get practical knowledge of various aspects of printing, she visited several institutions, including the well-known firm of Ciba in Manchester to study anilised dyes.

At the London School of Graphic Art and the London College of Art in South Kensington, she observed modern methods of printing on silk and velvet.

## EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN

The Government of India have ratified the ILO Convention concerning equal value, an official Press release said on Sep. 16.

The convention which was adopted by the International Labour Conference in June, 1951, lays down that "each member shall, by means appropriate to the methods in operation for determining rates of remuneration promote and in so far as is consistent with such methods, ensure the application to all workers of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for the work of equal value."

## TRAINING OF AUXILIARY NURSE - MIDWIVES

The Union Ministry of Health has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 30,000 to the Andhra Mahila Sabha Maternity Home, Madras as the third instalment of the Centre's contribution towards the training of the Auxiliary Nurse-Midwives during 1958-59 under the community Development Programme.

## KUMARI A. B. MARIKAR

Dr. (Kumari) A. B. Marikar, Superintendent, Kasturba Gandhi Hospital for Women and Children, Madras, has been renominated by Government as a member of the Madras Nurses and Midwives Council. She will hold office for a period of three years from September 26.

## General

### Dr. BHAGWAN DAS

We record with deep regret the death of Dr. Bhagwan Das, eminent philosopher at Banaras on Sep. 18. He was 90.

A recipient of the award of Bharat Ratna in 1955, Dr. Bhagwan Das dedicated his life to deep learning. He was an erudite scholar in Persian and Sanskrit.

Dr. Bhagwan Das studied deeply the writings of Indian and Western thinkers, ancient as well as modern, and it was his passion to understand philosophically the complexities of life and death, of joy and sorrow, of good and evil. This is amply borne out by the range of subjects he has discussed in his books. He wrote a learned introduction to our publication "Hindu Ethics" by his brother Govinda Das.

We offer our sympathies to Sri Sri Prakasa and other members of the family.

### BHARATHI'S WORKS

Speaking at the function of the Bharathi Festival at Etaiyapuram on Sep. 12, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, said that the late Bharathi was first and last a poet though he made a varied use of that gift. The Minister said mere material progress would not lead to happiness. Bharathi who pleaded powerfully for the eradication of poverty laid more stress on moral stamina and spiritual awakening among us as leading to true happiness and glory. Though Bharathi wrote on many subjects, he was a poet and it was fitting that Bharathi festival was observed. Bharathi had shown that life and art were inter-related and could not be separated.

### W. H. O. SESSION IN DEHLI

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, commended to the World Health Organisation on Sep. 24 that it should lay great stress not only on the development of physical health but also on mental health and renovation of human nature.

He was inaugurating the eleventh Annual Session of the WHO Regional Committee for South-East Asia. About 40 representatives from nine countries and other U.N. specialised agencies are participating in the Conference.

Addressing the Conference, the Union Health Minister Mr. D. P. Karmarkar said,

by and large the problems in the country were problems of rural health. Therefore, both the programmes of improved environmental sanitation and an adequate number of properly staffed rural health centres including maternity and child welfare services had been given top priority. He hoped that about 3,000 primary health centres would be set up by 1961. Of these, over 1,200 were already being built.

### Mr. M. C. CHAGLA

The appointment of Mr. Mohamed Ali Currim Chagla, at present Chief Justice of Bombay High Court, as India's Ambassador to the United States of America was officially announced on Sep. 13.

An External Affairs Ministry press note said: "He will assume charge of his new assignment in October 1958."

The choice of Mr. Chagla as Ambassador to the U.S. has been hailed as the most appropriate one at this juncture both by official and non-official circles. The appointment is stated to bear an eloquent testimony to India's steadfast adherence to democratic principles and secularism. Apart from being a top notch jurist, Mr. Chagla is known for his sturdy independence and integrity.

### Dr. P. V. CHERIAN

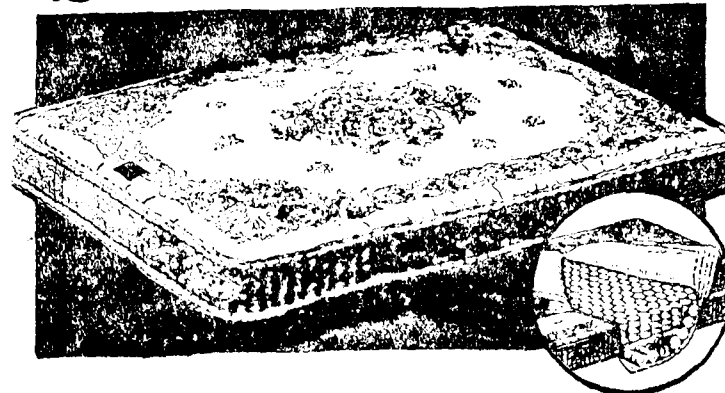
The convention that the Speaker and Chairman should wherever possible be continued in office has been respected in Madras; the reelection of Dr. Cherian as Chairman of the Legislative Council conforms to the best precedents. Since he is elected, not nominated to the Council, the second term should gratify his constituents also. That he belongs to a linguistic and religious minority has not stood in his way. The State Congress party has made it clear that such irrelevant considerations cannot hamper its choice, especially when the incumbent has given complete satisfaction.

The Opposition did well to make the choice a unanimous one. Dr. Cherian has not only been a distinct success in office, but has brought a rare degree of urbanity into politics.

### TRAINING IN MUSEOLOGY

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