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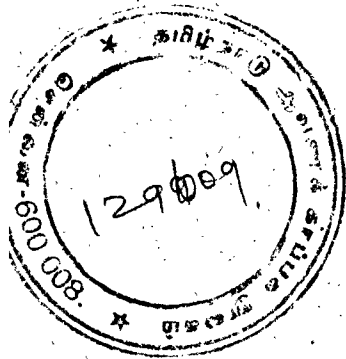
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61st Year

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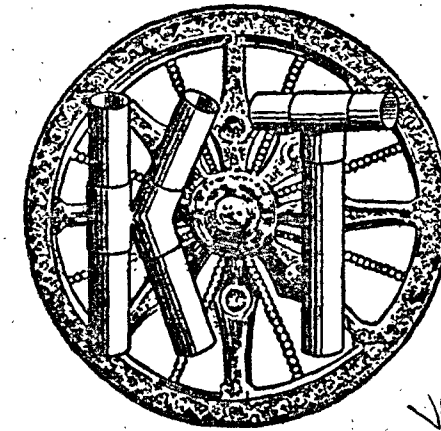
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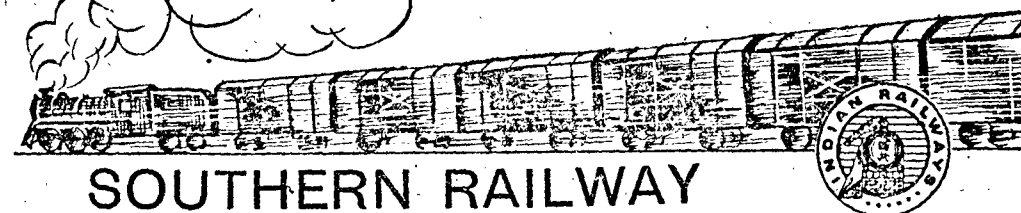
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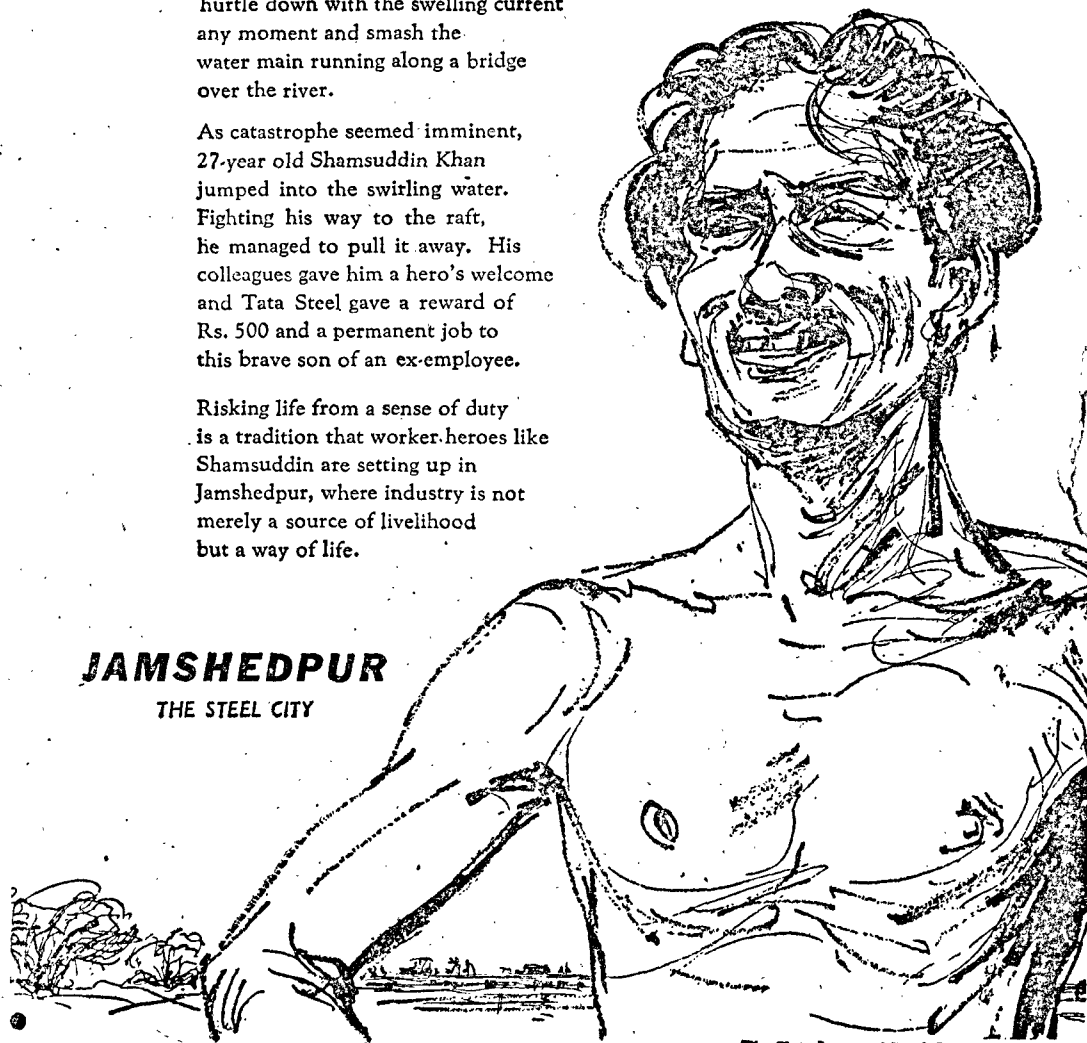
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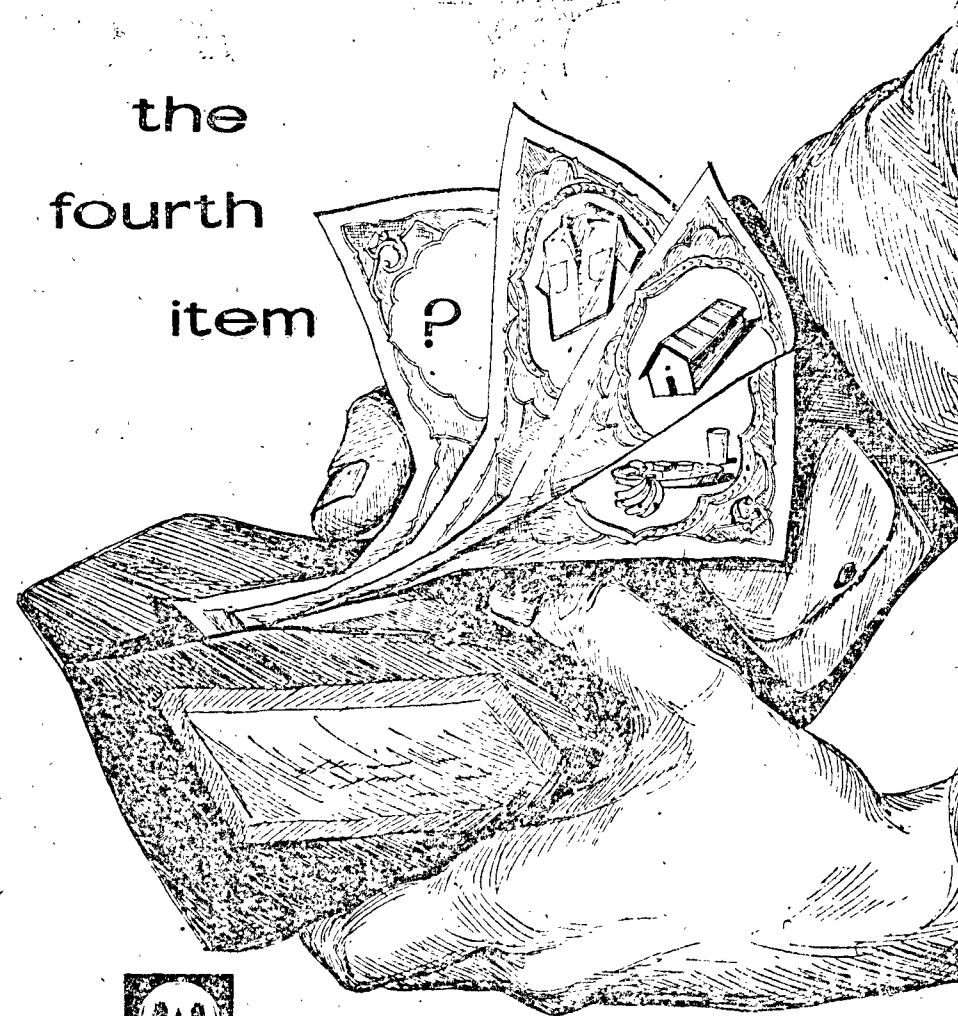


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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 61]

OCTOBER 1960

[No. 10

German-Indian Co-operation

By

PROF. DR. LUDWIG ERHARD

SEEN in terms of population, India with almost 400,000,000 inhabitants is today the second largest country of Asia and of the world. This very fact, together with the country's geographical position, places India in the forefront of those countries which, having emerged in the middle of our century, see themselves faced with tasks which can only be solved through greater effort and the mustering of their entire moral and economic resources. To these belongs raising the living on the edge of existence, to be effected by the location of employment and buying power. In short, radical measures are needed. India's 5-Year Plans are intended to provide the basis for this economic development and expansion. Proceeding on the thesis that the standard of living can be most quickly raised by the extension of the production goods industry, India decided on measures to increase production, with special emphasis on the basic industries. The construction of the steelworks at Rourkela is a milestone along this road. With its participation in this project, the West German economy, by making its know-how available, by employing a considerable part of its manufacturing industry for the plant and equipment of the steelworks and by training engineers and workmen, has helped toward the realization of India's second 5-Year Plan. Much more pioneer work remains to be done, however, for India's economic development. In addition to these governmental measures, the attainment of this objective requires above all (in the view of the West

German Government) the participation of private enterprise on a sound commercial basis; for this method seems excellently suited to advance economic expansion through the introduction of financial and material capital in conjunction with scientific knowledge and experience and procedures for the most effective investment of capital.

To speed the attainment of these objectives the Federal Government's Budget of 1959 encouraged the German economy (which is ready and willing to invest abroad) to take necessary steps by relieving them of the political risk peculiar to private investment in developing countries. The provisions link the taking over of guarantees with the condition that the capital invested in the recipient country be adequately safeguarded. It can be seen, therefore, that it is in the recipient country's own interest to create the appropriate politico-economic and legal conditions, free of discriminatory measures, for the encouragement of German firms and investors. The existence of such conditions and a careful tending of the investment climate should contribute to easing the path of private capital to mutual, economically fruitful cooperation. I would like to appeal again here to the West German economy to participate to their utmost in the economic expansion of the developing countries and support the efforts of these nations to raise living standards and broaden the basis of their economies.

In the long run, no national economy will be able to escape those structural changes in

indigenous production consequent upon development assistance, changes in the direction of increasing manufacturing refinement. Production which, in the present stage of development of these emergent countries, aims at the simple products of daily necessity can only serve the general good in as far as these products are not consumed at home but gain access to a larger market, i.e., when the industrial countries are prepared to accept more "first-stage" industrial products from the developing countries.

It appears equally important to give encouragement and security to the highly-experienced small and medium-sized German firms to take the ever more vital step overseas for development on a broad basis of technical

knowledge and business facility so as to help create buying power among the masses.

Within the framework of its own advancing economic recovery, the German Federal Republic has evidenced its willingness and moral obligation to assist India through participation in multilateral as well as bilateral assistance schemes. Examples are the erection of a technical training centre in Madras, a prototype and training workshop in Okhla as well as numerous grants for students and trainees and the sending of many consultants and experts. With many years of cordial relations between the two nations, West Germany will continue its endeavours to strengthen and expand, without any political motives, its economic co-operation with India to the welfare and advantage of both.

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Subramania Bharathi

By

HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN,
Minister of Transport and Communications.

SUBRAMANIA Aiyar (later Bharathi) was born on December 11, 1882, at Ettayapuram, in Tinnevely District, Madras State. He died young at the age of 39, on September 11, 1921, but only after having lived a life full of honour as an immortal in the world of literature and of glory as one of the greatest patriots of the time.

The poetic genius of Bharati began to show itself even at the tender age of seven; and when he was just eleven, the brilliance of his Tamil compositions earned for him the title "BHARATI." His three-year scholastic career in the Hindu College High School, Tinnevely, marked him out as the most talented student of his times. His mother had died while he was five years of age and the death of his father too in the adolescent stage of his life necessitated his going to Banaras to live under the care and protection of his aunt,

where he passed his Entrance Examination very creditably, acquiring proficiency in English and Sanskrit as well. He returned to South and spent a few months as a *Ta* *pandit* in the Setupati High School, Madurai. His marked preference for journalism, however, saw him in Madras as an Assistant Editor of "Swadeshamitran," where he worked under the able guidance of its veteran Editor, G. Subramania Iyer.

The Partition of Bengal in 1905 had a marked impact on Bharati's life. The humiliation to which his countrymen were being subjected by the foreign rulers of the time kindled in him the spirit of patriotism, and it did not take long for him to turn an extremist revolutionary. He attended the Banaras Session of the Indian National Congress in 1906, and, on return to Madras, began editing "INDIA," the Tamil exponent of the views of the extre-

mist wing of the Congress, and "Bala Bharati," an English Weekly. His fiery writings in these papers helped to intensify the feeling for freedom from foreign domination.

His contacts with the extremist nationalists of the country grew wide and deep, and the period of the next two years (1906-07) was one during which the exposition by him of the political philosophy to which he became wedded was nourished best by his poetic genius. His "Songs of Freedom" was typical of the renaissance in Tamil literature and filled a real want—the spark that was needed to kindle the flame of patriotism in the people. In 1908, when the Freedom Movement was at its height in the South, he was a marked man. In order, however, to elude the British, Bharati exiled himself to Pondicherry, a French possession, along with the paper "India," and pursued the War of Independence against the British from this new arena. The growing popularity of "India," unnerved the British and the entry of the paper into Indian territory was ultimately banned. The inevitable consequence was the paper had to die, along with other nationalist papers of the time.

Now, Pondicherry became an asylum for patriots whose political activities were ruthlessly curbed by the British in India. Shri Aurobindo arrived in Pondicherry in 1910 from Bengal; and V. V. S. Iyer managed to reach Pondicherry after setting himself free from prison. Bharati had further inspirations in his political thought from these co-sufferers. However, during the period that followed, though the torch of freedom movement was kept aflame, the tempo at which political activities were conducted in the past from Pondicherry could not be sustained. A feeling of frustration and a sense of attrition began to corrode the soul of Bharati. But, then, this forced inactivity enabled Bharati to devote himself more and more to his literary activities, and some of his best-known works, like the "Kuyil Pattu" (an Ode to the Nightingale) and "Panchali Sapatam" (the

Vow of Draupadi), were the direct consequence of the cool thinking rendered possible by the availability of ample leisure. All the same, the period of 10 years of self-imposed exile proved too long for him to keep down his urge for activity; and he accordingly crossed the border on November 20, 1918. Though the vigilant British administration in India forthwith put him under arrest, it could do no great harm or damage to him, for within nearly a month after the arrest, the case against him had to be withdrawn for want of proof of the crime he was alleged to have committed.

Bharati returned to his wife's place at Kadayam and remained there for about 2 years. During this period he met Gandhiji in Madras in March 1919. He visited Madras again in December, 1920, and once again took over the Assistant Editorship of "Swadeshamitran." He was at his best as a journalist during this period. His contributions were many and great. He had a coterie of admirers around him. He spoke to them and sang for them; and the pleasure was also his, not only theirs. He was a rising star.

Fate, however, had a different decree for him. In July, 1921, an elephant, belonging to the Triplicane Temple and belonging to a species of animals known generally for their intelligence, unintelligently, as it were, seized him with its trunk and cast him on the ground and rendered him unconscious. It appeared he was recovering from the shock. But, broken down as he was by other ailments, as well, his condition grew worse, and his untimely end came on September 11, 1921.

Bharati lived during a period when Tamil literature was in the doldrums. Even prose style was still in its infancy. People were mostly unlettered. Bharati made the appeal of Tamil poetry universal, as Burns did for the Scottish Song; and, even the most untutored could sing his compositions fully alive to the meaning of the words. He wrote prose also in the same lucid style. He was thus a teacher

not only learned but to the illiterate as well; and in this he set about with unexampled patience and unrivalled excellence. Today, the seedlings he planted have grown into big trees, with branches and leaves and fruits. His efforts may be compared to the vast floods that result from small drops of rain, and they have irrigated the parched minds of the people.

Bharati was indeed an ardent patriot. By his words he exalted India to the highest position, as also her literature. He spread the message of India's greatness through his inspiring verses. Those that he wrote in the cause of freedom roused the people from their apathy and torpor. Shedding their fear and superstition, they rose as one man to fight the forces of tyranny and oppression, both in Society and in Government.

There is spontaneity in Bharati's art. Even in his childhood, as has been said before, Bharati could compose verses impromptu. This power, however, did not turn his head at any time. Though torn between poverty and frustration himself, he used his gifts only to free the country from foreign tutelage and to rid her of such social evils as untouchability and bondage of women.

The poetic compositions of Bharati can be broadly divided into four parts, viz., Patriotic Songs on Bharat, Tamilnad, Freedom, Freedom movement, National Leaders and Freedom Movements in other countries; Devotional Songs; Miscellaneous Poems, including songs on Ethics and Society; and the three Major Poems of "KANNAN PATTU", "PANCHALI SAPATAM" and "KUYIL PATTU".

In the words of Sarojini Naidu, "Poet Bharati has fulfilled the true mission of a poet. He has created Beauty, not only through the medium of glowing and lovely words, but has kindled the souls of men and women by the million to a more passionate love of Freedom and a richer dedication to the service of the country." True, in his days,

there were many in the country whose passion for freedom was deep enough and perhaps deeper than Bharati's. But the greatness of Bharati lay, not so much in his being one such lover of freedom, as in the manner in which, through his songs, he awakened the slumbering millions to rise up and fight for the cause of freedom. As for his own visions regarding the prospects of freedom, he was a thorough optimist. He was extremely confident that his Mother was soon going to free herself from the shackles and he steadily prepared the nation, through his immortal poems, for the due enjoyment of that Freedom. Both he and the country have been unlucky, however; for, he did not live to see the Dawn of Freedom. To him Bharat mattered most; his own Tamilnad came only next. He sang in praise of Gandhiji, extolled his virtues, and spread his gospels. Every national leader of the time was a subject in his poems. Last but not least, his songs on the freedom movements in other countries provided the impetus and inspiration needed for securing our freedom.

The songs of Bharati, the pious, take into the realms of God and establish communion with Him. Of course, it was Shakti, giver of all to all, that he adored most; to him, Shiva or Vishnu, Rama or Krishna, Jesus or Allah, were one and the same—he sang in praise of all, with a spirit of secularism pervading his Devotional Poems.

Among Bharati's miscellaneous poems, those that he wrote in condemnation of the evils that then prevailed in society, stand foremost. The extent of the agitation caused in him by the prevalence of untouchability in the country is evident from the forthright manner in which he censured society for it. He took up cudgels on behalf of the fair sex for evolving a refined society wherein the glory of womanhood would be duly recognised and their rights properly safeguarded. Freedom of the country, to him, was not worth having unless women were emancipated. Develop-

ment of the economy of the country through the unrelenting efforts of the nation was the theme of one of his poetic exhortations. His message to the children of the soil, conveyed through his "Pappa Pattu", has been most popular in Tamilnad. The ethical aphorisms and epigrams enunciated by Bharati are clearly indicative of the practicability of the preachings of the preceptor.

In "Kannan Pattu", the central theme is, of course, Krishna; but He is looked at in various patterns of relationship: as God, as a Guru, as a child, as a lover, as a darling, as a master and as a pupil. The truth that God played the role that His devotee placed him in is most beautifully brought out in these immortal verses of Bharati.

"Panchali Sapatham" is a masterly rendition in Tamil of that part of the story of Mahabharata, which deals with the agony and oppression to which Draupadi was put as a result of the evil forces that surrounded

Yudhishtira who was led to acts of momentary indiscretion, and the ultimate vow she took against those who were responsible for the perpetration of the crime against her. Bharati, in his poem, saw in Panchali the symbol of the oppressed Bharata Mata under alien rule.

In "Kuyil Pattu", reputed to be the most interesting and enjoyable of all the creations of Bharati, the poet indulges in a riotous fancy in what may broadly be likened to "An Ode to the Nightingale". The contradictory features of love and disappointment, joy and sorrow, and harmony and discord, are all interwoven and picturised by Bharati through this narrative fable.

Bharati was 39 years of age when he died in 1921. Today, when a period of years equal to the span of his life is drawing to a close, it is only fitting that we honour this great soul in our own humble way by the issue of a postage stamp.



Mongolia of Today

By

Mr. IVOR MONTAGU,

(Secretary, British Peace Committee)

TO the town dweller in one of the overcrowded cities of the so-called 'West,' the most immediate attraction of Mongolia lies in the contrast which it offers with his own closely confined surroundings.

In Britain, for example, the cities include acre upon acre of land where one may scarcely see a tree, a bush or a blade of grass, where children may be born and grow up for many years and scarcely see an animal unless a slinking dog or cat, where the air is filled with dispersing smoke or the harmful fumes of oil and petrol.

How rich, to such a visitor, is glorious nature in Mongolia. Its wooded hills, its lakes and rivers, teeming with fish, its plains and grasslands—inhabited by the five animals of the Mongolian national crest—the wide horizon, the blue skies, the fresh air—invigorating to the spirit—with which he may fill his lungs in healthy freedom.

If the visitor is historically or scientifically minded he will find that the very rocks remind him at every turn of the dramatic and romantic story of the past, of the youth of mankind and of the changing planet on which it has been

its fate to dwell. Here in the heart of the largest terrestrial land-mass, Asia, was once sea. Here lived extraordinary and giant animals, both those that perished from their own monstrosity and those that left the familiar descendants we know today. Here man first tamed three world-wide friends—the horse, the ass, the camel. From these regions sprang men who, in distant times, crossed the Bering straits to populate America, and who, more recently, touched and fertilised the civilisations of China, India and Europe, building for a time a *Pax Mongolica* that stimulated their growth by cultural interchange. Scrape the soil, and almost anywhere you learn a lesson.

But, for the visitor who has eyes to see, a heart to feel, a mind to reason, the romance of the past pales and dwarfs beside the brilliance and the grandeur of the miracle of the present. This is—the wonder of a nation reborn.

Up to the moment of liberation less than forty years ago, he will find the witnesses unanimous with the tale of the degradation of a proud nation reduced to shadows, debt, dirt, disease, servitude, superstition, ignorance, denationalisation made up the night of the Mongolian people. As we have since seen happen, though sometimes less completely and spectacularly, in many other corners of the globe, feudalism and religion within, imperialism without, joined hands to suck a nation's life-blood. Swedish missionaries, Russian and English travellers, American scientists all predicted gloomily that the Mongolian could never adapt himself to modern times, that he was helpless, hopeless, swiftly dying, doomed.

What has changed Mongolia? What was the magic formula unforeseen by these prophets meaning with crocodile tears the fate of a people for whose final injuries exploitation by their own merchants was largely

responsible? How account for the new white cities, the literate people, the schooled young generation, emancipated women-folk, modern agriculture, factories and power plants, university classes, the opera, theatre, cinematograph industry, postal and radio network, efficient transport, far-reaching medical service, skilled craftsmen, scientists, historians, writers, painters, chauffeurs, astronomers, veterinaries, singers, diplomats one meets to-day?

Is this a sight not more inspiring and refreshing even than the grandeur of Mongolian nature or the romance of Mongolia's stones and graves? It is a story of rescue, salvation and recovery heartening to so many peoples who yet suffer, hoping and striving for their own liberation in other regions of the world. It is a story that owes much to four elements: independence, Socialist principles, Soviet friendship and power, and—at last—the partnership between China and the Soviet Union that is the great development of our era and has turned Mongolia from a bone gnawed by imperialists, which it was until the 1920s, an outpost on the edge of danger, which it was between the 1920s and 1940s, to a sanctuary with neighbour friends on both frontiers.

No sensible person will make the mistake of imagining that Socialism is a magic formula, which solves all questions and produces paradise without stresses or strains on the way. Like other forms of society, it is a product of man and, as the old quotation says, 'man is born to error.' Nevertheless, no sensible person who looks beneath surface of things can fail to realise that a Socialist outlook and target is the key that has unlocked the door to progress for the Mongolian people. Nor, if they look beneath the surface, can they doubt the enormous and beneficial role in speeding this progress that has come from aid by the Soviet neighbour accorded in a fraternal spirit of Socialism, and now

begins to come, in a different way of course, from Chinese friends as well.

For what is particularly fascinating to the student of man and politics, and must serve as inspiration and encouragement to peoples everywhere striving to emerge from a backwardness imposed by history, is that the advance of the Mongolian people towards, and by, Socialism, is not a thing imposed from outside by 'experts,' and remaining alien to the feelings of the masses of the people, but one which has been achieved by the efforts of the people themselves, embraces all, and blends what is most precious in their own past and culture with access to the treasures of the culture of the world. Socialism is not imposing a pattern, it is liberating the energies and genius of a people, that feudalism and imperialism had left cramped and crippled in ignorance and decay, to make its own new national life, resurrected and reborn.

Who that visits Mongolia today does not feel, together with the beauty and riches of the land, the strength and vigour of its people? An hospitable people, sometimes shy at first but easy friends, and what is most important in human relations, ready to share a common language. How much the visitor regrets the barrier of language. He is perfectly aware, however, that it is *his own* fault and *his own* shame. In my country, Great Britain, for all our vaunted learning, there are 47 million inhabitants and, so far as I know, only two people who can read and understand Mongolian. And in this proud, complacent ignorance we are content to dwell. Last time I was in Mongolia, in the place where I was staying our Mongolian hosts included an English interpreter, a Chinese interpreter, a Japanese interpreter and a German interpreter. On my first

day in the square I met an Indian friend accompanied by a Mongolian girl who, also, spoke to me in excellent English. Naturally, I assumed that this was yet another English interpreter, but no, I was wrong, it was the Hindustani interpreter! And before I had been there twenty-four hours a Mongolian friend sighed and said to me: "The trouble with us in Mongolia is that we have so few people who speak foreign languages....." Let me assure you, my Mongolian readers, if any such there be, you are not doing at all badly, at any rate by comparison with our standards!

Everywhere I go in Mongolia, in factory, school, farm, yurt or holiday camp I—as a visitor from the big world outside—am asked: "And why is Mongolia not admitted to the United Nations?" How can I answer? Only in one way, the truth. That the folly and wickedness of the rulers of one nation, in pursuing its 'traditional' policy of refusing to 'recognise' the existence of anything inconvenient to them (as though 'recognition' were a benefit to be bestowed at will by the recogniser, rather than 'non-recognition' an absurdity that only injures and renders ridiculous the non-recogniser), the cowardly or venal acquiescence of the rulers of other nations (including my own), and the ignorance (certainly not wickedness) of their peoples perpetuate this injustice. That it will continue as long as the Cold War continues and that the efforts of all those who work for peace will indirectly help to end it. Meanwhile, the restraint, dignity and progress of the Mongolian people, becoming more widely known and appreciated despite all obstacles, forge their own links, and win their own friends among ever more nation and peoples.

Gandhi on World Affairs

By

"B. N."

MUCH has been written about Gandhi the man, his ideas and conduct in the context of his labours in South Africa and India. For two decades from 1893 to 1914 except for occasional trips to England and India, Gandhi remained in South Africa which was the scene of his first experiments in political action. But his labours in India for the next three decades culminating in the spectacular liberation of the country from foreign rule in 1947, have naturally evoked wider public interest. Apart from it, the novelty of his views and his constant endeavour to enforce them in his personal life have attracted no little attention at home as abroad. And then Gandhi's life and thought underwent such a continual process of evolution that contemporary opinion was apt to be perplexed. Gandhi used to say that his ideas and their application to individual as well as social life, though primarily meant for India, are of universal appeal and are meant for society anywhere. His insistence on Truth and Non-violence as the panacea for all ills private and public and as a guide to right conduct among men and nations even in a nuclear age wedded to diplomatic manoeuvring is intriguing. Gandhi was fairly familiar with the events and happenings in three continents and he seldom failed to take note of and comment on them in his weeklies. His views on war and justice, communism, the encounter of great races and religions and foreign policy were widely read and discussed. Gandhi's thinking on political and social issues, the nature of his beliefs about truth, men and authority and his impact on international and intercultural relations have been the subject of study and criticism in many recent publications abroad. One such and a very discerning study is offered by Paul F. Power in his latest on Gandhi on World Affairs.*

*Gandhi on World Affairs: By Paul F. Power, Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C. \$ 3.25.

Mr. Power's book opens with a chapter on the Early Influences which shaped his character and directed his method of approach to problems of life and society. Based on extensive research this chapter explores Gandhi's activities and ideas before he became the central figure in Indian nationalism and world affairs. It offers an illuminating commentary on his life and work in general. This is followed by a chapter on his Political Philosophy so intermingled with his religious beliefs and practices. But his main objectives are clear enough and he devoted his time to their fulfilment. And what are they?

"The main goals were to end British rule in India: to attain the repeal of unjust legislation; to extinguish violence and tensions between Muslim and Hindu Indians: to improve the conditions of "untouchables" and return them to Hindu society; to eliminate narcotic addictions and the consumption of alcoholic beverages; to improve the status of Indian women; to restore village industries; to solve agrarian disputes; and to substitute moral force for war."

How he endeavoured to carry out this all-round programme of national work is written large in the history of the recent past.

As Gandhiji's career progressed he became critical of the fact that western political parties "act as brokers between interests competing for voters." He expressed his basic theory of party when he recommended that the Congress party disband after the country's freedom and become a social service organization. Gandhiji had little faith in political institutions even democratic institutions, which are apt to become corrupt and unprincipled, and he urged them "to dedicate themselves

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to common good even at the cost of their dissolution."

In the chapter on War and the World Mr. Power points out certain apparent inconsistencies in Gandhi's participation in the Boer, Zulu and the First World War and his definite pronouncements against war in general in his passion for pacifism and peace.

"At times he took a rigorously pacifist stand and held that neither contestant in a conflict is just and nothing of value emerges from it. This was clearly his view of nuclear war. On other occasions he maintained that a particular side in a war is just and deserves the moral support of pacifists and non-pacifists alike. Sometimes Gandhi the patriot aided war efforts or restricted his pacifism to himself and to those who believed with him that the recourse of war is untenable; he did this to give secondary help to non-pacifist activities which furthered Indian nationalism."

Writing in a time of peace, he looked back to his South African phase and described to his critics the quandary in which he and his followers had found themselves. "All of us," he wrote, "recognized the immorality of war. It was quite clear to me that participation in war could never be consistent with ahimsa. But it is not always given to one to be equally clear about one's duty. A votary of truth is often obliged to grope in the dark." The fact is, in a conflict of this nature he often found comfort in the precedents set by Bhishma and Sri Krishna in the Mahabharata War. Consistently Gandhi believed that war is unrighteous because "it contradicts ahimsa and the higher law of Dharma. But then he always set truth above non-violence."

Some of the diversities on these points are resolved by the tendency of his passivism to admit limitations, in particular that truth, not peace, is the ultimate good. The

demands of his nationalism upon his idealism account for other inconsistencies..... claims that satyagraha is a non-violent force are in keeping with Gandhi's idea that ahimsa, the head water of satyagraha, is dynamic and not pietistic reverence for life or nonresistance. Nonetheless force, even Gandhi's soul-force is a form of power like violence itself."

Gandhi's main position in regard to the relations between the West and non-West is analysed in another chapter. He was vitally concerned with the politico-cultural relations of the East and West. It is true he resisted most western influences in his efforts to reassert the values of traditional India. Habits and methods that are racy of the soil could not be dispensed with offhand. But he came to accept some aspects of Westernization "not as desirable in themselves but as inevitable forces which might be transformed in their new setting." In the historic controversy between Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, he put the case in his own inimitable way.

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet."

In a chapter on India's Role in World Affairs Gandhi's ideas about policy questions which are important today for India's external affairs and his expectations about the general function of India on the world stage are discussed with sympathy and understanding.

"His particular suggestions for coping with the problems of Indians abroad were to encourage local self-help and non-violent resistance, to persuade colonial governments to improve conditions, to end degrading channels of Indian emigration, to hold Indians responsible for their personal conduct in host nations, and late in life, to ask protection of overseas Indians by international organization and diplomacy."

In his concluding chapter, Mr. Power attempts a summary and appraisal of Gandhi's ideas. Sensitive to the need for change Gandhi developed a system of non-violent direct action to reform society and the state.

"In general he was hostile or indifferent to Western democratic institutions, nonetheless the foundations of democracy are strengthened by his concern for civil liberties and an ethical basis of political life."

The limitations of Gandhi's international ideas cannot be escaped. Beyond established theoretical approaches to international relations, Gandhi's thought, says Mr. Power, "does not reveal any original plan to explain and anticipate world events and perhaps control their affairs. For in the field of world affairs he was not a speculative thinker or a systematic analyst." But Gandhi was too occupied with the affairs of his own country and too full of ideas and activities in other directions to be free to engage himself in direct international affairs. First things first. He felt he had enough to do to shape his country's future and would not fritter away his energies in affairs of no immediate concern to the India of his dreams.

"The Mahatma viewed free India as a medium through which 'international relations will be placed on a moral basis.' India, he predicted, 'will be the voice of a powerful nation seeking to keep under restraint all violent forces of the world.' These beliefs depend on his pride in Indian civilization, 'the nursery of the most ancient religions, which 'has little to learn from modern civilization based on violence of the blackest type largely a negation of the Divine in man, and which is rushing headlong to its ruin.'"

Gandhi further claimed for his country:

India has an unbroken tradition of non-violence from times immemorial. But at no time in her ancient history, as far as I know it, has it had complete non-violence in action pervading the whole land. Nevertheless, it is my unshakable belief that her destiny is to deliver the message of non-violence to mankind. It may take ages to come to fruition. But so far as I can judge no other will precede her in the fulfilment of that mission."

Mr. Power's book is a dispassionate penetrating study of Gandhi's ideas interlarded with scholarly discrimination.

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The Wutai Mountain—A Buddhist Holy Place

By

BHIKSUNI LUNG-LIEN

THE Wutai Mountain, one of the four famous holy mountains of Buddhists in China, is situated in the Northeastern part of Wutai county in Shansi province. According to the *Avatamsakasutra* and the *Ratna-pitaka-dharani-sutra*, it was the preaching ground of Manjusri Bodhisattva. A legend goes that during the time of Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty (A. D. 58-57), Kasyapa-Matanga and Gobharana, said to be the first Buddhist monks who came to China, settled in the

Wutai Mountain, where they built a monastery and initiated monks into Buddhism. But reliable records state that during the reign of Emperor Hsiaowen of the Northern Wei dynasty (A. D. 471-499), he built twelve monasteries around the Lingchiu Peak, and after that the mountain began to have large Buddhist monasteries. During the Chihcheng period (1341-1367) of the Yuan dynasty, the National Preceptor Amrasri built the Tashanfa-tsang Monastery (the Site being the present

Hsitien Monastery opposite the Kuangshi Hermitage), which was the first Lama temple on the mountain. In the 12th year of the Yunglo period (1414) of the Ming dynasty, Ta-tzu-fo-wang, who was a chief disciple of Tsong Ka-pa, came here and introduced the Yellow Sect. It was during the Kanghsi period of the Ching dynasty that the Rahula Monastery and nine other monasteries were turned into temples for the Yellow Sect. Most of the Lamas living in these temples were Mongolians or Tibetans.

In a survey made by the Wutai Mountain Institute for the Preservation of Ancient Sites, it is found that monasteries on the mountain number 97 "Blue temples" (i. e., temples of the Han nationality) and 25 "Yellow temples" (i. e., Lama temples), including some small and not well-known ones. According to the *Monasteries of the Wutai Mountain* compiled by the local Buddhist Association, there are at present 71 monasteries (only the well known ancient ones). During the anti-Japanese War, the monks, being unable to stand the persecution and oppression of the Japanese and puppet troops, fled away to other places for safety. After liberation, the local government made an investigation and found there were only some 10 Buddhist monks and nuns living on the mountain. Afterwards the monasteries were gradually repaired and renovated with funds appropriated by the Peoples' Government. The livelihood of monks and nuns was looked after and religious faith protected, so the monks and nuns who had run away returned one after another to the mountain. Thus the number of monks and nuns has increased year by year. According to a survey made in the summer of 1959, there were more than 400 monks and nuns living on the mountain, including the Han, Mongolian, Tibetan, Manchu and Tu nationalities. Most of the Lamas in the Yellow temples belong to national minorities, but a very small number are Hans who have adopted Lamaism as their religion. In

the past antagonisms always existed between the Blue and Yellow temples. Since liberation, under the leadership of the Peoples' Government and in the atmosphere of unity of all the nationalities in the whole country, the antagonisms have gradually disappeared. Now all the monks and nuns of the whole mountain, irrespective of nationality or religious sect, are living in harmony with mutual respect. In their religious life they still follow the time-honoured traditions of their own sects.

Regarding the Buddhist sects on the mountain, all the Lamas belong to the Yellow sect, while the monks and nuns of the Han nationality belong to the Dhyana, Vinaya, Pure-Land, or Esoteric Sect. The Malanga-Gobharana Sect is believed to be one peculiar to the Wutai Mountain. Of the many Buddhist monasteries on the Wutai Mountain, a brief account of a few well-known ones is given below:

(1) *The Great Hsien-tung Monastery.* It is located at Taihuai township in the centre of the Wutai Mountain and it occupies an area of 20 acres. The Buddhist Association of Wutai Mountain is situated here.

The monastic order of the Hsien-tung Monastery belongs to the above-mentioned Matanga-Gobharana Sect. During the Tang dynasty, it once became a monastery of the Avatamsaka Sect (in which Chengkuan, who also known as the National Preceptor Ching-liang, wrote his famous *Commentary on the Avatamsaka-sutra*). The religious activities here are different from those of other Blue temples. On ordinary days the monks only perform "half service" in the morning and evenings, and in the afternoons they recite three different kinds of Buddhist scriptures. On new-moon and full-moon days they perform "full service" and recite a special prayer to Weito, a protector of temples. There are many regular Buddhist ceremonies performed on festival days throughout the year. Music is played in ceremonies on special occasions,

and they have kept a kind of ancient Buddhist music, which is performed by the instrument of *Sheng*, *Kuan*, *Fanghsiang* and *Yunao*, the tunes of which are exceedingly melodious and beautiful. In August, 1959, when the Ven. Shirob-Jaltso, President of the Buddhist Association of China, made a pilgrimage to the Wutai Mountain with a group of his followers, he stayed in this monastery. When he conducted his services here and near-by monasteries, this ancient music was played to accompany his chanting of scriptures.

(2) *The Bodhisattva Height*. This is the "back screen" of the Hsien-tung Monastery. Its red walls and green glazed tiles, together with the 210-foot-high white pagoda in front of the Hsien-tung Monastery, the tree-covered peaks at its back, and the surrounding temples from a beautiful picture. The Bodhisattva Height is the centre of the Yellow temples. The God Dance performed here on the 15th day of the 6th Moon is an important programme of the religious gathering on the mountain every year.

Whenever a great religious gathering is held, the Lamas of all the Yellow temples would assemble here. Some of them have been living on the mountain for fifty or sixty years and it has become their second home. Religious service is held at least once a day in the Yellow temples. Just at dawn a sonorous sound like that of a horn would spread through the morning fog of the mountain, and that is the blowing of conches by the Lamas while performing their morning service. Besides the chanting of holy scriptures in a meeting, they also have their individual religious practices.

(3) *The Kuangchi Hermitage*. It is about five li to the east of the Hsien-tung Monastery. It is said that the Vinaya-master Fa-tung of the Northern Wei dynasty once preached the *Dharmagutavinaya* here. The buildings were renovated by the Dhyana-master Kuyuehcheng of the Ming dynasty. On the sign hanging above the main gate of the monas-

tery were written in large characters: "Hu-kuo-pi-shan-shih-fang-pu-chi-chan-ssu" (or "Universal Deliverance Monastery of the Dhyana Sect on the Green Mountain for the Protection of the Country"). It is generally known as "the Hermitage." At present there are over eighty monks living here. Their religious practices put equal emphasis on the Dhyana and Vinaya rules, and their religious activities are similar to those of the big monasteries of the Dhyana Sect. The altar here is said to be the place where the Vinaya-master Ju-hsing, who revived the study of the Vinaya toward the end of the Ming dynasty, was ordained. Special emphasis is laid on the observation of the Vinaya rules by the monks of this monastery. They observe *Posadha* and recite the *Pratimoksa* twice a month, and keep *Varsa* every summer without interruption. During the period of *Varsa*, they often invite masters of the Dharma to preach on various scriptures. From 1953 to 1955 a complete series of lectures were given on the whole text of the *Ayatamsaka-sutra*. In the summers of 1958 and 1959, the V. Neng-hai, a Vice-President of the Buddhist Association of China, preached here on *Abhisamayalamkara-sastra* as well as on *Paohsiang-tsan* compiled by himself. In the library of this monastery there are kept the "dragon edition" and the supplement of the *Tripitaka*, which are regularly read by many monks.

(4) *The Chihsiang Monastery*. It is situated at the Chingliang Bridge on the southern edge of the Central Hill, at an altitude of 2,440 metres above sea level. It is said that this monastery was rebuilt by Monk Ssu-tan of the Tang dynasty. By the end of the Ming dynasty, the Vinaya-master Chi-kuang (1580-1645), who was a disciple of the Vinaya-master Ju-hsing, conducted ceremonies here and it is the "ancestral place" of the ordination altar at the Paohua Mountain near Nanking. The *Rites for the Ordination* ceremony, still used by the Buddhists in China, was written

here by the Vinaya-master Chien-yueh, a disciple of the Vinaya-master Chi-kuang. Since liberation, the Chihsiang Monastery has been renovated and the ordination ceremony has been conducted three times here. The method of study and the scriptures recited by the monks of this monastery are generally the same as in other Yellow temples. But with respect to Vinaya, they follow the system of the *Dharmagupta-vinaya*, and their date for *Varsa* is the same as that adopted by the Blue temples. They formed a tradition of their own with characteristics of both the Yellow and Blue temples. Their robes are likewise different from those of the Lamas of the Yellow temples and the attire of the Han monks in the Blue temples. They always wear the three religious garments of red and yellow. The colour, the material, the size and the style are in accordance with the rules laid down in the Vinaya-pitaka. This is also a salient feature of the monks of this monas-

The Hilltops. The chief desire of pilgrims to the Wutai Mountain is to visit the hilltops (by which the mountain derived its name). But it is a very hard journey to the hilltops. A careful survey carried out in 1956 showed that the altitude of the Central Hilltop is 2,895.8 metres above sea level, and the Northern Hilltop, which is the highest peak of the Wutai Mountain, is about 300 metres higher. The temperature on the hilltops drops as low as 30 to 46 degrees below zero centigrade, and the change of weather is very sudden. The monasteries on the hilltops are stone caves, but they still could not resist

the penetration of ice and snow. Recently these monasteries have been repaired with government fund, and they have become, comparatively speaking, stronger than before. In winter the vapour inside the caves will freeze and form a layer of ice on the walls. This will not melt, even stoves are used in them. The roads leading to the hilltops are often damaged by blizzards, and they have to be repaired from time to time. In a heavy snowstorm or fog, even an experienced guide sometimes loses his way. Besides receiving pilgrims, the monks living on the hilltops can engage in the religious practices of any sect they choose.

Apart from the resident monks, there are also many Buddhist pilgrims to the Wutai Mountain every year. Some of them just come for a visit and return, while others spend the summer on the mountain and go back in the autumn. Wherever the pilgrims go, they usually make a donation, large or small according to their own desire. The monks are perfectly free to receive or give donations.

The Peoples' Government gives proper care to the life of the monks. Under the condition that the "four monastic requirements" (food, clothing, lodging and medicine), are fully supplied, the monks and nuns of the mountain are leading a free and quiet religious life. Whatever they need for their religious activities are specially provided for by the government departments concerned. In the study of the Buddhist teachings and in the practice of Buddhist doctrines, the monks of Wutai Mountain are purer than before the liberation.

Joseph Baptista

By

MR. J. H. MIRANDA

BEWARE of the Bureaucracy. An unrepresentative and irresponsible system is intolerable in this enlightened century. To prosecute publicists for sedition under the autocratic system is to turn the pen into a pen-knife," observed Joseph Baptista when he moved in the Cambridge Union "that the policy of Government is unwarranted and unwise" upon Tilak's imprisonment for sedition in 1897 and the internment of the Nattu brothers. In a house crowded to capacity with Lord Lytton, afterwards Governor of Bengal among the opponents and the future Secretary of State for India, Mr. Edwin Montagu in the audience, the political career of Joseph Baptista may have said to have commenced.

Joseph Baptista, was the father of the Indian Home Rule League, one of the founders of Trade Unionism in India, an eminent labour leader and politician, and a patriot to his finger tips.

Born in Bombay at Matharpacady of East Indian parents, Joseph Baptista had Maratha blood in his veins. He received a sound education under the German Jesuits at St. Mary's High School, Mazagoan and then took the L.C.E. degree at the engineering college at Poona. After a brief period of service in the Forest Department of the Govt. of Bombay he resigned and sailed for England to study Law and Politics. He took the degree of B.A. and Law Tripos at Cambridge in 1899 and was called to the Bar from Gray's Inn. On his return to India he was enrolled as an Advocate of the High Court of Bombay and was appointed Professor at the Government Law College.

The attractions of a political career drew him from the Bar. In 1900 he suggested to Lokmanya Tilak the formation of the Indian Home Rule League, but the proposal was turned down as premature. On the emergence of Tilak from prison in 1915, Joseph Baptista was invited to preside at the Provincial Con-

ference at Poona. The latter seized the opportunity of suggesting once more the Home Rule League. Tilak agreed, and with the help of the propagandist Annie Besant the Indian Home Rule League was duly inaugurated at the Belgaum Conference in 1916.

Joseph Baptista was the first to foresee the great possibilities of getting the British Labour Party interested in and sympathising with Indian national aspirations. Tilak entrusted him with the mission to England in this connection. He told Mr. Montagu that absolute power by gradual instalments should be granted within a generation. The famous Declaration of 1917 was followed by Mr. Montague's tour in India. In reply to the Royal Proclamation Tilak sent a telegram assuring His Majesty of Responsive Co-operation. Baptista was the real draughtsman of this wire and the phrase. Baptista's suggestion that the British Labour Party should be subsequently proved correct as it was British Labour Government which is India her independence.

After Tilak's death it was Gandhi which loomed large in the political life. Gandhi advocated non-violent non-cooperation and the boycott of the Councils. Baptista opposed this tooth and nail and would have no truck with unconstitutional methods. He was the first Indian Christian to be elected to the Council and Assembly by a constituency predominantly non-Christian and where no seat was reserved for an Indian Christian. He was all for the unity of India. Were he alive at the time the negotiations for independence were carried on, it seems safe to assume that he would have opposed under might and main the partition of India, and that Jinnah, with whom he had fought many a legal battle, would have found in Baptista a tough nut to crack. Being a Catholic, he would surely have trained his guns against Communism and all its works.

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Joseph Baptista was a stout champion of the rights of Labour. He contributed much towards the amelioration of the lot of the Indian workmen and by his constructive suggestions was instrumental in laying the foundations of Trade Unionism in this country. In fact, it may be truly said, that along with Lala Lajpat Rai, he was the father of the Labour movement in India.

He was the President of numerous labour unions. And was the President of the Reception Committee of the First All India Trade Union Congress held in Bombay in 1920, Lajpat Rai being the President.

He presided over the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1922-23 and was the Indian delegate on behalf of Labour to the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1924. It was his championship of the rights of the underdog which earned for him the affectionate sobriquet of "Kaka." Were he alive today it would surely have gladdened his heart to observe the fruit of the arduous and relentless struggle he had waged on behalf of the Indian worker, namely the power that Labour is today.

In the civic affairs of Bombay Joseph Baptista devoted much of his time, energy and enthusiasm. For a period of 22 years his voice was raised in the Corporation Hall in support of measures tending towards the uplift of the masses of the poorer classes. He initiated a campaign for the extension of municipal franchise to tenants and was President of the Corporation in 1925-26.

As a politician no Indian Christian ever wielded a more powerful influence in Indian politics than Baptista. A fearless fighter, he was contemptuously dubbed by a local news paper *The Times of India* as the Mazzini of Matharpacady. His fluent oratory coupled with his incisive wit, was the delight of audiences. His sturdy independence of thought his strenuous advocacy of the cause of labour, his ready accessibility to the poor, be it in a Municipal debate or in a political campaign, made him a valuable friend and an opponent to be reckoned with.

Many stories are told of his sparkling wit and biting sarcasm. Once in a political campaign in England a ragamuffin in the crowd taunted him thus: "Shut up, black man." "Better a black man than a blackguard" was the crushing retort which was greeted with applause and roars of laughter. Another instance was when he contested the University seat for the Bombay Legislative Council against Dr. Paranjpye, the Cambridge Senior Wrangler, Baptista told his constituents, "Dr. Paranjpye may be the Senior Wrangler in mathematics but I am the Senior Wrangler in Politics." On Lord Sydenham, Governor of Bombay taking away the title of J. P. from him by reason of his political activities, an honour which was conferred upon him by another British Lord, Baptista's comment was the Biblical quotation: "The Lord has given, the Lord has taken. Blessed be the name of the Lord!"

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Histadrut

(Israel's Unique Labour Organisation)

By

Mr. PHILLIP GILLON

THE unique nature of the Histadrut, Israel's General Federation of Labour, has provoked the interest of numerous newly liberated countries throughout Africa and Asia. Especially, since the International Seminar on Co-operation, organised by the Histadrut and the Government of Israel in 1958, trainees from many lands have come as guests to Israel to study her co-operatives and her labour

organisation with a view to adapting ideas and principles to the needs of their own countries. During the Festivals following the Jewish New Year, Reuben Barkatt, Director of the Histadrut's International and Arab Departments, analysed the problems of a labour movement in an under-developed country for foreign trainees at a Seminar organised for them in Jerusalem by Israel's Department of International Co-operation and Assistance.

"The basic problem of a labour movement in an under-developed country as compared to one that is highly industrialised is that there is no question of socialising or nationalising assets or industries—there is almost nothing to nationalise. The primary task is to forge economic means of development and Israel welcomed everybody prepared to contribute to such development, including private capital. Of course, we took steps, at the same time, to prevent abuses such as exist in other countries. But the real difficulty was that private capital in an under-developed country is unwilling to take risks in enterprises which require risks, foresight, imagination, courage and perhaps self-sacrifice, and do not offer immediate profits. For example, the country wanted a city built in Beersheba, in a remote desert area. Private capital was not even interested, so the Histadrut invested in Beersheba to start industries and ventures in order to give employment to its pioneer citizens. Today there are over 40,000 inhabitants and private enterprise is eager to go there now because there are profits to be made. We don't mind; we welcome them."

The Histadrut does not seek profits when it starts a development project or operates any of its enterprises. Where it does make profits these are ploughed back immediately into further expansion and are not distributed. Public service replaces profit-seeking as a motive for economic activity. The Histadrut is always flexible and pragmatic, changing to meet the needs of the country and not being bound by any dogma or technique, however successful in the past, if it is no longer suitable for the present.

The Histadrut operates in three major sectors, in agriculture, and industry through the co-operatives. Its co-operatives are similar to those developed elsewhere in the world save that in Israel all co-operatives are integrated into the labour movement as a whole. Thus they reflect not only the strength of the Histadrut but also its philosophy and public outlook.

The agricultural co-operatives, kibbutz and moshav, sought new social forms of human relationships. Members aimed at avoiding humanity's social mistakes and injustices of

the past, at the same time as they were building their Homeland, thus achieving the highest synthesis of human beings in social groups.

The Histadrut also functioned as a powerful social, cultural and educational force. It existed before the formation of the State, during the period of the British Mandatory Regime, and as a result its health and other services were ready while the State was still forging its administrative instruments. A million destitute immigrants poured into a country of 800,000 souls, involving dangerous threats to a national health and requiring housing and other services. Through its Health Insurance Fund, Kupat Cholim, the Histadrut has been a major factor in preventing epidemic or other catastrophes: standards of health in Israel are recognised today as very high and child mortality in the kibbutzim is the lowest in the world.

The Histadrut had also contributed massively to culture and education. Nevertheless it was not a State within a State: it was a voluntary organisation, always subject to the authority of the Government and not competing with the Government. In fact, as soon as the State developed its services to the people that it could take over from the Histadrut Labour Movement transferred its functions without demur, as had happened already with the Labour distribution agencies and institutions.

Mr. Barkat explained to a questioner an apparent paradox—how the Histadrut could be both employers in its factories and representative of its own employees through the trade unions. This apparent contradiction was an inevitable development of Socialism. In practice, workers elected their Committees which bargained with management and received the support of the Histadrut according to its general wage policy, which was determined by the economic and social needs of the nation.

"Fundamentally, the Histadrut is not just a day-to-day weapon used by workers for limited objectives but the collective might of all the workers in the country striving for a vision of social equality and justice in the future as well as the present."

Balance of Power and Trade Relations

By

Sri PURUSHOTHAM PRABHAKER

TRADE relations have, throughout the ages, been an important political weapon and its wielding by the countries involved have had been greatly influenced by the balance of power conditions.

Before the 20th century, trade relations were mostly backed by the Military might which is notorious by the name of 'Gunboat Diplomacy.' The colonising country imported raw material from their colonies and dumped their finished goods on them after paralysing the indigenous industries by differential tariff rates and other political weapons in the armoury of imperialism. This was facilitated by the 'balance of power' conditions in Europe which were in favour of colonial countries. Absence of rapid communication facilities checked the possibility of contending powers to check the unrestricted exploitations by the colonial powers.

At the dawn of the 20th Century witnessed not only the disturbance of balance of power but also the introduction of new element of war of ideologies in the political arena. This new element proved to be of far reaching consequences which revolutionised the outlook of relations amongst the nations. The political isolation of erstwhile colonies ended after the Second World War with their rise to nationhood and achievement of independence one by one. The stupendous achievements in the scientific and technological sphere drew the nations closer. This congenial situation helped to evolve fundamental standards of behaviour amongst nations. The mass destructive potentialities introduced in the science of warfare left the previous conventional diplomacy of backing arguments by the Military might ineffective as no power could easily risk world conflagration where none could be sure of victory.

The beginning of the second half of the 20th century therefore heralded the start of battle of ideologies. Its influence was all pervasive in character covering socio-economical and political spheres. Trade-relations amongst the nations naturally came under the spotlight of competitions amongst the ideologies.

In the post-war era, two major socio-economical and political systems one based on free enterprise and free institutions headed by the United States and the other socialistic monolithic structure spearheaded by the Soviet Union. These two contending ideologies backed by all the political influence have been striving for widening their area of influence. Trade relations amongst the nations have been motivated and influenced by the considerations of furtherance of the ends of their ideology and winning support for it.

Soviet policy for conducting International trade was motivated by two fold tactics. She wanted to paralyse the conventional trade relations amongst the erstwhile colonial countries of the west and the newly emerging Independent nations of Asia and Africa and also to create conditions congenial for spread of Communism in these countries. By boosting her capital goods and machinery for erection of heavy and basic industries in the under-developed countries in the disregard of development of consumer article Industries, she wanted to ensure one sided development. Increasing demand of raw material for consumption in the new basic and heavy industrial plants in under-developed countries was calculated to cut the chances of export to the Western Countries where it found ready demand. Secondly, it was calculated to encourage one sided development of Industrial potential without adequate production of consumer articles and thus to create a congenial

atmosphere for labour unrest which is breeding ground for development of Communism.

The Western Countries on the other hand wanted to extend help for development of small scale industries and to encourage development of the decentralised sector with emphasis on agricultural development. This was calculated apart from checking the possible unrest amongst common people by maintaining rise in production of consumer articles, to maintain the steady conventional line of trade i.e., the under developed countries exporting raw material in abundance to the Western Countries. Till of late, there had not been any attempt on their part to encourage the industrialisation of the under developed countries. They also made calculated efforts to encourage co-ordination between the private enterprise in their own countries and those in the under-developed countries to effectively create vested interests as a check against any possible trend towards authoritarianism in these countries.

It was, however, common with the two block-powers to give aid in the form of grants and loans with strings to ensure purchases of capital goods and machinery by the under-developed countries from their own countries to perpetuate dependent trade relations and effective co-ordination in the future working of the Industrial establishment, and projects. Exchange of training facilities and technical personnel was also designed to keep the economical relations long lasting and influence the course and channels of economical activities on the desired lines.

Rapid changes in the balance of power position gave a new orientation to International trade relations. The newly independent Asian and African nations forged common ground for future economical relations despite their different socio-economical set up and divergent International affiliations. This common stand emerged as a power to be reckoned with. This necessitated change in the outlook of block-powers towards economical relations

with those nations. They began to think more in terms of dividing the Asian-African nations on ideological considerations and to forge closer understanding amongst group nations responsive to particular ideology to link them with block strategy for over-all World economical relation as partners in the common game.

The things emerged in such a way that socio-economical conditions in Asian-African nations began to be considered as an acid-test for the efficacy of the Western and Communist ideology for amelioration of the sufferings of the people in these under-developed countries. The policy of one sided development gave place to earnest efforts for all around development. In the case of India the western countries are pooling their joint efforts to ensure smooth execution of the successive 5 years' plans to create an effective bulwark to check the onslaught of lucrative appeals of economic progress under the Chinese totalitarian system. It will be in the interest of the western countries to encourage stable and rapid industrialisation in India and other democratic countries in Asia so that their Industrial achievements in future can be coordinated for beginning of planned development in the newly independent African countries.

African continent is a future land of promise. The western countries can't single handed help initiate development activities there without the coordinated efforts of the democratic Asian countries. They should, therefore, make a longtermed concentrated efforts to ensure establishment of basic and heavy industries in democratic Asian Countries where initial base for raising the superstructure of Industrial economy has been laid down. This will help in manufacture of small and medium scale tools and machinery and other light engineering goods in abundance. The benefit of achievements in this sphere can be effectively extended to the African Countries in a co-ordinated way. The co-operating partner-

ship of the democratic Asian Countries give acceleration of planned development with democratic institutions in African countries. This will ensure steady and planned socio-economical development there.

If the western countries adopt unimaginative approach of thrusting their own capital and finished goods in the African countries for some immediate gain in the sphere of trade and forging a foot-hold in the African continent, then it will also attract the Soviet interest there. In the ensuing tussle accompanying all the tension of cold war, neither the western countries will be able to get a steady and dependable market there, nor they will be able to ensure development of democratic institutions in these countries. It is

only through the coordinated and co-operative partnership of the democratic Asian Countries that African market can be kept safe for the democratic countries apart from ensuring development of democratic institutions through introduction of planning pattern as in the democratic countries of Asia. All these partners should channelise their financial and technical help for the African countries through the auspices of joint organisation. All this can be done free from the polluting atmosphere of cold war. The pre-requisite of this joint concerted efforts is that the western countries in the wider interest of the 'Free World' should help establishment of a sound and stable basis of self-generating Industrialised economy in the democratic Asian Countries.

Co-operation in Science Education

By

Mr. LEONARD RULE

THIS is the age of science and scientific subjects loom large in educational schemes in all parts of the world. But, with the expansion of teaching there have come problems, especially in the teaching of children in their early teenage. Educationists in Britain have been studying the presentation of science education from the viewpoint of the impressionable child of 14 or so. Other countries have also been considering what should be the right line of approach.

Not all children are naturally clever at absorbing the knowledge needed in the field of science, and it is most important that they should be given a sound basic knowledge—in the most interesting way possible—at their most impressionable age. For this a new form of international co-operation has emerged from an agreement signed sometime ago by the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and Britain's Ministry of Education.

The idea is to arouse interest in scientific matters among school children, and it has been decided that one of the best ways of making an impact is by the use of films. Special films are going to be made by six of the countries co-operating in the scheme, and these films will be passed round.

The purpose of these films will be to show how interesting and exciting can be the search for clues to the solution of a problem in science. For instance, Britain is making a film on Michael Faraday, the famous scientist who contributed so much to our knowledge of electricity. It will not be concerned so much with Faraday as a person as with his successful work on electro-magnetism-work which resulted in the invention of a workable electric motor. Necessarily, the film will also show something of the work of other scientists in the same field. These will include the Dane, Oested; the Frenchman, Ampere; and the

German, Siemens (who later settled in Britain.)

Denmark's contribution will be a production called "The Atomic Age." This is because Denmark has a great interest in the subject through Nils Bohr, one of the great pioneers of atomic energy. France will contribute "The Fight Against Bacteria," in which Louis Pasteur will be the central figure. Germany's contribution will focus on the work of Roentgen in a film telling "The Story of X-rays." Holland is now busy producing "The Discovery of the Rare Gases"—a film showing how Netherlands scientists discovered helium in the sun before that gas was known on earth. And Norway now has in course of production "The Story of Electro-chemistry"—a subject in which she has a special interest because of the work done in her hydro-electric power stations, particularly on heavy water.

One of the most interesting aspects of the project is that the early drafts and the final film schemes were circulated to all the countries taking part so that they could all agree not only on the broad lines of the films, but also on the details. The films will be made in the language of the countries producing them, but some may also be made with an English

sound-track. However, it is not anticipated that language will present any difficulties during the circulation of the films.

This scheme originated when it was found, during discussions at the International Council For Educational Films, that many countries face almost identical problems in the teaching of science. There was, in particular, this difficulty of arousing interest in matters which appeared on the surface to be obscure and involved. Britain's delegation put forward the idea, and it was welcomed. The next step was to get the co-operation of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, and as Britain had put forward the idea it was decided that it should make the approach. As a result, O. E. E. C. agreed to provide half the money required, the rest coming from the education authorities of the countries concerned.

In each country where a film is being made the responsibility for the production is in the hands of the national organisation concerned with the promotion of School film. In Britain it is the Educational Foundation for Visual Aids which is responsible, and the Foundation is also organising the whole project.

Capital Punishment

By

DR. SYED ASHFAD ALI, M.A., Ph. D.

NOWADAYS there is much talk of the propriety or otherwise the rot that is creeping in the moral of the people. In ancient times, and even in the middle ages, sentencing to death the archcriminals and maniacs was calculated to have a salubrious effect upon the people. In the reign of Henry VIII many thieves and Vagabonds were hanged. During the rule of Queen Elizabeth, penalty for forgery and illicit coinage was torture, maiming, and forfeiture. In the reign of Charles I for-

gery was punishable with death. Some of the death penalties in the bygone days included impaling, drowning, destruction by wild beasts, throwing down the condemned person from great heights, beheading and hanging. A few methods adopted in ancient India were trampling of prisoners by elephants or allowing venomous snakes to bite them. Hanging is the only method from olden days to survive.

In the modern time electrocution technique is used to put a criminal to death. Electro-

cution was introduced in the U.S.A. in Auburn Prison, in 1890. It was supposed to be painless and innocuous and speedy. But scientists have discovered that it is not so. They assert that the victim may be alive for a number of minutes after the passage of the electric current and that certain persons have greater physiological resistance to electricity. At times it becomes necessary to shock a man twice or thrice before life is pronounced extinct.

From the hoary past upto the present time efforts are being made again and again by the legal luminaries, philanthropists and reformers to have the system of capital punishment abolished. A few instances are cited. Sir Samuel Romilly, a distinguished lawyer, opposed the infliction of capital punishment for crimes other than the heinous ones. Bentham and Bright supported the movement for reform in the method and manners of its execution.

Hackel regarded capital punishment as a case of artificial selection. Garofalo went to the extent of saying that elimination of criminals was a sort of moral war for the good of society. According to Lombroso—"capital punishment should be good as a threat to criminals and incorrigible." It is very effective deterrent, because death is most dreaded by the intending murderer. Sir I.F. Stephen remarks: (vide Report on Royal Commission on Capital Punishment 1949-53) "No other punishment deters men so effectively from committing crimes as the punishment of death. This is one of those propositions which it is difficult to prove, because they are in themselves more obvious than any proof can make them...death is death; its terrors cannot be described more effectively." But "capital punishment is likely to act as a deterrent more of premeditated murders than of impulsive ones and on normal persons more than on the mentally abnormal ones. The continuation of death penalty has been assailed on various grounds. Baccoria for instance denounced capital punishment because "the life

of the individual was not surrendered to the State as a part of the consideration for the social contract." Treatment and detention would be much more beneficial than the rope or the electric chair.

Experience shows that the death sentence does not act as a deterrent agent. If it really does so, then there ought to be a lesser number of homicides in places where the penalty is retained than where it has been abolished. But statistics show that it is not the case, for example, in those States of U.S.A. where capital punishment has been abolished there is far lesser number of homicides than in the States where the penalty still exists. Even some of the countries Belgium, Latvia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Russia and Italy have abolished capital punishment and it had a wholesome effect on the mentality of the people.

Homicides that are discernible in India, about 26.28 per cent are premeditated. They are the result of anger deteriorating into harsh words and blows. According to Dr. Anita Mulal, murder committed may be due to rage associated with (i) merely an uncontrolled temper; (ii) the epileptic furor; (iii) the manic excitement; (iv) the outburst of a low grade moron and other causes associated with organic disease.

According to Sir Thomas More "the object of punishment ought to be nothing else but the destruction of vices and the saving of men." Criminals should be rooted off without destroying the offender because the hanged man is past cure. The psychologists favour the abolition of capital punishment on the plea that in the battle against crime, society should treat offenders as patients. In our estimation the most progressive view was upheld by our revered Prime Minister, Shree Jawaharlal Nehru when he remarked as follows:

"I do hate the idea of punishment especially deterrent punishment and all the suffering deliberately caused that it involves. Perhaps it cannot be done away with completely in this

present day world of ours, but it can certainly be minimised, toned down and almost humanised. At one time I was strongly opposed to the death penalty and in theory, my opposition still continues...And yet with all my repugnance for executions, I feel that some method of eliminating utterly undesirable human beings will have to be adopted and used with discretion. The real objection to the infliction of capital punishment as well as other punishments is of course not so much the resultant suffering of the person punished as the brutalisation of the community that authorises such punishment and more particularly of the individuals that carry it out."

The remarks of the Prime Minister deserve serious considerations from the legislators, as well as from the Police and the Courts. This also brings us to the idea of reformation.

Reformation is taken to mean not merely repentance, but re-establishment in normal life as a good citizen. Much can be done by our divines, philanthropists and social reformers in bringing about conversion in the hearts of the hard-boiled criminals. In the words of H. Butterworth

"One taper lights a thousand
Yet shines as it has shown,
And the humblest light may kindle,
A brighter than its own."

It is an evident fact that disharmony between an individual's personality-pattern and his goal or goals results in his emotional disequilibrium. They are unable to perceive situations or stimuli correctly and experience wrong feelings and wrong reactions. It is therefore necessary that the goals of these people should be properly determined and they should be harmonised with their personality-patterns in

such a way as may keep them away rather permanently from indulging in anti-social activities. The ethical values should be inculcated in their vitiated or vicious minds. The Police, the School, the Social Welfare Boards, the Child Guidance Clinics, the Reformatories and the Children's Home etc. are all apt to play a great role in creating a healthy climate. In England, After Care Association and in Scotland the After Care Council are carrying on good work for the rehabilitation of the criminals. In Belgium, a whole-time Welfare Officer is appointed with the duty to know the antecedents of each prisoner, to study his individuality and to report to the Governor from time to time as to the kind of work and studies for which he is best fitted indicating whether he is suited to an open prison or not and discussing the prospects of settling him down when released.

In the State of New Madhya Pradesh some time back, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, the apostle of Sarvodaya, visited the dacoit-infested area of Bhind and Morena where the dacoits were making havoc by wanton loots and robberies and murders. The mission did not go with much good measure of success as it has had many notorious dacoits to voluntary surrender in response to the Saint's appeal. It is therefore the call of the hour that the people of the locality should now rise to the occasion, gird up their loins and try to convert the hearts of the perverted ones and to make them peace-loving and law-abiding citizens. In this sphere the Panchayats can also play a prominent part by rehabilitating the dacoits and rooting out criminality from them. Let us listen to the words of Dr. Radha Krishnan who has rightly said:

"As every Saint has a past, so has every sinner a future."

The Dark Epoch Of Tamil Nad

By

PROF. A. M. PARAMASIVANANDAM

THE weakening of the powers in Tamil Nad at the beginning of the second century synchronised with the emergence of powerful monarchies in the adjoining Andhra and Karnataka territories. Soon after Senkuttuvan's death, the Chera kingdom also became weakened for want of a powerful king. Thus all the three monarchies of Tamil Nad were easily subjected to foreign influences, religious and political. But it is rather difficult to trace the history of Tamil Nad chronologically during the third, fourth and fifth centuries. This period can well be termed as the dark age so far as the History of Tamil Nad is concerned.

North India flourished during this period but after Asoka there was a decline; it came to its own when the Gupta's and Harsha's ancestors came to power at end of the third century. As Buddhism and Jainism did not receive the royal patronage after Asoka, they were far in the south and influenced the ways of life, while the vedic religion, the new denomination of Hinduism, began prospering in the north.

It is one of the ironies of History that when north India enjoyed the golden age under the Guptas, there was such a deplorable decline in all aspects of life in Tamil Nad that even the names of kings who ruled at that time cannot be traced. The Tamil Nad of the seventh century presents almost a different picture from that of the second century. The Kalabharas, the Kadambas and the Pallavas must have come to the land during this intervening period. Of these, the Pallavas left a rich and glorious heritage to posterity.

The Pallavas constitute one of the mysteries of Indian History and nothing definite is known about their origin. Some are of the view that the first Pallava king was Ilantirayan and he was the son of a famous Chola king

and a Naga princess. This cannot be accepted. Ilantirayan was a Tamil king; he was a great soldier who ruled with Kanchi as his capital. If the Pallavas had come in his line, how can we account for all the inscriptions, writings etc. of this period of the early Pallavas which are found in Sanskrit and Prakrit? Even the charters were issued in a foreign language by the early Pallavas. It was only from the beginning of the seventh century the Pallava kings felt one with Tamil Nad, imbued with the spirit of Tamil culture and civilisation. Some scholars like S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar believe that the Pallavas were a foreign tribe of Parthian origin who migrated from the north west upto Kancheepuram. The Mahavamsam which traces the history of Ceylon says that the Pallavas were not Tamils, but they came from the land of Pallavabogum to Tamil Nad. It can be safely assumed that the Pallavas also came from the north as others and intermingled with the Tamils in course of time by assimilating their distinct ways of life.

Historians have not yet said the last word on the Origin of the Kalabharas who came to the south during this period along with Pallavas or a little earlier. It was perhaps in the third or fourth century A.D., they invaded Madurai and held the country for a time. This period is known as the 'Kalabharas' Interregnum' which however did not last long. Some historians say that the Kalabharas were the Kalla tribes who lived on the northern mountains of Kalatrhi who later entered Tamil Nad. There were many serious conflicts between the Pallavas and the Kalabharas. The tribesmen came to power for a while, ended by circumstances. The inscriptions and records available at Velvikkudi and Chinnamannur refer to the rule of the Kalabharas and of the fall of ever so many less powerful foreign dynasties. Kanchi must have been a bone of

contention between the Pallavas and the Kalabhras for a long time. The intermittent conflicts between the Pallavas and the Kalabhras finally, ended in the Pallava ascendancy and the Kalabhras were driven to the far south of Tamil Nad. They identified themselves with the Tamils in course of time. It is they who ruled as small chieftains and kings (Muttariya kings). The Kallars of the south Tamil Nad ara identified with the Kalabhras.

The Sadavahanas who lived near the Andhra had also a peep into Tamil Nad in this dark epoch. Some say that the Pallavas were the descendants of the Sadavahanas. It was perhaps in the middle of the fourth century A.D., that the Sadavahanas lost their hold on Tamil Nad. There were many dynasties in Andhra land and one of the Andhra kings Pulimayi II is said to have captured Kanchi. This famous town changed hands very often during this time. The Sadavahanas ruled it for a while before the Pallavas ultimately defeated them and made Kanchi their capital. Thereafter must have issued the battles between the Pallavas and the Kalabhras for the possession of Kanchi. The descendants of Pulimayi declined in power perhaps at the end of the third century and the Pallavas came again to far south and settled there.

Besides the Andhra, the Kadambas, the Gangapallavas, the Melaingangs and other dynasties seem to have ruled over the different parts of Tamil Nad occasionally, during the three or four centuries before the Pallavas established their supremacy. The foreign administration of every one of the dynasties has left its mark upon Tamil culture and civilisation. The Kalabhras who occupied the Pandiya region were dislodged by Kadunkon in 600 A.D. The three centuries before Kadunkon Pandiyan when Tamil Nad had been subject to various attacks by varied dynasties, from the dark epoch. The Pandiya power was restored after Kadunkon while

Mahendra Pallava ascended the throne in Kanchi. But it must be noted that Mahendra Pallava in his later age looked upon himself as a true Tamil King and did his best to keep intact Tamil culture and civilisation.

Tamil Nad must have continued to trade with the western countries during the dark epoch. Kancheepuram developed into one of the finest capitals with the glory of ancient towns and sea ports. Like the ancient capitals of the Sangam age, Kanchi also is noted for its antiquity. Patanjali has referred to the town as early as 200 B.C.; Karikalan is said to have rebuilt the city while Iltirayan who came after him built his palace and made it as his capital. Later it became the capital of the Pallavas.

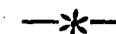
Pugar in the east was lost because of a high tide while Vanchi in the west lost its importance as the capital of the Cheras. Some identify Vanchi with Karur in Tiruchi district. But as Kirshnaswamy Iyengar has pointed out *Tiruvanchaikalam* of the pre Kerala State was the Vanchi of the Tamil Nad. It must have been during the dark epoch that the western part of Tamil Nad got separated as a different region. Though the people spoke Tamil in the region upto the twelfth century, the changes and foreign influences in Tamil Nad resulted in the separation of this region into Malayalam land during the dark epoch, as there was no powerful Chera king after Senkuttuvan.

Social conditions of the period underwent a lot of changes. In the Sangam literature Tamil language was fairly free from foreign elements but by the end of the seventh century A.D., we find plenty of Sanskrit terms which have crept into Tamil. The mingling of foreign elements was due to religious influences. Buddhism was rooted in Tamil Nad by the fifth century and Jainism flourished for a while after it. To propagate these religious tenets, the Buddhists and the Jain used

plenty of Sanskrit terms which became popular in course of time. The Vedic Aryans also had their share of contribution.

Saivism and Vaishnavism also developed during the period. One of the Chola kings of the period *Chengatcholan* erected very many temples of Siva and Vishnu. Many of the kings of this period in Tamil Nad were spiritually inclined and special mention must be made of *Senhanan* who patronised both Saivism and Vaishnavism. The grand era of the *Alvars* and the *Nayanmars* who counteracted the Buddhist and the Jain influences begins from this period. It is *Senhanan* who gave an incentive to *Poygaiyar* to write the *Kalavazhi narpattu*. *Senkanam* ruled from 200 to 225 A.D. He was a great devotee of Siva.

It was he who brought great fame to Thillai or Chidambaram by building the famous temple of Nataraja. There is no mention of this city and its famous deity in the Sangam literature. But by the beginning of the seventh century Thillai became the first and foremost place of pilgrimage. It is no exaggeration to say that *Senkanan* sowed the seeds of religious movement in south India during this period. Even so many temples were built around the *Thalavurchas*, the holy trees dedicated to the presiding of the places concerned. The small towers and temples built by him were later rebuilt into big ones by the later Cholas. Another Chola king praised by *Sekkilar* as *Puchazchola Nayanar* might be contemporary of *Senkanam*.



Mali: Rebirth of an Ancient West African State

By

PROF. THEODORE MONOD

INTE was still alive, Petrarch was three years old, there was a Pope in Avignon and the Templars were being roasted by order of Philip the Fair of France when, in 1307, Musa I succeeded his father Abu Bekr as king of Mali.

Musa I, Mansa Musa or Kankan Musa as he has been called, was a very great king whose authority soon spread from the Atlantic coast of Senegal to the region of Niamey, on the Niger, and from the Adrar (mountains) of Mauritania to upper Guinea—an area more than 1,500 miles long by 800 miles wide. To the North lay the Sahara; to the West, the ocean; to the South, the "wild" country of gold mines and cannibals; to the East, the Hausa States and Bornu (in what is now north-eastern Nigeria). Shut off to the south by the savage man-eaters and the tropical

forest, the kingdom of Mali looked to the North and the East, and busy caravan trails linked it across the Sahara with the Magrab and Egypt.

Kankan Musa's Pilgrimage:—In 1334, the king with an enormous retinue of servants, wives and horsemen, and carrying a fortune in gold dust, left his capital on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places. In Cairo, the Egyptians were astounded by the wild extravagance of the Negroes who spent their gold lavishly, emptying the shops, and buying slaves, singers, pretty girls and precious silks. The sultan plied Kankan Musa with the most costly gifts, and when the king returned to Mali, he took with him an entire library of canon law and an architect-poet, Abu Ishaf el Gharnati who was to build a magnificent court-room for him.

Relations between Mali and Egypt had existed long before Kankan Musa's famous journey. The Mandingo State was recognized by the Powers and maintained normal diplomatic relations with Morocco and the Mameluke Sultans.

For centuries, moreover, Arab geographers and historians had been writing about Mali: El Bekri in the 11th century, Edrisi in the 12th, El Omari and Ibn Battuta (14th century), Ibn Khaldun and Maqrizi (15th), and Leo Africanus in the 16th...Some had even visited the kingdom, in particular Ibn Battuta who recorded in fascinating detail his journey there in 1352.

By 1339, the name of Mali was recorded on a European map (Rex Meli), while the Catalan Atlas made for Charles V (1375) shows a prince seated on a throne holding a sceptre in one hand and, with the other, handing a nugget of gold to a Berber camel-driver, with this inscription in Catalan: "This negro lord is called Masse Mally, lord of the Negroes of Gineua (Guinea). This king is the richest and the noblest sovereign of all these parts by the abundance of the gold to be found in his land."

The high regard in which the Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages held Mali and certain other West African empires was due to the fabulous wealth of gold of Blades Sudan—or the Land of the Negroes. This gold dust together with slaves and ostrich feathers, which Berber caravans carried across the desert to the Magrab, had become necessary to Europe. Silks, spices and other luxury goods from Asia had to be paid for and Mali was then the main exporter of gold. For centuries, the strangest tales circulated in Europe—such as the tale of "vegetable" gold which grew like a plant—especially after the practice of "silent" trading had made the origins of the precious metal even more mysterious. And from the 15th century onwards *aura sacra fames* became an

important stimulus to European exploration and conquest.

Where was the capital of the Mali empire? No one knows for certain; indeed, there may have been several capitals. It has been proved however, that the cradle of the dynasty was located up-stream from Bamako, near the point where the river Sankarani meets the Niger (the villages of Niani, Kangaba, etc.). Perhaps one day new discoveries will throw further light on the question. In any event, it is to be hoped that, with the present revival of interest in West Africa's past, archeological research will be based on strictly scientific methods and on rigorously checked facts.

The Judgment of Ibn Battuta: Created probably around the 11th century, Mali reached its apogee in the 14th century with Kankan Musa and his immediate successors. But the Kingdom soon came into conflict with other States—the Yatenga, the Songhay, the Fulani and ultimately, the Bambara Kingdom of Senegal which caused its final downfall in the latter half of the 17th century. The descendant of Kankan Musa became once more powerful among the chiefs as they had been in the early days of the kingdom. But they retained their traditions and remembered their history, particularly the epic of Sundiata, the semi-legendary hero who in the 13th century had made Mali into a powerful empire. In 1959, when time came to choose a name for the West African Federation, Mali was the obvious choice.

Ibn Battuta, that indefatigable globe-trotter who spent eight months in the capital of Mali, in 1352-53, has left a first-hand account. What does this pious Moslem have to say? One chapter of his book of travels is called "That which I found commendable in the behaviour of the Negroes, and that which I found bad."

On the debit side of the account are objections one would expect from a devout and well-bred gentleman—human consumption of dogs and donkeys, an excessive taste for

buffoons, the absurdity of certain details in the ritual of propriety, the unseemly nudity of the women. On the credit side are three remarks calculated to make a pious Moslem rejoice: "very zealous in learning by heart the sublime Koran," assiduous in attending public prayers, fine white clothes on Fridays (the Moslem's "Sunday"), but also three others of a more general bearing:

(1) "The negroes of this country," says Ibn Battuta, "are seldom unjust and have a greater abhorrence of injustice than any other people."
(2) "There is complete security in the country. Neither traveller nor inhabitant in it has anything to fear from robbers or men of violence."

(3) "The negroes do not confiscate the property of any white man"—that is, of any Arab—"who dies in their country, even if it be uncounted wealth. On the contrary, they give it into the charge of some trustworthy person, among the whites, until the rightful heir takes possession of it."

Language of the High Court

By

SRI C. V. NARAHARI RAO, M.A., B.L.

IT is indeed a big assurance that the people of the non-Hindi speaking areas have got from the Prime Minister, the President and the Home Minister of the Government of India that English would be allowed to continue as the official language of the Union after 1965 so long as these people are not prepared for the change-over to Hindi. The Home Minister has further assured that suitable legislation in this regard will be brought before Parliament.

Whilst we are in this happy position, some time ago the Finance Minister of the Madras Government gave a hint of his contemplation to bring about the use of the regional language in the Madras High Court. How could this be done and what will be the benefits for

And this in...1352-53? Is there need to say anything further? But in conclusion, just think for a moment of the expression on the face of Edward III of England if, in the middle of the Hundred Years' War and the ravages of the Black Death, someone had come to him and described the safety of the roads and the state of justice in the kingdom of Mali, a far-distant—and hence "barbarous"—negro empire, somewhere in the heart of Africa.

Area: 1,400,000 square kilometres
(875,000 square miles).

Population: 6,500,000 (1960).

Capital: Dakar.

President: M. Leopold Senghor.

Prime Minister: M. Modibo Keita.

Principal Products: Groundnuts and cotton.

Constituents: Sudan (1,204,021 sq. km.
Pop. 3,708,000) in 1957.
Senegal (197,161 sq. km.
Pop. 2,269,000) in 1957.
(UNESCO).

the non-Hindi, that is Tamil-speaking, population?

Article 348(2) of our Constitution allows the Governor of a State—notwithstanding certain other provisions in sub-clause (a) of clause (1)—with the previous consent of the President, to authorise the use of any regional language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings in the High Court of that State. But this provision shall not apply to any judgment, decree or order passed or made by the State's High Court. That means that these judgments decrees or orders shall continue to be made in the English language, that is the language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes.

According to Art. 348 (1) (b), until Parliament by law otherwise provides, the authoritative texts

(i) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the Legislature of a State,

(ii) of all Acts passed by Parliament or the Legislature of a State and of all Ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State and

(iii) of all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State

shall be in the English language. If the proposed Parliamentary legislation should provide for the continued use of the English language, there can be no point in having only the proceedings in the High Court conducted in Tamil while all the authoritative texts of Bills, Acts, orders, rules and regulations passed by Parliament or the State Governments are only in the English language.

It is true no doubt that Art. 348(3) contemplates that, notwithstanding the above sub-clause (1) (b) where the Legislature of a State has prescribed any language other than the English language for use in the Bills introduced in, or Acts passed by the Legislature of the State or in Ordinances promulgated by the Governor, or in any order, rule regulation or bye-law issued under the Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the State's Legislature a translation of the same in the English language shall be published under the authority of the Governor in the official Gazette of the State and this English version shall be deemed to be the "authoritative text" in the English language.

Therefore, so long as our regional language is not the official language of the Union which will be English until replaced by Hindi

in the unknown future, all "authoritative texts" of legislations and orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws shall be in the English language for the use of the Supreme Court, (of all States), the Parliament, the Legislatures and the people (of all States).

What purpose, then, is served by having proceedings alone of our High Court in Tamil, while all the records will be in English? Will the adoption of Tamil add to the efficiency of our High Court or result only in many inconveniences?

It seems to me that so long as the non-Hindi people do not want Hindi as the Union official language and for communication, between one State and another State and between a State and the Union and would prefer the continuance of English, there is no useful or substantial purpose served in introducing Tamil for the proceedings in the High Court. Whilst at the lower levels we may do as we like, it is better that the *status quo* is maintained in the High Courts, the Supreme Court and Parliament as regards the official language.

A good policy is being followed in trying to appoint a certain number of judges in the High Court, belonging to other States. Would not such judges at least be greatly inconvenienced if the proceedings of the High Court are to be in a language unknown to them? They can function effectively or efficiently under the present system because at least the "authoritative texts" are in a common language, namely English.

If the time comes when the non-Hindi speaking people agree for a common language other than English for all official and non-official purposes, the criterion to decide the moment is as is contemplated in Art. 347 "when a substantial proportion of the population of the state" desires the change. It could not be that a few legislators or a few ministers or a bare majority of votes should settle the fate of a substantial proportion of the population.

The Delinquent Child

By

DR. B. D. BHATIA

A Ten-year old, puny, thin and innocent-looking boy, clad in tattered clothes, was brought to the Child Guidance Clinic by his worried father for advice, treatment or possible admission in an institution.

The boy, the father reported, was quite intelligent, but had no interest in studies. He ran away from school almost daily and roamed about the streets aimlessly, bare-headed and barefooted. He trespassed into other people's houses and stole money or articles which he could carry in his hands or pockets. More often, he would sell these articles for paltry sums of money. With this money he would buy sweets or toys which he generally distributed among his friends. At times he would steal money from home or pick pockets in a crowd. He used abusive language and beat his siblings when at home and became a nuisance.

The boy was carrying on these nefarious activities for the last three years. He was punished and mercilessly beaten but without any effect. He had been apprehended by the police a couple of times but let off only with a warning.

This is one of many examples of children who are known as "young delinquents"—'children who are guilty of offences like stealing, burglary, violence, vagrancy, gambling, sexual offences, pick-pocketing and other anti-social behaviour calling for official and legal action, as in the case of adults who are punished by law, if they commit such crimes'. These juvenile delinquents, however constitute a small proportion of the total population of criminal children, as many of them are never caught, or apprehended, and are not produced in court.

Before we analyse the causes of these anti-social reactions and offences, it will be pertinent here to understand the various implica-

tions of the term 'delinquency'. As stated above, juvenile delinquency may be defined as a social offence committed a number of times by a young person below the age of eighteen who, if he had been an adult, would have been considered guilty of a crime and punished for it. This is the legal concept of delinquency.

From the socio-cultural point of view, it is a pattern of adjustment that deviates from the code of conduct society is attempting to enforce. In other words, it amounts to violations of norms of conduct. Psychologically, delinquency is not a distinct entity, but rather one form of emotional disturbance. It is built out of conflict and is intended to serve as a way of meeting or covering up a problem. Its motivation is generally unconscious.

A delinquent is essentially a maladjusted person who creates difficulties for others and who is himself blocked in his own wholesome growth. He rebels against authority and tries to destroy or change the environment. It must be noted that he is not a unique type of human being. He cherishes the same desires and natural yearnings as a non-delinquent. He has the same abundance of humanity and eagerness to respond to decent treatment of others as any other human individual. But he puts on a sort of cloak, called anti-social behaviour or delinquency, as a protest against social treatment meted out to him.

Delinquent children may roughly fall into two distinct groups. One group consists of delinquents who are active, restless, energetic and uninhibited. They generally have a strong spirit of adventure, and love to roam about and seek excitement. They seem to be always 'on the go.' Their behaviour is to be dangerously disruptive.

Then there are delinquents forming the second group, who are generally shy, quiet,

vindictive and highly selfish. They lack in feelings of shame or guilt, and have no consideration for others. Most delinquents, belonging to both the groups, driven as they are by primitive impulses which they want to fulfil immediately, ignore their responsibilities, restrictions and duties. They have no stable goals. Their life is so much dominated by fleeting desires that they have no time left for far-sighted planning.

The range of delinquency among the young may vary from violation of relatively non-serious standards of community conduct such as idleness, truancy, running away from home, fighting, disobedience and lying to serious criminal behaviour, such as theft, burglary, assault, rape, homicide, arson, and drunkenness.

The age range of the delinquent boys and girls falls generally between 7 and 18 years, although the larger majority of offenders are adolescents between 14 and 16 years. This has been shown by most of the studies conducted in India. The reason, according to Prof. Uday Shankar, is that children up to 10 or 11 or younger, find pleasure in the home and like to spend more time there, but with the onset of puberty, at 14 or 15, they make more social contacts and develop a wider range of interests. This leads them to more joy outside than inside the home.

Once upon a time it was that the delinquents were born so, that delinquency was innate or inherited. For example, it was assumed that the delinquents were born devoid of 'moral sense' which made them absolutely irreformable. But various studies carried out in western countries have shown that there is no scientific basis for thinking that delinquency is inherited.

Another approach held that the delinquents were mental defectives. Lombroso, for example, held that the delinquents had defective intelligence. This theory has been found untenable in the light of large-scale investigations made by Healy, Burt, Bronner and many others. On the other hand, they have shown that all delinquents cannot be labelled as 'mental defectives' and that there are many who possess superior mental ability.

The evidence gathered so far impresses on us the truth that delinquency is the result of

various factors interacting on each other. These factors may be classified as biological, psychological, socio-economic, socio-cultural, personal and others.

It is being recognized that biological factors, varying from one individual to another, may themselves be primarily responsible for initiating or intensifying (as well as inhibiting or diminishing) affective states and the resultant delinquent conduct. The biological causes include the inborn mental defect or deficiency, endocrine imbalances, constitutional defects such as deafness, blindness, causing delinquent subjective responses, organic psychoses and brain-injuries resulting in the loss of control over behaviour.

Among the *personal* factors which have been found conducive to delinquency are temperamental instability, poor health, short or too tall a stature or some physical defect, which may give rise to a feeling of inferiority. These, in turn, may dispose one to more aggressive or anti-social behaviour as a compensatory reaction for one's inadequacies.

The psychological conditions, which appear to be most significant as etiological factors are the neurotic reactions, the psychopathic behaviour patterns, the functional psych condition and general emotional disturbance and frustrations.

The most important psychological factor is the emotional responses of the individual to experiences and situations in the home and at school which thwart his basic needs in his personality.

Among the environmental causes may be mentioned poverty and unemployment, and defective family relationships, such as domination by one parent, ineffectuality of one parent, clashes between father and mother, favouritism provoking jealousy, parental oversolicitude or neglect and rejection of the child.

Bad neighbourhood or bad institutions which endanger morals, lack of wholesome leisure time activities and healthy recreation, and unfavourable school conditions may be another set of causes specially outside the home.

The socio-cultural influences, which form a part of the child's environment, are marked by sudden shifts of social values, and a host

of irreconcilable and changing group expectancies. The family, religion, society and state demand different types of behaviour patterns.

The delinquent child needs to be helped both from the preventive and remedial points of view. The problem of prevention of delinquency, although difficult, is one of paramount importance. Effective prevention is very much bound with large-scale changes and transformations in our social and cultural conditions and requires the improvement of all the major social services directed towards child welfare.

One of the most important preventive measures is the improvement of the family life. It is clear that if there is to be any really effective reduction in the violation of law in society, "It can come only through the medium of the family, since it is there that the attitudes and conduct are bred out of which anti-social lives develop."

Young parents need to be prepared and educated for motherhood and fatherhood. They need to be trained for dealing with children of various age-groups, and their problems. They have to realise that a well-adjusted home where there is a solid bond of affection between the parents and children, where children's needs are appreciated and

judiciously met, where discipline is consistent and firm, based not on force and coercion but on willing acceptance of authority, arising from affection, regard and admiration for the parents, will produce well-adjusted, law-abiding citizens.

Much of this can be achieved through courses in parenthood and programmes of ante-natal clinics, day nurseries and child guidance clinics. All these programmes should lay emphasis on understanding of the needs of children.

The intra-mural treatment of the child takes place outside the home. It may necessitate the use of institutions such as approved schools, industrial schools, remand homes, foster homes, juvenile courts and of psychological methods such as deep counselling (psychoanalysis) and psychotherapy.

It is necessary that the organisation and atmosphere of approved schools, remand homes and foster homes is such as to build the child's ego and make up the damage done in the original home or school, by engendering feelings of security and belongingness. All good treatment has to aim at developing feelings of self-confidence and hope in the young delinquent.

Rehabilitation of the Blind

By
SHRI LAL ADVANI

FOR centuries the blind have been regarded as incapable of making an effective contribution to the socio-economic life of the community. Even today, when welfare services for the blind, in one form or another have existed for almost a century, popular opinion has hardly changed.

Despite the fact that age old tradition assigns the blind to a life of everlasting idleness and economic dependence, many a blind individual has got over the limitations of this handicap and is living as a useful member of the community.

About 90 schools and other establishments throughout the country, are striving their utmost to assist the blind in overcoming their handicap. One of the largest institutions of this kind in India is the Training Centre for the Adult Blind in Dehra Dun.

Known earlier as the Saint Dunstan's Hostel for the Indian War-Blinded the Centre was started in July, 1943, as the Indian branch of the well-known British organisation for the war blinded. Sir Clutha Mackenzie, a blind St. Dunstaner, famous for his work for the blind, contributed in no small measure to the establishment of the Institute.

Like its parent organisation, the main function of the Dehra Dun Centre was to train and resettle Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen blinded in World War II. As a member of the staff of this institution for some time after 1944, I had the privilege of teaching many blinded ex-servicemen to read and write Braille. It was most gratifying to observe the almost miraculous restorative effect of the capacity to read and write an imperishable tribute to the ingenuity of the French blind-

man who invented this system of embossed writing.

Over three hundred blinded ex-servicemen were trained at this centre. Many of them are living normal and contented lives in their own homes.

The training of blinded ex-servicemen had almost been completed by the end of 1949. The Union Ministry of Education took over this centre from January 1, 1950, and threw it open to civilian blind persons from all parts of the country. It is now known as the Training Centre for the Adult Blind. Blindmen and women between the ages of eighteen and forty are eligible for admission. The Centre has accommodation for 150 blindmen and 20 women. Accommodation in the women's section is expected to be increased shortly. Trainees are provided with free board, lodging tuition and clothes.

At present, the Centre lays emphasis mainly on training in crafts like weaving, chair-caning, plastic moulding, candle-making. Recent experience seems to indicate, however that blind persons trained in crafts find it difficult to hold their own in the competitive market. On the other hand, many blind persons have been found to be able to compete on equal terms with normal persons in ordinary industry on repetitive operations. An attempt is therefore being made to give a mechanical bias to the training in this institution.

Every trainee is taught to read and write Hindi and his regional language through the medium of Braille. Some of them are taught English and Hindi typewriting and even Braille shorthand. The trainees are usually very fond of music. Those who have the necessary aptitude are helped to secure degrees in music from recognised institutions.

Attached to the Training Centre is a small sheltered workshop which employs five blind weavers and five blind chair-canners. These workers are paid on a piece-rate basis and their average monthly earnings vary between Rs. 50 to 60 p.m. They are provided free residential accommodation and free medical aid.

About a thousand blind persons have been trained at this institution during the last ten years.

Although the placement of the blind presents very serious difficulties and is by no means easy at a time when unemployment among the able-bodied is so widespread yet a substantial number of ex-trainees of this Centre have been able to find remunerative

work. A small employment office of the Centre is functioning at Madras since, July 1954, and has placed 120 ex-trainees in ordinary industry. These blind persons are working on a variety of repetitive operations in several industries and earning the same wages as normal worker. A batch of blind persons are working in a cycle factory at Ambattur near Madras. Another batch of about 25 blind persons, including two blind women, are working in the Indian Telephone Industries at Bangalore. Perhaps your own telephone has been partly assembled by blind people.

Some of the trainees work as craft instructors in schools and training institutions for the blind while others earn a living by caning chairs in the larger cities and towns. Trainees with a musical bent of mind have often comparatively less difficulty in earning a living by teaching music privately or in a school for the blind. Although a number of persons are coming out of this institution every year yet the battle against blindness will not be complete unless they achieve economic independence and a concerted effort to help them to achieve this end is essential.

The Training Centre for the Adult Blind is one of several other units which constitute a comprehensive National Centre for the Blind. Some of the other units have already come into existence. Established in 1950, the Central Braille Press publishes Braille literature in Indian languages. The Workshop attached to the Press manufactures most of the basic appliances needed for the education of the blind and sells them at subsidized prices.

A model school for Blind Children was established in January last year. At present only the kindergarten and primary sections of the school, with accommodation for fifty children, have been started. The School is eventually expected to become a full-fledged secondary school for blind children with a Teachers' Training Department attached.

The main purpose of the National Centre for the Blind will be to provide an integrated service commencing from the education of the pre-school blind child on modern lines to the provision of an up-to-date Braille reading service. The completion of the National Centre for the Blind, which must necessarily be a process of gradual development, will be an important landmark in the history of the development of services designed to assist the blind in their march towards the conquest of their physical limitations.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The U. N. Session

On Sept 21, the United Nations General Assembly met for the most momentous session in its history of fifteen years with the prospects before it of crucial East-West challenges on the world Disarmament problem.

Mr. F. H. Boland of Ireland was elected President by 46 votes, five more than the necessary minimum. Mr. Boland welcomed the decision of Mr. Nehru to attend the session and paid a tribute to his capacity to make peace and reduce tension.

The most dramatic development of the opening day's session was the increase in the strength of the Afro-Asian group from 29 to 42 with the admission of 13 newly independent countries of Africa.

This is the biggest number of admission of new members from a single continent since the world organisation was formed and with the admission of Cyprus, the U. N. membership has been raised from 82 to 96.

With the emergence of the enlarged Afro-Asian group no important proposition requiring two-third majority can be carried in the Assembly if it is opposed to the consensus of the Afro-Asian opinion.

The General Assembly admitted the new members with acclamation, but the admission of a Tati federation where there are internal political difficulties was postponed. A number of members had suggested that the matter be held over. President Ike, Nehru, Macmillan, Khrushchev will play important part in its deliberations.

The strife-torn Congo (with capital at Leopoldville) was admitted but its delegation was not seated as the Assembly took no action on who should represent the country. The Assembly referred the representation question to its Credentials Committee.

Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference

The Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council met at Ministerial level on September 20 and 21 in London for one of their periodic discussions of economic and financial matters. Mr. Morarjee Desai attended.

Commonwealth Finance Ministers announced a special Commonwealth plan to assist African countries at the conclusion of their two-day conference.

According to usually reliable sources, Canada gave the plan a send-off with a promise of

10,500,000 dollars spread over three years beginning April next—to go largely towards technical assistance.

The plan, named SCAAP—Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan—will be of particular importance to Commonwealth African nations which have recently reached or are approaching independence.

The Finance Ministers in their communique prefaced the announcement of the plan by saying they noted that Commonwealth countries, with others, were already providing aid bilaterally and were also making substantial resources available through existing organisations.

The plan now announced had been decided to focus attention on this effort and to help further in meeting the very great need for assistance in raising the standards of life in the less-developed Commonwealth countries in Africa.

Khrushchev's New Disarmament Plan

The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Khrushchev, presented on Sept 23 to the United Nations' General Assembly new proposals on disarmament and a declaration to grant independence to colonial countries and peoples.

He proposed a three-stage disarmament programme, including in the first stage the elimination from the armed forces of States of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, the discontinuance of their manufacture, and the destruction of existing ones.

In the second stage there would be complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction, with the cessation of manufacture and destruction of all stockpiles and further reduction of armed forces and armaments to levels to be agreed upon.

In the third stage all States would complete the abolition of their armed forces and retain only limited contingents of militia equipped with light firearms for maintaining internal order.

All remaining types of conventional armaments and ammunition would be destroyed and military equipment destroyed or put to peaceful uses.

Attlee's Appeal to Nations

Lord Attlee, the former British Labour Prime Minister, put forward a plan for turning the whole world into a welfare State when he

addressed the World Association of World Federalists at Cologon on Sept. 21.

Lord Attlee, Honorary President of the Association, told the closing session of its Congress that nations should observe a code on security regulations in the world just as their citizens do at home.

There should be an international police force backed by universally recognised courts, and there should be help to poor countries from richer ones in the same way that poor citizens are aided under national social welfare scheme.

For this it was necessary that all countries should give up a certain amount of their national sovereignty rights, Lord Attlee added.

Changes in Africa

Prime Minister Nehru placed on the table of the Lok Sabha last month a pamphlet entitled "Political Renaissance in Africa," produced by the Ministry of External Affairs.

The pamphlet gives the position of various States in Africa in 1950 and the situation at present. It points out that in the beginning of 1950 there were only four independent African States—Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and the Union of South Africa. They constituted about one ninth of the total area of 11.5 million square miles and accounted for less than one fourth of the continent's total population. But by August 1960 the position was completely transformed. On August 9, 1960, there were 20 independent States and eight more scheduled for independence during 1960-61. These States constituted nearly two thirds of the total area of the continent with a population of 178 million out of the total estimated population of over 220 million.

Portugal alone of all the colonial powers declines to heed the writing on the wall. The people in Portuguese colonial areas are held down by force and repression. The situation in these areas is highly explosive.

Many factors have contributed towards these rapid political changes in Africa. The impact of the Second World War, the establishment of the United Nations and the voice of the non-colonial powers within it, the desire of the colonial powers to secure the support of their colonial peoples and the growth of indigenous nationalism in various territories, all these have acted and reacted on one another and forced the pace of change. At the same time, among the newly independent countries, independence has given an impetus to the idea of

African unity and whether it would lead to further redrawing of old frontiers, to African federations or closer unions, remains yet to be seen.

Turkey

Ismet Inonu, Turkish political leader, declared recently that his country's revolutionary period would end in October 1961 with the transfer of political power to the National Assembly alone.

Political observers in Istanbul considered Inonu's statement as indicating, he and other leaders of the Republican People's Party had finally accepted the date that the Revolutionary Committee of National Union, now governing without the collaboration of either a legislature or political parties, had set for the end of its own rule.

After the revolutionary period, the power of the State will be assured, following free elections, by one of the existing parties, or by a new political formation, Inonu said.

Cuba-U. S. Dispute

Dr. Fidel Castro, Cuban Premier, accuses the U. S. of meddling in her affairs. He defended the Soviet threat to unleash force in the event of U. S. attack on Cuba, and fired a new attack against the "puppet regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek."

Criticising the OAS Foreign Ministers' conference which ended recently with Cuba's withdrawal, Dr. Castro said the Ministers had voted against what they called Soviet interference in the hemisphere instead of condemning "Yankee aggression against our country."

Criticising the "declaration of San Jose," Dr. Castro said that the conference would "go down in history as a page of treason, and a betrayal of the people of the Americas."

He said it was "one of the most shameful, repugnant pages ever written". He called the Latin-American Ministers "docile, convenient servants of Yankee imperialism" serving the U. S. empire "with daggers and pretexts with which to attack Cuba."

Freedom for Goa

Dr. P. D. Gaitonde, newly elected President of the National Congress, Goa, said at New Delhi on Sept. 16 that the Opposition parties in Portugal who were sympathetic to Goans' aspirations were confident to overthrowing the Salazar regime before long.

His own feeling, he told a Press conference, was that Mr. Salazar would not be able to continue for more than three years. Goan exiles in Europe were in contact with the Opposition parties as they thought that the moment the present Portuguese Government fell the road to Goa's freedom would be easier. There was no doubt that there was increasing sympathy among the Portuguese people for Goa's freedom.

Dr. Gaitonde revealed that the National Congress, Goa, was trying to build contacts with organisations fighting for freedom in the African colonies of Portugal so that some degree of co-ordination of their activities could be achieved. Already certain preliminaries had been gone through.

America and Indus Water Treaty

Welcoming the signing of the Indus Waters Pact (a summary of which appears elsewhere in this issue) by Pandit Nehru and President Ayub Khan, President Eisenhower said:

"I warmly welcome the signing at Karachi of the treaty between Pakistan and India. President Ayub and Prime Minister Nehru have used the waters of the Indus river and its tributaries."

President Ayub and Prime Minister Nehru, after their representatives have demonstrated to the world a quality of the highest statesmanship in reaching the compromises necessary to an agreement on this question. President Eugene R. Black and Vice-President W. A. B. Iliff of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development deserve the highest praise for their years of patient effort in assisting India and Pakistan to negotiate their differences in this matter.

The Democratic and Republican Presidential candidates took out a paid advertisement in the *New York Times* dated Sept. 22 to "salute" the leaders of India and Pakistan for signing the Indus river agreement.

The advertisement, signed by Senator Kennedy and his running mate, Senator L. Johnson, and Vice-President Richard Nixon and Mr. Cabot Lodge, as well as a number of leading Senators of both parties said:

"We salute President Mohammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India for their farsighted statesmanship in signing the common interests of their peoples an agreement on the control and division of the waters of the

Indus river basin and for thus demonstrating to the world the possibility of reaching by patient negotiation agreement on international problems no matter how complex or difficult."

"We salute Eugene R. Black, President, and W. A. B. Iliff, Vice-President, of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for their foresight, skill and persistence in working out an agreement on the Indus river waters acceptable to India and Pakistan and for mobilising the financial resources necessary to carry it out."

Congo

News from Congo is not at all encouraging. For, assisting Mr. Lumumba's administration with U. N. forces to put down the reactionaries appears to be beyond the purview of U.N.'s activities in Congo.

The Soviet Union's attempts to condemn the activities in the Congo of the United Nations under the leadership of its Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, have not borne fruit. The resolution sponsored by the Afro-Asians has won through in the special session of the General Assembly. However, Russia's threat to give unilateral aid to Mr. Lumumba's Government is still there. It would go against the desires of most members of the U.N., including African countries. All aid, financial, technical and military, must be channelled through the U.N.; otherwise the Congo will become battlefield in the cold war. The U.S. policy has been to encourage only U.N. action in the Congo; and the Afro-Asians, whose voting power in the world body is growing day by day (thirteen new States have just been admitted, only Mali's admission being subject to special scrutiny) have no desire to weaken the U.N. What little of modern administration remains in the Congo is entirely due to U.N. machinery, Mr. Lumumba's views notwithstanding. The only hope for the Congo lies in the world body being able to implement its various resolutions on the subject.

Dr. M. Visvesvaraya

Prime Minister Nehru, paying a tribute to Dr. Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya, on the occasion of his 100th birthday celebrations, at Bangalore on Sept. 15, said that the life of Dr. Visvesvaraya had been great not only because of his achievements but in his having also lived a life of integrity, ever adhering to the

high standards and exhibiting that spirituality which came to a man of integrity.

"We honour you as a person young in spirit and in ideals, looking to the future. Let us all imbibe that and learn from you that nothing can be achieved except by hard work and labour. And if we do so, all will be well," said Mr. Nehru.

"We in our country," the Prime Minister added "have the unfortunate reputation of talking a great deal and not living up to what we say. You, Sir, have been a great exception to that rule. If you had talked a little and done much let us learn from you that also."

Replying to the felicitations Dr. Visvesvaraya listed what he called certain basic wants in the country.

"The citizens' working hours were short in the aggregate—they should be increased. (2) Working hours were too irregular and too few—they should be made regular and disciplined, everyone should put in on an average six to eight working hours daily on every working day. (3) Every citizen should strive to promote unity, harmony and co-operation in every walk of life, as far as it is in his power to do so. (4) He should learn to practise diligence, discipline and precision as part of his character. (5) He should remember that loyalty, honesty and selflessness as far as possible, will help a man to success. (6) He should show courtesy and service to follow-men in daily life. (7) In every country, generally the population may be roughly divided into two parts—some directors and others followers. Arrangements should be made in the country for training and preparing both these classes loyalty. (8) Acquisition of elementary knowledge should be insisted on. (9) Steps should be taken to maintain a planning committee for preparing detailed views on work and behaviour of the citizens as was being attempted now in some of the other countries. (10) In schools and universities, a few working habits business habits and sense of behaviour should be discussed and preached. Such preaching should be steadily practised and rendered popular and (11) Good use should be made of time. It should not be wasted because, in a disciplined life, time was money. It is work that produced wealth."

Dr. Visvesvaraya further said: "Base your policies on world experience, cultivate team spirit maintain a high level of discipline both in private and business life and develop integrity of character in all ranks of the community. This done, no Indian need fear about a successful economic future for his country."

Nehru's visit to Pakistan

The Prime Minister of India Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, reached Karachi on the morning of Sept. 19 on a five-day visit to Pakistan on the invitation of Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan. The Prime Minister was accompanied by Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Minister for Irrigation and Power, Mr. Jaisukhlal Hathi, Deputy Minister for Irrigation and Power and officials of the Government of India.

In the afternoon, the Indus Waters Treaty 1960 (a summary of which appears elsewhere) was signed by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan on behalf of their respective countries and by Mr. W.A.B. Iliff on behalf of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

The two leaders, during these five days, discussed matters affecting Indo-Pakistan relations and exchanged informally views of recent international questions.

The President of Pakistan and Prime Minister of India were convinced, says the communique issued from Lahore on Sept. 23, that the primary need of the two countries was the rapid development of their resources and the raising of the living standards of their people. The two leaders acknowledged that the settlement of the Indus Basin waters question and elimination of their border disputes presented to their two governments an unparalleled opportunity to direct their policies toward the proportion of mutual understanding and friendly co-operation between their two countries. They agreed that their governments and people should work for the promotion of friendly and co-operative relations between their two countries and eliminate old emotional strains and tensions. They recognised that reduction in tension and development of friendly neighbourly co-operative relations will enable each of their countries to devote its energies to the achievement of their basic objectives of economic and social development.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India ending 30-6-1960. Reserve Bank of India Ltd. Bombay.

This keeps up the high standard of compressed accurate factual appreciation of the Monetary and Economic and Industrial situation in India set up by the Reserve Bank from its very inception. "A substantial increase in industrial production, some decline in agricultural output, a marked rise in price levels, a small fall in foreign exchange reserves due to payments to the International Monetary Fund were the main features."

The tentacles of the Octopus in restraining credit and restricting banks' borrowing were felt even by the occasional "clean overdraftsman" so that increasing the system tended to make banking a socialistic bureaucratic rule-ridden process instead of the English and J.P. Morgan tradition of personal initiative in which Morgan said "If I like a man's face, I would lend him even a billion dollars without security; if I do not I would decline to lend, even a single dollar, even if he produced certified gold deposit certificates from the Treasury." This is inevitable when I. C. S. and Secretariat men govern the Directors. The poor man felt the record rise in the price of Rice by 9.6 per cent. and of sugar and edible oils also.

The fall in the net balances of scheduled banks with the Reserve Bank from 88 crores to 59 crores may be susceptible of the explanation that they represented the financing of loans by the Reserve Bank by advances to the Scheduled Bank. The Reserve Bank with its tentacles restrained speculation based on advances from banks in industrial and other securities on the playing-on-the-margin methodology.

By various acts, like the Banking Companies Amendment Act, the State Bank of India (Subsidiary Banks Act) the Reserve Bank Amendment Act, etc. the Union Government has practically set out to replace gradually private enterprise and initiative by bureaucratic regulation and uncertainty. The Industrial Finance Corporation of India, the State Financial Corporations, Credit Facilities Schemes for Small Scale Industries of the State Bank of India, the Industrial Credit and

Investment Corporation of India, the Refinance Corporation for Industry, the National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board, The Central Warehousing Corporation, though bearing different names confirm the old epigram of Milton that the "New Presbyterian is the Old Priest Writ Large." For they are all so "supervised and regulated" by the Reserve Bank and the Planning Commission and Bloated Bureaucracy at Delhi that the whole economic empire like the Turkish Sultanate threatens to die and collapse from Apoplexy and Adiposity Swollen Occiput at the North East Central Concentration at Delhi with subsidiary sinciput at Bombay and from anaemia at the extremities like Kerala and Punjab and Assam.

But there is no sense in crossing bridges till we come to them, and let us hope that like the Banyan Tree, the Economic Edifice may throw shoots which will revive by drawing fresh vital fluid and vitaminised food by contacts with local soil throughout India that is Bharat.

Altogether, the Report is inspiring, provocative of thought, and satisfying the hunger for a factual account.

Neo-Upanishadic Philosophy. By Prof. K. V. Gajendragadkar. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 2.

Prof. Gajendragadkar in this handy volume has succeeded in giving us a good picture of the movements of thought and the disciplines in the Neo-Upanishads. He has taken the group of 108 Upanishads as his subject of study. He has chosen this group which is given in the Muktikopanishad. He has pointed out by the difficulty in choosing the particular Neo-Upanishads as there are also longer lists running upto 1008 Upanishads. The older Upanishads contain the seminal thoughts of Indian philosophy and indications of various spiritual disciplines which developed later. In these Upanishads we have quite a few new strains of thought especially in the field of Yoga, of Ethics, and Tantric worship. It is in these Upanishads that we come across details of new spiritual practices.

Netaji in Germany. A little known chapter.
By N. G. Ganguley. *Bharatriya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 2.*

Mr. Ganguley the author who was connected with the Indian National Congress in the early period left India after the World War I and settled down in Germany and returned to India after the World War II. This narrative being an authentic account of things which actually happened is without any ornamentation. Netaji's sudden disappearance from detention in his Calcutta home in January 1941 and after an intriguing journey, which bristled with hazards and hardships of all kinds he went to Russia via Afghanistan and then flew to Germany in the following March. Mr. Ganguley was tied up with Netaji throughout his stay in Germany. Netaji evoked Germany's sympathy for Indian Freedom Movement. Netaji was enthusiastically accepted by Germany and Japan in turn as an ally. The writer gives many accounts of Netaji's doings in Germany which is a revelation of which the public were not aware. In the South East Asia Netaji formed a battalion out of the Indian Army, left over in lurch by the British Generals fleeing for their lives. Netaji formed the offensive and came as far as Imphal but was cut off from the main line of supply and had to retreat. Japan surrendered shortly after. It was Netaji's sinews and inspiration, which imbued the Indian military with the spirit of 'about face' to British commands as a test of patriotism. The book is of absorbing interest with a brief life sketch of Netaji the Patriot son of India-whose death is still a mystery.

Stories of Vikramaditya. 1. Simhasana Dwatrimika. 2. Vetala Panchavimsati. Bhavan's Book University. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 2 each.

These stories which have appeared in a serial form in the Bhavan's Journal have now been on hand in a book form, in response to popular request. They deal with the exploits of the ever green hero of ancient India, King Vikramaditya. The first book deals with the story of the thirty-two Statuettes, each one of which narrates an incident to King Bhoja. The second book deals with the stories told by the Ghoul and how it poses a problem at the

end of each story and how Vikrama answers it most intelligently.

These stories are narrated briefly and make very pleasant reading and will prove a good addition to any collection of books.

There is a little discrepancy which may be pointed out; though it may be only in respect of a story, still the discrepancy could be avoided. In *Simhasana Dwatrimika*, Vikrama is said to have ascended the throne after Bhartrihari became a Sanyasi, while in the *Vetala Panchavimsati*, Vikram is said to have killed his elder brother and ascended the throne. The discrepancy is too glaring to pass unnoticed.

Population and Family Planning in India. By Dr. C. B. Mamoria. Price Rs. 3-75. nP. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad 3.

This is a comprehensive rehash of all that has been written about the various aspects of Birth Control and Family Planning like Methods of Population Control, Methods of Contraception, Sterilization, etc. and leads logically to Improvement of Quality of Population. From the days of Lycurgus who much wondered that men sought good stallions for their mares and left their own fair dames unfertilised by good seed, and the Hindu Kings who sought *miscegenation* to provide better heirs, to Hitler who sterilized Jews and developed offspring from Nordic Blondes, logical pursuit of the Mystery of Reproduction has inevitably led to those in power interfering in a sphere which should never be tackled by the State according to President Eisenhower. There is a school of thought even outside the Catholic Church which holds that Vasectomy and Salpingectomy with practically no possibility of recall to fruitful intercourse, make for frustration in the Male, persecution-mania in the female, loss of mental and spiritual initiative in both the male and the female. The loss of initiative in the face of the Motherland being invaded by others in Kuomintang China for an example is attributed to the sterilisation of the leaders.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

TAX ON FOREIGNERS

Nearly 35,000 Indian residents in Ceylon will be hard hit by the new tax of Rs. 400 imposed on non-national residents in Ceylon, on visas issued in Ceylon Government.

This new tax, which has been imposed on all non-nationals, resident on visas for three months and over, will bring Rs. 15 millions to the national coffers.

The new tax is almost squeezing out non-nationals engaged in trade and employed in business and mercantile establishments. Indians in domestic service also fall within this class. This, it is believed, is in keeping with the policy of progressive Ceylonisation of trade and employment in the mercantile sector.

The hardest hit will be the small time businessman and trader who are on visas which have been extended from time to time by the government.

Estate workers in Ceylon will not be affected much, because the large mass of them have been classified as stateless persons of Indian origin in Ceylon and have been refused visas on application.

Before the Nehru-Kotelawala pact was signed in Delhi, there were nearly 75,000 Indian residents on visas in Ceylon, but after the drive for repatriation half that number left for good.

MALAYA

NEW IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS

The Malayan Parliament has given its approval to a bill aimed at tightening of immigration regulations. The bill has a provision which would not permit children of Malayan citizens staying abroad above the age of six to join their parents in Malaya.

It is learnt that several Indians who have acquired citizenship in Malaya are affected.

On the eve of the opening of the Parliament session on Sept. 16 the Malayan Indian Congress—which is a partner in the ruling Alliance Party—adopted a resolution at its annual delegates conference urging the government to review the relevant clause and permit children upto the age of 18 to join their parents.

KENYA

EQUAL TERMS FOR INDIANS

An assurance given by African leader Mboya to Kenya's Asians on Sept. 8 when he

said African people would accept them if they agreed to live in independent Kenya on terms of complete equality has been received favourably by Asian leaders.

Mr. G. Amin, President of Kenya Indian Congress said "this very clear assurance is to be welcomed and we accept it in an honourable way in which he has given it."

Indian-owned daily "National Guardian" said, now that Kenya's Asians had received Mboya's assurance they could go ahead and put into practice what has been preached to them for the past many years adding "they have a stake in this country and a role to play and it behoves them to drop all their fears and anxieties about the future. Nothing can be gained by fear. They must face the future bravely and continue in the years ahead that contribution to Kenya's development progress that they have made in the past."

S. AFRICA

THREAT TO EVICT INDIANS

The South African Government's threat to evict 100,000 Africans and 40,000 Indians from the Cato Manor area of Durban was a threat to world peace and a "shameless and discriminatory act," the South African Indian Congress told the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld in a recent letter, just released.

This letter, written before Mr. Hammarskjöld cancelled his proposed 10-day visit to South Africa because of developments in the Congo, referred to a statement by the South African Minister of the Interior that the non-White Cato Manor area would definitely be proclaimed a white group area, in spite of unanimous opposition from organised bodies, and also the Durban City Council.

BRITAIN

ADVICE TO INDIAN STUDENTS

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister of Finance and Education, Madras who went to England last month has appealed to Indian students in U.K. on Sept 14 specially those specialising in technical subjects, to return to India as soon as their training is over and participate in the economic development of the country under the five year plans.

Mr. Subramaniam said they might think India's progress was very little compared with what they saw in Western countries "but actually we have achieved much in our country considering the condition ten years ago."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Sept. 1. South Africa's five-month old state of emergency ends and all the treason trial detainees are released.
—Sir Hisanuddin Alam Shah, Paramount ruler of Malaya is dead.
- Sept. 2. Prince Souvanna Phouma's neutralist government takes office after the oath-taking ceremony.
- Sept. 3. Severe floods in Rohtak (Punjab) resulting in heavy losses.
—Lok Sabha adopts motion for setting up "judicial enquiry" into the recent Assam disturbances.
- Sept. 4. Congress Women's Convention meets in Trivandrum under the President ship of Indira Gandhi.
- Sept. 5. President Joseph Kasavubu appoints Mr. Joseph Ileo as Premier of Congo dismissing Lumumba.
- Sept. 6. Congo Cabinet condemns Kasavubu of high treason: Ileo flees; Lumumba gains again ascendancy.
- Sept. 7. East German President Herr Wilhelm Pieck is dead.
- Sept. 8. Feroze Gandhi is dead.
- Sept. 9. Parliament adjourns *Sine Die*.
—Khrushchev leaves Moscow for New York to attend U. N. General Assembly session.
—Pakistan wins 1960 Olympic Hockey gold medal beating India by 1-0 goal.
- Sept. 10. Congolese Army is reported to have ordered a general cease-fire throughout Congo including Katanga.
—Nasser and Tito announce they will attend the U. N. Assembly session when it discusses disarmament issue.
—India and Nepal conclude a new Trade treaty.
- Sept. 11. Bharati day throughout Tamil Nad and other places are observed: Dr. P. Subbarayan inaugurates the sale of Bharati stamp at Madras G.P.O.
- Sept. 12. France recognises Senegal as an Independent State.
- Sept. 13. Bishop Ambrose Reeves of Johannesburg, critic of apartheid, is deported.
- Sept. 14. Congo Parliament backs Lumumba and gives full powers to Lumumba.
- Sept. 14. The 100th birthday of Sir M. Visvesvaraya is celebrated: Pt. Nehru takes part in the celebrations at Bangalore.
- Sept. 15. Lumumba asks for U. N. protection; U. N. agrees to back him.
- Sept. 16. Rajeswar Dayal, U. N. Special representative in Congo interviews Kasavubu and Lumumba of Congo in Leopoldville.
- Sept. 17. Peking denies India's charge of violation of air space.
- Sept. 18. Lumumba comes out of hiding! Lumumba demands withdrawal of U. N. troops.
—Morarjee Desai leaves for London for attending Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference.
- Sept. 19. Prime Minister Nehru signs Indo-Pakistan Canal Waters treaty at Karachi.
- Sept. 20. Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth meet in London.
- Sept. 21. U. N. General Assembly meets.
—Mr. F. H. Boland of Ireland is elected President of U. N. Assembly.
- Sept. 22. Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in London concludes.
- Sept. 23. Nehru and Ayub Khan issue a joint communique from Lahore.
- Sept. 24. Russia sends up two men into Space.
—Pt. Nehru leaves for New York to attend U. N. Session.
- Sept. 25. Khrushchev announces that Russia will not resume nuclear weapon test even if disarmament talks fail.
- Sept. 26. Nehru meets Tito, Khrushchev, Nkrumah and Macmillan in New York.
—Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, former Prime Minister of Pakistan is dead.
- Sept. 27. All Newspapers in Indonesia aligned to Masjumi and P. S. I. parties cease publication and their presses are confiscated.
- Sept. 28. U. N. puts off for another year the question of Chinese representation.
- Sept. 29. Tension in the border areas between Afghans and Pakistanis and troops are alerted.
- Sept. 30. Chou En-lai reiterates Non-Aggression Pact in Pacific countries including U.S.A. and reaffirms peaceful foreign Policy.

READERS' DIGEST

THE OLYMPIAD

The Seventeenth Olympiad in Rome last-month came to an end: India lost hockey crown to Pakistan, after having been the champion nation in that game for twenty-eight years. The hockey matches in the closing stages were keenly contested and India lost by the narrowest of margins in the final. We congratulate Pakistan on her victory for which her players had prepared us by their splendid display at the Asian Games. The victories of Milkha Singh in the earlier heats gave us hope that he might win a medal but in the final of the 400 metres he was placed fourth. Our other athletes did nothing much of note. The Olympic Games are conducted in the best spirit of personal and individual sportsmanship, quite free of national passions. The fact, however is that national prestige becomes involved in the clash of champions and an entirely unofficial tally of gold, silver and bronze medals by the athletes of the various nations is fully maintained so that it may finally be decided which is the top nation in athletics. U.S.S.R., as at the last two Olympiads, has a decisive lead over the U.S.A., with Germany in the third place. But the U.S. can take legitimate pride in the fact that, individually, she has produced in Decathlon-winner Rafer Johnson the champion all-round athlete of the world. Hary of Germany has become "the fastest man in the world" as a result of his victory in the 100 metres sprint. The oldest record in the Olympics, Jesse Owens's in the broad jump, was bettered by Ralph Boston of the U.S. Herb Elliot asserted his supremacy yet again—the Australian champion miler proving that he was equally good at 1,500 metres, "the Olympic mile." In the Marathon, one of the grimmest of the Olympic events, "an unknown" from Ethiopia, Abebe, one of the Emperor's bodyguards, set up a new Olympic record.

In the U. S. many educational facilities are made available to promising athletes and in the USSR every assistance is provided to likely champions to concentrate upon their training. In India, too, in recent years much money and attention have been devoted to the training of athletes: but we are still to produce athletes of world class. We hope that our

setback in hockey is only temporary and that the Eighteenth Olympiad in Tokyo will bring us champions again. Athletics, even rigorously amateur as they are in the Olympic Games, have become fully tied up with national prestige. The tension often goes beyond limits: but, on the whole, no major incidents seem to have marred if not the harmony at least the appearances of international friendship in Rome, says our contemporary. The swimmers, the divers, the runners, the hurdlers, the jumpers, the throwers, and all the other athletes who took part in individual and team events must have all benefitted from their experiences in Rome. They, and those younger following in their worthy footsteps, will doubtless have learned lessons from one another's performances and set about once more on the task of further improving athletic records. The Olympic Games stand for an ideal: the utmost physical fitness associated with the proper turn of mind, which will enable a man or a woman to give of his, or her, best to win gracefully and, even more important, lose gracefully. Next time we shall no doubt see athletes from more countries than ever strain every nerve to equal, or surpass, the outstanding success of past Olympiads.

KHRUSHCHEV-MAO RIFT

Last month we referred to the Anti-Peking manifesto. The daily growing rift between Russia and China is the talk of the world.

The *Observer* of London commenting on the ideological battle between the Soviet Union and Communist China, said that unless Mr. Khrushchev could secure his "ideological flanks" and his freedom of manoeuvre, his "essay" on competitive existence with the west was likely to be "hopelessly curtailed."

The independent Sunday newspaper said: "In spite of the heavy hints being flung about concerning China's going it alone without help, in spite of the withdrawal of Russian technicians from China and Chinese students from Moscow, it seems impossible that China can, in fact, stand alone without Russia for some years to come."

"The obvious inference is that Mr. Khrushchev has decided to use these years of grace to establish ideological unity on his own terms and secure unquestioned leadership of the socialistic bloc while the going is good."

INDUS WATERS TREATY

With the signing of the Indus Waters Treaty on Sep. 19, in Karachi, one of the major partition disputes between India and Pakistan may be said to have been resolved. This is of course on the assumption that the Treaty would be faithfully implemented by both sides in the coming years.

The question which is bound to be posed in this context is this. Why has there been such a long delay in the conclusion of the agreement and who is responsible for it? New Delhi would look at the problem mainly from the angle not for the purpose of apportioning blame at this late stage but for enabling a correct appreciation of the facts of the situation and influence by propaganda.

For years, India has been feeling hurt by the hostile campaign that India had cut off water supply to Pakistan and that millions of acres of cultivated land have been rendered waste. Although Pakistan repudiated the 1948 agreement, India continued to implement its provisions which were to the advantage of Pakistan.

New Delhi would recall how step by step India was making concession, as the negotiations progressed during the last 10 years, first directly and then through the mediation of the World Bank. Under the 1948 agreement, Pakistan agreed to tap alternate sources of supply within her own territory and at the same time, allow India to gradually diminish her supply to Pakistan. The question of costs never entered anybody's calculation at this time. Initially, Pakistan constructed within two or three years after partition, a couple of link canals which ensured for her 50 per cent of the supplies she received from the eastern rivers.

India suggested that by the construction of two more link canals all the supply from India could be replaced. But Pakistan declined to oblige and insisted on the continuance of the historic supplies as even before. India continued to supply but demurred. Then the World Bank came in. The question of costs of the link canals cropped up for the first time. India agreed to pay a final settlement

of the dispute. This amount was steadily being revised upwards as the talks went on. But no agreement was reached because Pakistan developed the idea that replacement work could not be separated from development work. This is the third stage of the negotiations.

Even in the initial stages before the World Bank came on the scene, India could have undertaken the necessary irrigation work on her own side of the border and continued the present supplies of water to Pakistan. This would have avoided all suspicion and controversies. Neither the World Bank would then have come on the scene nor would there have been any question of financing Pakistan's development projects on a large scale. But at technical level, it was thought that it was Pakistan more than India which had greatly benefited by the pre-partition irrigation canals of the Indus system and that therefore, Pakistan should tap alternate sources leaving India free to stop supplies to Pakistan gradually. This was the basis of the 1948 agreement. In retrospect this approach may sound somewhat short-sighted. India had maintained that the problem was essentially an engineering one and that it should be kept apart from political controversies.

Based on this theory, a more balanced approach has been made. A system of dams and canals could have been constructed by India ten years ago on her own territory at a lesser cost than what she has now agreed to give Pakistan. This would have saved a great deal of time and India would have been able to utilise the waters she now supplied to Pakistan for her own purposes much earlier than what is now envisaged.

But as things stand at present, for a quarter of a century after partition, India will not be able to discontinue her supplies to Pakistan. Even after this period, everything cannot be taken for granted as there are many imponderables but the delay in the conclusion of the agreement has certainly helped Pakistan in many ways.

RESEARCH IN ASTROLOGY

Prof. B. V. Raman, Editor of the *Astrological Magazine*, Bangalore, called for research in the different branches of astrology, while addressing a meeting convened under the auspices of the Rotary Club of the Kolar Gold Fields last month. He said that ancient principles of astrology were fundamentally sound and said that "Astrology is a practical science based on definite laws of interpretation." He deprecated the tendency, on the part of some of the politicians, of making disparaging references to astrology in public and consulting astrologers in private. He said it was wrong to treat astrological research now going on throughout India, Europe and America with what he called "a light-hearted irresponsibility." He defined astrology as the "science of relationship of man and his celestial environment. It is accumulated and organised knowledge of the effects on men of the forces reaching the earth from surrounding space."

He incidentally referred to research work carried on by some of the American psychologists linking the soli-lunar positions to certain personality—patterns and how "the corpuscular radiation" causes not only "magnetic storms" but also have a mysterious influence on life on earth—particularly on mass psychology. He also warned the statesmen that "1962 would indeed be a very fateful year because of the combination of eight planets in Capricorn."

"A systematic approach to traditional astrology and its reorientation in the light of modern conditions would give the whole subject a creative significance" he stated. Prof. Raman said that astrology could be of great practical value to an agricultural country like India. Forecasts could be made regarding rains, storms, cyclones and earthquakes by means of this science, he said. The Government was spending huge sums of money on meteorological experiments, he said and added that if similar experiments were made in astrology, better results could be produced. "My endeavour has been to show that it is a subject as worthy of study and investigation as any other," he concluded.

Firstly, India's right to the use of the western rivers as they flowed through Pakistan territory has been effectively cut excepting for minor use in Kashmir.

Secondly, it has made India pay for the replacement work.

Thirdly, India's payment has been separated from the other financial disputes pending between the two countries.

Fourthly, the delay of West Pakistan to obtain substantial foreign assistance from friendly countries for her development projects and ;

Fifthly, it has been conceded that replacement is as important as development. Whatever additional irrigation potential is developed in Pakistan will be shared between replacement and development. The transition period of ten years has been worked out on this basis. While India will get additional three million acre feet of water, Pakistan will get altogether 35 million acre feet.

Lastly more than a quarter of a century would elapse before India could utilise for her own purposes the waters she now supplied to Pakistan.

But whatever may have been the past history of this dispute, India for her part would be happy if it is appreciated that she has neither been intransigent at any stage of the negotiations nor pursued an unfriendly policy towards Pakistan.

The Canal Water Treaty is complete by itself. Carefully worded articles have been incorporated in the treaty to indicate that this agreement does not have any bearing on any other dispute outstanding between the two countries. The reference is of course to the Kashmir dispute. From the Indian point of view any argument that Kashmir is vital for Pakistan because of the western rivers flowing through it has been effectively answered in the negative by this treaty.

THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN THE U.S.S.R.

The study of India's ancient language, Sanskrit, and its vast literature was started in Russia more than 200 years ago. Russian Sanskritology is associated with the names of such outstanding scholars as I.P. Minayev, S.F. Oldenburg, F.I. Shcherbatskoi and others, says O. Volkova, in an article published in the *Calcutta Review*.

"A number of translations are being prepared for the press: two epic poems of Kalidasa—"Kumara-Sambhava" and "Raghuvamsa", "Amarushataka" and "Sukhasaptaki", a translation of "Jatakamala" of "Aryashura" by Academician A. Barannikov. Of particular interest are Lokhtin's translations of 9 Upanishads, recently brought by the Institute of Oriental Studies and kept in the Oriental Manuscript Department.

The study of the culture of ancient India, her language, literature, history, philosophy and economy, is conducted in a number of research institutes and educational establishments of the Soviet Union—in Leningrad and Moscow Universities, in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow, and its branch in Leningrad Linguistics Institute and the Institute of World Literature. In Leningrad University Academicians Shcherbatskoi and Barannikov taught Sanskrit for many years. In Moscow University Sanskrit was taught by Professors Shor and Peterson. Leningrad and Moscow Universities have trained a number of Sanskritologists who are successfully studying the ancient culture of India.

U. K. PRESS ON NAGALAND

The announcement by Nehru that a separate State for the Nagas will be established has been highlighted by all the newspapers in U.K. Welcoming the decision, the *Guardian* said editorially that the Nagas' co-operation will be necessary for the new arrangement to work. The paper said:

Mr. Nehru, explained to the Indian Parliament the agreement his Government has reached with the Naga Peoples' Convention. The Convention has achieved a great deal (much more for instance than the Sikhs who have been demanding a separate Punjabi speaking State). Time will show whether it is also a fair deal but the Nagas cannot hope for more in the constitutional field than a tiny state

of their own within the Indian Union. Assam, with the smallest population among the existing States (excluding the disputed Kashmir territory) has some nine million inhabitants; the Nagaland will have less than twentieth of that. Since it depends on India for its livelihood it has neither the population nor the resources that a modern state needs to sustain sovereignty (perilously balanced countries like Sikkim are exceptions that prove the rule.) This would still be true if the Nagas did not have the misfortune to live on the strategically vital stretch of the Indian frontier—the possible invasion route from China. Whether they will be content with State-hood within India depends on how correct Mr. Nehru was in asserting that the Naga Peoples' Convention represents 90% of the tribesmen; Phizo, leader of the irreconcilable Naga National Council, is still insisting on complete independence for the area. Last [July] he made grave charges against the Indian soldiers and administrators. Since the Indian Government can make only lamest of excuses about why it never allowed the foreign observers into the area, we must assume that these charges are at least in part true; if so, cooperation that will be necessary for the new arrangement to work will have a mountain of bitterness to overcome. But Phizo's course, if persisted in, will heap bitterness on bitterness and is bound to fail in the end.

The *Times* made a similar, but harsh comment in its editorial captioned "Hillmen hard-pressed." It said:

Nehru made good many similar concessions to the linguistic states once he realised how strong the opposition was. He has now made similar concession to the Nagas, who will be given a degree of autonomy within their own State which will form an additional State of the Indian Union. This will satisfy those Nagas, led by Phizo, who will have nothing less than a 'sovereign and independent state of Nagaland.' The question will be, when full details of the settlement are announced in Delhi, how many Nagas will support Imkongliba Ao, leader of the Naga Peoples' Convention, in working the agreement and how many will agree with Phizo that this body is simply an organisation of puppets.

The story of the last few years is bloody and brutal. Atrocities are not only on one side. Indeed the sequence of arguments is sickeningly familiar.

There can be no settlement until law and order is first established. The struggle goes on with the rebels accusing the Indians of atrocities and Indians retorting that the rebels are ruthless in terrorising those of their own people who refuse to join them. Evidence of brutality on the part of rebels is also strong. Fortunately in the past three years, Indians have shown themselves sensitive to the criticisms made. They have not so far allowed any but the Indian journalists to visit the area but a trip for foreign journalists is now promised for the autumn.

On the straight issue of independence for the Nagas the Indians certainly have a case. It is true that Nagas differ from Indians in all important aspects of their civilisation. They are Mongoloid untouched by Hinduism and partly Christianised. (There is a legacy of suspicion from the British days in Indian mind just as among the Burmese over the Karens, though Phizo's support for the Japanese during the war should exonerate him from a too pro-British stamp). But the Naga territory can easily qualify as a viable modern state. If some state were created it might eventually fit right into the North-East Frontier and become a wedge conveniently used for the Chinese to support. On this the Indians have even better reasons now refusing Phizo's claim than they had when rebellion first became serious in 1955. They can now justify their refusal by giving the Nagas as great a share of autonomy as their distinctiveness warrants. Part of the trouble in early days grew out of a natural antipathy between the Nagas and the Assamese. In the past two years the Nagas had been administered directly from Delhi and if the Nagas feel that they are properly represented there then the settlement may work. Even then it may take sometime before the Indian mistakes and misdeeds are expunged.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN INDIA

In the *Aryan Path* for June Sri C. V. H. Rao writes sympathetically of the potential or repentant delinquent and draws attention to the inadequate provisions available for helping a youngster before he is confirmed in wrong-doing. The problem of Juvenile delinquency, he says, demand urgent attention because of the big risks involved in their neglect.

"The number of underprivileged and un-adjusted adolescents is increasing under the stress of modern conditions; and since they belong to an age group which, under proper guidance and sympathetic handling of its problems, is susceptible of reformation and of development into healthy citizens, they can be neglected only at peril to national progress and social stability.

In India an organized attack on the malady has evidently rested with the passage, two or even three decades ago, of Children Acts, the organization of a few probation services and the establishment of a few juvenile correctional institutions. We still tend to be obsessed with the idea that the most effective method of dealing with a child prone to abnormal behaviour or anti-social tendencies is to send him to a remand or reformatory institution or to a Borstal school, or, when these institutions are not available, to a voluntary welfare institution. The treatment available at these institutions conforms to a set pattern of teaching the inmates reading and writing and training them in some craft or trade in the hope that they will acquire some skills and turn over a new leaf."

Little or no attention has been paid till recently to preventive measures which would eliminate some of the root causes constraining a normal child to deviate into a path a delinquency.

"It is at present beyond the financial resources of the State, and even more of voluntary agencies, to promote family-welfare services on a scale which would make many poor and middle-class families domestically harmonious and able to provide their children with facilities for healthy recreation, enabling them to evolve into psychologically adjusted adolescents. Family and community welfare is still a somewhat nebulous notion with us and the services available in these fields are so scanty as to be almost negligible."

"Even the institutional services are not on such a scale as to meet the requirements of the large and growing number of children and adolescents with psychological and behaviour problems. Only in a few States such as Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and Madras have anything like organized services in these directions been established."

THE GITA AND THE DOCTRINE OF DHARMA

Dharma, according to the Gita, has a two-fold purpose. One of them, says the Editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, relates to the life of man in the context of society; and the other relates to the spiritual life of man.

Dharma in the social context regulates human conduct and casts individuals into right type of moulds of character by including in them social and moral virtues. It is the sense of *dharma* in each individual member of society that urges him to conduct himself with dignity and becoming demeanour in relation to his fellow-beings. When *dharma* is preserved and practised, it confers on man and society health, wealth, and happiness. Progress and prosperity follow in quick succession as a matter of course. If *dharma* is lost sight of, the social cohesive force becomes weak, the social structure crumbles, and the whole thing comes down with a crash. *Dharma* is the life-force of the social being; it holds society together. It maintains law and order in society and brings harmony in the social relationship of its members."

Dharma has a wide connotation. Its dictates are varied. There is no one social *dharma* for all. As a matter of fact, *dharma* in the context of society varies from individual to individual.

"No two individuals may have the same *dharma* to perform. Everyone's *dharma* is determined by the social situation in which he finds himself. This has led to the concept of *svadharma*, so eloquently spoken of in the *Gita*. Every member of a society, every member of a family, has his own *svadharma*, which he is expected to discharge truthfully and to the best of his understanding and ability. Those who rule the state have their *dharma* to perform; the citizens have their own *dharma*. The parents have their *dharma*; so have their children theirs. Every man and woman, old and young, in whatever situation or station he or she must fulfil in order to contribute to the security, safety, and stability of society. Each one must perform his *svadharma* to maintain harmony in society. Otherwise, the social fabric will be torn to pieces, bringing untold sorrow and suffering to one and all. Hence it is that *dharma* should form the basis of society, if it is to remain stable and endure for a long time."

BASIS OF SARVODAYA

Discussing the philosophical basis of Sarvodaya Sri B. S. Sharma observes in the course of an article in *Gandhimarg* that the aim of the movement is not only to bring about isolated cases of moral conversion but also to generate mass movements of inward change. It is only then that a new social order will arise and new values of life be established.

"Vinoba's *Bhudan* movement is indeed an application of this technique. Its value is to be judged not merely in terms of land donated but more so in terms of the moral atmosphere it has created. That is why Vinoba accepts land even from the poor. It is not merely the rich who suffer from greed, selfishness or possessiveness. The sense of proprietorship of the poor is not weaker than that of the capitalists and landlords. If they shed their own possessiveness, and share equitably what they have, a moral climate would be created that would induce the rich to do the same. And if some of the rich do not do so, the others will be justified in withholding their operation without which no one can be r...

Such a radical revolution can be brought about through ceaseless positive education which enables the individual to accept new values.

"But this process can be accelerated by removing the obstacles that exist in our society by recognising the political and economic institutions. For this purpose the *Sarvodaya* social philosophy proposes to establish an egalitarian social order based upon the Gandhian principles of truth, non-violence and purity of means. Ideally, such a structure would replace completely the compulsion of the state by individual initiative and voluntary organisation—a sort of enlightened anarchy. It is only such a social structure that can best facilitate the growth of the moral life. Such a society would provide equal opportunity to each for his fullest development. There will be no caste distinctions."

In the economic field all wealth will be common property to be used for the good of each and all—the guiding principle being Gandhi's doctrine of Trusteeship. According to Gandhi, property is a necessary condition for the free play of a capacity which can be exerted for the common benefit.

"And on this ground, he defends property in capital. "Capital as such is not evil; it is its wrong use that is evil. Capital in some form or other will always be needed." Therefore Gandhi would not like the wealthy to be dispossessed of their wealth. Society, he says, will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore instead of dispossessing the rich he would want them to be trustees of the people for the wealth they possess. In other words, everyone including the rich will work for society according to his capacity and receive according to his needs.

INDIA'S FINANCIAL POSITION

The "*Financial Times*" says that the most important of the findings of the World Bank Mission Report on India is "the sign that the whole business climate" in that country "seems to be changing."

This newspaper said in one of its editorials that the Indian businessmen are apparently becoming more investment conscious. A new entrepreneurial class seems gradually to be emerging whose outlook is very different from that which has dominated Indian economic life in the past.

"It is this trend which the Indian Government must do everything in its power to foster, for foreign aid alone cannot ensure a rising standard of life for India's rapidly rising population.

"The need for aid, of course, remains. After a period of comparative stability, India's foreign reserves have been falling sharply in the last few months.

"There is still a foreign exchange gap to be covered during the remaining few months of the Second Plan which ends in March next year, and during the Third Plan India will need no less than £ 1,800 to £ 2,000 million in aid.

"Moreover, all of that aid will be needed on a long-term basis, for the debt repayment burden during the next few years is heavy and cannot be increased."

The "*Financial Times*" went on to say that there were signs at last that India was beginning to attract rather more foreign private investment.

"Changes in Government policy and even more the changed tone in Ministerial pronouncements have helped in this development."

WORLD'S POPULATION

There are about 2,900 million people in the world, and some 48 million more are added every year, according to the United Nations Demographic Year-book published at the U.N. Head-quarters last month.

Africa is the most prolific continent, with a birthrate of 45 per thousand. As a region, South-East Asia and tropical and southern Africa go one better—46 per thousand.

At the other end of the scale, Europe's birthrate is only 19 per thousand. The Isle-of-Man is at the bottom of the scale with only 12.1, followed by Sweden with 14.2.

Japan, whose pre-war birthrate was among the highest, now has one of the lowest increase, 18 per thousand.

More than half the world's inhabitants live in four countries—China (660 million), India (403 million), the Soviet Union (209 million) and the United States (178 million).

Britain ranks tenth in size of population, after Japan (92 million) Pakistan, Indonesia, Brazil and West Germany. All these countries have more than 50 million people each.

Children born in Norway, Sweden and Holland have the greatest expectancy of life, according to the U.N. figures. Girls born in those countries can expect to live to be 74 or more and boys to 71.

India remains at the bottom of the scale with a life expectancy of 32. But it is one of the few areas where men live longer than women.

Guinea has the highest deathrate—40 per thousand.

People are tending to get married younger in industrialised countries and older in others the yearbook discloses. The world average is 24 for women and 27 for men.

Albania, Egypt, the Fiji Islands, Costa Rica and the Honduras have the youngest brides and French Guiana, Macao and the West Indies the oldest.

The figures show that the "baby boom" which followed the Second World War reached its peak in 1946 and 1947.

A chart of birthrates by age groups since 1949 in 10 countries shows that fertility rates for women aged 20 to 24 increased in Australia, England and Wales, West Germany, Jamaica and the United States. The rate decreased in Hungary Yugoslavia, Israel and Japan. and remained steady in France.

DEMOCRACY IN HAWAII

In a world of tensions it is refreshing to know that there is one spot "where people of many races live and work and study together in as near perfect harmony as is humanly possible." Dr. Charles A. Moore of the University of Hawaii describes the happy life of these people in an article in *The Aryan Path*. He says that democracy is at its best in Hawaii. It is the "living proof," he says that peoples of different races and creeds can live in harmony.

"Hawaii's cosmopolitan population consists of Japanese (35 per cent), Caucasian (25 per cent), Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian (18 per cent), Filipino (12 per cent), Chinese (6 per cent), Puerto Ricans, Koreans and Negroes, as well as Samoans and others from the Pacific. And yet, in Hawaii, harmony is the norm; disharmony the rare exception.

Hawaii is a unified (and an American) community—not merely a hodge-podge of disparate parts. We have a common way of life in Hawaii today and great mutual assimilation of the best from all racial sources. The culture of Hawaii is "rich, diverse, unique," providing without discrimination the fullest opportunity for everyone to differ, to give full expression to his own cultural and spiritual heritage—a true unity with rich and healthy human diversity. And that is the essence of democracy."

Equality before the law is recognized and lived in Hawaii without any deviation, of course, regardless of race, creed, place of origin, economic status, or any other circumstance.

"But the harmony which prevails in Hawaii is a matter of the spirit, in the hearts and minds of the people, not in legal or political requirements. The spirit of *aloha* has constituted the essence of Hawaii's unique way of life. The spirit cannot be expressed in any law, cannot be described in words, cannot be demanded of or forced upon any man, but it generates for all in Hawaii that "wonderful feeling of living like a man among men" which pervades the Hawaiian scene."

Perhaps nowhere in the world does practice fulfil ideals, but Hawaii very probably approaches this perfection more completely, more willingly and more naturally than any other society. The spirit of Hawaii is not one of mere tolerance. It is, rather, the spirit and practice of positive mutual respect, cordial equality and genuine fellow feeling.

INDO-GERMAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In the article in the "*Neue Rhein Zeitung*" Prof. Ludwig Erhard, Federal Minister for Economic Affairs, has discussed the present economic relations between India and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Among other things, he says that a glance at the trade balance between the two countries would clearly show a decrease in the German exports to India in 1959, compared with the exports during 1958. In 1958, the Federal Government imported goods worth DM 192 million (nearly Rs. 21 crores) from India and supplied goods worth DM 1,173 million (nearly Rs. 132 crores). In 1959, on the other hand, the import of Indian goods amounted to DM 185 million (Rs. 20.1 crores) and the export of German goods to India to DM 936 million (Rs. 105 crores).

These figures, Prof. Erhard points out, give an idea of the complex nature of the problems confronting Germany's trade with India. By virtue of her being the largest developing country in the world, India must obtain quantities from everywhere. But since she is already processing her own materials for quite some time, she is not in a position to pay with these raw materials as is the case with other less advanced developing countries. India will be in a position to pay only when she is able to produce a large variety of finished goods through better industrialization, and is thus able to export them. Till then, India will have to obtain credits from all parts of the world.

The Federal Republic of Germany has agreed to take a series for liberalising imports from India.

Under this arrangement, the import restrictions on most textile products will be relaxed during the next five years. In respect of products regarding whose import the German Government is not able now to fix a date for complete liberalisation, a system of quotas will be introduced, enabling Indian exporters to effect sales to German buyers.

As regards hand-woven cotton fabrics, the German Government has agreed to consider granting additional licences if the applications for them are supported by certificates to the effect that the products to be imported are hand-woven fabrics. The All-India Handloom Board of the Government of India has authorised to issue these certificates.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

CANAL WATERS TREATY

The signing of the Indo-Pakistan Canal Waters Treaty at Karachi on Sept. 19 by Mr. Nehru brings to an end the 12-years-old dispute on the sharing and distribution of the Indus basin waters and opens a new phase of economic co-operation.

The canal waters treaty envisages the undertaking of a colossal project costing about 1,000 million dollars—building, replacement works within Pakistan to utilise waters of the Western rivers instead of depending on the east rivers as at present.

The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, West Germany, Australia, New Zealand and the World Bank together will finance the project to the extent of Rs. 333 crores. India herself is to contribute Rs. 83.3 crores and Pakistan Rs. 64 crores.

Under the treaty India will concede 80 per cent of the waters of the Indus system to Pakistan and abandon important irrigation projects on the Chenab and Rajasthan.

The division of waters is based on the proposal made by the World Bank in 1954. It provides the total waters of the Indus system in the proportion of 80 : 20 between Pakistan and India.

India guarantees to let flow for all time to come waters of the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan except for essential uses in its territory specifically laid down in the treaty.

At present, 0.75 million acres are irrigated in India (Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Himachal) from these rivers. This area will continue to receive irrigation waters. In addition, a provision is made for the development of new irrigation facilities for another 0.7 million acres.

The United States has agreed to lend India a sum of Rs. 15.7 crores (33 million dollars) and the World Bank Rs. 11 crores (23 million dollars) to meet the foreign exchange costs of a dam on the Beas. This has been done taking into consideration the longer transition period agreed to by India in order to accommodate Pakistan, and will enable India to avoid undue postponement of perennial supplies to the Rajasthan canal as would otherwise have been the case.

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Pakistan is undertaking on the western rivers a comprehensive system of replacement cum development works. India has agreed to make a contribution of Rs. 83.3 crores towards the cost of these works.

The Treaty terminates the Indo-Pakistan water agreement of 1948. The agreement of May 1948 had laid down that India had obligations to develop areas where water was scarce in its territory but that it should diminish supplies given to Pakistan gradually to enable Pakistan to tap alternate resources.

FUTURE OF U. N.

To those who have hopes for an improvement in the international political situation on the attendance of so many heads of Government at the General Assembly of the United Nations like Khrushchev, Nehru, Nasser, Tito, Macmillan, Castro, Sukarno and others the speech of Mr. Nikita Khrushchev coming after President Eisenhower who had proclaimed the United States' intention to strengthen the United Nations reminds us of the fate of the League of Nations. Mr. Khrushchev has declared that the Soviet Union has no confidence in the present structure of the U. N. administration and especially in the Secretary-General. His call for removing the U. N. head-quarters from America seems to be reasonable. The restrictions placed on Khrushchev sought to be explained as a matter of security but obviously intended as America's retort to the uncivil treatment of the President by Mr. Khrushchev at Paris this summer, appear to be ill-advised, not only to neutral observers but to some distinguished Americans themselves. Mr. Khrushchev seems to be right in pleading that the U. N. must function in a place where the delegates can have freedom of movement.

NKRUMAH ON CONGO

Dr. Nkrumah called the Congo problem a "test case for Africa and added, "What has happened in the Congo has more than justified my continuous outcry against the threat of Balkanisation in Africa and more than justified my daily condemnation of neo-colonialism the process of handing independence over to the African people with one hand, only to take it away with other."

Utterances of the Day

EISENHOWER'S U. N. SPEECH

President Eisenhower urged the United Nations to open an offensive against poverty, illiteracy and disease in Africa and called on the major world Powers to avoid an arms race.

The President, in an address to the U. N. General Assembly on Sept. 22 put forward a five-point programme for Africa and also made specific recommendations calling for controlled disarmament, international control of outer space, food for peace, and the transfer of fissionable materials from military to peaceful purposes. The President's proposals on Africa were: (1) Non-interference in the internal affairs of the African states; (2) Help in assuring their security without wasteful and dangerous competition in armaments; (3) Emergency aid to the Congo with the United States "contributing substantially" to the proposed 100 million dollars U. N. emergency fund; (4) International assistance in shaping long-term development programme; and (5) U. N. aid to education. He said:

"We must never forget that there are hundreds of millions of people, particularly in the less developed parts of the world, suffering from hunger and malnutrition, even though a number of countries, my own included, are producing food in surplus. This paradox should not continue.

"The U. S. is already carrying out substantial programmes to make its surpluses available to countries of greatest need. My country is also ready to join with other members of the U.N. in devising a workable scheme to provide food to member States through the U.N. system.....I hope this Assembly will seriously consider a specific programme for carrying forward the promising food for peace programme."

MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S PLEA

In his lengthy address to the U.N. General Assembly on Sept 23 Mr. Khrushchev, Soviet Premier after outlining a plan for disarmament, made a powerful plea for freeing "at once" all colonies, mandated territories and other non-autonomous territories.

The Soviet Premier's speech was marked by a tough attitude towards the West and increased friendliness towards the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa.

Mr. Khrushchev made friendly references to India more than once and referred to Goa as

among colonies where "the shameful colonial regime should be buried."

Contrasting the backwardness in which colonialism left India and other countries in Asia like Indonesia, Burma and Afghanistan, which he had visited, Mr. Khrushchev said, "I was much impressed by the great successes in raising national economy and culture in those countries. We saw large new building projects, dams and roads under construction and new universities and institutes. Can such a picture be seen in colonies? Such things do not and cannot exist there."

MR. DESHMUKH ON INDIA'S FUTURE

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, said at Bombay on Sept. 13 that the problems that the nation was facing to-day in regard to economic development could be solved "if the battle of 'isms' is terminated" and the best possible leadership was installed in the seats of power and added:

"Therefore I think the solution for our difficulties is a commonness of aims rather than a commonness of labels and concentrating efforts on getting the best possible leadership in the seats of power and getting the best talent for the highest seats of power."

"In a parliamentary democracy," he said "it is quite certain that the lack of all necessary qualities is going to result in unfavourable repercussions on the quality of implementation (of development schemes) by the bureaucratic machinery. There has been too much red tape, too much stalling, finding out a hundred reasons as to why a thing cannot be done rather than finding out one reason as to why a thing should be done," he contended.

MARSHALL CHEN YI'S CHALLENGE

The Communist Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, quoted Communist leader Mao Tse-tung as saying China's "fundamental policy" is to strengthen solidarity with the Soviet Union and all "socialist countries."

The Minister was speaking at Bulgarian National Day celebrations at Peking on Sept 10 which were attended by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister and diplomats.

He continued: "The Chinese people have always followed this instruction of Comrade Mao Tse-tung striving for the ceaseless strengthening of fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Bulgarian peoples and the consolidation, development and a great unity of the Socialist camp."

LIBERATION OF GOA

Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, called on the members of the Goa National Congress, to prepare some constructive programme for their freedom fight. Such programme, he added, would give confidence and strength to the people of Goa who were fighting for their independence.

The Chief Minister, who was inaugurating the twelfth annual conference of the National Congress, Goa, at Bombay on Sept. 8, asserted that every Indian was behind them in their struggle.

Mr. Chavan said that India's freedom was not complete unless Goa was freed from foreign rule.

He was certain that the fight for the freedom of Goa would continue till it was won and it would get the support of all the people in the world who believed in human rights and democratic processes.

Dr. P. D. Gaitonde, who presided over the conference, in his speech, said that the progress of their movement had certainly been slower than they had hoped. There were new encouraging trends now and they hoped that they would achieve their objective soon.

DECENTRALISATION OF POWER IN EGYPT

President Nasser carried out an unprecedented reform in Egyptian history by introducing a decentralised local Government system for the Egyptian region of the United Arab Republic.

Under a newly-created local Government Ministry 21 Provincial Governors with the rank of Under-Secretary will apply Government policies in all fields of internal affairs, independently of other Ministries.

DISPUTES IN AMERICAN STATES

The American Foreign Ministers' Conference approved the creation of a six-nation Good Offices Commission to investigate disputes between American States.

The Commission will be composed of Mexico, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Columbia, Brazil and Chile.

The Commission is to be composed of the "highest personalities" of the member countries. In case of an emergency, it could, therefore, comprise the Presidents of the six countries.

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S POLICY

Presiding over the two-day Tamilnad Muslim League Conference which met at Madras on Sept. 17, Mr. Mohammed Ismail claimed that the organisation was "really fighting against communalism wherever it was found" and it had as its objective the securing of "an equally honourable existence for all communities in India."

Mr. Ismail also referred to Chinese incursions into Indian territory and said that the Muslims were and would be solidly with the Government in defending the security and integrity of their motherland. He said that the Muslims in the country had endorsed the objective of the establishment of a Socialist pattern of society and accepted planning as a means of implementing it. He called upon the League organisations in the country to help and co-operate in the implementation of the Five-Year Plans and Community Development and National Extension Service schemes.

NEUTRALIST GROUP WITHIN U.N.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, called on Afro-Asian countries to avoid being drawn into the East-West Power struggle.

In a statement dated 25th Sept. issued at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where he stayed said that in his view colonialism was one of the main sources of world conflict.

Dr. Nkrumah said that the Afro-Asian group and other non-committed nations should make the greatest possible effort to come together and form a "neutralist group within the U.N., and this neutralist group should support whichever causes are in their view likely to promote world peace and security." He said, "The suggestions he made in the course of my speech (before the General Assembly) that Africa should be freed from colonialism...is no more than a reassertion of the principle underlying the American Declaration of Independence."

TITO-NASSER CALL

Yugoslav President Tito and U.A.R. President Nasser agreed on the necessity of new efforts to improve international relations and consolidate peace.

In a communique published after an hour-long talk at New York on Sept. 24, the two Presidents said they noted the similarity of their points of view on the main international problems.

Educational

FAILURES IN EXAMS.

The Education Minister, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, stated in the Lok Sabha at question-time last month that the Government was "seized" of a problem of large-scale failures in examinations, from the high school to the university stage.

But he disagreed with a suggestion that the percentage of failures had increased in recent times. Dr. Shrimali said that for the last ten years the average percentage of passes had practically remained the same and there had been no deterioration. The Minister said he admitted that the present percentage of passes was not enough and standards had to be improved.

Mr. C. D. Pande said that either the teaching system was defective, or the whole generation of new students had deteriorated.

Dr. Shrimali said that probably both the teachers and the students were at fault. The Government was continuously taking necessary action in order to improve the teaching methods and raise the standards.

EDUCATION OF ADULTS

The Second World Adult Education Conference has under the terms of a resolution sponsored by India, called upon all organisations controlling media of popular entertainment, such as films, television and radio, to consider how they could effectively incorporate into some of their programmes a constructive outlook and incentive to promote a richer and well-informed life.

The Conference was held at Montreal from Aug. 21 to 31, under the auspices of the UNESCO.

The resolution also stated that the UNESCO should take steps to bring educationists and cultural leaders into contact with those who control the media of popular entertainment and facilitate the exchange of ideas between the two.

YOGIC PRACTICES

The Government of India has appointed a committee of medical experts to study, evaluate and report to the Government on the therapeutic values of Yogic practices.

During the course of its work, says an official Press release, the committee will also visit a few selected yogic institutions where yogic therapy is being imparted, and recommend, after an on-the-spot assessment of these institutions.

INDIA FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIPS

The India Foundation, an organisation started in Poona with the object of helping "gifted young men and women to attain their maximum possible stature," has invited applications from qualified candidates for eleven different scholarships to be awarded by the Foundation for studies in foreign countries.

In an announcement on September 13 the Foundation said the scholarships were initially for one year but they might be extended on the basis of merit and needs of further study.

The announcement listed the following scholarships for studies in Germany: Two scholarships of 300 marks (Rs. 342 approximately) each per month; two scholarships of 250 marks (Rs. 285 approximately) each per month for study in international affairs and relations; and three scholarships for the study at Munich of 250 marks each per month.

The others are: Two loan scholarships of Rs. 300 each per month for study in any foreign country and two passage scholarships from Bombay to New York.

MORAL INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

Inaugurating a seminar on "moral and religious instructions in schools, at New Delhi on Sept. 15 Mr. Prem Kirpal, Secretary of the Union Education Ministry, said that the Government of India had set up a committee to advise on the selection of suitable literature for the teaching of moral and spiritual values in educational institutions.

A large number of heads of higher secondary school teachers and educational administrators participated in the seminar.

T. V. S. GIFT TO DELHI SCHOOLS

The T.V.S. Charities have donated a sum of Rs. 50,000 to the Madras Schools run by the Madras Educational Association in the capital towards the construction of a new school building.

The Madras Educational Association runs two higher schools and two middle schools in the capital and provides educational facilities for nearly four thousand boys and girls. Two schools are housed in the buildings belonging to the Association, while the other two schools are awaiting construction of buildings of their own. The donation is expected to be utilised for the construction of one of the buildings.

Legal

ACTIVITY AGAINST INDIA'S SECURITY

A Bill to amend the Criminal Law Act to make certain offences in connection with the security of India punishable will be introduced in the next session of Parliament. This was disclosed by the Union Home Minister Mr. G.B. Pant, addressing the Chief Ministers of States at Delhi on Sept. 13.

The Bill will have the following provision: "Whoever undermines the security of India by questioning by words either spoken or written or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, the territorial integrity or the frontiers shall be punishable by imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or fine or both." Also "whoever publishes or circulates any statement, rumours or report that are intended to prejudice or likely to prejudice the maintenance of peaceful conditions in any notified area shall be punishable by imprisonment up to a term of two years or fine or both. A notified area is an area adjoining the frontiers of India and declared by the Central Government to be a notified one.

10. ELECTION OF WORLD COURT JUDGES

The Radhabinod Pal of India was nominated for election as a judge of the World Court. Five of the judges of the World Court are due to retire in Feb. The retiring justice were all nominated for further terms, together with twenty other aspirants to their jobs.

Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan who has also been nominated is one of the five retiring judges.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld circulated a document about the nominees among member delegations in preparation for elections which the General Assembly will conduct during its present session.

Dr. Pal was nominated by eleven countries including India. They were: Bolivia, Byelorussia, Costa Rica, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, Ukraine, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and India.

Britain and the United States were among the countries which nominated Mr. Zafrulla Khan. Sweden signed for both Dr. Pal and Mr. Zafrulla Khan.

ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT

The President has appointed Mr. Justice Surendra Narayan Dwivedi and Mr. Justice Ram Asray Misra, at present, Additional Judges of the Allahabad High Court, to be permanent judges of that High Court, and Messrs. Jhandu Datta Sharma and Mithan Lal of Uttar Pradesh higher judicial service to be Additional Judges of the Allahabad High Court, upto August 19, 1962 and for two years, respectively with effect from the date they assume charge of their respective offices.

PUNJAB ACT HELD VOID

The Supreme Court declared the Punjab Forward Contracts Tax Act of 1951 void and unconstitutional on Sept. 13.

The Court held that the Act which provides for a levy of a tax on the business in forward contracts, was beyond the legislative competence of the State Legislature.

This ruling was given by a Constitution Bench of the Court while allowing an appeal by the Bullion and Grain Exchange Ltd., and other businessmen of Ludhiana.

JUDICIARY IN PONDY STATE

The Government of India have decided, as a matter of policy, to remove the appellate jurisdiction of French courts over courts in the former French possessions in India.

Legal implications of granting representations to Pondicherry in the Indian Parliament were being examined. These steps are being thought of as *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry in India had not been finalised.

RULES OF A.-I.C.C.

Mr. Justice Dwivedi of the Allahabad High Court held that the Constitution and the rules of the All-India Congress Committee, State Congress Committees, District Congress Committees and the Mandal Congress Committees had got no statutory effect and they could not be enforced by any court of law and no direction or writ could be issued by the High Court to enforce compliance with the said constitution and the rules.

Giving the above ruling on Sept. 16 the Court discussed a writ petition, filed by a Congress worker of Ballia, for directing the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, Lucknow, and the District Congress Committee, Ballia, not to hold the election of Mandal Congress Committee which were scheduled to be held on September 14 and of office-bearers on Sept. 23 and 29.

INDIAN BANKING SYSTEM

The essential soundness of the Indian banking system was emphasised by Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank, who said that well over 90 per cent of the total deposits was held in banks which were soundly run. "Although there are a few weak spots, the Indian banking system taken as a whole from the point of the safety of deposits, is sound and vigorous," he said.

Mr. Iengar, who was inaugurating the Second Indian Conference of Research in National Income at the Institute of Economic Growth at Delhi, admitted however that out of the 363 banks in India at the end of 1959, a number of them "unfortunately are still 'problem banks,' that is to say, their operational efficiency is below standard and they have a legacy of bad and sticky advance.

MR. G. L. MEHTA

The President has approved the selection of Mr. G. L. Mehta as Chairman and Mr. G. R. Kamat, I.C.S., as Member-Secretary of the Third Finance Commission which is proposed to be constituted shortly under Article 280 (1) of the Constitution.

The actual date from and the period for which the Commission as well as the names of the three members will be announced later.

DEPOSIT INSURANCE SCHEME

The Reserve Bank of India has forwarded to the Indian Bankers' Association for its comments certain proposals with regard to the introduction of a scheme of deposit insurance in the country.

While this matter is receiving attention at the official level, the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, Mr. M. V. Rangachari who accompanied the Finance Minister to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank meetings in the United States will study the scheme in force in that country.

INDIA'S FOREIGN LIABILITIES

India's liabilities abroad on investment income account showed an overall trend towards an increase during the period of six years from 1953 to 1958.

A study published in the latest bulletin of the Reserve Bank of India said that these liabilities aggregated to Rs. 55.3 crores during 1958 as compared to Rs. 49.2 crores in 1957, Rs. 57.2 crores in 1956 and an annual average of Rs. 47.4 crores during the three years 1953 to 1955.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Mr. Morarji Desai, India's Finance Minister asked the Commonwealth to consider whether there might be some way of easing the balance of payments position through some joint operation—something that would help to finance imports into countries like India.

Mr. Desai was speaking at the Finance Ministers' Conference in London on Sept. 20 which preceded their visit to the Washington annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. He also stressed the need for more capital.

CURBS ON BANK BORROWINGS

The Reserve Bank of India announced on Sept. 21 three monetary measures to hold the price-line. They are: Penal rates of interest for borrowings from the Reserve Bank by banks in excess of the quota fixed for each bank; an increase in the average lending rate by banks to their customers by half a per cent; and a limit on the interest rate paid by banks on short-term deposits.

The new steps announced take effect from October 1.

A Press Note issued by the Reserve Bank said: "The borrowing of banks from the Reserve Bank at Bank Rate will be limited to certain quotas, above which further borrowing will be permitted only on payment of certain penal rates of interest. Each scheduled bank will be allotted a quota for borrowing at the Reserve equal to 50 per cent of the reserves required to be maintained by it with the Reserve Bank in terms of Section 42, Sub-Section (1) of the Reserve Bank of India Act (i.e., 5 per cent of demand liabilities). The schedule of charges for borrowing from the Reserve Bank will be as follows:

(1) Scheduled Bank borrowings (against Government securities as well as bills) upto 100 per cent of the quota—Bank rate.

(2) Scheduled Bank borrowings over 100 per cent not more than 200 per cent of the quota—1 per cent above rate.

(3) Scheduled Bank borrowings over 200 per cent of the quota—2 per cent above Bank rate.

In view of the new system of penalty rates, the ceiling limits of borrowing from the Reserve Bank of India, fixed for individual banks under the Bill Market Scheme will for the time being, not be operative.

Mrs. BANDARANAIKE

"Mrs. Bandaranaike's success should be an inspiration to other members of her sex throughout Asia", observed the *Malay Mail* in an editorial captioned "Woman's Place":

Mrs. Bandaranaike has made it and with her Freedom Party and its odd assortment of allies seems assured of making history by being the world's first woman Prime Minister.

She is still without a seat in Ceylon's new Parliament but that is a mere formality which can be easily dealt with.

Although Mrs. Bandaranaike has declared 'I am no Marxist' there will still be misgivings not only in Ceylon but overseas at the remarkable electioning arrangement her party came to with extreme leftist elements.

If the Reds run true to type (and there is no reason to doubt that they will) Mrs. Bandaranaike may find that the time for the 'pay off' will not be long delayed.

Meanwhile although she has doubtless benefitted vastly from her late husband's memory, Mrs. Bandaranaike is to be congratulated on her own showing.

It is symptomatic of new trends and developments in this changing world that it should be from Asia that the first woman ever to be a Prime Minister should have come.

This will, perhaps, once and for all destroy the legend (which had at one time its basis in truth) that the East is essentially a man's world and that womenfolk are still bound to a purdah-like condition.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's success should be an inspiration to other members of her sex throughout Asia. Here in Malaya there are still great opportunities for women and a vital part for them to play.

Meanwhile Mrs. Bandaranaike faces a double test. She has got to prove her ability to control what is likely to be a strangely assorted government and at the same time to bring harmony and security to Ceylon.

WOMEN & SMALL SAVINGS

Srimathi Tarakeswari Sinha, Union Deputy Minister for Finance who was addressing on Sept. 18 a meeting at the Avvai Home, Madras under the auspices of the Women's Indian Association, made an earnest appeal to the women of India, particularly in the rural areas, to give up the "traditional habit of hoarding money" in the form of gold jewellery, and invest their savings in the small savings of Government.

Srimathi Sinha said that the National Savings Movement, would be a complete success, during the Third Five-Year Plan period, if the women of India played their role nobly. Union Deputy Minister congratulated the Madras Government on having exceeded their target figure of Rs. 1 crore for the year.

MISS GOONAM

Dr. (Miss) Goonam of Durban, who is now on a tour of India, paid a visit to the Madras High Court. The visitor watched the proceedings in some of the Courts and also saw the Portrait Gallery of the High Court and the Library.

Talking to Pressmen, Dr. Goonam said that she was born and brought up in South Africa. Having imbued Western ideas and lived in a Westernised atmosphere, it helped them considerably in life, to breathe the air of India and to become Indian for a little while. She was proud to belong to a family from Madras. It was heartening to them to know that they belonged to a country where the Indian people ruled, exercised power, and occupied the highest positions.

Dr. Goonam said that she was interested in the working of Courts and she felt she could learn a lot by a visit to the Madras Courts, which were held in high esteem everywhere. People in England had great regard for the way in which justice was dispensed in Madras and for the culture of Madras. For people living away from India, Madras made a tremendous appeal, she added.

POLYTECHNIC FOR WOMEN

A proposal of the Osmania Graduates' Association to start a polytechnic specially for women is under the active consideration of the Exhibition Society.

Mr. A. Seetharama Reddy, secretary of the association, disclosing this in his report to the 28th annual conference on Sept. 17, expressed his confidence that the proposal would fructify very shortly.

When the idea materialised the polytechnic would be an unique institution and the first of its kind in India, he added.

RUSSIAN WOMEN IN OLYMPICS

Russia dominated the woman's gymnastics at Rome. Larisa Latynina won three gold medals for team event, individuals placing and free standing exercises, two silver medals for beam and parallel bars, and a bronze for broad hose vault.

MR. FEROZE GANDHI

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Mr. Feroze Ghadhi, M.P., Prime Minister Nehru's son-in-law, at the premature age of 48 on Sept. 8. He had a heart attack two years ago. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is Mr. Nehru's only child. She has two young sons, who are 15 and 12.

Mr. Feroze Gandhi had been a very active member of Parliament. He was responsible for the exposure of the Mundhra transaction. He had always been alert, looking for and fearlessly exposing gross irregularities or misconduct in public affairs. His last attack was directed against the Punjab Government whose activities have filled Congressmen with dismay. Those who had complaints against Ministers and other highly placed persons, but lacked the courage to take the initiative and expose them, invariably sought Feroze Gandhi's help. Many, including the members of the Opposition, will miss him greatly.

MR. N. R. PILLAI

Mr. N. R. Pillai, Secretary-General, External Affairs Ministry, relinquished charge of office on Sept. 1 and proceeded on six months leave preparatory to retirement.

Mr. Pillai joined the Indian Civil Service 38 years ago, and had a distinguished career. He held many important posts, including that of Commerce Secretary, Cabinet Secretary, Secretary to the Planning Commission and succeeded the late Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai as the Secretary General of the External Affairs Ministry.

DR. PRASAD ON BHARATI

"It is not only for our Tamil-speaking brethren to pay their tribute of love and appreciation to his great genius, but it should be the right also of all of us who speak other languages to offer our tribute of praise and appreciation to Subramania Bharati." These sentiments were expressed by the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a message to the Radio newsreel on the occasion of Subramania Bharati Day broadcast from the All India Radio on Sept. 10.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The 17th Olympiad, biggest of them all ended at Rome on Sept. 11 when the Olympic flame, which had been burning day and night for 18 days, was extinguished, leaving Russia undisputed champions for the second time in a row. Once again they topped the gold medals table with 43 to the 34 of their closest rivals, the United States.

SANSKRIT PANDITS

A National Register of Sanskrit Pandits is to be compiled by the Union Ministry of Education containing the names of learned pandits and their special subjects of study, standing, authorship, teaching experience and willingness to teach pupils in the traditional way, says an official Press release.

The criteria for the inclusion of pandits in the National Register has been outlined by the Central Sanskrit Board. The Board has recommended that a pandit should be a reputed expert in at least one *shastra*. Other qualifications needed are at least 15 years' experience in the teaching of *shastras* along with literary or research work of significance to his credit.

PARAMOUNT RULER OF MALAYA

Sri Hisamuddin Alam Shah, Paramount Ruler of Malaya, died on Sept 1 at the age of 62 after a short illness.

Sir Hisamuddin Alam Shah was elected Paramount Ruler after the death of Tuanku Abdul Rahman, in April this year. He had served as Deputy Supreme Head since 1957.

Adhll Syed Hassan Jamalullai, Raja of Perlis State, was elected as the third Paramount Ruler of Malaya for a term of five years on Sept. 21.

The elections were made by the Rulers' Council which met at Kuala Lumpur on Sept. 21.

INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

John Mills, the British actor, was awarded the Volpi Cup for the best actor for his role in the British film "Tunes" at the 21st International Film Festival which ended at Venice on Sept. 7.

Shirley McLaine, the U.S. actress won the Volpi Cup for the best actress for her part in the U. S. film "The Apartment."

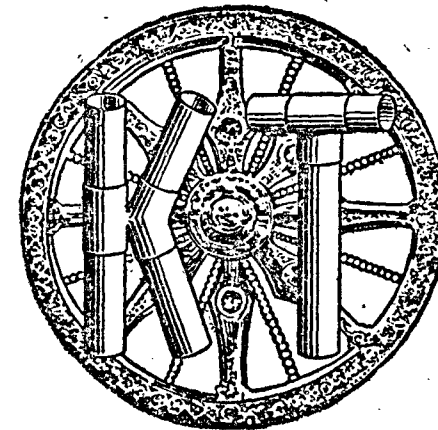
A French film, "Le Passage Du Rhin", directed by Andre Cavatte, was awarded the Golden Lion of St. Mark for the best film.

INDIA'S DEFEAT IN HOCKEY

Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia, Union Deputy Minister for Defence, attributed the Indian hockey team's defeat at the Rome Olympics to "sheer complacency."

"Our boys were over-confident", he said and added that they had to be shaken out of their complacent attitude.

The Deputy Defence Minister hoped that the defeat would serve as a corrective to the Indian side.

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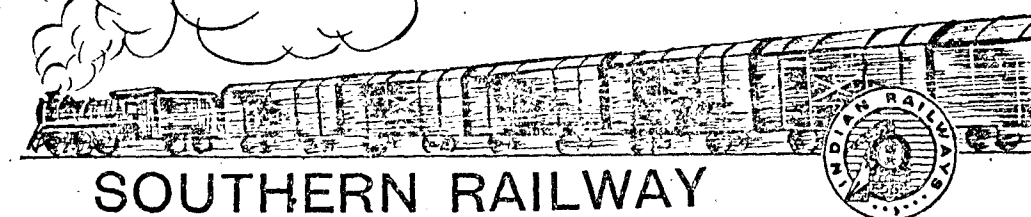
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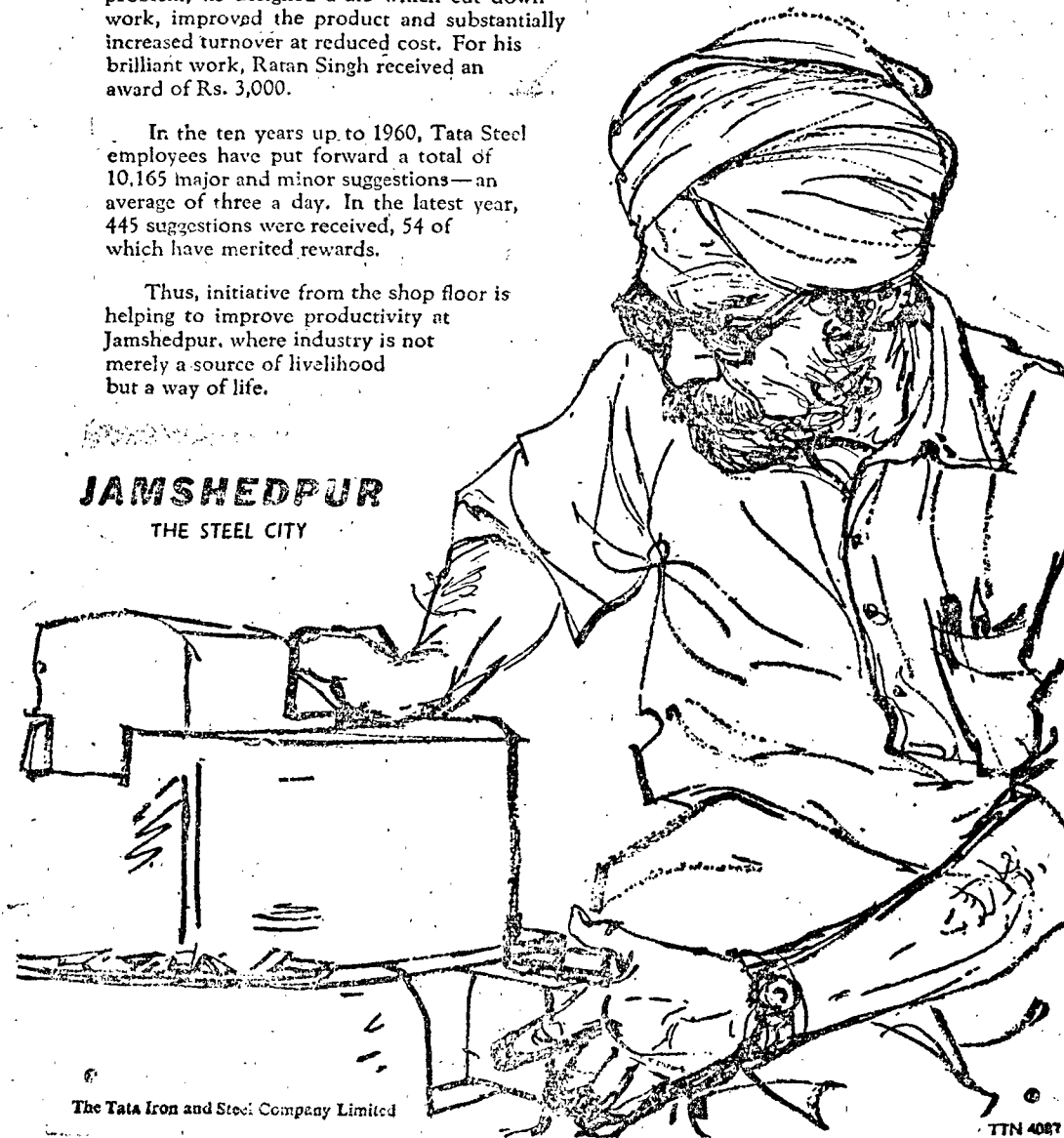
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Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

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NOVEMBER 1960

[No. 11]

Survey of Saving of Urban Households in India

By

Dr. P. S. LOKANATHAN

ALL of us know about our Five Year Plans. We know that these Plans have something to do with the construction of new factories, improvement of irrigation facilities, building of power houses, construction of roads, hospitals, schools etc. What, however, many people do not probably know and what would be really interesting to know is from what source the money required for executing all these projects is forthcoming. For example, during the Third Five Year Plan period our nation as a whole is expected to spend at the rate of rupees two thousand crores per annum on national reconstruction and development programmes. Obviously, apart from certain aid received from foreign countries, the bulk of the expenditure on Plan projects must be financed from the domestic resources. If this is so, it would be certainly interesting to know what are these domestic resources and who are the people or institutions responsible for the supply of these resources.

Broadly speaking, three types of institutions are responsible for making available funds necessary for our development programmes. These are the Central, State and Local Governments; the large and small public and private limited companies and small business enterprises engaged in manufacturing, trade, commerce and transport; and finally the millions of private rural and urban households in our country. The governments provide finance for our Plans by making available their sur-

plus on current account, the business organisations through their profits left in business, and the private households by transferring their unspent income for the use of either the government or the business people.

Now, this knowledge alone does not lead us very far. What is more important from the point of view of economic policy as well as decision making is the volume of resources, which will be hereafter designated as saving, made available by each of the above mentioned three agencies for the success of the Plan. Unfortunately, not much is known about this as far as our country is concerned. It is true there are some rough estimates of saving made by some organisations in India, but the data on the basis of which these estimates have been arrived at, are too meagre to justify any firm statement. On the basis of available data it has been estimated that roughly not more than 15 per cent of the total saving in our country is accounted for by the various governments and large and small corporations. This means that the bulk of saving in India is done by private households in rural and urban areas, including small business done by the households, although nobody knows with any definiteness the magnitude of saving originating from this sector. This is the crux of the problem—our Plans need huge amounts of expenditures and a large portion of the amount of such expenditures must be financed either directly or indirectly through saving of private

households about which we know pretty little and that too without any definiteness.

This is a big gap in our statistical knowledge of saving which must be filled in. It is also necessary to know how and why people save. Without reasonably satisfactory data relating to the saving behaviour of households in our country it is not possible to make any operationally feasible plan of development. To fill this gap, the national Council of Applied Economic Research has now undertaken a study of saving of households and small business enterprises in our country. The main objectives of this study are (a) to estimate the total saving of households and small business enterprises (b) to find out the important components of saving (c) to examine whether households in India are unable to save on an adequate scale and (d) to ascertain the saving preferences and motivations for saving of the people in India.

All this sounds very well—the objectives are good; but that would be more helpful to know is how the National Council proposes to go about to fill up this gap. We all know that economic conditions and saving behaviour vary widely between households. Some households may save (this means that they do not spend away all their income for current consumption) while some others may dis-save or consume more than they earn. Further the unspent part of income may be saved in various forms. It is impossible to collect these details from all the several millions of households to arrive at the total saving of the country. The question then is—is there any way out to get over this difficulty? The answer is in the affirmative. Fortunately it is not necessary to collect data from all the households; the modern statistical methods, particularly the sample survey method, can be pressed into service to solve this problem. This method has been widely recognised as the most powerful tool of research in applied economics, and almost all the countries in the world have been adopting this method for re-

search in socio-economic problems. The interesting point, however, is that this method is not such a difficult one to understand in principle. In fact most of us do have recourse to understand in principle. In fact most of us do have recourse to this method in our daily life either consciously or unconsciously. For example, when a housewife goes into the market to purchase, say a basket of mangoes, she would not examine every mango in the basket. What she does is this; she selects a mango from the upper portion of the basket, one beneath the basket and probably one from the middle of the basket. With an examination of these three alone, it is interesting to note, she would come to a definite conclusion whether or not the mangoes are of the same size and quality. It is however true there would be some risk in arriving at these conclusions because we have not studied every individual in the population, but, provided enough attention is paid to select a 'representative' sample with enough number of cases, the risk of using a sample (instead of whole population) can be minimised to any desired extent. This, then, is the general principle of sampling.

From the previous paragraph it may be inferred how the National Council of Applied Economic Research proposes to conduct the survey. Somehow or other we should select a manageable number of households spread all over India which would be representative of all the household and make an attempt to obtain the required data on incomes and savings from all the selected households for arriving at total saving in our country.

The Council is undertaking the survey in two stages. For the present it is engaged in studying the behaviour of urban households only. A survey of the rural sector will follow after properly evaluating the success of the present survey. With a view to exploring the difficulties and problems involved in an Urban Survey, the Council carried out a Pilot Survey of Delhi city. This has enabled us to know

something about the number of households to be selected from each of the sample towns. For the present survey 30 sample towns have been selected in which was found to be represented big and small, industrial, commercial and religious centres. From each of the selected towns, households varying in number from 90 to about 600 (depending upon the population of the selected town) will be selected for interviewing and collection of data.

How does the Council propose to obtain these data from the selected households? For this purpose the Council has given very intensive training to [about 90] graduate investigators, men and women, who will be posted in selected towns and cities in India for collecting the required information. They will be instructed to approach the heads of households selected by random process and request them to cooperate in giving them the necessary data to build up estimates of saving. They will record this information in a carefully designed questionnaire. This questionnaire relates to the selected household's demographic characteristics, economic status (salaries, wages, interest received by the household etc.), the forms of household saving (payments to Life Insurance and Provident Fund, purchase of property etc.). The questionnaire also contains questions regarding the views of respondents on such interesting topics as purchase of National Savings Certificates, saving preferences, attitudes towards dowry giving, Five-year Plans etc. If the selected households co-operate whole-heartedly with our trained investigators in giving the required information, the Council, after completion of the Survey, will be able to answer such questions as; "Who are the people who save?", "For what reason do they save?", "In what forms do they keep their saving and how it is being utilised?". From such information it should be possible to know broadly how much of a person's income is being saved and, what is more important the aggregate saving of urban

community as a whole, which is our main objective.

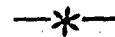
In this context it is worthwhile to note another interesting feature frequently encountered by investigators engaged in any survey of this type. It is our experience that when an investigator visits a particular household, the head of that household sometimes puts him in an awkward position by questioning him why the investigator came to him and not to his neighbour. The investigator cannot substitute another household for the selected household because, if he does so, he would be introducing an element of unrepresentativeness into the sample. In other words a sample of households which the Council has selected on the assumption that it would be representative of all the urban household begins to lose its representative character the moment we substitute some other households desired by their neighbours. It is easy to demonstrate why this happens by recalling our example of housewife purchasing a basket of mangoes. For example, if the seller of mangoes, instead of allowing the housewife to examine a number of mangoes selected by her, forces her to examine some other mangoes selected by him, she would surely resent it because she knows instinctively that this is not the right thing to do, and declare "I can't take a decision to buy on the basis of mangoes you have given me for examination." The same situation is faced in a sample survey and a household selected through random process cannot be substituted by a neighbouring or any other household except at the risk of spoiling the representative character of the selected sample.

The above mentioned non-substitutability of a selected household by another is a very important aspect of the survey and it is sincerely hoped that when the Council's investigators come to a household for collection of data, that household would not ask them to go to its neighbour's house but co-operate with them whole-heartedly. In fact, this survey

should, by no means, be considered as the sole affair of the National Council ; it is a study of national interest and the success of the survey depends upon the full support of the people.

You may perhaps be interested in knowing what this National Council is and what it does. The Council is an independent research body engaged in research on economic problems. It has already completed more than 60 different research projects—some of them at the request of Central or State Governments and some on behalf of private business organisations. Other projects, which are of national importance and which are likely to enhance our knowledge of

existing economic conditions and also contribute to the development of economic thought, are being taken up at the Council's own initiative. Among them the present Saving Survey occupies a high place and has a high priority. If anybody is interested in knowing more either about the status of the National Council or the detailed techniques and methods adopted in selecting sample households or the questionnaire used for obtaining the required information, the Council will be very glad to supply him all the necessary details. The Council hopes very much that everybody will co-operate in this important task of bringing the survey to a successful completion.



Community Development and Sarvodaya

By

SRI JAYAPRAKASH NARAIN

FOR the past few months I have noticed a sort of intensified campaign against the Community Development programme, and its organisation. Without question, shortcomings, here as elsewhere, should be pointed out, and if possible, ways and means suggested to remove them, but the approach must be constructive and one of understanding. Unfortunately, it is just in this respect that the manner of recent criticism has alarmed me.

We of the Survodaya, or Gandhi-Vinoba, movement are also engaged — if we take the sociological aspect of the movement — exactly in the same task, namely Community Development. Gram-samkalpa (in all its moral and material forms), gram-dan, gram-nirman, gram-swaraj are our various approaches to that task. Our effort is voluntary and non-official.

In the past three years or so, serious efforts have been made from both sides to bring the non-official and official programmes together

and to establish between them cooperation and coordination. A certain measure of success has already been achieved. Much more could have been achieved, if the machinery of Government and of our own Sarvodaya organisation were more efficient and sensitive to policies hammered out at top levels. Both sides have, however, failed to develop the process of discussion and education that is needed to create this sensitivity.

Be that as it may, I would place the programme of Community Development on the top of all programmes of national development. For me that includes everything — the creation of a new social order and way of life ; industrialisation ; agricultural development ; education ; health ; employment ; conquest of poverty ; family planning ; and a host of other things.

For me the Ministry of Community Development is of the highest significance. I have had the good fortune of coming into intimate

touch with this Ministry and, without any desire to cause embarrassment to any one, I should like to say that the spirit of dedication, urgency, adventure and drive that I have witnessed could well be a model for all official and non-official efforts.

Those who have intimate personal experience of Community Development work — official or non-official, foreign or Indian — know that it is peculiarly slow-moving. Those who expect quick and spectacular results have no touch with reality.

The whole point of the programme is to create a spirit of common enterprise. Once this is achieved, the progress is fairly rapid. But it is precisely this spirit that is lacking in our community. And to create it requires time, skill and broad understanding. Sometimes, in isolated instances, a revolutionary result is produced by the alchemy of love, service and common sense—but a combination of such virtues is rare in official or even in non-official organisations.

As a result of the accumulated experience of several years it was rightly deduced that one of the ways to create a spirit of common endeavour was to de-officialise the preparation and implementation of development programmes, and to hand over this task to the communities themselves. Thus was born democratic decentralisation, or what is known as Panchayat Raj.

I consider this programme of Panchayat Raj to be the most significant outcome of eight years of Community Development. It should have been the job of the maker of our constitution to take swaraj to the people, to make it real and meaningful to them, to enable them to share in its glow by sharing in its running.

But, alas, these things did not happen. Disenchantment was rapid and wide-spread ; apathy and irresponsibility grew. The situation needed a radical and quick remedy. It is fortunate that the remedy has come, though not as quickly as was needed, and not radical

enough. Yet, a significant beginning has been made.

At the start, Panchayat Raj was conceived of as a device through which public cooperation in development programmes would be stimulated. But the Prime Minister and Shri S. K. Dey soon realised the political import of the innovation, and Pandit Nehru spoke eloquently of its revolutionary nature at the inauguration of the programme in Rajasthan, which has the honour of being the first State to launch upon this bold venture. But even after a year of the inauguration, there seems to be little awareness in the country at large of the revolutionary character of this programme.

Village Panchayats have existed in India for many years, and it is some times thought that this new programme is merely an extension of them. This is not so. The panchayats, as they existed hitherto, had hardly performed any functions of village self-government; they were rather instruments through which the villages came to be controlled by the district bureaucracy and, ultimately, the State (or provincial) Government. So, Panchayat Raj has been generally understood to be not decentralisation of power and administration, but decentralisation of bureaucracy, as I have been told so often by persons who ought to know better.

I am not suggesting that there is no danger of this programme of decentralisation being vulgarised in this manner. Those who have a vested interest in power and position might so distort this whole effort that it might very well end up in fiasco. But there are indications that give some assurance that this would not happen.

First, the Prime Minister and the Community Development Minister are both genuinely anxious to hand over to the people real power and functions, and the necessary resources to make this possible.

Secondly, in the two States, where this programme is actually being implemented, namely Rajasthan and Andhra, there is enough evi-

dence to show that the effort is genuine and sincere. Undoubtedly there are shortcomings and faults in the relevant Acts and Rules, but there is preparedness to learn from experience and to make alterations in favour of the people's power.

The success of this far-reaching experiment which should ultimately revolutionise the form and working of our democracy, depends upon several conditions. Most of all it depends upon a psychological revolution among the people - in the sense that they must be ready psychologically to take the responsibilities of self-government, to subordinate their narrow interests (individual, family, class, caste, etc.) to the common good of the community.

To bring about such an awakening is beyond the competence of the governmental machinery at the lower levels. Political and social workers would help in bringing it about. But their success would depend upon a degree of disinterestedness with which they approach this task.

It is for this reason that I have been suggesting that political parties should place themselves under a self-denying ordinance and keep away from the affairs of the local authorities.

Individual members of political parties may, of course, participate, but only in their individual capacity. Political parties are necessarily centralised organisations and are controlled and guided by their top bodies.

The local institutions of people's self-government must rise from below and be susceptible, not only to the thoughts, desires and needs of the people, but also to their direct control.

These are contradictory forces, and political parties representing, for the present, the stronger force, an encounter between these forces is almost certain to end in the worsting of the people and their local institutions of democracy.

As for social workers-particularly those of rural development agencies and of the Sarvo-

daya persuasion-I feel strongly that Panchayat Raj and the task of bringing about the above psychological revolution are a challenge that they will neglect at the peril of everything they are working for.

A third factor that is certain to distort the working of people's democracy that Panchayat Raj represents is the existence of severe economic and social disparities. A social hierarchy represented by the caste system, marked differences in land-holdings, the great division between the landed and landless elements-these circumstances are bound seriously to defeat the objectives of democratic decentralisation. Mitigation of the caste system is not so much a matter for State action as internal reform of Hindu society; but it is a pity that land-ceiling legislation has been so tardy and so halting and that rural industrialisation has been so badly neglected.

It is my personal view-and I cannot say if Vinobaji will agree with it-that the gramdan movement has created sufficient public opinion for the Government to undertake, by legislation, not re-distribution of land, but "villagisation" of land-ownership, i.e. replacement of individual ownership with the ownership of the village community.

Those who believe in socialism can have no objection to such a policy. And if one were to judge from mere professions, there are far more socialists among the political parties than non-socialists.

I have spoken above of rural industrialisation. This leads me to an idea which, for the present, has received little consideration at the hands of those who are making such devoted efforts towards political decentralisation. This is the idea of economic decentralisation. I do not propose to go into this question here beyond emphasising that, without a programme of economic decentralisation and the development of the institutions and processes of a decentralised economy, political decentralisation, i.e. Panchayat Raj, will be unreal and ineffective. I hope attention will now be turned towards this problem.

Democratic Experiments in Ancient South India

By

Dr. M. AROKIASWAMI, M.A., Ph. D.

MUCH talk is generally heard particularly in these days about democratic institutions. That such institutions existed in every village in early times in South India is generally agreed upon by scholars of every variety. Doubt still lurks in many quarters as to the mode in which they functioned in ancient times, which would indirectly raise the question as to how far they were really democratic. An attempt is made in this short paper to study the working of the democratic institutions of a particular village about which inscriptions deal at great length and in large numbers. As a prelude to it I shall also indicate the fundamentals of the village administrative systems as gleaned from various inscriptional records of the middle ages.

That the village assemblies of South India are perhaps as old as at least the first century of the Christian era is borne out by the Sangam poems, in which the mention of manram and the podiyal often occurs. That this does not refer to the assembly of the king is borne out not only by the context of these poems but also by the learned commentaries they bear. Naccinarkiniyar, for example, always explains the meaning of the term, manram, as "the open space in the centre of the village." After the period of Sangam upto the days of the Pallavas, however no reference is to be found about these village institutions; but that must be due more to the lack of source materials than anything else. It could not be conceived that the democratic institutions that were planted on congenial soil, and in early times, must have suddenly disappeared especially since we hear of them with renewed vigour when the inscriptions begin to speak. It would, on the other hand, appear that these democratic institutions always formed the irrevocable

substratum of the administrative system of South India and they remain so to this day.

The earliest reference that is unmistakably to the village sabha in inscriptions is from roughly 800 A.D. and they belong to both the Pallavas and the Pandyas. The importance of the Uttaramerur inscriptions is that it is from them that we get the first reference to the working of the sabha, the method of election, the election of committees, the variyams as they are called, the qualifications for election to them etc. These records are both Pallava and Cola, ranging from the period of the later Pallavas and the Colas of imperial times ranging from the IX to the XIII century.

Before we proceed to understand what these inscriptional records impart to us by way of knowledge, we must try to grasp the general political set-up of the ancient South Indian village. These epigraphs of the middle ages refer to Ur, the Sabha, the Mahasabha, the nadu, and the nagaram as the various deliberative bodies of ancient municipal administration. For easy understanding we may define the Ur as the general village assembly of the non-Brahmadeya village, the sabha, that of the Brahmadeya village, the Mahasabha was perhaps the combination of both the Ur and the Sabah (though inscriptions sometimes refer to the Mahasabha and for the Ur separately in the same village;) the nadu was the assembly of the nadu or the taluk and the nagaram was the assembly of merchants, who preponderated in certain villages. Thus we have a reference in inscriptions to the nagaram of Conjeevaram in the words "Eyirkottatu-nagaram-Kancipuram."

Scholars are however of the opinion that all but the Sabha did not matter in the administration of the Village, the others devoting greater attention to one or the other of the

functions of the Village, sometimes economic, sometimes religious, and sometimes mere matter of social interest like arranging for a dance etc. In the larger division, the nadu naturally the nattar or members of the assembly of the nadu did the work of the Sabha in the Village. But the Kings particularly the Pallavas, the Pandyas and the early Colas left the Sabha to its initiative more than any other assembly. An inscription of the Pandyan King, Maran Sadaiyan, (c. 800 A.D.) thus refers to the calling together of an assembly like the Sabha: "We the members of the Mahasabha of Manailainallur summoned the great assembly by beat of drums." Later Cola records however refer to royal orders communicating certain rules regulating the qualification of members and the procedure in the Sabha, indicating thereby that in these days the Village assemblies were becoming more and more controlled by the Centre and often times the rules and regulations changed from Sabha to Sabha.

The Uttaramerur, lying in the modern district of Chingleput, some fifty miles to the S.W. of Madras we have not less than 100 inscriptions engraved on its seven temples, the temples of Vaikuntaperumal, Sundaravaradaperumal, Subramaniya, Kailasanatha, Kolambesvara, Irattaitaligaesvara and Madariamman. Of these not less than 60 bear on the constitution and the working of the local Sabha. The name Uttaramerur itself seems to refer to an old ruler going by the name of Uttarameru, who had given the Village as a Brahmadeya in some undated time certainly earlier than the VII century to which the first inscription on these temple walls refers. It is not possible to whom exactly the name refers. South India from the III to the V century A.D. is enveloped in such darkness so far as her history is concerned that it is impossible to identify many things belonging to this period. We are at any rate certain that this was the period of many chieftains from the north usurping the sceptres and the thrones of many a ruler of the south, popularly known as the

period of the Kalabhras, Uttarameru was probably one such ruler.

In the first place we learn from these records that this Village possessed besides its seven temples at least, twelve streets (mentioned in the inscription as *ceris*), with bazaars (one record refers to the people of the north bazaar, (*vadakilangadi*), and (upstairs houses (*madavidiyar*), with a huge tank (the famous *Vairameghatadaga*) and palaces of the king, referred to in ruins to-day as *Rajamedu* and *Maligaimedu* in the West of the modern Village. The tank of the place now found at least one mile away from the Uttaramerur Village seems to be the vestige of the old *tadagam* celebrated in inscriptions. If this be accepted, it ought to give us an idea as to how big the old village must have been and to what an extent it has shrunk to-day from its old proportions.

Uttaramerur, though mainly a Brahmadeya, seems to have allowed many non-Brahmans also to settle within its limits, since in earlier inscriptions we have reference not only to the Sabha but also to the Ur, though in later times the latter sinks into insignificance. Thus in the XV year of the Cola Parantaka I it is recorded that the Ur sold some lands to two temples. But it is always clear from our inscriptions that the Ur was always subordinate to the Sabha. There is found no single instance in the whole range of Uttaramerur inscriptions that any time the Ur acted independently of the Sabha. This is a point to be noted since in all such villages where the Sabha and the Ur acted together they have always acted conjointly.

The Sabha of Uttaramerur sold land, accepted and undertook to carry out an endowment, apportioned the duties of the Ur and its executive, the *alunganattar*, appointed the *variaperumakkal* to assay gold, to look after the Village tank, to control the temple administration etc. These committees seem to have functioned for one year every time and the

tank committee is often referred to as the "annual tank committee." The election to the Pon-variya (gold committee) is thus described in one of these inscriptions: "4 from the *madavidi*, 2 from the *senai* and three from *sankarapadi* all chosen by the method of *kudavolai* (pot-tickets)." Besides thus giving us the manner and the method of election to these sabhas and the committees, the same record gives us an idea of what was meant by these peculiar committees known as gold committees. It would appear that in early times no one was sure about pure gold and its alloy and it was necessary to have a committee of experts to whom gold could be brought for testing whenever there was some doubt about the purity of gold in transactions. This was particularly so with regard to temple donations which were pouring in every day. This committee was appointed for this purpose and it assayed gold by testing it on wax. It is not possible to say more on this; but we are sure about this much that the wax thus used was given over after some time, when it had possibly accumulated to the tank-committee. To what use they had put this wax we cannot again say with confidence. The duties of other committees need no explanation here. They bear out their own meaning.

One is struck by the numerous functions carried out by the Sabha of Uttaramerur, Agriculture, temple affairs, laying of roads, education, levy of and exemption from taxes, the buying of lands, the protection of the Village Common, distribution and assignment of land to particular individuals—these and many more fell within the purview of this assembly. It is remarkable that private charity often came and added to the finances of the Sabha very considerably and even if some money was necessary for capital outlay it was always available from the temple funds. Thus in the reign of Parantaka Cola the necessity of drinking water supply became essential to the Village. This was immediately attended to with the help of the income from a private

endowment that had been invested at 15% per annum and this work was supervised by the tank-committee. We have also evidence of the Sabha borrowing from the temple, since an inscription found on these temple walls speaks of the repayment of a debt to the temple by the alienation of some land. The sale-deed signed by the *pottakam* and *vari* of the Sabha indicates that the Sabha had so much land to manage that it had its own *Karnam* and manager or *maniagar*.

Agriculture was naturally the first concern of this assembly, since that was the mainstay of the people and the Sabha itself was the biggest land-owner of the Village. Thus was built the *Vairameghatadaka*, which is said to have been kept in good repair by the silt being removed every year by the money given to the Sabha by a private donor.¹ That the silt was removed by the use of boats is seen from another inscription which records the donation of 100 *kalanju* of gold for the use of "a second boat." When a road became useless, since it was submerged under water, the Sabha is said to have decided to renew the road. This task was assigned to the garden committee and an officer called "*Ur-melninratiruvadi*" which meant perhaps "the person interested in the affairs of the Village."

Most of the records of Uttaramerur deal with endowments to the temple, which thus became vast sources of wealth and charged with onerous responsibilities. They were in ancient times "fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition-sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one." One of the most important things done by the temple was to ensure the education of the people under the supervision and control of the Sabha. Many of the schools maintained were, however, religious schools mostly meant for the Brahmins. This is understandable, since the village was predominantly a Brah-

1. All inscriptions of the Village are in A. R. E. 1898.

man village. The Vedas, particularly the White Yajur and the Black Yajur, the vyakarna and mimamsa philosophy, the nyayabhashya, the recital of the hymns and subjects of like variety were those chiefly patronised in these schools. The Mathal another educational institution of the period, is also mentioned in these records. Certain subjects of study were endowed by private persons and sometimes by the assembly itself. Thus the Sabha of Uttarmerur often endowed what is called "Vyakarna-sastra-vritti." A lady by name Sannaiccani endows a 'bhattacha' (teaching-endowment) placed under the supervision of her younger brother, Narayana-datta-bhatta, his descendants and the Mahasabha. No one who had a share in the village lands was also to participate in the endowment. In effect, however, it must have been enjoyed only by those who were well-up in religious lore, knowing at least one of the Vedas, with Vyyakarna and the two darsans of the Mimamsa with a proficiency in Nrttabhashya etc.—qualifications that nearly take one's breath away.

There were accepted methods of election and stated qualifications for election to this assembly and to its various committees from at least the times of Pallava Dantivarman. But they appear to have been put into form in the time of the Cola Parantaka I, from whose time the variyams begin to function regularly. Generally it was expected that intending members to the assembly were to know at least one Veda and were to be of a uniformly good character. Persons nominated for election to the committees should not have served on them during the three years preceding their standing again. They should not be even close relations of those who had thus served. This latter rule is singularly meaningful, though at first sight it appears unreasonable. In a country and at a time when the system of joint-family was the order of the day, such a rule was found necessary, though later on

according to changing conditions the same was changed and modified.

The actual method of election is highly controverted. The record in question*¹ speaks of thirty tickets being collected from the kudumbas (clans or families) of which the first twelve selected would form the annual committee, one representing each of the 12 series, the next 12 would form the garden-committee and the remaining 6, the tank-committee. Possibly the same method was adopted for the constitution of the other committees as well. But it is not clear as to what exactly is meant by the term 'kudumbu'; nor is it clear as to how the one ticket was collected from each kudumbu and how the 12 selected would represent the 12 streets or series.

The Sabha of this village seems to have been left to itself to all intents and purposes without interference from the Centre and in all the records found at this place only three, two of Parantaka and one of Kulottunga III, refer to such interference. The constitution and the kind of village administration here portrayed are what is generally described as the democratic system of ancient times. While democracy is a comparatively modern conception as it is understood to-day and there could be nothing of the kind that the modern democrat would expect in the transactions of this assembly what could be claimed for it is that it helped the growth of self-help and continuity of administration, since whatever be the changes at the Centre, the village carried on its own government finishing that which has been begun and carry on old traditions almost unaffected by what has happened to the reigning king. This was in itself a great advantage especially when viewed in the background of conditions in modern democratic countries where the Government runs the danger of being changed with every cock-crow of selection and the growth of new parties.

1. A. R. E., 1899, paras, 52-75; See also A. S. I., 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.

Has Gandhism Failed?

By

PROF. K. C. JENA, M.A.

MAHATMA Gandhi must be considered as the greatest man that the first half of the 20th century created. No other man has ever influenced the current of history as deeply and extensively as he has done. Yet, he claimed no fixed religion or sect as his own. It may be an error to talk of some thing as Gandhism, possibly there can be nothing as Gandhian philosophy or Gandhism in the widest context of the terms. Gandhiji himself declared; "there is no such thing as Gandhism and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the central truths to our daily life and problems. The opinions I have formed and conclusions I have arrived at are not final. I may change them to-morrow. I have nothing to teach to the world."

Thus Gandhiji was too modest to claim any rank or position among the philosophers or original thinkers of the world. None-the-less he is considered by the present generation as one of the most profound and important of all the thinkers of the present century. Even though, some of his ideas were not original but the method in which he moulded them and put in practice exhibit that supreme sense of ability which cannot be inferior to the capacity of any other original thinker. The idea that the Gandhian ideas had already been thought of before hence Gandhiji was not an original thinker is not wholly correct. In certain cases like the problem of the un-touchables, non-violence, international brotherhood and freedom of the individual as well as of the nations do deserve special study from the Gandhian approach. So, all "the experiments" which Gandhiji carried on and declared; "You will not call it Gandhism; there is no ism about it;" do deserve to be named as a separate creed as different from the other doctrines which the 20th century is familiar of.

Gandhiji was a practical man. All his importance lay in action and unlike other men of ideas he did not confine his activities only on the arena of thought. This difference in him from other philosophers and thinkers put him on a peculiar and different plane. Men like Leo Tolstoy had admired the activities of Gandhiji and had said of him; "your work—seems to be away from the center of the world, is yet the most fundamental and the most important to us supplying the most weighty practical proof in which the world can now share and with which must participate not only the Christians but all the peoples of the world." Such a man who believed in the essential goodness of all men and fought to enlighten all men could not have been devoid of a higher ism for in the absence of such a lofty basis the whole structure of any principle would fall in to pieces. True indeed that Gandhiji was more particular about the immediate problems and his understanding of the situation was mainly influenced by the urgency of the situation, but he had never forgotten the ideals of humanism and divine spirit. Those who attacked Gandhian principles and denied to credit them with any high degree of prestige on the ground that what all could be said as Gandhism was a mixture of political exigency with diplomatic intelligence grossly misunderstood the higher novelty on which Gandhiji was formulating his ideas.

Due to the tremendous influence that Gandhi had played in the life of a nation and through that in the life of international society we are bound to accept Gandhiji as a preacher of a new ism which in no sense can be lower in dignity or status to many of the other isms. The striking difference in the method of Gandhiji and those of others was that he was combining his principles with the practical life. The idea of the cottage industry might not have been rational in an industrially advanced

country but it had a definitely high role to play in a back-ward country. It is doubtful whether Gandhiji could have said such a thing as he did in favour of small scale and cottage industries had he been born in an industrially advanced country or even in the present India. In another case also it can be found how Gandhiji was more near to the reality than to be merely an abstract philosopher. The idea of segregation which is still a problem in an advanced country like America could be so calmly and easily tackled by Gandhiji. Besides the moral and religious principles that might or might not have been involved in the issue he realised the practical importance of the problem and he felt that unless religion and politics are associated there will be no escape from the unescapable vicious circle. Sometimes the Gandhian ideas pose logical inconsistencies and make the situations difficult to comprehend. Some of his ideas were out of place in a scientific world. For instance, few people can believe with Gandhiji to-day that 'the mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gave us birth. Our mothers give us milk for a couple of years and then expect us to serve her when we grow up.' In this respect it can be pointed out that there is a subtle difference between the Gandhian attachment to the cow and Hinduism and what Albert Schweitzer terms as "respect for life."

Such difficulties are bound to exist in a principle of Gandhian nature. Gandhiji's philosophy itself belonged to a different kind. His philosophy was not of the inhuman type which may concern with mere scientific knowledge. His was a philosophy concerned with man and his morals. Gandhiji was unprepared to believe that the external improvements were insufficient to make any substantial moral development in man. As Dr. Radhakrishnan had remarked that a monkey who is taught to ride a cycle, drink from a glass and do certain curious things is still a monkey; similarly the technical trainings of man do not imply any

inner progress. This high idealism to differentiate the baser man from the nobler makes the whole philosophy of Gandhiji un-understandable by many. And not surprisingly there are many who are unprepared to name Gandhism as a separate and more so as a practicalism in the modern world. Civilization, as the material body of culture is the product of those who have considerable needs and they attain theirs in the simplicity of language and action. Philosophical ambiguity and complexity need play no role in the domain of thought and action. The modern philosophers and preachers are expected to be as straight and simple as possible. In case of Gandhiji in certain cases he became too profound to be understood. People of lower calibre and doubtful attitude were unable to understand the real meaning of saying as Gandhiji said; "my creed of non-violence is an extremely active force. It has no room for cowardice or room for weakness. There is hope for a violent man to be some day non-violent but not for a coward—we must if we are men, be at least able to defend—by fighting." again; "the world is not entirely governed by logic. Life itself involves some kind of violence, and we have to choose the path of least resistance."

Thus all these difficulties and certain uncertainties raised obvious problems in Gandhian ideology. These kinds of problems were not rare in the philosophies of other thinkers of the world. For example even in the thinking of such thinkers as Jesus or Socrates obvious problems and doubts were definitely there. It has taken many centuries for their ideas to be fully understood or realised. But the peculiarity of Gandhism lay in the fact that much of Gandhian ideologies have faced terrible resistance immediately after his death and that too making the whole of Gandhism a matter of a semi-farce like situation. Even in India and those who had been so close followers of Gandhism we have discovered a serious lack of sympathy and comprehension of the real understanding

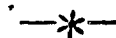
of the teachings of the great master. From such an angle it becomes obvious to feel that Gandhism has either failed or facing a serious trial.

The Gandhian idea of the cottage industry the safety of the cow and other problems where he had joined the socio-economic issues with morality and religion we have found the worst inconsistencies. The whole economy of the cottage industry has been proved to be a failure and it will be impossible for India to think of the way to return to the village or the cottage industries. It is impossible both in terms of international trade as well as internal consumption level that the cottage industries in India and in any country whatever its economic conditions may will be suitable in the present technical field. Wisely therefore the Govt. of India have discarded the Gandhian approach to the economy of India. In certain cases the attempts to eye-wash the problems, the Govt. of India have tried to retain and revive certain cottage industries like the Palm gur and the Ambar Charka and sooner they free themselves from the taboo the better will be the situation.

The most important ideological contribution of Gandhiji was his love for non-violence and love for international brotherhood. In the arena of Gandhian philosophy no other aspect may stand as boldly and greatly as this particular aspect. And unfortunately Gandhism has suffered the worst in establishing any kind of brotherhood. Leave alone the position of the world, even in India the country which experimented Gandhism for the first time, failed to realise the gravity of non-violence and peace. The present experiences of the different parts of the country impresses a feeling that the people of India themselves are un-

prepared to follow the path of Gandhiji. The blood thirst of the communalists and other lovers of sectarian feelings are the least mindful about the Gandhian ideals of 'live and let live others.' The present inability of the Indian people in many aspects of national and social life make it visibly clear that Gandhism has failed. The political dishonesty, social unrest and lack of proper understanding of the higher ideals of life have made Gandhiji an utopian and his ideals impossible to implement. It may take a good deal of argument to come to a definite conclusion whether Gandhism has failed or not, or it has not been actually given a chance to play its role.

From the different aspects of the study of Gandhism it can be said that the high ideals of Gandhiji are not given a fair chance to be put into practice. It is a different question to consider whether such a possibility is probable or not. But the fact remains that the modern world is unprepared for taking the risk of taking mankind again backward. Such a retreat to the 'back to nature' may be the only method to save mankind from the impending danger from the international and national planes, but the whole process may not be feasible at all, this makes the position of Gandhism an impracticable dogma like idealism. It becomes easy to assess the weakness of Gandhism and assert that as a working principle it has to face serious difficulties and this may lead to complete failure of Gandhism. There may be a future when Gandhism may again be revived but as it is, from the Indian experience and the world out-look it is easy to feel that Gandhism has lost much of its claimed validity and it has become an obvious question; Has Gandhism Failed ?



"Inexplicable" Incidents in Valmiki Ramayana

By

Sri C. V. NARAHARI RAO, M.A., B.L.

(I)

I should think that Valmiki went on composing the Ramayana as visions of Rama's story came to his mind through Brahma's grace. If in certain places he makes philosophical discourses or attempts to teach any moral, he generally puts these words in the mouth of some character in the story. In this particular instance it seems to me that Valmiki is quite explicit and makes Indra give the following reason to sage Sarabhanga: "Rama is coming.* It is not proper that he should see me now. He has to finish his purpose (task) first; then he can see me. I shall see him when very soon he will become victorious (over Ravana) and his task is accomplished. A great deed, which cannot be accomplished by anybody else, still remains to be done by him. It is only after that we can meet (properly)."

It seems to me that Indra's embarrassment on the occasion was quite natural. Rama was coming there as a human and in the garb of a forest-dweller, having renounced his kingdom, while he (Indra) had come there surrounded by his pomp and splendour and some gods and rishis were surrounding him and paying due obeisance to him. If Rama should come, Indra should step down and pay his homage to the real Lord of the Worlds, and he will therefore be affirming to everybody present there that Rama was Sri Vishnu Himself. The sages in the Dandakaranya by virtue of their yogic powers might have already known the secret of Rama's birth, but Rama had to keep up the appearance that he was just a mortal. Very rarely he wishes to publicise himself as a

divine person. Ravana had obtained the boon that he could not be killed by anybody, but he forgot to enumerate a human among his adversaries. Indra therefore rightly observed that before the purpose of Rama's avatara was fulfilled the identity of Rama with Sri Vishnu need not be revealed to the world at odd moments. He had come to rishi Sarabhanga at Brahma's bidding to take the sage to Brahmaloka and this mission had nothing to do with Rama's present life and presently of his entry into the Dandakaranya. He takes care to inform Sarabhanga confidentially who really Rama is and why he was coming there and then goes away before Rama arrives.

No useful purpose could have been served by Indra's meeting Rama at the moment. Even if he had stayed to meet Rama, what could they have only formally reminded Rama about his great purpose and Rama on his part could have made the necessary re-assurance.

Indra had very soon to play his part in the Ramayana story. He was of great service in two crucial moments. The first occasion is mentioned, not in the Valmiki Ramayana, but in "Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya" by Sri Madhvacharya, author of the Dwaita system of Hindu philosophy. Sri Madhva's versions or commentaries are based on the text of the Moola Ramayana. In Chapter V Slokhas 37-39 he mentions that when Ravana tried to abduct Sita she created an image of herself from Agni and leaving it in the parnasala went away to Kailasa to stay temporarily with Parvati and Paramesvara, knowing by her powers that Rama could not join her till he vanquished Ravana. In the image left her by Indra entered and gave life to it. It was this Sita image that Ravana carried off. An amsa of

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Indra continued to live in this image till Rama killed Ravana and sent word to Sita from the Asoka grove. The true Sita now presented herself!

Indra again made himself useful at a crucial stage in the fight between Rama and Ravana—See Chapters 103 and 104 of Valmiki's Uddha Kanda. The rakshasa mounted a new chariot and attacked Rama. Rama was standing on the ground and fighting. The devas, dhanavas and kinnaras who were witnessing the scene unanimously declared that it was an unequal and unrighteous combat. Even as they were discussing a chariot arrived and descended from the sky in front of Rama. It was Indra's own chariot which Rama had seen at the Sarabhanga ashramam. Indra had sent it through his charioteer Maatali along with his own bow, a coat of armour and some powerful arrows and a mighty Sakti weapon for Rama's use. At the time when his own arrows proved unavailing to counteract the spool discharged by Ravana, Rama had to resort to the help of this Sakti weapon. Later, prompted by Maatali, Rama sent the Brahmastra against Ravana which finally put an end to his life. After his victory Rama sent back Maatali with Indra's chariot, duly paying him sufficient honours for his great services.

II

Another incident in the Valmiki Ramayana which Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer calls "inexplicable" is the following: "The story of the despatch of huge search parties in all directions of the globe when it was definitely known by both Sugriva and Rama that Sita had been carried away by Ravana towards the south."

We find all too commonly in our own experience that a thief who steals something may purposely run in one direction after the commission of the offence to mislead people but ultimately may seek a safe hide out in an altogether different place. He may or may not keep what he has stolen in the place

where he resides but in some unknown spot not ordinarily in his opinion accessible to others. What if Ravana, who is an Asura and capable of various kinds of maya, had kept Sita hidden in some unknown place, anywhere on the globe? Time was running out fast and only a year or so remained out of the fourteen years of exile, within which Sita had to be found, Ravana killed, Sita redeemed and Rama had to return to Ayodhya to keep his promise to Bharata who had resolved to immolate himself in the fire if Rama did not return on the day the term of exile was over. Only a month's time had been allowed to the search parties to bring news about Sita. What a waste of time it would have been if the search party had gone only towards the south but Ravana had by means of his maya kept her concealed in some distant place even in some other "dweepa"?

By way of abundant precaution, if not prudence, to counteract the vagaries of the rakshasas and to save time, I believe, the search parties were sent out by Sugriva in all directions and leave out no nook or corner.

To revert to the analogy of the theft, when a crime takes place in his realm, it is the duty of the king to order his vigilance men to make a search everywhere and try to get back the stolen property. Sugriva must have followed this Raja Neethi. At any rate Rama intended this Raja Dharma to be laid down by suggesting to Sugriva such a course of action. Rama too was a king in his own right, but now in exile. The great purpose of the Rama avatara was not only to protect the righteous from the menace of the rakshasas but to establish dharmic rules for the benefit of mankind.

Above all we should remember that the whole Ramayana is a leela of the Almighty God. Could not Rama, who was His avatara have known where exactly Sita was? Should he grieve for the loss of his wife? Could he not in a moment finish off Ravana and get her back? But having been born as a man,

* Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer has commented in his "Valmiki Ramayana," "It is also not made known why Indra did not want to meet Rama when he was about to take leave of Sarabhanga."

he must act the part as a human, subject to all its weakness, but by his example he could prove himself as the best among them and unequalled. He was verily a Prince who was God. Dharmic principles could best be brought home to the people when their ideal hero himself sets an example [by following them. As the orthodox put it Rama's many deeds which seem anything unlike of God are to be treated as "loka vidambanartham."

III

Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer calls it inexplicable or strange that "in the Valmiki Ramayana neither Bharata nor Janaka is informed of Sita's abduction and no assistance is sought from them. They were left wholly ignorant that such a crucial event had taken place".

In the first place, wherefrom was Rama to find a messenger in the forest to convey the tidings to Bharata or Janaka? Almost every encounter with a rakshasa in the Dandakaranya forest was a crucial event and was Rama expected to keep up a regular contact with Ayodhya or Mithila regarding his doings and misfortunes? Furthermore if he were to seek assistance in his troubles from either or both places would his act be consistent with the fulfilment of his promise to his father or Kaikeyi to live in exile?

When Kaikeyi asked for the grant of the two boons from Dasaratha that Bharata should be made king and Rama should go to the Dandakaranya for fourteen years she did not mean by the latter that the comforts of the palace should be transferred to the spot where Rama would reside in the forest nor that the entire population should leave Ayodhya and go and live with their hero Rama in the forest. Kaikeyi had told Rama very plainly that he should go to the Dandakaranya as a hermit live there in bark clothes and matted hair and that Bharata should rule over Kosala with all its luxuries, wealth, horses, chariots, elephants etc. In fact when Dasaratha wanted his mini-

ster Sumantra to arrange to provide some royal convenience to Rama in the forest, the attempt was loudly deprecated by Kaikeyi who retorted that she did not ask for a deserted or impoverished Ayodhya to be left for Bhrata to rule over. Rama too felt that it was not right that many citizens should follow him to the forest to live with him there and so when they had followed him to some distance he resorted to a stratagem at the dead of night when the tired citizens were fast asleep by disappearing stealthily, contriving to live a confused mass of prints of his chariot wheels on the ground.

Rama was very particular that his father's word to Kaikeyi should be carried out faithfully both literally and in spirit, at whatever cost. Kaikeyi had forbidden the sending of any money, men or servants to be of assistance to him in the forest. Could Rama therefore now ask for the assistance of the royal army to invade Lanka and conquer Ravana? He could not do it with any sense of honour, as the upholder and teacher of dharma by his own example. He could not request his friends or relatives to come and help him in the forest, although a calamity had befallen him. He was, of course, at liberty to make the best of any resources the forest could offer him, independent of anything that his royal connections could get him. Apart from his brother Lakshmana the only other persons who could guide him in the region were the rishis living in the ashramas scattered all over the Dandakaranya. One rishi after another in fact directed him what to do next. In the course of his search and wanderings he was finally led to the Rishyamukha hill where he entered into a pact with Sugriva who had the support of Hanuman. Consequently the whole vanara army came to Rama's assistance in the war against Ravana.

According to tradition these vanaras were gods who had taken their present birth only for the sake of rendering service to Rama in

his crusade against the rakshasa tribe. We should not imagine that they were like the ordinary monkeys that we see now. Sugriva was Surya's son and Hanuman Vayu's son. The whole scheme had been pre-ordained. These mighty vanaras who were individually possessed of a great giant's personality and a god's strength were certainly more capable of rendering real assistance to Rama than what the human armies of Bharata and Janaka could not have made a match for the wily and

powerful rakshasas. Rama knew the relative merits of both kinds of armies and sought what was more useful to him for the achievement of his object. In this avatara of Rama the several gods were very much personally interested, for they were subject to much hardship and persecution at the hands of the wicked Ravana, and so in the garb of vanaras they provided the army for Rama's campaign. Really Rama required no assistance from any other quarter.

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India, Tibet and China

By

Mr. P. M. MENON

Being a full supporter of peace and the policy of neutralism, India succeeded in gaining a name. Her ardent faith in the principles of coexistence and in peace is being appreciated everywhere on earth. Countries like Egypt, Indonesia and Yugoslavia have a tendency to call themselves neutrals and to follow the principles of coexistence. Thus India gets moral support from these countries for her policy of neutralism. India's effort to bring an end to the Korean war was described as "one of the prime factors which had smoothed the way toward an armistice¹". So are her efforts in Indo-China. India's relations with the South East Asian countries can thus be said, to be based on her ardent love for peace and maintenance of their independence. No country, whether it is small or big doubted India's sincerity towards her commitments. India's neighbours, particularly, small countries like Ceylon, Nepal, or Burma never doubted India of having an aggressive intention towards them. Even in her problems with neighbouring countries, she always adhered to the peaceful ways for settlements. She never used physical threats or economic sanctions to bring advantage on her side. Hence India achieved her moral position among the various powerful nations of the world.

But before India's independence, there existed a strong policy towards her neighbours. As in the case of the English people they always thoroughly observed the various chan-

ges in the neighbouring countries of India, like Tibet, China and Afghanistan. For they believed that the internal changes in these countries would have some implications on the strategy of this country. When things turned unfavourable for India's security they intervened in such matters with a view to improving them so that they might not affect India's security. When the recent developments in Tibet and its impact on India's security are taken into consideration, it does not appear awkward to look at the old policy of watching the developments in the neighbouring countries. But in the light of Panch Sheel, such a policy cannot be justified as this policy was first introduced to the world jointly by the two big countries of South East Asia, India and China. But to the greatest disappointment to the sponsors of this policy in India, this was discarded by China and she intruded into our northern frontier and occupied a large part of Ladak. Still India thinks in high esteem about the principles of Panch Sheel. Today India is overwhelmed by the fame she has got as a result of following Panch Sheel, but when one assesses the material gain this has brought for India, he will be shocked. In the case of China, Panch Sheel camouflaged her aggressive intentions, and still she preaches peace behind it. China gained both morally and materially, but India lost materially though gained morally. Thus the internal fame India is enjoying is at a big cost of surrendering her territory to the invader.

1. The United States and India, 'American Asian Tension' p-7

Instances show that timely approach to big problems is the most apt solution for them. A delayed approach bearing in mind the principles similar to that of Panch Sheel, may lead to national loss. People who speak for peace, at any cost, may not appreciate this, but never in the world a country sacrificed its national interests for peace.

At the opening of the 10th General Assembly, V. K. Krishna Menon said: "Without meaning any offence, I would say, representing a country that is not an atomic power, that does not believe in the balance of power doctrine, that does not believe that preparation for war creates peace or that war creates peace, that even if the Soviet Union and the United States were to agree that they should have atomic weapons, we would not think that that would be good enough for the world²".

But it is the balance of power—the possession of atomic weapons by both America and Russia which prevents a major war. In the case of America, she has had a history of non-aggression. But, in the case of Russia, her past history was of aggression, and she still has a desire for forcing her influence on other countries. That was what happened in Hungary. The fate of East European countries is depending largely on Russia's good offices. If America had been far behind in her readiness for war with Russia the fate of Yugoslavia and West Germany would have been entirely different. Security of a nation cannot be maintained as long as powerful aggressors exist, without adopting balance of power theory. That is what history taught us. In the case of small countries, they join together to maintain the balance of power and their independence. In India's case itself, when Pakistan wanted to strengthen her war forces, India was very anxious to take immediate steps to strengthen herself. The steps India took to strengthen her was nothing but an application of the balance of power theory. It is quite abstruse as to how the people of a country, when they are surrounded by hostile neighbours can have lack of faith in balance of power theory. It is this lack of belief in balancing India's might with China that spurred China to encroach upon the territories of India, for which the people have to blame the policy of self-immolation for principles. Peace is a necessity for human beings but it does not mean that we should surrender a part of our country. The repercussions of the

denouncement of balance of power theory are thus quite visible in the case of India.

"Despite her lack of military might she could not be conquered and could face any danger, she relied on herself and no one else. Countries which joined power blocs lost their identity" ³ our Prime Minister declared at the Asian African Conference. But one really wonders what actually happened in spite of these beliefs. India of course is having her own identity, but the greatest pity is her lack of might. India has got the necessary resources to become a powerful nation, by utilizing the nuclear energy for defence purposes. But what is required is a change in the policy to understand the seriousness of the situation that India is confronting today. It is true that she relies on herself, but what she will do to throw back her Chinese friends from the occupied territory of Ladak? How she is going to face the situation—the liberation of the occupied areas of Ladak? They are to be seen. India attained freedom in 1947. Still why Goa is continuing to be a part of Portugal? I have no delicacy to state that India is facing these problems by following an escapist policy. As long as the present policy continues there may not be any hope of liberating these parts of India. All these are due to India's lack of might. Look at Pakistan, nobody encroaches on her territory, for she gives a prompt retaliation to any such attempt. Yet we can hope that despite our lack of might, we can face any situation!

Today India requires protection, for her internal development. The feeling of the people is entirely different from that of the government; they find less security against foreign invasion. India's capacity to face or for a second strike against the well equipped war-minded militia of China is unreliable. For being a lover of peace India did not bother much for equipping the military with upto-date weapons. Indian soldiers are not second to anybody else in the world, but their courage and war-mindedness should be kept on alert by equipping them with upto-date arms. Instead they hear the song of peace and the principles directed to 'peace at any cost.' The Chinese could capture the guards who were patrolling the Ladak area without much efforts, for they were poorly equipped and the ammunition was not sufficient to continue firing. It was not their fault, for the country

3. The Asian African Conference, p. 23, (George McTurnan Kahin).

did not realise the danger that was approaching in spite of several indications! But in the case of the Chinese, they are in a fighting mood, they fought in Korea, Indochina and Tibet, and are equipped with modern weapons. What step can we take to refrain China from intrusion? The most effective step is a counter attack to liberate the occupied Ladak, for which India will have to make military preparations. For "the more the victims damage producing capacity exceeds the minimum the aggressor can accept, the more reluctant will he be to undertake the risk of attack." ⁴ In India's case, it failed to create in our neighbour's mind that India will never tolerate intrusions, however small it may be, and any such action will meet with retaliation. General Kariappa expressed the same feelings but his opinion was denounced. For there always exists the satisfaction "Despite her lack of military might she could not be conquered and could face any danger".

The Chinese attack on India would never have taken place provided India showed some interest in the internal developments of Tibet. It does not mean India should interfere in her internal affairs, but India could have saved herself from the humiliation caused by the Chinese attack. In the case of Tibet, she never liked Chinese suzerainty, and requested for help from the democracies of the world, but nobody listened to that, for everybody was in a mood to accept China's suzerainty over Tibet a status "Tibetan Government and people frequently challenged and repudiated." ⁵ When Tibet fell into Chinese hands, freedom and democracy received a severe blow, and when Tibet is being used as a base against India, the fate of democracy is put to a test. If it is to survive, India and the free world will have to fight, and Indians will have to think in terms of war. If we are prepared for a war with China, it will make her retreat from a risk for which there will never be a gain for her. This change of attitude towards China from Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai to war for war will make her understand the

4. Glenn H. Snyder, Balance of Power in the Missile Age, Journal of International Affairs, Vol. XIV, 1960, p. 24.

5, 6. Committee for Solidarity with Tibet—A Few Facts, p. 5 & p. 8.

seriousness of the game that she intends to play. To quote from the Report of the Committee for Solidarity with Tibet again "Even today in their hour of trial and agony they are looking to India for succour. It is therefore a pity that India can do so very little to help this unhappy and unfortunate country." ⁶ It is true that India cannot do anything now to help them for India was never late to accept China's dictatorship over Tibet ignoring the feeling of the Tibetans.

What led India to the present situation? It is the belief that "Nothing is going to happen and let us sing the song of peace and nothing will happen." ⁷ India's over confidence in the sincerity of her neighbouring countries and the policy of denouncement of military alliances and utilization of nuclear energy for defence purposes along with balance of power theory can be said as the reasons. When China has no difficulty to intrude into Indian territory, one can easily find the lack of enthusiasm she shows to liberate Formosa through war. For she is afraid of the might of the 7th fleet of America. China will never like war provided she finds that the opponent is not at all weak. India's strength to meet Chinese attack is not at all sufficient, and if India thinks it is sufficient and as long as the U.N. exists there is nothing to worry, the border incidents will continue. If India can channelise the knowledge of her nuclear scientists to military uses, India can withstand any threat from outside. For the "capacity virtually to destroy the opponent's economy and society even after the opponent has had the advantage of the first strike" ⁸ can bring a success. In other words the attainment of balance of power "has been, rather, a way of maintaining the independence of States." ⁹

7. Military Alliances (Excerpts from Prime Minister Nehru's speeches in the Parliament, 1954-56.), p. 2.

8. Glenn H. Snyder, Balance of power in the Missile Age, Journal of International Affairs, Vol. XIV, 1960, p. 26.

9. Edward V. Gullick—Our Balance of power System in perspective, Journal of International Affairs, Vol. XIV, 1950, p. 17.

2. New York Times, Oct. 5, 1955

Women in Medieval India

By
Kum. S. ROY

WOMEN enjoyed high status in every field of life in ancient India. But the wheel of time turned and, with the invasion of India by foreigners, followed the gradual deterioration of the position of women in India. The situation continued for nearly three hundred years till the British rule was established which again gave an impetus for national awakening among the women folk.

The early years of medieval period in India were marked by constant invasions. This resulted in the total breakdown of social institutions. Economic depression and insecurity of life followed which were mainly responsible for the downfall of the status of women in society. With the conquest of Muslims over Indian territory, Purdha System came in vogue. It was partly due to the imitation of Muslims and partly due to the fear of conquerors who had made the women folk their targets. Purdah system gave a great set back to the cause of education among women who were confined within the four walls. They were deprived of all facilities of community life, and home was the only field left for all their activities. All this led to their intellectual and social deterioration.

All these changes however affected northern India more as the foreigners landed there first. Conditions in South India remained unchanged. As there was no disturbance of invasions there, the social institutions continued to be settled and the status of women too was maintained. Education was wide spread among them and examples show that some of the women of those times were great writers and poetesses. They not only wrote in regional languages but works in Sanskrit were also written by them. Mention can be made of the names of Ganga Devi who wrote the epic 'Madhura Vijayam,' Tirumalamba Devi who wrote 'Varadambika Parinayam' and Manorama who wrote 'Proudha Manorama' the classical work on Sanskrit grammar. All these indicate that women of those days pursued high courses of studies and devoted their time to literary activities. Of course this can be attributed to the comparatively peaceful and stable social life in south India in those days. In political field also we find some notable ladies coming out as efficient rulers and admini-

nistrators. Among these can be mentioned the names of Razia Begum, Chandbibbi, Tara bai and Ahlya Bai Holkar. All these not only excelled in their power of administration but also acted as great warriors in battle fields. Besides there are instances of Mogul princesses playing great part in the court life of Agra and Delhi. Zebunnissa, the daughter of Aurangzeb composed such fine poems that they remind us of the high culture of that period. There is another great example of Jijabai, the mother of Shivaji who represented the real culture of Indian womanhood.

However while quoting the above examples of women coming out from the high class of society, the fact, that the women in generality suffered social deterioration, can not be denied. At least in north India the picture was worst. Women were forced to strict seclusion in purdah system. Polygamy was legal and permissible. It may be due to the influence of this custom prevalent among the princes and nobles of those times. Child-marriages were common specially in most orthodox Hindu families. They believed that it was a burden to keep the responsibility of grown up girls with them and the earlier they were married, the better it was. Again we find the absence of this custom in South India where people did not perform the marriage of their daughters unless they attained the age of puberty.

Legally the position of Hindu ladies was most insecure and unsatisfactory. They had no rights of inheritance of property either from parent's side or from the husband's side. This led to their total dependence on men who at times misused their authority over them. Destitute women from kulin families had no other go but to bear all silently within their four walls of the houses. Widow-marriage, though prevalent among lower-classes of people, was not allowed in higher castes. Hence corruption continued unheeded beyond the screen of culture and civilization. There was also the wicked system of Sati in which the wife used to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband. Of course the roots of this custom came from the royal families where the kings used to order 'Jauhar' (burning of women-folk in fire) before they left for war field fearing that they may not fall in

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the hands of enemies after their defeat or death. This was not however common among the general women. In south India the custom was totally unknown.

The only point of consolation perhaps for Hindu women was the system of joint family in which women got life-long shelter and could pass their lives under the protection of elders. Again there was the practice of not touching the 'stridhan' (the property of women in the form of their ornaments etc). In some of these joint families women enjoyed the upper hand on others and, in a way, ruled in their

domain of home. Thus women in medieval India continued their life in the ups and downs of social, economic and political life.

This state of affairs continued till the establishment of British rule in India when along with the whole nation, women too were awakened from their yearlong slavery and suppression. In the struggle for freedom which followed this period, women made a mark in the history of India by joining hands with men and bringing not only the glory of independence for India but also high status of life for the women of this country.

South Indian Labourers In Malaya

INTERESTING facts and figures about Indian immigration to Malaya (and repatriation back to India) are contained in the Annual Report of the South Indian Labour Fund Board for the year 1959 recently issued in Kuala Lumpur by the Government of the Federation of Malaya. But before I begin their analysis, I must say something about the Board itself so as to make the picture clear. The Board was constituted with effect from September 1, 1958 under the South Indian Labour Fund Ordinance of the same year. Under this Ordinance the Board replaced the Indian Immigration Fund Committee and became responsible for the administration of the Indian Immigration Fund. To facilitate this, the previous day, namely, August 31, 1958, all the assets of the old Indian Immigration Fund which was set up in accordance with the Tamil Immigration Fund Ordinance 1907, were wound up and transferred to the South Indian Labour Fund Board in accordance with the provisions contained in the Indian Immigration Funds Winding up Ordinance of 1958. The change was made because there was no more immigration from India to be financed and it was only proper that the Fund, whose main function was to finance such immigration was renamed without the word "immigration" forming any part of it.

This being the first report to be issued by the Board it reviews the Board's work since its formation, that is, from September 1, 1958 till the end of 1959 and not merely for the year 1959 as its title would indicate. Again, it is not merely a statement of accounts, with particulars of income and expenditure, together with such facts as are usually supplied

by any other statutory board; it contains some very interesting and extremely revealing appendices on such topics as the history of Indian immigration, the history of the Indian Immigration Fund, repatriation and relevant statistics. Prepared by the Federation Commissioner for Labour Mr. I. R. Price, an M. C. S. officer, in his capacity as the ex-officio Chairman of the Board, the report proper contains eight pages only, while the appendices run to 27 pages, which shows how important the latter are.

The appendix on repatriation shows that a total of 21,380 South Indian labourers were repatriated to India during the period 1948 up to the end of 1959. No figures are available prior to 1948, says the report. Labourers repatriated in 1948 numbered 3,293, the largest for the entire period. In 1949, the number was 3,107 and in 1950 2,564. Thereafter it fell to about 1,200 a year on an average, but in 1958 it suddenly shot up to 3,130. The report does not give any reason for this increase but it is presumed to be due to fragmentation of estates which in that year was believed to be particularly widespread, regulating in the unemployment of a large number of Indian labourers. The number was so large that a ship had to be specially chartered to carry them. The ship which sailed in November, 1958 carried 972 repatriates. This dumping of a full shipload of destitutes in Madras created such a hue and cry that such a procedure was never again resorted to, and the authorities in Malaya reverted to their usual quiet and unobtrusive method of sending a few at a time. Meanwhile, the opposition to fragmentation also

became vigorous and as a result fewer workers became unemployed, and so the repatriation figures for 1959 also reverted to the usual rate of a little more than a thousand.

The Fund, when first established in 1907 was called "The Tamil Immigration Fund" to defray the cost of recruitment of labour from India for the Malayan rubber plantations and of their subsequent repatriation. It was created and maintained by contributions from employers, who were compelled by law to pay an assessment calculated on the number of day's work done in each quarter by Indian labourers on their properties. Though it was instituted in 1907 actual collection of the assessment began only in 1908 in accordance with the Tamil Immigration Fund Ordinance of 1908. Since the assessment could be collected only at the end of each quarter, the expenses for the first quarter, of 1908 were met from loans granted by the then Government of the Federated Malay States and the Government of Johore, an unfederated State. Later in 1914 when the Fund was incorporated into the then enacted Labour Code, the opportunity was also taken to change its name to "The Indian Immigration Fund" so as to bring Telugu and Malayalee labourers also within its scope, since immigration was not restricted to Tamils only.

Prior to 1910 when the creation of the Indian Immigration Fund had full effect, the indentured system of recruitment was prevalent, but how obnoxious it was could be gauged from the fact that the total number of indentured labourers recruited during the period 1893 to 1910 amounted to only about 60,000 while "free" labourers immigrating between 1900 to 1910 (no figures being available for the years 1893 to 1899) totalled 165,000 and assisted immigrants, that is labourers brought at the expense of the Indian Immigration Fund from 1910 till 1938 the year when India banned their emigration, numbered as many as 1,517,864 to be exact. Assisted immigration was necessitated by the large demand for labour caused by the introduction and rapid spread of rubber planting over a wide area. Prior to that, sugar was the only large-scale plantation industry but it was restricted to Province Wellesley and North Perak Coconut plantations also absorbed some Indian labour, while rice, sago, tapioca, paper, nutmegs, cloves, tobacco, betel leaves, etc., were produced by smallholders with their own labour. Coffee had promised to become a large indus-

try, but its cultivation ceased owing to a serious blight.

Though India banned emigration of unskilled labourers to Malaya as from June 15, 1938 (tappers too being regarded as unskilled labourers), the assessment on Indian labour for purposes of the Fund continued to be collected up to the end of 1941 and passages for Indian labourers returning to India after retirement or due to ill-health were paid for from the Fund. No assessment has been collected since the end of 1941. During the post-war years, the Fund monies have been spent mainly for the purpose of repatriating South Indian labourers and their dependants, who came into this country before 1938 and on whom the assessment had been paid. The Fund has also been used for assisting South Indian labourers in need of relief and for the payment of donations to orphanages and institutions which looked after the orphans of South Indian labourers. Since recruitment of labour was stopped and the number of repatriates also dwindled, two of the Fund's largest depots at Avadi and Melpakkam were sold to the Madras Government during the year 1955 for \$ 1,000,000 (Rs. 15 lakhs). Almost all the Fund's employees in India were also retrenched, leaving only a skeleton staff to look after the remaining depots at Nagapattinam and Papacovil which were used only for receiving and dispersing repatriates back to their homes and villages on disembarkation. For some years efforts have been made to dispose of these depots and also to remove an "illegal tenant" on the Fund's land at Cocanada, but they were not successful by August 31, 1958 when the Indian Immigration Fund was finally wound up and all its assets were taken over by the newly constituted South Indian Labour Fund Board, which continues to carry out the objects and past obligation of the old Indian Immigration Fund Committee towards the welfare of the assessable South Indian labourers and their dependants, and their subsequent repatriations to India. It also continues to run the Home, established by the Indian Immigration Fund Committee, in Kuala Lumpur, for the accommodation of aged Indian labourers. According to the report, the Fund stood at \$7,203,210, (or roughly rupees one crore) as on September 1, 1958.

Before I conclude this review, I must point out one very serious omission in the report. It is the absence of any reference whatsoever

to the attempts made by the authorities to use this Fund for purposes other than those to which it could be legitimately used, and to the successful protest made against this move conducted by the Malayan Indian Press and the Malayan Indian community throughout the length and breadth of Malaya. It was pointed out that the Fund was raised by an assessment calculated on the number of days the Indian labourers had worked, and in fact constituted part of their wages, because if there had been no such fund, then the employers would have paid the workers more. The Fund, therefore, was the sole property of the workers, and could not be enjoyed

by anybody except themselves, their dependants and descendants. It was also argued that by using the Fund to recruit Malay labour as was proposed, from the sparsely populated and most under-developed West Coast for work on the plantations in the well-developed West Coast would be ruinous to the Malays themselves and detrimental to the country's overall economy and suicidal to its prosperity. Indian organisations all over the country passed resolutions protesting against the use of the Fund in the manner proposed by the Government. The proposal was dropped, and the Fund was saved for the Indian workers. (Correspondent "Hindu", Malaya).

Operating on the Heart

By
Mr. ERIK OLAF-HANSEN

SURGEONS in all parts of the world are using machines which during operations can function for the heart and lungs. Most of them employ a highly involved apparatus, but now in Denmark excellent results have been achieved with an appliance striking in its simplicity and cheapness. The part which functions as lungs and blood vessels is made of plastic, and is so inexpensive that it can be thrown away after use. At the same time there is a considerable saving of cleaning expenses.

The Danish heart-and-lung machine has now functioned during a hundred operations, and it has gained the confidence of doctors by its great stability. It has been introduced by Professor Frederik Therkelsen in one of the surgical departments for diseases of the heart at the National Hospital in Copenhagen. Requiring a heart-and-lung machine a few years ago, Professor Therkelsen came to the conclusion that none of those on the market was altogether satisfactory. In the department there was a young doctor, Dr. Inge Rygg, a Norwegian by birth but now a Danish citizen. He began to study the idea of a machine that would be simple in construction. The cooperation of a technician, Mr. Erik Kyvsgaard, was sought.

The new heart-and-lung machine has the size of a biggish suit-case. It is employed during operations in which the surgeon has to repair injuries inside the heart itself. The heart has to be opened in the operation, and so is unable to pump blood round the orga-

nism. Nor does the blood reach the lungs to be oxidized. These vital life-preserving processes are taken over by the machine.

When an operation is to be carried out, the large veins of the heart are connected by means of two plastic catheters and a plastic tube with the heart-and-lung machine. The blood falls by its own weight and flows into the artificial lung, which is little more than a plastic bag suspended from a weighing machine. By this means it can be seen from the scale of the weighing machine if the normal volume of blood continues to circulate through the organism.

Before the patient's blood is led into it by slowly ligaturing the veins, a few pints of blood are put into the machine. Otherwise the re-pumping of blood to the patient could not begin simultaneously with the flow of blood to the machine. The blood, that is put into the machine is freshly drawn. The reason for this is that blood from a blood bank has added preservatives, and blood which is to flow through the machine must have an anti-clotting substance added to it. This procedure which excludes complications, requires blood taken direct from the donor.

The plastic lung through which the blood is led is so designed that no damage is caused to the rather delicate blood cells, and filters ensure that the air which bubbles up through the blood to oxidize it is not returned to the organism as air bubbles.

At a word from the surgeon, the machine

is set in motion. During the first few moments there is a little circulation, both through the organism by the action of the heart itself and through the machine. But the machine quickly takes charge of the whole circulation. The dark blood from the arteries can be seen to enter the artificial lung, to be oxidized and grow lighter in colour; and finally an ordinary electric pump drives the blood vigorously back into the patient through a plastic catheter inserted into the patient's thigh. Every minute seven pints of blood pass through the machine. While the machine is functioning, the patient's blood pressure is kept constant at around 75.

The moment the machine takes over the oxidation and pumping of the blood, the anaesthetist withdraws. The patient's lungs have now been collapsed. The heart is working but is virtually emptied of blood, thus enabling the surgeon to open it and inspect the damage, which must either be stitched or repaired by means of a plastic prosthesis. The small amount of blood present is just sufficient to supply the tissue of the cardiac muscle, and is drawn off by an assistant surgeon with an ordinary operating pump.

There is really no limit to the length of time that the machine can perform the functions of the patient's heart and lungs. During operations so far it has worked for periods of from 20 minutes to an hour and a half. When the operation is completed, the connections with the machine are gradually ligatured, and the patient's own heart and lung resume their normal functions, under the supervision of the anaesthetist.

An operation of this kind requires a team of 14 doctors and nurses, some for the operation and the narcosis, some to attend to the machine and a special apparatus for ensuring that the pressures in the organism are kept in order.

After the operation all plastic parts are thrown away, so that everything which comes into direct contact with the patient is entirely new and sterile at each operation. The Danish machine is being used so far at various hospitals in Denmark and Sweden, but as operations which used to be impossible—or at any rate extremely difficult—have now been made safe by its means, it is expected that it will soon be in use all over the world. Many visiting doctors who have seen the machine at work during operations at the National Hospital have extolled its brilliant simplicity, which at the same time is a guarantee of safe functioning. It may well be claimed that nowhere is there another heart-and-lung machine that has solved so cheaply and so simply this complicated problem.

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Iqbal's Philosophy of Revolution

By

Mr. ABDUR REHMAN FIGAR

THE under-current of Iqbal's philosophy of life is the concept of movement as developed through the ages. Going back to the earliest philosophical speculations we find this concept first propounded by the Greeks. Subsequently it was shaped into a mechanical conception of the universe by Galileo and after him by Newton. Later on, in the early seventeenth century, it served as the foundation of Hobbes' scientific materialism.

Scientific materialism considered the universe to be a vast machine and explained every phenomenon in terms of the movements of matter. "Motion is the completely pervasive fact in nature. And human behaviour, including sensation, feeling, and thought, is a

mode of motion." This was the modest human endeavour, initiated by Hobbes, to bring social philosophy into close relation with a thoroughly scientific and mechanical view of the universe. Hobbes' attempt to assimilate psychology and physics and politics and to co-ordinate them with the exact physical sciences failed due to the disparity between psychology and physics. This task of co-ordinating psychology and physics fell to the lot of Descartes who tried to reconcile mind with matter. According to him, mind and matter work on parallel lines but are able to interact due to divine intervention.

The scientists of the eighteenth and of the nineteenth centuries, however, rejected this

view and denied any divine intervention. They urged that mind is the consciousness of matter by itself. Matter, the only tangible reality consisted of atoms, the movements of which are determined by the law of motion. This view made the universe a great machine and deprived life of its goal, if any, leaving man nothing more than a lump of matter united with this inanimate brutal world with a tie of common doom.

Later developments of the materialistic view of the universe, as envisaged by the combined efforts of psychology, physics, and biology could not put forth a coherent doctrine and never offered a satisfactory solution of the riddle of life. Behaviourism lost its predominant influence due to change in the concept of matter in modern physics regards matter as devoid of substance, and materiality as indistinguishable from energy. Thus the nature and properties of matter remained a mystery, and theories investigating life and the purpose behind it (known as creative evolution and emergent materialism) failed to offer any solution.

Iqbal vehemently rejected this materialistic view. According to him life, divine in essence, is a vital, ever-flowing stream, perpetuating force manifesting itself in infinite forms add 'varieties of phenomena'. Movement (the basic proposition of materialistic reasoning) and change, are the characteristics of this life-force.

This idea of motion had been lurking in Iqbal's mind since his early venture into the realms of thought. For instance in the poem "Moon and Stars", in *Bang-e-Dara*, he gives a clear indication of his future development on these lines:

"Tasked to move on, on, morn and eve—
To move, to move, for ever move.
No creature of this world knows rest,
Nowhere can fabled peace exist,
All things condemned by tyrant laws
To wander, stars, men, rocks and trees—
On motion all this world's life hangs,
Such is the ancient doom of things—"

(Translation by Kiernan)

And later, in *Bal-e-Jibreel*, which is the result of more mature thinking, we see:

"All life is voyaging,
All things in motion,
Moon, stars, and creatures
Of air and ocean".

(Ibid.)

Thus, life is the only pervasive fact marching towards perfection. The universe is the manifestation of life in multiplicity of colour and form. Mere matter is an illusion, or at least an unreal entity; it is only a scheme in God's mind, an ideal in the process of perfection and excellence. This, Iqbal has clearly asserted in the introduction to the 'Secrets of the Self'; "The universe is not a completed act. It is still in the course of formation. There can be no completed truth about the universe, for the universe has not yet become 'whole'. The process of creation is still going on, and man, too, takes his share in it." When, in this ever-continuing process of creation, life became conscious of being a force by itself, it absorbed itself in the personality of man and unveiled itself in the domain of thought.

"When the 'Self' awoke to consciousness, it revealed the universe of thought".

(*Secrets of the Self*)

Thus the 'Self' (Khudi) is self-consciousness. It is the zenith coveted by life since the day of creation and now realised in the personality of man. "In man the centre of life becomes an 'Ego' or 'Person'. Personality is a state of tension and can continue only if that state is maintained". Hence 'Self', or *Khudi* is also governed by the same law of motion, for *Khudi* is nothing less than a state of tension, the consequence of perpetual motion that has held the balance of existence. The only purpose of the creation of the universe of the movements of the planets and the stars, is that man should realize his worth and his 'Self' be revealed to him:

"Time's revolutions have one goal,
To show you what is your own 'Self'".

(*Bal-e-Jibreel*)

Thus the law of motion is the undercurrent of every phenomenon. Life is a form of motion; and when this is the case, how is man, the inalienable part and purpose of the grand scheme, governed by it? What is the mode and pattern of its operation in regard to man and his environment?

The first step of the 'Self', as stated, is self-consciousness, that is, the thought that he is the only tangible reality and the only standard of value in the universe. It is, of course, a matter of pride to be the chosen and privileged creature of God. Such a profound arrogance will, naturally enough, result in the negation of all other entities besides himself. And negation breeds mutiny, that is, in the

Quranic terminology, "*La*"—the starting point of the law of motion. '*La*' generates motion and energy; and '*Illa*' or affirmation is the state of quiescence and inertia. Selfconsciousness is the result of negation and mutiny, and it is essential for creative activity. It is the movement of the 'Self' that engenders action. It was Satan's negation and mutiny that caused Man's exile from paradise and made life worth enjoying. On Gabriel's reproach to Satan that by negation and mutiny he lost the highest rank God had bestowed upon him, and thus insulted his brethren by this act of disobedience, Satan replies:

"But in man's pinch of dust my daring spirit has breathed ambition,
The warp and woof of mind and reason are woven by my sedition

The deeps of good and ill you only see from land's far verge: Which of us is it, you or I, that dares the tempest's scourge? Your ministers and your prophets are pale shades: the storms I term

Roll down ocean by ocean, river, by rives, stream by stream,"

(Kiernan's Translation)

Only a firm negation is a guarantee against the slavish dogmatic approach that is antagonistic to free will—an essential attribute of the 'Self'. Moreover, a true conception of the God is incomprehensible unless reached at by that deductive reasoning of Abraham that first denied the existence of any god. It is due to this prophetic quality of negation that Iqbal has named it the 'Divine Ember' (Sharare-Kibriya), a "Godly attribute."

But absolute negation is a perilous venture. It leads nowhere and leaves the rebellious traveller in an empty darkness where the echoes of his own negation lash him into fury and rage. Absolute negation so avowedly manifest in modern defiant materialism, is a devilish attribute. Hence the importance of 'affirmation or '*Illa*'. '*La*' and '*Illa*' are the two forces that balance the scale of destiny and keep life in its momentum. A persistent balance of forces is necessary for a body to keep itself moving; and such balance can be attained by two forces of equal strength working against each other. '*La*' and '*Illa*' are such two forces that keep a society dynamic, and at the same time balanced in its evolutionary movement.

"Life, in its inception is negation first and affirmation afterwards. Negation

without affirmation is death. Doomed is the nation whose spirit cannot pass beyond negation".

(Zarb-e-Kalim)

Personality, or *KHUDI*, as Iqbal says, is the state of constant movement that generates creative activity. Man being the centre of the universal Ego (the divine force, whose essential attribute is creation) must also be a creative force; and his creative activity is manifested in speculation and thought. Creation is a godly deed, and man with his reflective force is nearer to, and in harmony with, his creator. Man, by thought alone creates realms of gold and worlds of such eternal beauty that last longer than the universe of matter. Thought is the act that makes him immortal.

"New worlds, unlike the transient and mortal worlds of earth and clay, are always created by novel thoughts".

(Zarb-e-Kalim)

But thought, stagnant and invariable, according to the law of motion, is apt to degenerate into a pessimistic outlook of life. A lively and mature thought is essential for the preservation of 'personality' or '*Khudi*' Immortality, the realisation of which depends upon the 'novelty of thought and action' (*Nudrat-e-Fikr-o-Amal*)—a term coined by Iqbal himself—is the ultimate aim of the human Ego (*Khudi*). This point is further elucidated by him in his introduction to the *Secrets of the Self* :—

"Personal Immortality is an aspiration. It depends upon our adopting in this life modes of thought and activity which tend to maintain the state of tension—Thus, if our activity is directed towards the maintenance of a state of tension, the shock of death is not likely to affect it".

But novelty of thought and action is not a force by itself. The necessary stimulus or force that motivates our thought and activity is desire.

"Life is latent in seeking. Its Origin is hidden in desire.

Desire keeps Self in perpetual uproar,
It is a restless wave of the Self's sea."

(Secrets of the Self, translated by Nicholson)

This point has been asserted by Iqbal time and again.

"In a spark I crave a star, and in a star a sun :

My journey has no bourn, no place of halting."

(Message of the East, Kiernan's Translation)

Desire, in order to be lively, effective, and noble, must be mutable and protean. Old and decayed desires succumb to frustration and degenerate into anguish :

"Away from old beauties and decayed desires.

Abandon the trivial legacy: nourish a fresh desire."

(Zaboor-e-Ajam)

Desire must be not only protean and lively but also purposive. An aimless desire consumes itself like the lightning flash that vanishes without kindling a spark. Life, devoid of any purpose and ideal, becomes a cumbersome burden. "To a man bereft of the sense of purpose," as Wilson Knight has rightly said, "there is no possibility of creative action; it has no meaning. No act but suicide is rational." The self cannot, therefore, preserve itself in the absence of purposive desires; and there cannot be any charm in the things of the earth unless our hearts glow with an ideal and a noble purpose. To quote Iqbal again :

"Rise, O thou who art stranger to life's mystery,

Rise intoxicated with the wine of an ideal,
An ideal shining as the dawn.

A blazing fire to all that is other than God,
An ideal higher than heaven—

Winning, captivating, enchanting men's hearts,

A destroyer of ancient falsehood,

Fraught with turmoil, an embodiment of the Last Day.

We live by forming ideals,

We glow with the sunbeams of desire.

(Nicholson's Translation)

It is further explained in the '*Secrets of the Self*' :—

"Life is a forward assimilative movement.

It removes all obstructions in its march by creation of desires and ideals."

Thus, life is a state of tension, a perpetual creation of desires and ideals; and death is a state of stillness, inertia, and purposeless life.

"Death I dread: it is inertness that enlightens none with its embers".

(Zaboor-e-Ajam)

This purposive desire that kindles the hearts with the glow of life and ennoble them with the high ideals of humanity and freedom, which performs miracles of art and marvels of craft is, what Iqbal calls. 'Love'. Love is

essential for the integration, education, and fortification of the Ego. "The Ego is fortified by love (*Ishq*). Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them." (Ibid) Love differentiates between man and his creator; it is the curtain that maintains the individuality of both. The anguish of separation is congenial to the lovers who prefer to keep their individual entities intact so that the struggle for the attainment of oneness and unity may persist. Individuality is of extreme importance for the greatness of the human ego; it is essential for freedom of will. And determinism results when the Self merges itself into another entity without being able to continue its own existence independently. It is man's individuality alone that enables him to be a creative force harmonious with godly creation. "All life is individual;" as Iqbal says, "there is no such thing as universal life. God himself is an individual. He is the most unique individual. The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique."

Man, in relation of God, is a self-contained entity who keep himself insulated from his creator and at the same time strives to be close to Him. Man's individuality and freedom of will is indispensable for the evolution and development of the community provided that it is not obstructive in the community's march towards an ideal society. Only that society which is based on the principal of individual freedom and equal responsibility of all, fortified by love, and aiming at the same ideal, can be a guarantee of the freedom and happiness of mankind.

Islam, very subtly, attempts to maintain an equilibrium between individualism and collectivism, individual freedom and responsibility have been stressed while emphasising also an inalienable relation with the community. Society consists of individuals and every individual is a unit by himself. The Quran has strongly emphasised the Individuality of every human being. "Every individual, so far as the sphere of his activities is exclusive to himself, is responsible only for his own actions." (Quran).

But this individual mechanism is powerless unless motivated by the law of motion. This motivation, when confronted by the life of a nation, becomes the law of change, or revolution. This may be likened to the planetary system wherein each planet, rotating in its or-

bit, forms a different miniature solar system. The law of motion keeps them moving and the gravitational pull of each maintains the velocity which, if imbalanced, will result in a collision bringing the universe to its doom.

Thus, an organic-mechanic social order originates and is called a 'nation', or 'ummat'. This is unity in the midst of diversity: the unity that balances the scales of existence. The unity of God is incomprehensible without the realisation of this unity in a world order. "The new culture," Iqbal says, "finds the foundation of a world unity in the principle of Unity (*Tauheed*). Islam, as a polity, is only a practical means of making the principle a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind."

The achievement of the principle of unity transforms the society into a body politic every member of which (not losing his identity) is associated with the community embodying a homogenous whole. Thus a unique society is born in which collective responsibility with individual freedom is the rule of its life. This is what the Prophet said: "Everyone of you is a shepherd (governor or ruler) and responsible for his herd (ruled)." The ultimate end of the society is the realization of an ideal state that is dormant in God's mind like a secret which, when revealed, will be the march of God on earth and will bring the salvation of mankind.

But how does the principle of movement operate in an organic body like society? Now at this stage of perfection, it is transformed into a "cultural movement", or "*Ijtihad*" in Qurantic terminology. *Ijtihad* is the creative activity of a nation, its new avenues of thought, and the variable modes it adopts for the expression of its spirit. A nation bereft of the cultural movement loses its tempo and does no longer exist as a living nation. It is dead and burdened by extreme permission and frustration. Its culture is effete, and its works of art uninspiring, and its artists infuse only a dark and gloomy spirit:

"Their fantasy, death-bed of love and passion;

Their sunless minds the burial vaults of nations;

In their idolatrous halls Death's portrait hangs,

Their art, like a priest's soul, sickness of life;

They hide from mortal eyes the heaven's high places,

Their gift is drowsy spirit and itching flesh".

(Kiernan's Translation)

It is of the utmost importance for a progressive nation that its imagination and thought should always be lively and novel, restless and protean, creative and inspiring. Islam lays immense importance upon the conception of variety and change. "As a cultural movement Islam rejects the old static view of the universe and reaches a dynamic view.....the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principle to regulate its collective life, for the eternal give us a foothold in the world of perpetual change which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God.....What then is the principle of movement in Islam? This is known as '*Ijtihad*'.

(Reconstruction, P. 148)

Such a cultural movement, or in Iqbal's own terminology 'revolution,' is the essential characteristic of a nation by which it strives to attain its ideals and combats the colossal obstacles put in its way by the blind forces of nature. Cultural movement, or revolution, is the law for the self-preservation, and maintenance of the individual existence of a nation:

"Death, not life, is the life no revolutions stir;

Change, upheaval, the air breathed by the nation's souls;

Keen as a sword that fate holds in its hand is a folk

Mindful to reckon its deeds, casting their sum in each age."

Iqbal.

Art and its Evaluation

By

Sri C. L. JHA, M.A.

[CLIVE Bell, an art critic has said "Art should not come to people but people should come to Art or leave it alone."

A high standard of life should not be taken to mean merely food, clothing and housing, but an alround development in life. A man however comfortable he may be, who does not appreciate art, has certainly missed something in life, what has he missed is the appreciation of Art. Art is vast and all pervading. An object of Art is the result of man's joy in his work. Art is not the bread but the wine of life, and the artist has a deep urge and keen inclination. It is material and spiritual. The materialistic art fulfills the material needs of the man while the spiritual satisfies the needs of the soul.

Before Victorian era there was no difference between the fine and useful arts. In India too arts were classified to sixty-four kinds and they are still followed but according to European scholars Music, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture and Architecture are supposed only fine arts and the rest are included in useful arts. The fine art has less utility and more aestheticism.

In view of the fact that the object of fine art will have less utility and more aesthetics, naturally it will be an object of cultural world to purchase. Things of utility are purchased commonly by all therefore production in large number is essential. It is the craftsman who will prepare these models for general use. These objects satisfy only the material wants. It has been seen that the prosperity of country does not lie in economic development only but its cultural advancement is equally essential.

So far as the fine arts are concerned the artists require more skill to prepare an article of beauty than the useful art. All the great Hindu temples of architectural beauty and Mughal architecture when are visited engross the visitor in deep meditation and one is asto-

nished to see the grandeur and magnificence. He cannot do anything but to admire them. By this his hunger of belly is not satisfied but there arose a great sense of aestheticism in him and he feels that he has gained something. The value of aesthetic art cannot be estimated. No hard and fast rule can be laid down to evaluate any such art object. It is because in the olden days the artist was respected for his dexterity. The artist was always awarded prizes for his work. He was never paid for the labour and skill but was always honoured only by giving awards, gifts or titles.

The object of fine arts has more permanance than the useful art objects. It has the didactic quality. It stimulates and inspires towards cultural advancement. Thus fine art is dynamics and the artist is its source. It has the power to move. If we see a picture, it takes us right into the mind of the artist. We forget to see all about the room or place where we actually are, thus the art object reminds us of one of the nine "RASAS" (feeling.)

The artist has the power to make our existence beautiful and cultural on the earth. The architect tries to build magnificent buildings which broaden our minds and allow us spiritual uplift. The sculptor creates forms out of earth, stone and metal etc., budding forth various human moods. In all these the artist influences life and they are made to speak all what is in his mind.

The artist has his own likings. He has a great quality of patience, perseverance, and devotion. He deeply engrosses in what he paints or makes. That becomes his state of forgetfulness. Such a grand piece of art if sold must fetch the endless treasure and immense wealth, but those days have gone when art was so valued. Today it is supposed as useless work. The artist starves even after producing a grand piece of art. It is because

no body values it. No country can value Art where there is no prosperity and aesthetic sense. It is not the part of a starving country. In the History of India, Gupta period is called the Golden Age. It is because in those days Art and literature of the country reached its zenith. The value of art and its object lies in honouring the artist and not in purchasing

his articles for few coins. Every artist has a world of his own and his work should primarily be measured by the standard of that world. The world of the artist is not the world as we see move and feel with our material senses it is quite above it. Therefore the scale by which his art should be weighed is not the scale of ordinary morals.

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Illiteracy - An Acute Problem for India

By

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THE 1961 Census in India will help us to examine whether the illiterate population in India is increasing inspite of the progress we have had in the field of Education during the last few years. According to the 1951 Census there were 5,92,51,000 literate persons including 1,36,49,817 females and the percentage of literacy was 16.61. On further analysis it is found that the percentages of literacy in India for males and females were 20.87 and 7.17 respectively. According to a ten percent sample tabulation of the Census returns the percentage of literacy among the population fifteen years old and over was 19.3. The figure for the percentage of literacy as computed from the 1941 Census is 14.6%-22.2% among men and 6% among women. The magnitude of the problem is evident from the above and it imposes severe and serious restrictions in the process of India becoming a Welfare State. The problem of illiteracy does not refer to India alone but the world at large. In a recent study undertaken by the UNESCO 'the number of adult illiterates (people over 15 years of age who cannot both read and write in any language) in the world around 1950 has been estimated at about 700 million—slightly over two fifths of the world's population at that age level. 'From the above study it is also found that 88 percent and two percent of the world's illiterates are concentrated in 43 and 54 small countries, respectively having medium to high

rates of illiteracy, which are situated in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and some territories of the Oceania. Another 9 percent of the world's illiterate population are found in 20 countries with low to medium rates of illiteracy including, for example Japan, France and U. S. A. and the rest 1 percent of illiterate mass numbering about 8 to 9 million are widely scattered in 81 countries each having low to medium rates of illiteracy.

It is a common feature to find high illiteracy rates among the rural population as compared with the urban population of a country. Further the male population has generally a higher percentage of literacy than the female population. This has a particular reference to those countries having medium to high rates of illiteracy. These countries include Malaya, Thailand, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The percentages of literacy are strikingly different for different regions, different age groups and different ethnic groups within the same country. It is quite common to find high rates of illiteracy in the older age groups of the population than the younger groups, particularly in those countries where the schemes of universal, free and compulsory primary education have recently been introduced. It is possible to deduce a direct relationship between the growth of primary education and reduction in the number of adult illiterates in a given period of time. If

all the children of the school going age of a country attend the schools for a sufficient length of time, there would be a considerable reduction in the number of adult illiterates and in course of time the number is likely to be reduced to nil. Here are a few glaring examples. In France free primary education was introduced in 1881 which eventually became compulsory in 1882 and the illiteracy rate had a sharp fall from 15.5 percent in 1901 to 3.3 percent in 1946. In 1859 compulsory education began in Italy which came into full operation only in 1904, and consequently the rate of illiteracy was reduced from 50% in 1901 to 14% in 1951. As long as a considerable proportion of the children of school going age are left out of the school due to some reason or other, illiteracy can never be completely wiped out both in its magnitude and direction. Here lies the crux of the problem in India. It is estimated that out of every 100 pupils who join the 1st class scarcely fifty complete four years of schooling, which is considered as the minimum period for securing and maintaining literacy.

Number of Pupils as Percentage of Number of Children in the Corresponding Age Groups

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61
Elementary (6-14)	32%	40%	49%
Boys- 46%	Boys - 57%	Boys - 70%	
Girls- 17%	Girls- 23%	Girls- 21%	

From the above data it is seen that in 1950-51 only 32% of the children belonging 6-14 age group were in the elementary schools. The other 61% of the children were added to the illiterate population. In 1955-56 the situation was slightly improved and in 1960-61 it is expected that only 49% of our children will be in the schools. The data clearly indicates the condition of girl's education in the country as it is seen that only 28% of our girls belonging to the age group of 6-14 will be in the schools, and the rest 72% will remain in the illiterate mass. So India has to adopt both emergency and long term measures to fight with illiteracy. The opening of the Adult Literacy Centres,

Community Centres, Libraries and Reading Rooms are quite efficient as emergency measures, provided the different activities are properly organised, but to eradicate illiteracy from India within a next few decades the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for all the children below the age group of 14 appears to be the only solution.

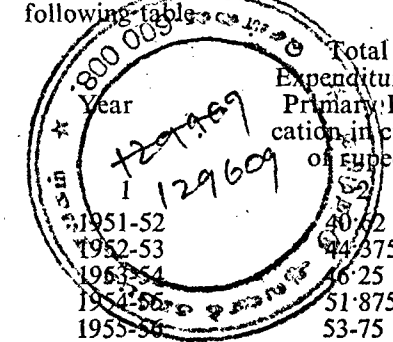
In a recent UNESCO Study entitled 'Public Expenditure on Education' it is seen that in or about 1950 the total expenditure on education varied from less than 1% to more than 5% of the national income of each country. On further examination it is seen that there is a distinct correlation between the adult literacy rates and the percentage of total national income spent on education. Countries having low rates of literacy seem to be spending a small proportion of their national income on Education. As far as India is concerned she has spent 1.95% of her national income on Education in 1955-56, 1.7% in 1954-55, 1.4%, in 1953-54, 1.4% in 1952-53 and 1.24% in 1951-52, as seen from the following table.

Year	National Income in crores of rupees	Total Expenditure on Education in crores of rupees	Percentage of (3) in respect of (2)
1	2	3	4
1951-52	9,970	124.56	1.24
1952-53	9,820	137.97	1.4
1953-54	10,490	147.74	1.4
1954-55	9,620	164.97	1.7
1955-56	9,650	189.00	1.95

This figure is taken from a 'Graph' and so is shown in round figure.

The total expenditure on Primary Education in the different years can be seen from the following table.

Year	Total Expenditure on Primary Education in crores of rupees
1951-52	40.72
1952-53	44.375
1953-54	46.25
1954-55	51.875
1955-56	53.75
1956-57	57.5



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Dr. David McClelland of the Harvard University is of opinion that the all round success of the Community Development programme in a country depends to a large extent on the education of her children. Besides being properly educated, he says, they must be made to grow as active citizens with a higher n-achievement motivation, so that in future they will be useful, and educated citizens of a country. The n-achievement motivation, according to him, has very little or no correlation with the I. Q. or Intelligence Quotient of a child, but a high n-achievement motivation factor in a child indicates that he or she can do very well in a competitive nature of work and in odd situations that he will be comforted within society. He has gone to the extent of suggesting that nations interested in their 'real development' should make primary education interesting and meaningful to all children. This suggestion has a practical bearing on India, since there are instances of very poor attendance in many, primary schools. If primary education has to be meaningful and interesting and if it is our responsibility to see that all children below the age of 14 are to receive free and compulsory education as set forth in the Directive Principles of our constitution, then India cannot, but substantially increase her expenditure on Primary Education.

At present the Literary Campaign is launched by the Departments of Education and Community Development of all the states in India. Every state follows its own pattern, but the general pattern is that the organisation of Adult Literacy Centres, Community Centres and Libraries is done by the Social Education Organisers and the Gram Sevaks of the different Community Development Blocks and the organisation of the Janatha Colleges and School-cum-Community Centres rests on the Education Department. Due to inadequate follow-up programme many neo-literates are relapsing into illiteracy. This makes our problem still worse and the relapsed illiterate sets a bad example in society. So organisation of follow-up activities should be given equal importance as the organisation of new adult literacy Centres. The Sixth Evaluation Report on the working of the C. D. & N. E. S. Blocks published in June, 1959 brings into light some interesting points relating to the

study of the Adult Literacy Programme. The report states that the contribution to literacy made by the Adult Literacy Centres would rise to about 3% of the total population in the blocks which is not very encouraging. The proportion for the non-block areas is as low as 2%. Further it is suggested in the Report that either the social education programme should concentrate much more on literacy and or it must discover more efficient techniques of enlightening large mass of the rural illiterate. The findings of the Report in respect of Adult Literacy Programme contradicts the estimates made by the Registrar General's Office and National Sample Survey stating the percentage of literacy to be 40.7% in India today. During a period of eight years i.e. from 1951 to 1959, the increase in percentage of literacy in India cannot be as high as 23.09% (40.7%-16.61%). This raises an important question regarding the validity of the estimate made by the National Sample Survey, for the whole of India, and it is presumed that the Survey has used some samples which cannot represent India as a whole. In 1941 the percentage of literacy in India was 14.6% and the same in 1951 was 16.61. Since 1951 we are having many development schemes operated in our country through the First and Second Five Year Plans and the mental horizon of our people has been widened to a considerable extent. We shall be branded as pessimists if we say that all these development programmes have not influenced the rate of literacy in India and so an increase in the same is expected in the 1961 Census. It gives no grounds for complacency on our part since we have assessed the magnitude of the problem of illiteracy in India. We are to make a constant effort in assuring for every man, woman and child the right to education guaranteed to him or her in the Constitution.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

India's record at U.N.

President Rajendra Prasad, said at New Delhi on Oct. 24 that India had given a good account of herself at the United Nations "which in the ultimate analysis is the vindication of our foreign policy and the stand of our Prime Minister."

Dr. Prasad said, "whether on account of our pursuing a course in keeping with our policy of non-alignment or may be because on certain crucial matters we have been able to put our weight on the side of smaller and comparatively backward nations of Asia and Africa, our counsels in the United Nations have generally attracted world attention and also some respect that was gratifying", he added.

The President was speaking at a meeting organised jointly by the External Affairs Ministry and the Indian Council of World Affairs.

Dr. Prasad said that from the time India became a member of the United Nations she had lent unstinted support to the organisation. India's support to the United Nations, he said, flowed not only from the formal obligation of membership "but also from our traditional thinking and well-settled convictions."

Referring to the divergence of views, expressed on international issues in the world body Dr. Prasad said that in a forum like the U.N. where about 100 nations were represented and to which all manner of complicated matters were referred, it was not unnatural that there should be divergence of views.

"What is desired is that this divergence, whether it stems from self-interest or from ideological differences, should be adjusted through negotiations with the larger interests of the Family of Nations", he added.

The Kashmir Problem

Prime Minister Nehru declared at New York on Oct. 8 that any attempt to upset the *status quo* in Kashmir would result in opening "the Pandora's Box" with all its undesirable consequences.

Mr. Nehru was replying to an American correspondent who asked during a television interview whether, now that Indus water issue had been settled, efforts would be made to settle the Kashmir question.

Mr. Nehru said he was glad that the Canal waters issue had been settled. "But so far as Kashmir was concerned, "It stands on a completely different footing." According to us,

the trouble is that Pakistan has invaded part of our territory and is sitting there. According to them, it is different.

Mr. Nehru said that in the 12 years since the cease-fire in Kashmir, many important things had happened "on our side in Kashmir. Two general elections have been held which is very important. An Assembly with very considerable powers functions there. It makes laws and does everything that Parliament does except with regard to some all-India subjects which only Central Parliament can deal with."

Mr. Nehru said: "It is part of our Constitution that we cannot touch Kashmir without the consent of Kashmir's elected Assembly."

"It is comparatively difficult to live in unrealistic atmosphere and talk about things which have no relation to the present situation. The moment you touch it is like reopening "Pandora's Box." Things will come out all over, upset things everywhere and lead to migrations and so on."

The questioner then said that he had just wanted to know whether "the new friendliness between Pakistan and India seems to be felt in your countries cannot in some way change the rigid position with regard to Kashmir."

Mr. Nehru said the kind of development the questioner had mentioned always softened a situation.

So far as the public on both sides were concerned, they had forgotten the question, at least they did not shout about it. "It is only on political level the question comes up."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani

Mr. J. B. Kripalani has issued on Oct. 27 the following statement to the Press:

"It has been highly amusing to read in the Press speculations about my political future. Ever since I sent my letter of resignation from the party, the Press and some politicians have been throwing out hints and giving currency to a rumour about my joining one or the other of the existing political parties. This is done in spite of what I wrote in my resignation letter. I said there: "I believe one cannot function effectively in politics in a democracy, as it had developed in modern times, outside a party or a group. Yet in the present circumstances in our country I find place in no party. I must therefore, for the time being at least, remain unaffiliated to any party or group."

"I thought after this clear enunciation of my position there will be no speculation about my joining any of the existing parties. But

perhaps, politicians these days are not supposed to say what they mean or mean what they say. There is no remedy for this. Hence forward I shall, therefore, issue no contradiction of any speculation or rumour about my political future in a group or party.

"I take this opportunity to add that if I could not be satisfied with my position in the PSP, I shall be more of a misfit elsewhere. The party gave me full freedom to express my views in Parliament and outside even when these were against its decisions. As the public know I fully exercised this freedom. But as I have pointed out in my letter of resignation this created an awkward situation both for the party and for myself, which was exploited by the treasury benches. The Press also often wrote that the PSP spoke in two voices even when I said I was not speaking on behalf of the party. This, I felt, was injurious to an Opposition party, which must be more united and disciplined than the party in power. If I had, therefore, any intention of joining a party, I would not have sought freedom from the PSP."

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party after prolonged discussions on Oct. 30 about the resignation of Acharya Kripalani decided to accept his resignation.

As a consequence of his resignation from the party the PSP would have to choose its leader in the Lok Sabha. Mr. Asoka Mehta, Chairman of the Party and Deputy Leader of the PSP Group in the Lok Sabha, is likely to be the leader.

Future of Congo

In view of the mounting crisis in the Congo efforts are being speeded up to appoint a United Nations Conciliation Committee as envisaged in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its emergency session last month.

Negotiations are proceeding on the composition of the Committee, which probably will be finalised by the advisory Committee on the Congo.

Sources close to the Indian delegation said India had left to African members of the Advisory Committee to decide whether the conciliation body should consist of all countries contributing contingents to the United Nations force, in which case some European countries would be associated with it, or only African or both African and Asian members.

There appeared to be strong lobby feeling among some African countries that India should be on the Committee, but, as usual, in such cases, the Indian delegation is reported to have intimated to them that this being primarily an African matter it was for them to guide the Advisory Committee.

The General Assembly resolution appeals to all Congolese within the Republic of Congo to seek speedy solution by peaceful means of all their internal conflicts for unity and integrity in the Congo with the assistance, as appropriate of Asian and African representatives appointed by them in consultation with the Secretary General for the purpose of conciliation.

General lobby opinion among some important delegations seemed to be veering round to the idea that any solution of the Congo problem would have to be acceptable not to the Mobutu regime, but to the Congolese Parliament as urged by Mr. Nehru.

It is further learnt that Col. Mobutu, Congo Army's "strong man, virtually recognising that he no longer could continue in power through military strength, is seeking political reconciliation including with the deposed Premier Mr. Patrice Lumumba.

Mr. Justin Bomboko, Col. Mobutu's Commissioner-General, has addressed communications to several political leaders including Mr. Lumumba and Katanga Premier Moise Tshombe.

The Monckton Report

The publication of the Monckton report on Oct. 11 has raised the possibility of a frontal clash between the British Government and the European settlers in the Central African Federation represented by the Premier, Sir Roy Welensky.

Already, there is a complete divergence of view between them as to whether or not the right of secession should be discussed at the constitutional conference to be held later on. While the Government had said that the conference should be "free to discuss this and other relevant issue," Sir Roy Welensky strongly opposed to it and insists that the maintenance of the federal structure should not be called in question at all.

In view of Sir Roy's attitude, doubt is expressed whether the constitutional conference will meet as planned and whether if it did, Sir Roy Welensky and European settlers will agree to attend it.

While the future is coloured in this respect the Monckton report has had a mixed reception in political circles. Its importance is acknowledged by everyone, and Liberals and Labourites warmly support the recommendations, but opinion among the Tories is deeply divided. Some of them are urging the Government to accept the report, others are hesitant, and some others—the settlers lobby, consisting of Right-wing Tories—are loudly clamouring for its rejection.

African Summit Talks

African leaders of the French Community and Cameroun ended a three-day "Summit" conference at Abidjan on Oct. 25 with a communique announcing unanimous agreement on a common attitude to the Algerian problem, the former Belgian Congo, and Moroccan claims on Mauritania.

The communique gave no details of the nature of its decisions on these subjects except on Mauritania. Mr. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, Ivory Coast, Head of State and Chairman of the Conference, refused to allow question on the communique.

He said only that a second conference would be held in Brazzaville, former French Congo, on December 3.

The conference held its final session in closest secrecy.

The conference to Mauritania in the communique said that all countries at the Conference would support Mauritania's candidature to the United Nations. The country is to become independent on November 28.

The communique said that participants at the Conference reached agreement on adopting from now a common attitude on all international problems—and African problems in particular.

Language Issue in Ceylon

The Ilankai Tamil Arasu Katchi (Federal Party) which held a two day session in Colombo recently to take stock of the present political situation and to decide their future course of action especially in view of the Government's threat to implement the "Sinhala Only Act" rigorously in all Government departments from January 1 next year, issued a call to all Tamil-speaking people throughout Ceylon not to abandon or relax any of the steps which they adopted since 1955 to resist the Act until a satisfactory solution was arrived at and that solution was implemented.

The Committee also made an appeal to all Tamil-speaking municipal councils, town coun-

cils, village committees, public and co-operative bodies in Tamil areas to transact all business in future with the Government only in Tamil language.

In a statement issued to the Press, a spokesman of the Federal Party said the Working Committee met and considered further the situation arising out of the Government's pursuit of its policy of implementing the Official Language Act. The statement added: Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam made a statement outlining the present position and the various representations he had received in this connection. He gave an account of the steps already taken to safeguard the position of Tamil language and the interests of the Tamil-speaking public servants. After an extensive discussion of the issues involved, the Working Committee came to the decision on the stand the Party should take in this regard and authorised a group of Tamil M.Ps to apprise the Government of the Party's decision and to report back to the Committee.

In this connection The Minister of Finance Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, said in Jaffna in the Tamil speaking Northern Province on Oct. 21 that in the Government's language policy, the Tamil people would be assured of fairplay and justice.

He said the Government had not yet worked out the details of the switch-over to Sinhalese as the official language to be made in January.

Republic of S. Africa

The South African Government has officially notified Queen Elizabeth that South Africa intends to become a republic, the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported.

The article quoted Buckingham Palace sources for its information.

The official notification of the Government's intentions would be the first constitutional step in setting up a republic of South Africa and would be a pure formality, it was pointed out.

South Africa voted to become a republic in a referendum held last month.

Nigeria

Nigeria's accession to independence has been greeted in London with special satisfaction as it comes at a time when the colonial policy of the Western Powers is under fire at the U. N. from Mr. Khrushchev and others.

Practically all commentators stress the peaceful nature of the transition, pointing out that it is the result of a gradual process and

has been brought about through discussions and negotiations rather than a violent conflict between the rulers and the ruled.

While this has naturally given cause for self-congratulation on the British side, it is recognised that the orderly transfer of power has been made possible by the attitude of the Nigerian leaders themselves who have, at successive stages of the colony's constitutional development been willing to accept compromise solutions rather than insist on their own at times, conflicting claims.

Sino-Burmese Agreement

Addressing a mass rally at the Worker's Stadium at Peking on October 12 in support of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Agreement signed in Peking, Premier Chou En-lai stated that the treaty was a "brilliant model for Asian people to live together on friendly terms, and also a good example for the settlement of boundary questions and other disputes between Asian countries."

Mr. Chou was addressing over a lakh of people at the rally which was attended by Burmese Premier U Nu and Gen. Ne Win.

Mr. Chou added that the Chinese Government "wishes to live in friendship with its neighbours and wishes to co-exist peacefully with all countries which cherish the same desire on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence."

N. Viet Nam and India

North Viet Nam Premier Pham Van Dong stated at Hanoi on October 24 that India as Chairman of the International Control and Supervisory Commission for Viet Nam had failed to "take active steps in the implementation of the Geneva Agreement" and his country was "extremely displeased with the ICSC."

The Premier stated in an interview that North Viet Nam was "an outsider" to the Sino-Indian border dispute and expressed the hope that the two countries would find a "good solution" to the dispute because "there cannot be any other attitude for the two great countries whose policies are one of peace."

Mr. Pham's reference to India's role in the ICSC is in connection with the two recent decisions of the ICSC which ignored North Viet Nam's protests. The first concerns the Internal Security Law passed by the South Viet Nam Government giving it powers to deal with subversives while the second pertains to

the entry of United States military advisers into the country. The Hanoi Government claimed that both these things violated the Geneva Agreement but India agreed with the Canadian member of the Commission in ruling that they did not.

Mr. Pham said while his country welcomed India as the ICSC Chairman because of its policy of peace, in its above decisions, the ICSC (and by implication India) had not respected the clauses of the Geneva Agreement and implemented them correctly. He said he was fully aware that "it is not a simple question", but even so because there were difficulties "we have to maintain and respect all clauses of the Geneva Agreement". He reiterated that it was the "duty of the ICSC to bring about the correct implementation of these clauses" and "that is what we expect."

Freedom to Colonies

India told the 99-members Trusteeship Committee that the "right to independence of the remaining non-self-government territories must inevitably be recognised now and without delay".

The Indian delegate Mr. J. N. Sahni said the earliest independence of all dependent territories was a "matter of vital concern to us, and is very dear to our hearts."

"In view of the fact, however that the subject of colonialism will very soon come up for full discussion and deliberation before the plenary session of the Assembly, we have no wish to prejudge in any way the Assembly's deliberations and decisions on this most vital subject," he added.

Mr. Sahni described Goa as "an absurd anomaly which its people, their kin in the rest of the sub-continent of India and my Government continue to tolerate with our proverbial patience in the hope that wiser counsels will prevail."

Mr. Sahni insisted on the right of the Committee to obtain from administering countries information on political and constitutional development and expressed "disappointment that the United Kingdom continued to withhold such information despite the Assembly's renewed appeal last year that it should be transmitted to better enable the Assembly to assess the advance of these territories towards the goal of self-Government or independence as laid down in chapter 11 of the U.N. Charter."

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Madame Bovary. By *Gustave Flaubert* Rs. 2.50.

Ladies' Delight. By *Emile Zola* Rs. 3.00

One Virginity. By *Hilton Brown* Rs. 3.00.

The Private Life of Helen of Troy. By *John Erskine*, Rs 2.00.

Jaico Publishing House, Bombay.

Madame Bovary has attained the status of a classic—but unlike other classics its appeal to the general reader is still irresistible. Flaubert took six years to complete the work and he poured forth all his richest and most subtle harmonies in building up this mosaic of a beautiful and heart rendering tale of a provincial doctor's wife in revolt against her conventional surroundings. Emma is lovely and lovable, enmeshed in the toils, of fate, child of romance and Flaubert almost seems to have fallen in love with her; and his passion in her seems to have taken shape in the music of his words and phrases which are faithfully conveyed in English Version.

Zola, as is well known, is at home with the working classes and their trials and tribulations. Denise, faced with poverty and starvation, drifts to the great city of Paris in search of livelihood—Paris the city of temptations. Only through the strength and nobility of her character she could adhere to her principles. Incidentally we have an insight into the business world of Paris, the incurable mania of the ladies to go on shopping whirls and the sufferings of the poorer shop keepers in the struggle for survival. Here is a price of vivid realism presenting the upper middle class society in France with all its snobbery.

It is not for nothing that Hilton Brown has chosen to spend seven and forty years of the best part of his life in India. It is evidence of his attachment to this country and its people which he has attempted to portray in this book with real sympathy and understanding. "One Virginity" a phrase taken from Kipling tells the story of David Fergus who had to quit this country as a child with his father and whose one ambition in life was to get back to this country which he does—at a price. The story revolves on those two riddles and throws source side light on the scandals of the then Anglo-Indian society. Hilton Brown's attraction for certain spots in South India is apparent, and his familiarity with particular areas is no less apparent; but is there any need to

firing in that vulgar innuendo about Kumbakonam? Tastes may differ. Altogether "One Virginity" is a fast moving novel told with power and understanding.

Readers who have enjoyed the late Dr. Erskine's rendering of legendary tales into modern novels will find in this book something equally stimulating and entertaining. Though the story is not new the life of Helen after her return from Troy has been the theme of considerable controversy. Erskine has attempted a new interpretation of Helen's life after the Trojan episode. Her character takes on a new dimension in Erskine's treatment which is as amusing as it is fascinating.

Glimpses of Reality. By *A. R. L. Shaikh Biyani*. Price Rs. Two. Author, 827, Bootee Street, Poona, 1.

The author, a Deputy Superintendent of Police, as the erudite writer of the Foreword Retired Principal Dandekar of Poona S. P. College has pointed out, deals with a variety of topics on education and religion with knowledge and discrimination, and deals with great delicacy and insight on the difficult subject of how the understanding of the harmony in all different religions can be understood. Dealing with Public Service, Morality, Destiny, and the apparent Injustice of God in slaying innocent babes, he explains away the Higher Morality of God on the analogy of the State and Justice which punished a killer by themselves repeating the deed of Killing by hanging him. "A fiddle or musical instrument can play any number of tunes but no musical instrument can compete with the human fiddle," says he. His poems at the time may not satisfy the exacting standards of a Professor of English Literature but are full of sound sense and etheric emotion.

Selections from Gandhi. By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Price Rupees Two.

Mr. Nirmal Bose in his "Selections from Gandhi" very properly emphasizes Gandhiji's warning that the Gandhi Seva Sangh should not deteriorate into a sect. In one sense, Gandhiji was a ebonist who believed that wealth beyond a certain limit was a crime. The reconciliation of high ideals with everyday life has been tackled with a directness and force which only Mahatma Gandhi can show.

Humour Everywhere. Edited by R. N. Lakhotia, M.Com., Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 5 nP. 50.

Those who complain that the old school of Literary Flaneurs among bureaucrats has passed away may take heart from this "prized and privileged possession and reference book for Children, College Students, Professors, Businessmen, Lawyers, Doctors, Sportsmen, Politicians, Journalists, Officers, Judges, Prisoners, and the Public, as it contains Humour about them also. The last claim reminds me of the Ayurvedic Remedy, Siddha Kalpa Makara Dhawja, which "cures all ills human flesh is heir to, besides a *Few others*." Some of the pickings are new to the reviewer like, "My Mother-in-Law sits round all day, grieving because she has not got a fortune with which to disinherit me." Altogether a priceless and tickling phantasmagoria guaranteed to banish the Anatomy of Melancholy.

The Green Hills of Earth. By Robert A. Heinlein. Signet Book. New York 35 cents.

This series in the best traditions of Verne and Wells, speaks confidently of children lost on the Moon, a space pilot short of fuel worrying about his wife's sexual faithfulness, people sold into slavery into other planets, and a woman hired into an all-male space station. The pessimistic note on which it ends "to make yourself heard, you have to be a dangerous or a rabble-rousing preacher." We are going merrily to Hell and Things are bound to get a whole lot worse before they can get any better," clearly date this anticipation of the 21st. century as written during the worst days of the Blitzkrieg and the Atom Bomb. But this does not detract from the racy narrative of scientific imaginative fiction of the highest order in its class.

Some Like It Hot. By Billy Wilder and I.A.L. Diamond. Signet Book. New American Library. Price 35c.

This is the rollicking book of words of the film starring Marilyn Monroe, Tony Curtis, and Jack Lemmon. A couple of male musicians get into female company and one finally concludes his regrets that he has a terrible past, and can never have "children" with the final Revelation "I'm a Man." There is sparkling dialogue with unashamed double entendre, characteristic of modern "Merican melodrama."

The Divine Awakener. By Swami Rajeswarananda, Sevasram, Thiruvannamalai—Re. 1-50.

This is the revised edition of Swami Rajeswaranandaji's Vade Mecum of Adhyatmic Wisdom which contains a reprint of Editorials from the CALL DIVINE!

Having, been already reviewed in this magazine, the book may seem to call for only a passing notice. But it is as was already said in the *Indian Review*, "a volume to be dipped into again and again." What can surpass the pithiness of the instruction "Make the littleness in you grow less and the greatness increase." "The sound of words and the ideas back of words both count." "Torture not the body in the name of tapas, renunciation, asceticism." Having enjoyed the glories of motion in a Motorette like the Swamiji, one can well appreciate the injunction against "Pseudo—Asceticism" which mocks the physical body forgetting it is the frame which houses the Atman. Meditation is no vacuum or state of negation." "Cripple the limbs of life, and they cripple you morally, mentally, and physically, and spiritually." Muscular Christianity is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as Ideal of Religious Character exhibited in the writings of Charles Kingsley. May we say, Motorette Hinduism is the ideal of Sanatana Dharma exhibited in the writings of Vedanta Pithamaha His Holiness Rajeswaranandaji Maharaj of Kailas Hills near Kalahasti, who is wise as Old Kala sarpa, majestic as Hasti Gajendra, and spins silken threads which entwine us to the supreme Thread of Life like the Spider who is a symbol in all Yoga of weaving the Web of Life without being caught in the snares which abound in it.

Bhoodan Yajna. by Vinoba Bhave, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

This collection of Vinobaji's speeches explains the spiritual basis of his Movement. From Kamini Kaushal Mukti, Vinobaji has plunged into the Bhoodan work. It is so difficult to be certain what to do in the mass of directions given by Vinobaji. He asks some people to leave college not merely to devote themselves to Bhoodan Movement but also as an end in itself. The Panchayat principle is rather shaky as everyone knows people in a mass are both more kindly and more cruel than individuals. As Gandhiji said the hypnotic influence of capital and wealth can only be overcome by God's own grace.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

The President, Dato V.T. Sambanthan, frankly told the 14th annual Delegates conference of over 160 delegates gathered from all over the Federation of Malaya and the State of Singapore that toddy drained away nearly twenty million Malayan dollars (rupees three crores) of the Indians' income every year, particularly that of the poor working class Indians, who could ill-afford to waste such a colossal amount. If this went on unchecked, he said with great feeling the community would be bled white and they would become extinct in this country. He, therefore, reiterated the MIC's stand on total abolition of toddy and declared it would continue its vigorous anti toddy propaganda, as a result of which some of the States were already free of this evil. A resolution passed to this effect—one of 36 that came up before the conference—also requested the Prime Minister of the Federation, Tunjku Abdul Rahman, to sympathetically consider this demand of the community.

FUTURE OF TAMILS

Thousands of Tamil-speaking people, who form the bulk of Singapore City Council's labour force, will not be dismissed on the ground that they have not taken up local citizenship.

This assurance was given by Government in the Legislative Assembly during question-hour on Oct. 21.

CEYLON

SETTLEMENT OF CITIZENSHIP

Mr. Nehru was asked at his Press conference about the prospects of exploring a settlement of the problem of people of Indian origin in Ceylon with the advent of the new regime there.

The Prime Minister said that he could not say anything except that both the Governments concerned had to approach this question in a friendly way and with a desire to settle it. "But sometimes, in spite of such a desire on the part of both the governments, there are inherent difficulties in doing things quickly."

CEYLON

IMMIGRATION FROM INDIA

A three-man Ministerial Committee has been set up by the Ceylon Government to examine and report on the problem of illegal immigration into Ceylon from South India, it was reported.

BURMA

INDIAN LAND OWNERS

The Central Board of Revenue have decided that the loss claimed by Indian nationals on account of the nationalisation of land in Burma should be allowed for the purposes of income-tax.

Indian nationals had taken over agricultural lands in Burma in the course of their money-lending business and these lands had been shown as the assets of the money-lending business. It is stated that these assesseees have suffered a loss as a result of the passing of the Land Nationalisation Act by the Government of Burma in 1953 and they have adopted three different methods of claiming the loss.

Some have claimed the entire loss in 1954-55 itself on the ground that the loss accrued as soon as the Land Nationalisation Act was passed with effect from August 28, 1953. Some others have claimed the entire loss in 1958-59 either on the ground that the procedure for compensation was settled only in 1957 or that the first instalment of acquisition of land took place in that year. Certain others have claimed the loss as and when each holding was taken over by the Government of Burma.

S. AFRICA

FUTURE OF INDIANS

When to-day the wind of change is blowing over the whole of Africa, one is liable to forget that the year 1960 marks the centenary of the landing of the first batch of Indians in South Africa. During the course of these hundred years many disabilities have been heaped upon the Indian community of that country, and their story is worth recounting to-day.

The South African Government's threat to evict 100,000 Africans and 40,000 Indians from the Cato Manor area of Durban was a threat to world peace and a "shameless and discriminatory act," the South African Indian Congress told the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld in a recent letter, just released.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Oct. 1. Free Nigeria is born: Celebrations in Lagos last for 2 days.
- Oct. 2. President Ayub Khan extends Martial Law in Pakistan.
—Final agreement reached between China and Burma re. their border.
—Panchayat Raj scheme is inaugurated in Madras State.
- Oct. 3. U.N. General Assembly agrees without dissent to take up the five nation resolution for renewing contacts between Eisenhower and Khrushchev.
—Panchan Lama meets U Nu Premier of Burma at Peking.
- Oct. 4. Mr. Morarji Desai is elected Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors of the World Bank.
—Mr. C.B. Gupta is elected President of Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.
- Oct. 5. The British Labour Party rejects defence policy of its leader Mr. Hugh Gaitskell and votes for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons.
—Afghanistan and People's China sign a non-aggression pact.
—Referendum in S. Africa, Republicans lead.
—Nehru announces in U.N. withdrawal of five-power resolution calling for renewal of contacts between Eisenhower and Khrushchev.
- Oct. 6. Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha (U.P. Assembly) adjourns *sine die*.
- Oct. 7. Chinese troops in Ladakh border withdrawn upto 10 miles inside.
- Oct. 8. United Nations General Assembly admits unanimously the new independent state of Nigeria as the 99th member of U.N.
- Oct. 9. United States succeed in blocking the General Assembly of U.N. from discussing as to who should represent China Peking Govt. or Chiang's regime in Formosa.
- Oct. 10. Morarji Desai returns to India.
- Oct. 11. Prime Minister returns to India after attending the U.N. Session.
- Oct. 12. The U.N. General Assembly rejects the Soviet proposal to have a disarmament debate in the plenary sessions instead of in the Political Committee.
- Oct. 13. President adjourns General Assembly amidst uproar and heated debate on colonialism.
—Col. Mobutu of Congo is dissuaded from forming a cabinet without Parliamentary sanction.
- Oct. 14. Khrushchev leaves New York and reaches Moscow.
—Trial of leaders of former Menderes regime in Turkey begins in Yarsida Island.
- Oct. 15. Kerala Assembly passes the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill.
—Indo-Polish Trade Pact is signed.
- Oct. 16. The Japanese Diet is dissolved.
- Oct. 17. Mr. V.K.K. Menon moves a 20-nation resolution in U.N. Assembly for the taking immediate steps concerning peace of world.
- Oct. 18. Congress High Command permits Dr. Sampurnanand, U.P., Chief Minister to resign.
- Oct. 19. U.N. warns Col. Joseph Mobutu that military dictatorship will not be tolerated.
- Oct. 20. India's plea in U.N.'s 99-member trusteeship Committee that Colonies should immediately be granted freedom.
- Oct. 21. Indo-Swiss trade agreement is ratified.
- Oct. 22. Mrs. Indira Gandhi leaves for Mexico.
- Oct. 23. Cyclone in East Pakistan results in the death of over 4,000 people.
- Oct. 24. Assam State Assembly passes Official Language Bill.
—U.N. celebrates 15th anniversary.
- Oct. 25. Russia rejects a disarmament resolution proposed by Britain, U.S.A. and Italy.
- Oct. 26. Fighting in Laos between Govt. forces and pro-Communist guerillas.
- Oct. 27. Mr. Sanjeva Reddi arrives at Raipur for the AICC Session.
—Mr. Nehru inaugurates at Bhilai the nail and structural Mill. (the third rolling unit).
- Oct. 28. World Bank approves \$ 20 million loan to Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India.
- Oct. 29. U.S. complaint to Organisations of American States (O.A.S.) about the arms build-up in Cuba.
- Oct. 30. The A.I.C.C. at Raipur unanimously adopts the resolution endorsing the objectives and targets laid down in 3rd Plan.
- Oct. 31. Vice-Admiral R.D. Katari returns to Bombay after a 17-day visit to United Kingdom and France.

READERS' DIGEST

CEASE-FIRE LINE IN KASHMIR

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that if the two leaders of India and Pakistan—Prime Minister Nehru and Pakistan President Ayub Khan—should withdraw both the troops away from the Cease-fire line (in Kashmir) depending on a gentleman's agreement, the world would hail it as "a double triumph of the doctrine of mutual trust accepted without guarantees of security against treachery."

Mr. Rajagopalachari made these observations in a Press statement commenting on the signing of the canal waters agreement between India and Pakistan.

The statement said:

"Barring certain people whose importance and calling deepened on fanaticism, the people of India and the people of Pakistan, there is no doubt, are immensely pleased that Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Field Marshal Ayub Khan met in Karachi, planning together to forge friendship. There is not one pious man in either country who is not earnestly praying for their success in this adventure."

"The world has already congratulated and tendered its genuine tribute of praise over the Canal Waters Treaty. The Presidential candidates in U.S.A. have risen in their status by the greetings they have sent".

"The canal waters issue was far more of a real problem than Kashmir. Kashmir has become a problem although it did not inherently deserve that status."

"If the two leaders should come to an agreement to withdraw both the troops away from the cease-fire line, depending on a gentleman's agreement, the world would hail it as a double triumph of the doctrine of mutual trust accepted without guarantees of security against treachery. We would become the moral leaders of the world, however indebted and weak we may be today, in terms of finance."

"If the two armies should withdraw from the cease-fire line and the line be yet preserved as the firm boundary until we come to a treaty later on, and the two armies thus spared, are utilised to be deployed against aggression from China, we may be sure aggression will march back as noiselessly as it had tres-

passed. And the quarrel with China will become a forgotten episode".

"Friendship between Pakistan and India is the key to the preservation and furtherance of democracy in the Eastern hemisphere. The triumph of the doctrine of trust will be a lesson to the whole world. The gains in power as well as prestige are well worth all the courage and the risks involved or appearing to be involved. May God bless the effort now undertaken in Karachi."

"U. N. HAS DEVIATED FROM ITS IDEALS"

The Soviet Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda* said in an article on "United Nations Day" that the world organisation "has deviated from the principles and ideals laid down" at its birth 15 years ago.

The article, by I Aleksandrov, said capitalist States had used their "mechanical majority" to try and place the U.N. at their service.

It said the disarmament issue was still deadlocked after 10 years in the hands of the U.N. and went on: "The Soviet Government deems that the U. N. can be improved as an international instrument set up to avert a new world war."

The article urged that disarmament be regarded as the main problem of the U.N. and that the "principle of equal conditions for all States" be observed.

"International public opinion warmly supports the just proposals of the Soviet Government on total and universal disarmament, on the liquidation of the last vestiges of the colonial system and on the necessity of the changing the structure of the U.N. These proposals represent the only way out of the stale mate."

A 17,000-YEAR-OLD LAMP

How did man light his home 17,000 years ago? A recent discovery in the famed Lascaux caves of the Dordogne in France offers an answer to this question. Beneath a prehistoric painting of a wounded bison charging a man, researchers discovered a lamp of pink sandstone containing coal. An analysis of the coal in a Danish laboratory by the "carbon 14" method has enabled scientists to establish the age of the lamp as it was used 170 centuries ago.

SOCIALISM IN PEOPLE'S CHINA

The Chinese Communist Party's theoretical magazine, the *Red Flag*, in an article commenting on the just-published fourth volume of the works of the Party President, Mao Tse-tung, says that revolution cannot be exported by war or by armed force.

The article reproduced on 1st November by all Peking daily newspapers, said: "Marxist-Leninists have always considered that revolution cannot be imported or exported. To think the opposite is totally erroneous. No Marxist-Leninist party favours Socialist countries spreading revolution by starting a war."

The article said the Yugoslav revisionist clique calumniate the Socialist countries by saying that the latter want to have recourse to war. These are simply absurdities destined to serve imperialism."

It said the development of the revolutionary forces in various countries, including the creation of the Republic of People's China, was the basic factor which prevented imperialism from unleashing a new war and safeguarded world peace "by increasing the strength of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union."

The *Red Flag* said the "socialist revolution cannot triumph simultaneously in all countries." It added: "The people of the different countries will gain victory progressively and separately according to their own efforts and revolutionary preparations."

It said there were two distinct and successive stages in a revolution: (1) When the proletariat seized the state machinery by force by destroying the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie as in the Chinese revolution.

(2) When after having assumed power, the proletariat engaged in building socialism through peaceful means. Quoting Lenin and Mao, the article insisted repeatedly on the fact that revolutions in various countries must base support on the political aspirations peculiar to these countries in relation with the specific conditions existing in them.

The article emphasised that the Chinese revolution constituted "the continuation of the (Soviet) October revolution" and would likewise be victorious as a result of the destru-

ction of the military and bureaucratic machinery of the bourgeois State.

The article said that strengthening of the socialist camp and development of the world people's revolutionary movement provide "a greater safeguard for world peace." "It is absurd to say that world peace and world revolution are incompatible."

The *Red Flag* was due on Chinese newstands after the mid-October issue failed to appear. Inquirers were told at the magazine's office earlier, that a "combined issue" incorporating the mid-October and November editions was being prepared.

Foreign diplomatic observers said the cancellation of the last issue may have been due to a Communist Party decision to change some articles in the light of conversations reportedly taking place then in Moscow between Soviet and Chinese theoreticians on ideological differences between the two parties.

Two men thought to have been Peking's envoys at the talks, Mr. Teng Hsiao-Ping, the Party Secretary-General, and Mr. Peng Chen, the Peking Mayor and a member of the Politbureau, have both returned to Peking.

Both appeared with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other party leaders at a gala performance given by a visiting Korean army song and dance group.

Most of the 19-member Politbureau are now in Peking and observers say it is likely that they are hearing a report by the Moscow envoys before announcing who will represent China at the coming October Revolution celebrations in Moscow.

The *Red Flag* article is signed by the magazine's "Editorial Department"—generally considered as under the close direction of the Central Committee.

The article, which occupies the bottom half of the newspaper's front page and most of the second page, is headed "Basic conclusions on the experience of victory in the Chinese people's revolution."

The first half of the article deals with the Chinese revolution culminating in the proclamation of the People's Republic, and reviews the recently published fourth volume of the works of Mao Tse-tung.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

The conflict between Science and Religion was brought to a head a hundred years ago in the clash about Darwin's theories between T. H. Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce. The argument is restaged in the recent controversy and the same issue between Huxley's grandson Sir Julian and Rev. Mascall of Christ Church, Oxford. Sir Julian upholds the cause of science with the same vigour and trenchancy as his redoubtable grandfather.

"Between science and Christian theology there is a very real conflict. This is an important part of larger conflict between two vast systems of thought that are competing for the mind of man—dualistic supernaturalism and unitary naturalism.

These two radically different systems of thought are competitive; one is destined to replace the other.

In the first system the phenomenon universe and its evolution are secondary to a central and eternal god, and are assumed to be products of or dependent on divine operation. In the second gods are peripheral phenomena produced by evolution. In modern god-centred systems, human beings are supposed to possess a unitary and immortal spiritual entity or soul, capable of existence apart from the body; in the evolutionary system, man's spiritual capacities are taken to be part of the mental aspect or inner face of the human organism."

Christian theology has a highly organized theoretical structure, based on a combination of an elaborate god-theory with a subsidiary but equally elaborate soul-theory.

"It can develop only within certain limits; the fixed postulates of its basic god-theory set limits to its range of applicability, while its reliance on the authority of divine intervention and revelation limits its powers of self-correction. Humanism, on the other hand, is acquiring a well-organized theoretical basis in the form of a comprehensive theory of evolution as a whole. It is an open system, capable of unlimited development; its only postulate is a thoroughgoing naturalism, so that all phenomenon are gist to its mill. Its reliance on scientific method makes it automatically self-correction."

The Huxley-Wilberforce duel a century ago symbolized the defeat of the idea of special creation by that of biological transformation.

"Today the entire god-theory is in competition with the extended evolution theory, and its picture of the world and man's destiny is in process of being superseded by the evolutionary vision.

THE HUMAN BODY

Family Health in its interesting notes on our human system observes:

"The body has three main divisions namely, the head, the trunk, the upper and lower limbs. In the trunk there is a large cavity wherein are almost all the important organs. This cavity is divided into an upper and a lower portion by a thin wall called diaphragm. The upper portion is called the thorax or the chest. Within it are the heart and the lungs, and in the back part of it are the trachea and the gullet or oesophagus. The cavity below the diaphragm is called the abdominal cavity. Within it are the liver, the stomach, the spleen, the pancreas, the small and the large intestines. The kidneys are situated just outside it, at the back. Each member of the body has its own use and is called an organ. Several organs may work together. For example, the mouth, teeth, gullet, stomach, small and large intestines and pancreas all work together in the digestion of the food: these are collectively called the digestive organs. The nose, pharynx, trachea and lungs work together in getting fresh air into the body and getting rid of the carbon dioxide; and for this reason they are called respiratory organs. The heart and all the large and small blood vessels work together in causing the blood to circulate through the body, so they are called circulatory organs. The kidneys, skin, lungs, liver and large intestines all work together in getting the waste matters out of the body; for this reason they are called the excretory organs. The brain, the spinal cord and all the large and small nerves work together in directing and controlling all the other organs of the body; these comprise the nervous system. In addition to the above mentioned organs there are the bones, which serve as the framework and give shape to the body, and the muscles which move all the parts of the body."

"PAKISTAN PERSPECTIVE"

In an article under this title, in *Foreign Affairs* President Ayub Khan of Pakistan has outlined what he thinks was wrong with Pakistan in the past and the correctives that he hopes to introduce in the future. The President has done this often before in his speeches but since the article is written for readers accustomed to democratic politics, it soft-pedals the alleged failures of the politicians and lays more stress on other factors. According to the writer, Pakistan suffered at the beginning of freedom from three main difficulties. First, there was the problem of Islamic ideology which was the *raison d'être* for partition. After freedom, there was endless debate about what an Islamic State should be. The President quotes from Sir Muhammad Iqbal to show that what this founding father really meant was that basic principles of equality and fraternity should be realised in practice—he was not proposing a theocratic medieval State. The second difficulty was economic: refugees, water-logging, smuggling, black-marketing, etc. The third was the distance between East and West Pakistan as well as the diversity of languages, script and social customs. Yet this could be bridged by a common ideology. After referring to the loss of Kashmir because Mr. Radcliffe made a mistake in the map, the President goes on to describe the failure of leadership in Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah was a sick man who died within a year of his triumph. Liaquat Ali Khan fell to an assassin in 1952. This created a vacuum which led to a struggle for power by minor party politicians. There were six cabinets in five years. Gen. Ayub Khan at this point, however, describes the politicians as more sinned against than sinning. The parliamentary system of Britain was unsuited to Pakistan where the bulk of the people are illiterate. How could the people know whom they were electing when there were a million voters for each parliamentary seat? In West Pakistan, a small group of families held the monopoly of power because they were landed magnates.

Gen. Ayub says, however, that he is not opposed to democracy—but it must be suited to the people. Hence Pakistan has been divided into 40,000 constituencies of one thousand persons each to elect representatives to local councils. At this point, Ayub Khan reveals that "I would personally like this body of

80,000 elected representatives to serve as the electoral college for Parliament and possibly the President. This is only my personal view for I do not wish to prejudge the recommendations of the Constitution Commission." The article goes on to mention the land reform, the Five-Year Plan and need to "make the grade" in the next 15-20 years if "the tidal wave of Communism" is not to submerge Pakistan.

It is a persuasive piece of writing but so many American political scientists have studied the history of Pakistan that it is not likely to be taken at face value. They know that after Liaquat Ali, his successor Ghulam Mohammed governed even more autocratically, setting up cabinets and dismissing them as he wished. He was followed by Iskander Mirza who did not permit the new Constitution of 1956 to operate at all. General elections were never held and in fact Mirza abolished Parliament on the eve of the elections. Provincial elections were no doubt corrupt, because the tenants of West Pakistan had to vote for their landlords. But Ayub Khan misses a vital point here: when the constituencies are big, as they were for the Central Parliament, the corruption of the electorate was not possible. This was why such elections were never held. The most striking paragraph in the article is, however, the one quoted above relating to the President's plans for the future. The "Basic Democracies" are only partly elected. Yet this unrepresentative body is the President's choice for the election of Parliament and President. No further proof is necessary that what is contemplated is not democracy. If equality and fraternity are the accepted ideological principles they will certainly not be put into practice by the Constitution that the President has in mind.

SOVIET ROCKET

The Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* says that the Soviet Union had failed in three unprecedented new rocket tests. The paper said the tests were made in the "Atomic zone" of Southern Siberia, and that Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, delayed his departure from New York to await the results.

To support its claim, the paper "quoted the text of a broadcast by Moscow Radio to the United States on Sept. 27 in which it was stated that Soviet scientists would launch a space vessel carrying a Soviet Air Force Officer during the first week of Oct.

RECIPE FOR LONGEVITY

A United States doctor claims to have learnt the secret of a "germ resistant" people living in a remote Himalayan "Shangri La," whose food growing methods are said to promote longevity and virility, and might help the civilisation to resist the radioactivity peril to health.

Dr. Allen E. Bannik says he made his discoveries on a mountain trek into the fabulous Hunza country using aircraft and jeep transport.

On return home, he says, he has started to grow his own food in the way the Hunzas taught him in a soil with organic properties, "which our over-fertilised agriculture has destroyed. The key to the whole Hunza diet is this mineral strength in their food which makes them germ-resistant."

Dr. Bannik is planning a world tour to lecture on the Hunzas' "incredible secrets of youth."

He tells of finding men living to be 120 years old, some of them fathering children at the age of 90.

A woman journalist, Rence Taylor, who has collaborated with Dr. Bannik on the book "The Hunza Land," published in the United States, says: "His new found dietary methods may be a way to fight the growing threat of radiation pollution in our atmosphere."

CHILD-BIRTH

An instrument in child-birth which works on the same principles as a vacuum-cleaner, may replace the use of forceps in most deliveries, and presents no danger either for mother or child, says an article in the *British Medical Journal*.

The equipment is brought into contact with the baby's head at the moment of birth, which is thus hastened.

Doctors said the most current fear expressed by some doctors was that the suction could possibly rupture the blood vessels in the head and might affect the brain, but this, they said, was not so.

"It is considered that the instrument is safe for mother and child and can effectively replace the obstetric forces in most instances," they said.

The paper went on: "It can be said that three attempts have been made—the first on the opening day of the U.N. General Assembly, the second four days later, the third a few days after the anniversary of the launchings of Sputnik I and Lunik III (Oct. 4, 1957 and 1959). Three attempts and three failures.

It added: "Mr. Khrushchev, being no longer able to hope for the spectacular success on which he counted, left New York three days after the third attempt and in the state of nerves which is known.

U. S. BASES IN W. EUROPE

Bertrand Russell (Earl Russell), the philosopher, claimed that American bases in Western Europe increase, rather than diminish, the danger to the countries in whose territories they are situated and do nothing to diminish the risk of a general war.

"I hold that any country in Western Europe increases the risk of its own nuclear obliteration by membership in NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)." Bertrand Russell wrote in a letter published in the Sunday newspaper, *Observer* on Oct. 16.

In the opinion of eminent and orthodox Americans, Russia could exterminate the population of any European member of NATO without bringing on a general nuclear war.

"The Soviet Government might consider this advantageous, but they would be very unlikely to see any advantage in such an attack upon a neutral power.

"As for a nuclear war between the United States and the U.S.S.R., I do not think that either side is likely to bring this on deliberately; but I do think, in common with almost all who have studied the matter, that the risk of an unintended war is very great.

"This risk does not depend upon any supposed equality of power between East and West but upon the risk of accident in the technical measures taken by both sides in the hope of preventing a surprise attack.

"For these reasons, I think that American bases in Britain or Western Europe increase, rather than diminish, the danger to the countries in whose territories they are situated and do nothing to diminish the risk of a general war.

"Neutrals are in a position to suggest and to press, as no other powers are, possibly acceptable measures designed to lessen East-West tension, and Britain, as a neutral, would be in a greatly improved situation in promoting such measures," Bertrand Russell added in his letter to the *Observer*.

VISION AND COLOUR

Dr. C.V. Raman delivering the Mysore University Extension lecture on Oct. 8 at the new University campus on "Light, colour and vision" disclosed that he had made great many new discoveries about human vision and colour and his monograph on that subject would soon be published by him.

His new discoveries, he said, had completely thrown overboard the old photo-chemical theory of vision and colour. Dr. Raman explained the intricates of how the human eye perceives light and colour.

Dr. Raman declared open the post-graduate science departments of Mysore University at the new University campus "Manasa Gangothi." He congratulated the Mysore University authorities on choosing the right place for developing their place of learning. Bangalore, he felt, had now become a great business centre and there had been a remarkable transformation there. He felt that Mysore City was the best place for developing the University centre of learning and for doing real research work. He hoped that Mysore City would grow as an ideal centre of learning and occupy a foremost place among the centre of learning in the world.

"If you wish to develop a centre of learning compared to others abroad," Dr. Raman said, "you have to choose the right place" and Mysore University should have its development in Mysore City, he added.

Proceeding, Dr. Raman referred to the phenomenal achievements in the field of science and the tremendous impetus that the world wars had on science. He felt depressed at conditions in India and the non-availability of equipment for development of scientific researches and discoveries.

Dr. Raman criticised the tendency on the part of students to quit their own universities and rush to foreign countries for further study and researches and return in search of jobs. He advised them to develop a "fanatic" loyalty and pride to one's own centre of learning and rely on self-help. He advised them not to live on the past glory and work to realise all those great qualities their ancestors had.

Dr. Raman felt they were not putting their weight in the field of science in India and advised university men to try to be leaders and avoid being followers always. There was vast

scope of research in their own country. The world was full of problems and it was for them to open out. "India will raise her status if educated men relied on self-help, patriotism and loyalty to their seats of learning and devoted themselves to understand the working of nature."

NIXON AND KENNEDY ON SUMMIT

Presidential candidates Senator John Kennedy and Vice-President Richard Nixon clashed in their television debate at Washington on Oct. 7 over the U-2 spy flight incident.

But they agreed that the next President should meet Mr. Khrushchev at a Summit meeting—if there were through diplomatic preparations in advance.

On the U-2 incident, Senator Kennedy was asked about a statement he made soon after the Paris Summit collapse and he replied: "I said that I felt that rather than tell the lie which he told rather than indicate that the (spy) flights would continue.....it would have been far better if we had expressed regrets if that would have saved the (Paris) Summit."

Mr. Nixon retorted sharply: "I think Senator Kennedy is wrong....." "I don't intend ever to express regret to Mr. Khrushchev or anybody else if I am doing something that has the support of Congress and that is right for the purpose of protecting the security of the United States."

Television officials estimated that 75 million people saw the debate on all networks.

Each candidate had two and a half minutes to answer each question put to him by the panel of four newspapermen and his opponent had one and a half minutes for rebuttal.

Mr. Nixon several times described Senator Kennedy "as wrong" and the Senator once retorted that the Vice-President was "wholly inaccurate" in his remarks.

On the question of a Summit, Mr. Nixon said: "I will be willing to meet Mr. Khrushchev or any other world leader if it serves the cause of peace—but not unless there have been preparations which give us some reasonable certainty that it would have success....."

"Mr. Khrushchev went to Paris to break up that Summit.....another conference must be preceded by negotiations on the diplomatic level which will delineate and prepare the way for the heads of State.

"Otherwise we may find that the cause of peace may be hurt, not helped."

REMEDY FOR HEART ATTACKS

The People has an interesting article on heart disease. The writer shares the view that it is not necessary that all heart patients should die early. Giving detailed accounts on heart attacks the writer says:

"As public health standards rise and the life expectancy of people throughout the world increase, people hear more and more about one of the most common effects of the aging process—heart attack. A heart attack generally means that a clot or some sort of block has formed in one of the "coronary" arteries—that is, one of the arteries which encircle the heart and bring blood to it. Because a blood vessel is blocked nourishing block fails to reach part of the heart or "coronary" attack results from the fact that cells in this part are literally starving.

One of the world's leading authorities on the heart and its ailments, Doctor Paul D. White of Boston, former president of the American Heart Association has taken an active part in trying to bring the facts about such attacks to the general public. Equally important, he and many of his colleagues are trying to dispel a host of "heart myths," mistaken notions about the heart and the effects of heart attacks. He points out that perhaps the biggest heart myth of all is the entirely erroneous belief that a heart attack automatically means an early death.

Dr. White tells the story of one of his patients, who operated a silver fox farm on Prince Edward Island off the coast of Canada. Early one morning he felt a pressing, slowly mounting pain in his chest, just behind the breastbone. The pain disappeared after about half a minute, and the fox farmer forgot around it. But a few weeks later he had two further attacks, which were enough to send him to a doctor. The diagnosis: a heart attack due to blockage of a coronary artery. The patient was referred to Doctor White who recalls: "He fully expected to die within a year or two."

What actually happened was something of a miracle, but one of these miracles which nature regularly performs during healing processes. The farmer was confined to bed in a Boston hospital while his heart repaired itself. His blood did what traffic does when

there is a road block. It found another way around, a kind of detour. In this case, the detour involves using other blood vessels, of the heart's network of vessels. Within two weeks blood flow was re-established to the ailing part of the heart along route, in a process which doctors know as "collateral circulation."

"Before the patient left the hospital," Dr. White reported, "he shook hands with me and said, 'I'm going to send you thanks giving turkey every year as long as live.' That man was 53 years old at the time of his attack and I received turkeys from him for 24 consecutive years."

This case illustrates an important fact about the average heart attack, whenever it strikes. It is not the prelude to an early death. Most such attacks occur among the people on their 50's and 60's and records of people living on into their late 70's and 80's are not uncommon. Furthermore and more experience with available treatments, they are finding increased evidence of the effectiveness of modern methods.

For example doctor reported on an important 9 year study at a recent Philadelphia meeting of the American College of Cardiology. The study involved 100 heart patients who were advised to rest in bed and take regular doses of drugs which tend to reduce the clotting tendencies of blood. These drugs, administered during the period after attack reduce the chance of another clot forming in coronary artery. Of the group 85 patients followed the advice, and after nine years only nine of them had died. But among the 15 other patients, who for one reason or another did not follow the advice, 11 had died.

Such results confirm what Dr. White and other specialists have been saying for a long time. Test and the proper medicines are required for a period following a heart attack. But after recovery, normal work and exercise and recreation are definitely recommended. In fact reasonably active patients outlive heart patients who stop work and spend most of their time in easy chairs.

The notion that heart patients must lead an active life, says the writer, has no foundation in fact.

ORIGIN OF PENCIL

The next time you pick up a pencil you may care to think about how the very first pencils came to be made. You will have to go back more than 400 years to the mountains of Cumberland in the North-West of England says Mr. D. Macon in the *Hindu*.

One night in about the year 1550, there was a violent storm. The next morning, where local shepherds went to look after their sheep on the hillsides, they found that several trees had been blown down. The torn-out roots had broken the soil, exposing a strange, black material.

At first, the shepherds thought it was coal. They tried to make a fire with it, but the black stuff would not burn. Then they found that very black marks had been left on their hands, and later they used the new material to mark the wool of their sheep to show who was the owner.

For some years, the shepherds dug out as much of the black material as they needed but no-one else was very interested. Then the Government got to hear about it and, though they had no idea what the black stuff was, they thought it might be valuable. Some was sent to London—and it was carried in an armed stage coach.

The material came to be known as graphite, and the Government took over the deposits in Cumberland because graphite was found to be useful in the casting of cannon balls.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the fame of Cumberland graphite spread to many countries. It was used by artists who found it excellent for black and white drawings. Those early "pencils" were just pieces of graphite wrapped in sheepskin.

Soon it was found that long thin strips of graphite could be fitted between two grooved pieces of wood, which could then be bound together to keep the "lead" firm. And so the first pencils as we know them were made.

U. S. PRESS TRIBUTE TO NEHRU

Judging by the first reports of American Press reaction the point in Prime Minister Nehru's speech in the world forum on Oct. 3 that caught most of the attention at New York is his reference to the importance of the United Nations in the troubled world.

On his suggestion to resolve some of the tense problems, for example, to try to resolve the Congolese crisis through the Congolese Parliament, reaction appeared negative. The

chief reason for this was an expectation that the Congolese Parliament would continue to back Mr. Lumumba.

Mr. Nehru's speech was published in full in the *New York Times* side by side, with a warm biographical sketch. The sketch carried a change in his self-portrait published some years ago. Mr. Nehru had said of himself: "I have become a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere and at home nowhere."

The paper wrote: "Most of the United Nations delegates in the General Assembly, who heard him speak would probably have thought it truer for Mr. Nehru to have said: 'I have become a unique mixture of East and West, out of place nowhere and at home everywhere.'"

Some Indian observers thought that Mr. Nehru's position at the world body was similar to what he had complained about in India. Everyone expresses enthusiasms, admiration and respect for him, but when it comes to following the principles he lays down, there is resistance by entrenched and vested interests."

RISE IN INDIA'S OUTPUT

India is among the 14 countries of the world where increase in food production equalled population growth or exceeded it by up to 0.9 per cent per annum between the years 1952-53 to 1957-58.

According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation annual report released recently said India's population during this period rose by 1.3 per cent, while food production increased by 1.9 per cent.

The increase in food production did not keep pace with the growth in the population of India's immediate neighbours, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan.

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN TIBET

Title deeds to land holdings are to be issued soon to "emancipated peasants in Tibet," the *New China News Agency* reported on Nov. 3 Peking transmission, quoting a despatch from Lhasa.

A directive from the Preparatory Committee for Tibet said that under the Chinese Constitution, which "protects the rights of peasants to own land and other means of production according to law," deeds are to be issued to those given land in districts where checks on the "democratic reform" of Tibet have been completed, the agency said.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE A. I. C. C. MEETING

The A. I. C. C. met at Raipur (Ravi Shankar Shukla Nagar) from the 27th to 30th of last month: Mr. N. Sanjeva Reddi presided. Almost all leaders including Nehru, Pant, Katju, Patil, C. Subramanyam & others attended the session which was a momentous one as it passed several important and epoch-making resolutions on the International situation, Assam Language Bill, situation in Congo, India's Third five Year Plan etc.

In his review of international affairs at the meeting, Prime Minister Nehru acquainted his colleagues with the happenings in the United Nations General Assembly during his recent participation in its deliberations.

He is reported to have explained at length how the five-Power resolution came to be presented to the Assembly and the various pressures by which it was sought to be neutralised.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have said that he had received hundreds of telegrams from Americans expressing appreciation of and thanks for his first speech at the General Assembly. Whatever the reactions it had produced in official quarters might be, the American public seemed to have liked it, Mr. Nehru said.

Mr. Nehru also referred with anxiety to the failure of the great powers to come nearer to agreement on disarmament. He was appreciative of the Soviet Prime Minister's proposals on disarmament and did not agree with the suggestion that controls should precede disarmament.

On the Congo situation, Mr. Nehru is reported to have said that the United Nations' representative, Mr. Rajeswar Dayal, seemed to have come to firm grips with the problems there.

The All-India Congress Committee unanimously reversed its earlier decision taken at Poona in regard to the introduction of an elected element in the composition of its Working Committee.

The 3,000-word resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the Third Five-Year Plan, says that the resources envisaged in the draft outline of the Plan (Rs. 10,200 crores) "are well within the capacity of the nation."

"But", it adds, "a certain amount of restraint on consumption is inevitable so that the ratio of savings to the national income may be raised from eight per cent to eleven percent."

The various programmes of development in the Third Plan call for an investment of Rs. 10,200 crores, of which Rs. 6,200 crores will be in the public sector and Rs. 4,000 crores in the private sector.

The resolution expresses the view that the demands for investment on this scale should not prove burdensome because they will absorb only a fraction of the added incomes. The available resources can be made to go much further in terms of achievement by making economies in the costs of construction and operation and by eliminating avoidable non-developmental expenditure.

The Committee unanimously adopted the resolution endorsing the objectives and targets laid down in the draft Third Five-Year Plan.

Prime Minister Nehru, who intervened in the debate on the resolution, called for a change in the mental attitude of the people to industrialisation. He said that planning was essential for industrialisation and all-round development. The private sector, he added, had neither the capacity nor the mental approach to undertake industrialisation of India—a task that could be achieved only by planned activity in the public sector.

The A.I.C.C. also expressed its unanimous approval of the policy of non-involvement in military alliances and of friendship with all nations. The resolution on the international situation moved by the Union Home Minister, Mr. G. B. Pant, dwelt largely on the disarmament question and the problem of the newly emerging independent countries of Africa.

Pandit Pant said that if the basic principle of India's foreign policy were to be accepted by all countries, peace between nations would be guaranteed. Unfortunately, however, the world to-day lived in an atmosphere of hatred and conflict and suspicion. This found reflection in the United Nations General Assembly. Otherwise the five-Power resolution put forward among others by Prime Minister Nehru would not have created the complex of pressures that it did although it was a simple statement urging renewal of contacts between the leaders of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

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Utterances of the Day

AYUB KHAN ON INDO-PAK AMITY

President Ayub Khan said that the Kashmir issue was like a time-bomb "never very far removed from flashpoint."

He added that "unless the intention is to make it explode through lack of foresight and statesmanship, the answer is to defuse it as quickly as possible and that cannot be done without touching it."

President Ayub Khan who was making a countrywide broadcast on the eve of the second anniversary of the "revolution," on October 26 was apparently referring to Mr. Nehru's remarks on Kashmir in a television interview in New York recently.

The President said he did not agree that the Kashmir problem was like a "Pandora's Box" and if it was touched and the status quo changed all sorts of weird consequences would follow.

"It will be more correct," President Ayub Khan said, "to call it a time-bomb, never very far removed from flash-point and unless the intention is to make it explode through lack of foresight and statesmanship, the answer is to defuse it as quickly as possible and that cannot be done without touching it."

Mr. Ayub Khan said that the Kashmir problem, apart from vitiating the relations between India and Pakistan, was also sapping the vitals of India first and then Pakistan.

"If it goes on like this," he added "it will inevitably aggravate the problems of India which are already not too inconsiderable. A weak India will be no solace or strength to Pakistan. And how strong can India be when it has taken upon itself to have twice the army it needs despite the threat from the north incurring about Rs. 150 crores of additional expenditure per year. I leave you to decide. So when I talk about solving this problem, I mean just as well by India as by Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. It is my faith that this problem shall be solved one day, 'insha allaha' (god willing). My prayer and effort is that it should be solved peacefully."

BAKSHI GHULAM'S CALL

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed asserted that all the peace-loving people wanted Pakistan to vacate the aggression committed by her in Kashmir in 1947.

Presiding over the 22nd annual session of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference on October 18 at Baramulla, the Kashmir Premier

said India's peaceful relations with all countries including those in "our neighbourhood" had recently brought about a welcome change in the attitude of the present rulers of Pakistan. "The recent visit of our Prime Minister and the signing of the Canal Waters Treaty is a happy development in cementing the friendly relations between the two countries. It is, however, our earnest hope that the magnificent gesture of our country will be reciprocated by Pakistan adequately."

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed said: "The accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India is the logical sequence to people's advance towards secularism and democracy." All the vital decisions pertaining to the future share and affiliations of the State, he said, "were taken after careful thought. In arriving at these decisions, there was complete unanimity of opinion in the National Conference leadership. Likewise the historic decision to convene the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of securing the verdict of the representatives of people on the fundamental issues facing the State was the result of a common desire to frustrate the attempts of interested quarters to perpetuate the State of uncertainty and instability in Jammu and Kashmir."

MR. NEHRU ON EAST—WEST RELATIONS

Mr. Nehru predicted the concept of nation State will become outmoded.

Mr. Nehru said during a television interview that because of developments in technology and space travel, "if we survive and there are no wars, the nation State will go out of date."

Mr. Nehru, who left for India on October 9 after attending the United Nations General Assembly, said the atmosphere at the U.N. session has been "good" in one sense, and affected by "anger and suspicion" in another.

Referring to the defeat of a neutralist-proposed resolution calling for renewed contacts between President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Nehru said: "Even after the resolution had been buried, some people realised it was very simple and a good resolution."

Mr. Nehru called for steps to be taken now to remove the "rigid conditions and huge barriers" in East-West relations in order to pave the way for a resumption of top-level talks between the two blocs. "It is not really difficult to go further if the mental approach is good," he added.

Political

(Continued from page 609)

It was also strange, Pandit Pant said at the A.I.C.C. meeting that to hear voices speaking of the "inevitability of war." If this was valid, all talk of peace and peaceful co-existence would be empty. It was not surprising that those who propounded this theory had no qualms about committing aggression against other countries' frontiers. India, however, would be steadfast in its adherence to the policy of non-alignment and peace. But let those who might be looking at India with evil eyes know that nothing could suppress India's freedom and integrity.

Pandit Pant also referred to the fight for freedom being waged in Algeria and spoke of the great sacrifices being made by the Algerians for their independence. He hoped victory would be theirs before long.

The A.I.C.C. ratified after discussion the working committee's proposal to change the method of election of the central election committee.

Under the proposal, which was placed before the A.I.C.C. by Maharashtra's Chief Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, candidates must get a two-thirds majority of the A.I.C.C. voting in order to get elected to the Election Committee.

It also provides that if in the first round of voting all the five members of the Election Committee (apart from the six members of the Central Parliamentary Board, who automatically become members of the Committee) are not elected by this majority, candidates securing less than 15 percent of the total votes shall be eliminated. Then there will be a second ballot for the remaining seats from among the remaining candidates: the process is to continue till all the five members of the Election Committee are elected by a two-thirds majority.

In his opening remarks, the President, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, briefly reviewed some of the important developments in the country during the last five months after the Poona session of the A.I.C.C. He referred to controversies regarding languages and State boundaries and said that all efforts should be made to keep under control situations arising out of them. He was glad that the unfortunate situation that had developed in Assam had now been brought under control. He was sure complete peace would soon be restored.

The Committee then adopted a condolence resolution on the death of Mr. Feroz Gandhi and some other leading public figures in recent weeks.

Other official amendments to the Congress Constitution accepted laid down that co-opted and nominated members of the AICC, the PCC and lower levels shall not exercise any voting right in any organisational election. An amendment of Mr. Mahavir Tyagi that such members should also be debarred from contesting any elective post was also accepted.

Another official amendment passed was that the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party and leaders of the Congress Legislature Party in the States should be *ex-officio* members of the Central Election Committee and State Election Committees respectively. The co-operation of the leader of the Congress Party in Parliament to the Central Election Committee had not been included in the original official amendment circulated in the agenda. Mr. Sadiq Ali, Congress General Secretary, moved an amendment to that effect which was accepted.

Another amendment passed at the meeting provided for inclusion in each Pradesh Congress Committee such member or members of the respective Congress Legislature parties as the Working Committee may fix.

Similarly provision has been made in the Constitution for inclusion in the All-India Congress Committee such number of members of the Congress Parliamentary Party as the Working Committee may determine.

Thus the two-day session of the A.I.C.C. which met at Shukla Nagar, named after the former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, came to a close after passing several important resolutions.

Thus to the outside observer the Raipur Session may appear to be a sane and routine affair—with the long resolutions on the world situation and the Third Plan being passed with no serious discussion at all. But the proposals for changes in the method of constituting certain vital bodies in the Congress organisation and the resolution relating to the machinery for the selection of candidates for the next general elections, approved by the Committee, are an indication of the internal crisis through which the Congress organisation is passing.

THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The urgent need for raising the status of the teaching profession and ensuring living wages for teachers, so that the right and qualified people could be attracted to it was stressed by Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of Education, while inaugurating the National seminar on training of primary teachers at New Delhi on Oct. 3.

Dr. Shrimali drew attention to the magnitude of the task they had to face in tackling the problem of compulsory primary education, and said the most important thing was the salary of teachers and they had to go a long way before they could assure the teachers the basic minimum requirements. It should be admitted that the profession was in such a state that nobody with self-respect wanted to join it. In fact, many people joined the profession not by choice, but by compulsion of circumstances. By their persistent efforts, and with the co-operation of the State Governments, some increase in salaries of teachers had been effected. But they were not satisfied with what had been done.

CEYLON SCHOOLS

The Roman Catholic Church of Ceylon has decided to challenge the schools take-over bill which was passed in the House of Representatives on 28th Oct. in the Supreme Court of Ceylon.

Action is being filed under the provisions of the Ceylon Constitution of February 1943 which states that no law shall be enacted "prohibiting or restricting the free exercise of any religion or making persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable."

Meanwhile the Government which secured the passage of the schools take-over bill in its third reading by 63 votes to 17, is contemplating a curb on meetings against the take-over. It is also considering partial legislation of the Press as far as reports of meetings against the take-over are concerned.

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF KASHMIR UNIVERSITY

The appointment of Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, former Judge of the Madras High Court, as Vice-Chancellor, has been approved by the Syndicate of the Jammu and Kashmir University. The present Vice-Chancellor, Mr. A. Fyze, has relinquished office on October 31.

UNIVERSITY IN NEPAL

India will give an aid of Rs. 26,50,000 to Nepal for the construction of buildings of the Tribhuvana University and for setting up a national archives in Kathmandu under two agreements signed last month.

The agreements were signed by Mr. D.K. Kohli, Director of the Indian Aid Mission in Nepal on behalf of the Government of India and Mr. Ram Prasad Joshi, Finance Secretary to the Government of Nepal.

The Nepalese will use Rs. 20 lakhs for the construction of a science college building and library and Rs. 6,50,000 for setting up the national archives.

LIBRARIES CONFERENCE

About fifty experts in library science from eight South Asian countries and international organisations like UNESCO gathered at New Delhi last month to discuss problems organisation and development of libraries at a South Asian regional seminar.

The regional seminar on library development, which is the second one to be held in Delhi and lasted for 12 days, has been organised jointly by UNESCO and the Government of India.

Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister for Education, who inaugurated the seminar, underlined the importance of the selection of books for libraries. He said there was a tendency to place in libraries books of temporary and ephemeral value and not classics and other great works which taught eternal truths.

Explaining the steps taken by the Government of India for the establishment and expansion of libraries in India, Dr. Shrimali said: "Government was instituting model legislation for the establishment of an universal public library system. By the end of the Third Plan, it was proposed to have a public library in every one of the 320 districts of the country. These district libraries would be linked up with State libraries with the National Library."

Dr. Shrimali said there were 32,000 libraries in India at present, but not all of them were good. Establishment of public libraries, he said, helped in two ways. It prevented people from engaging themselves in reading undesirable literature and helped children and neo-literates, who had gone through compulsory education to sustain their interest in books.

ARREARS IN HIGH COURTS

The Union Law Ministry has suggested to the States several steps that they may place before the Justices of the High Courts to clear the arrears.

As far as possible, no civil suit should remain pending for more than two years and no criminal suit for more than six months. It has been noted that in nine High Courts the number of cases pending for more than two years increased during 1959 as compared with the cases the year before.

The minimum number of working days in a High Court, it is suggested, should be 210 per year. Most of the High Courts have done so and it is hoped that others would do likewise.

The Chief Justices are requested to review every six months the work done by every Judge of the High Court.

The Judges are requested to scrutinise second appeals for admission outside the working hours. Fit cases may be admitted without putting them down for hearing.

A single Judge should hear first appeals below Rs. 15,000, second appeals, civil revision petitions, criminal matters in which the sentence imposed is less than ten years and writ petitions. No second appeals should lie in suits for recovery of immovable property below Rs. 1,000 except by special leave.

Provision should be made in the States in which it is not already made that first appeals may lie to the District Judge in original suits upto Rs. 10,000.

Printing of paper books and translation of documents should be avoided in all but serious cases with a view to reducing costs and the duration of cases.

APPOINTMENT OF GOVT. PLEADER IN MADRAS

A resolution expressing want of confidence in the Advocate-General for the reason "that by sponsoring the appointment of a member of the Madras State Higher Judicial Service" as Government Pleader, he had "failed to uphold the rights and privileges of the Bar" was adopted by the Madras Advocates' Association at its meeting on October 17, Mr. T. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar presiding.

One hundred and thirty-eight voted for the resolution and 78 against, while 28 were for dropping it without expressing any opinion. The voting was by secret ballot.

It is understood that on October 12, the Advocate-General sent in a letter of resignation of his post as Advocate-General to the Home Minister, who on October 18 wrote to him in reply saying that there was no necessity for the resignation and they wanted him to continue as Advocate-General.

PROHIBITION ACT IN BOMBAY

Mr. Justice Tarkunde and Mr. Justice Patwardhan of the Bombay High Court held Section 129-A of the Bombay Prohibition Act which provides for compulsion to be exercised for the medical examination of a person suspected to have consumed an intoxicant and for the extraction of his blood for chemical analysis to be *intra vires* Article 20 (3) of the Constitution.

Article 20 (3) of the Constitution guarantees against compulsory self-incrimination or testimonial compulsion.

Their Lordships were delivering judgement on two references and a revision application which related to offences under the Prohibition Act.

In the references, Balwant G. Mulve and Maruti Sadu were charged with being in possession of liquor and for being found drunk under Sections 66 (1) (b) and 85, while the revision application arose out of the conviction of D. G. Borste under Section 129-A (5) of the Act for offering resistance to the collection of blood.

Section 129-A is an amendment made in 1959 to the Prohibition Act and Clause 5 provides that resistance to production before a registered medical practitioner or to the examination of the body or collection of blood is deemed to be an offence under Section 186 I. P.C. that is, obstructing a public servant in the discharge of his duty.

BOMBAY HIGH COURT

The President has appointed Mr. Narayan Laxman Abhyankar, Advocate, to be an Additional Judge of the High Court at Bombay for a period of two years with effect from the date he assumes charge of his office, says a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

SUPREME COURT

Mr. Justice Janardan Ranganatha Mudholkar, of the Bombay High Court, has been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, it was officially announced.

Mr. Justice Mudholkar has been Judge of the Bombay High Court since the re-organisation of States prior to that, he was a Judge of the Nagpur High Court.

FIVE-YEAR PLANS

External assistance to India from the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan to date amounts to Rs. 1,658.06 crores, according to official figures released.

Of these Rs. 1,315.94 crores were in the form of loans and Rs. 342.13 crores in grants.

Of the loans, Rs. 126.42 crores were utilised during the First Plan period and Rs. 557.97 during the Second Plan period, upto 1959-60.

Of the loans, a total of Rs. 444.33 crores is repayable in rupees, to U.S. loans—three U.S. Development Assistance Loans and nineteen U.S. Development Loan Fund.

Loans repayable in foreign currencies total Rs. 871.61 crores. These include Rs. 281.94 crores from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Rs. 186.11 crores are for projects in the public sector and Rs. 96.82 crores for projects in the private sector): Rs. 167.64 crores from the USA: Rs. 144.03 crores, including the Bhilai credit, etc., from the USSR: Rs. 115.99 crores from the United Kingdom: Rs. 107.7 crores from West Germany: Rs. 15.72 crores from Canada: Rs. 27.62 crores from Japan and Rs. 10.90 crores from Switzerland.

CUT IN BRITISH BANK RATE

The Bank of England lowered the discount rate from six per cent to five and a half per cent.

The discount rate had been set at six per cent last June.

The measure was considered primarily as a goodwill gesture towards the United States. Its significance on a practical level will be very limited. Government circles said it should in no case be considered as a sign of renewal of economic expansion in Britain.

It is stated that the change (27th October) was the third this year, as on January 21, it was raised from four to five per cent.

During the past nine years, there have been 17 changes in the rate. The highest was in 1957 when it went up to seven per cent.

Calls for special deposits are unchanged.

A Bank of England spokesman said of the change that it did not imply "any change in the policy of credit restriction" in Britain.

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK

The Government of India have granted a moratorium to the Indo-Commercial Bank. The circumstances in which the decision to grant it was taken, were explained in a Press note issued on Oct. 24 together with an assurance that the decision did not imply any abnormal situation in the South Indian banking.

The Central Government, on the recommendation of the Reserve Bank, has granted to the Indo-Commercial Bank, Mayavaram, a moratorium from October 25, 1960 to December 24, 1960 both days inclusive under the provision of Section 45 of the Banking Companies Act as recently amended, said the Press note issued by the Ministry of Finance Department of Economic Affairs.

The Press note adds: "The grant of this moratorium does not indicate any sudden or recent change in the position of this or any other bank operating in the Madras area. The question of reconstructing the Indo-Commercial Bank and amalgamating it with some other major bank has been under consideration for some time past and the moratorium has been declared in the general interest of the depositors of the bank and with a view to facilitating the contemplated reconstruction and amalgamation."

L.I.C.'S NEW OFFICE IN LONDON

Mr. P. A. Gopalakrishnan, Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation said that the Corporation's new office in London has started functioning from November 1. He was talking to Pressmen at the Santa Cruz Airport just before his departure for Madras to attend the meeting of the Investment Committee of the Corporation.

When asked whether he expected good business in the U.K., the Chairman of the Corporation said that the Corporation's record in overseas territories was good and the same should apply regarding U.K. also.

MERGER OF U.K. BANKS IN INDIA

Business carried by Lloyds Bank Limited and the National and Grindlays Bank Limited in India, Pakistan and Burma is to be amalgamated as from January 1, it was announced on Oct. 28.

Business and assets of Lloyd's eastern branches will be transferred to the National.

As a consideration for this transfer the bank will issue to Lloyds 1,520,700 fifteen shillings shares and will assume responsibility of the loans.

MISS IONA PINTO

Miss Iona Pinto (Miss India) from Bombay, who was the runner-up winner at the recent International Beauty Congress, was honoured at the annual Foreign Trade Association luncheon held in the Coconut Grove, Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles.

Terming "Miss India" of 1960 the most beautiful of all imports from her country, Lloyed Menveg, president of the Port of Los Angeles Board of Harbour Commissioners expressed confidence in an ever-expanding trade between India and the rich Southern California market.

Miss Pinto and contestants from nine other nations (Colombia, Brazil, Philippines, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Holland and Germany) were guests of honour at the high-level luncheon.

Their hosts included leading Los Angeles figures international trade, ranging from importers and exporters to manufacturers, shippers and port officials. To a man, they agreed that the contestants in the 1960 International Beauty Congress were uncommonly lovely and possessed a high degree of intelligence, charm and personality. (*Globe Press Service*)

GIRLS AT OXFORD

A great liberal leap forward at Oxford has been announced by the university proctors.

The most important item, in a list of proctorial concessions which will otherwise leave undergraduates as cold as a college breakfast, is the heartening news that girl students living in lodgings may in future entertain their men friends until 10 p.m. instead of 7 p.m. as at present.

As love has found a way through university regulations, so has crusading zeal. Undergraduates are now to be permitted to take part in processions, speak at public meetings, and participate in public ceremonies without first obtaining proctorial permission.

The rest is anticlimax. Undergraduates who have smoked furiously while wearing academic dress will be surprised to learn that until now there has been a rule forbidding this and that the rule is now abolished.

Students who have danced with gay abandon at functions beyond the control of the university will also be interested to know that they are now permitted by the proctors to do so.

NO SCHOOL FEES FOR GIRLS

Girls studying in Government schools in Pondicherry State from Form III to VI will in future, have to pay no fees.

The Union Government has given its approval to the proposal which came into effect from Aug. 1, 1960.

At present, both boys and girls studying in Government Schools are exempted from the payment of school fees only upto Form III.

WARM WELCOME TO QUEEN

The Indian High Commissioner Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, on her return to London last month from India, said her country would give the Queen a warm welcome when she tours India next January.

Mrs. Pandit was commenting on reports that the All-India Committee of the "Banish the English Language Association," was planning a nation-wide agitation against the royal tour, unless Mr. Nehru reverses his policy of keeping English as the official language of the country.

Mrs. Pandit said, "There are cranks in every country and there is nothing you can do about them. Don't let it disturb any British people about how your royal visitors will be treated. We will enjoy their visit and give them a warm welcome."

BANNING OF NYLON

The Principal of a college in Karachi has banned the use of nylon clothes by girl students and the reason given is: These clothes are too revealing and distract men students. The nylon-loving girls have already opened a campaign against this order, and they appear to have the full support of their men colleagues.

MISS EDITH PICTON-TURBERVILL

Miss Edith Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., Labour Member of Parliament for the Wrekin division between 1929 and 1931, died last month in her 89th year.

Miss Picton-Turbervill was for 10 years National Vice-President of the Y.W.C.A. and spent six years in India on social work.

INDIRA GANDHI

Mrs. Indira Gandhi conferred for more than half an hour on 28th Oct. with Mexican President, Mr. Adolf Lopez Mateos, on world issue.

Mrs. Gandhi, who informed the Press about her talks with the President, said education problems were discussed at length.

Mr. M. A. CHIDAMBARAM

The annual meeting of Board of Control for Cricket in India held at the Barabati Stadium at Cuttack on Oct. 30 unanimously elected Mr. M. A. Chidambaram, President of Madras Cricket Association, as its new President, in succession to Mr. P. K. Patel.

The meeting unanimously elected the following as Vice-Presidents: 1. Mr. V. J. Divecha. 2. H. H. Maharaja of Baroda. 3. Mr. A. N. Ghosh. 4. Lt. Col. Godavarma Raja. 5. Major General Gurbux Singh.

Mr. M. Chinnaswamy, Mysore, was unanimously elected Honorary Secretary of the Board.

RADHAKRISHNAN ON PATEL

Dr. Radhakrishnan spoke at a function to commemorate the birth anniversary of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel held at the Sardar Patel Vidyalaya at New Delhi on Oct. 31.

Praising the work of Sardar Patel in abolishing the "Yellow Patches" (former Princely States) and effecting the consolidation of India, and said that the "quiet persuasive way" in which he did it was something they had to remember to-day "because we are finding fissiparous and disintegrating tendencies whichever side we look."

Mr. MALCOLM MACDONALD

After five years' stay in India as Britain's High Commissioner, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald left Delhi on Oct. 17. The presence of a large and distinguished gathering of Indian officials and non-officials at the airport to bid him farewell was eloquent testimony not only to the wide circle of friends he has made in this country, but to the sincere regret they felt at his departure. The highest tribute one can pay to him, as one senior politician said it that he served Britain well and is also a friend of India.

DEATH OF SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR

The Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Sir Khalifa bin Harub, died in Zanzibar on Oct. 9. He was over 80 years of age.

His Highness was born in Muscat (Arabia) in 1879 and went to Zanzibar in 1893.

He succeeded to the Sultanate on the abdication of his brother-in-law in December 1911. Zanzibar was a British Protectorate by a formal proclamation in 1890 at the request of the Sultan of that time.

Mr. R. KRISHNAN

From the third place he occupied among the world's tennis amateurs last year, R. Krishnan has slid down to tenth place in the world rankings for 1960 compiled by that well-known tennis statistician, Potter, for *World Tennis*.

Fraser (Australia), who won both the Wimbledon and United States titles, has emerged as the world's best amateur to-day.

Potter has ranked the world's ten top amateurs (based on their tournament performances during the current year) as follows: Fraser (Australia), Laver (Australia), Mackay (U.S.), Pietrangeli (Italy), Buccholz (U.S.), Emerson (Australia), Ayala (Chile), Mark (Australia), Bartz (U.S.) and Krishnan (India).

"MOST MUSCULAR MAN"

Shanti Chakravarty of Bengal was declared the world's most muscular man among the short men who participated in Mr. Universe contest in Montreal on October 2.

Bikash Dutta, another Bengali, won the third place, the first place going to America and the second to France. This result was for all heights—tall, medium and short.

Among the participants were nationals of America, Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Denmark, Iran, Spain, Argentina, Mexico and others.

1960 FREEDOM AWARD

Alan Paton, South African novelist and humanitarian, praised the five-point plan for Africa presented by President Eisenhower in his address to the United Nations General Assembly. Paton spoke at a dinner held in his honour at Freedom House in New York at which he received the 1960 "Freedom Award."

"I welcome his (Eisenhower's) suggestion that Africa should be spared the ravages which 'chauvinism' has elsewhere inflicted in the past," Paton said, "That means to me plainly and bluntly that no attempt must be made to draw Africa into the power conflicts."

GANDHI PEACE PRIZE

India's permanent representative at the United Nations, Mr. C. S. Jha, presented the Gandhi Peace Award to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at a luncheon at the New York University.

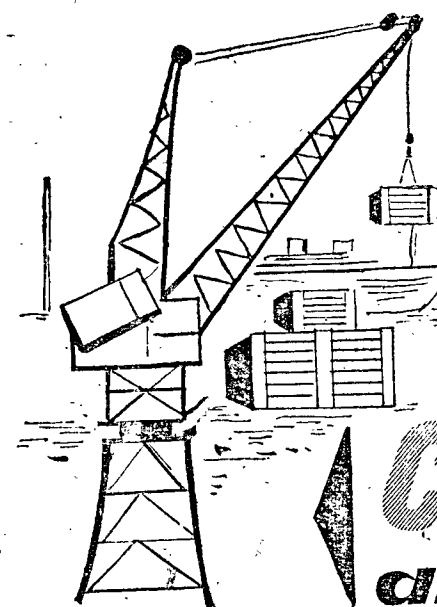
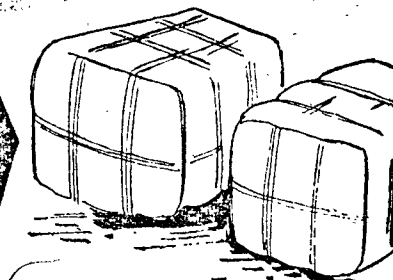
The award is shared by Mrs. Roosevelt with Dr. Edwin T. Dahiberg, 68-year-old author-clergyman.

This is the first year of the award instituted by an American organisation called "Promoting Enduring Peace Incorporated."

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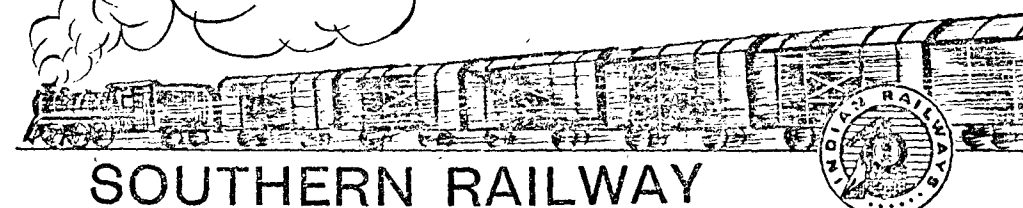
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The School Library and its Librarian, by V. P. Kolhatakar, Librarian, Maharashtra Regional Library, Poona.
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Decline of Capitalism

By

Prof. K. C. JENA, M.A.

THROUGHOUT the world Capitalism is in crisis. The majority of politically conscious people in most countries of the globe are and have been against capitalism. Capitalism is dead in one third of the humanity where communism has entered and the rest of mankind is undergoing serious trial with capitalism. Aspired nations have been identifying capitalism with reaction and inertia and from Gold Coast to Indonesia all the young nations feel bitterly against capitalism as a socio-economic institution. Even in the Americas, where capitalism is supposed to have won the battle, it is becoming more evident day after day that capitalism must face a trial. The growth of socialism, pluralism and collective discipline have led to the decline of capitalism and the basic faith in capitalism as a working principle has failed itself.

The problems of capitalism are not new. Karl Marx was particular in criticising capitalism and had predicted the decline of capitalism as a historical process. Though Marx was mostly prejudiced against capitalism and his observations were the result of his preconceived ideas, the diagnose he made were surprisingly valid. He was of the view that capitalism was out of date, it belonged to different conditions of society which were impossible in the second part of the 19th century. Capitalism was supposed to contain its own seed of destruction and in the process of evolution itself it is bound to decay. Lenin was of a similar opinion, though his contention

was more deep and intensive. He connected the decay of capitalism with capitalistic competition and expansion of international market which might lead to international rivalry and the death of capitalism itself. These prophecies of both Marx and Lenin were proved to be valid at least in a limited sense. The opening of the 20th century was indicative of the serious consequences that capitalism was to suffer.

One of the most important aspects of Marxian prophecy was its inability to suit to the changing conditions of the 20th century civilization. Contrary to the idea that capitalism and the capitalistic world would crumble down by competition and the revolution would emerge in the industrially advanced nation, capitalism was attacked by socialism and the industrial revolution first came in the most back-ward economy. Capitalism should have never faced any crisis from within. The problems of capitalism are the result of the external attack which widened the internal weakness, and exposed it. An important writer Massimo Salvadori in his essay, "American Capitalism" has branded socialism as the greatest factor that brought out the downfall in capitalism. Socialism reacted against privilege in the name of liberty, against class differentiation in the name of equality, and against suffering in the name of humanity—against capitalism in the name of equality, liberty and fraternity. By such an appealing method

socialism won the intellectuals as well as the masses as no other creed or dogma had ever done. Socialism was not only a faith or a hope, it was also a fear. Those who were themselves capitalists were afraid of the socialists and had not dared to oppose socialism. This inactive support from the Haves and the fanatic belief of the Have-nots made socialism rooted in many nations. This was the turning point in the history of capitalism. The decline of capitalism meant the rise of other socio-economic institutions. Where socialism remained pure and triumphed it introduced collectivism, where socialism triumphed after being influenced by non-economic ideas and aspirations effected by social democracy and labourism, it led to neo-mercantilistic economies; and where the anti-freedom enemies of socialism triumphed, the free market was abolished and capitalism was replaced with corporate or semi-corporate economic systems. This trend of capitalism undergoing a change in its history is universal, though in degree it differs from one country to another.

The role of capitalism has been varied in different countries. This difference in the role and trend of capitalism has been particularly emphasised in America. The supporters of American capitalism argue that it has nothing to be compared with European capitalism, hence the dangers of European capitalism cannot be its danger. In America there has been a different trend, capitalism has become less and less a privilege and the number of those sharing its benefits are vastly expanded. The growth of the proletarian class has been checked and the proletariat as a class is fast withering away. The American economy had shown exceptional ability to readjust to changing conditions. Many serious and severe crises, and what seemed to many a good deal of insecurity and instability did not bring any revolution which would have been inevitable in Europe. In America there was and is a desire to reform capitalism but not to destroy it.

From such an analysis there are many who contend that American capitalism is safer.

This sense of security in American Capitalism may be a simple illusion. The theory that the Americans are different from others may not be correct. A popular author like Bradford Smith in his work, "Why we Behave Like Americans", draws a picture to show how the Americans differ from the continental people; "Europeans for example, often conclude that we have no intelligentia because they do not hear much conversation based upon ideologies and do not find Americans clustered in ideological groups and cliques... this does not mean that Americans lack intellect, but that their history has bred in them a suspicion of isms, closed systems and doctrines which explain all things according to a set of all-embracing assumptions... they prefer to be instrumentalists, they would agree that one idea might work here, another there... they are reformers, but reformers of human ills and shortcomings, not of systems." Another writer in his work, "American Capitalism," has drawn a distinction in the American character to illustrate the difference in his economic and social behaviour. He suggests that capitalism survives in America because the human factor is quite different. Moreover, the opportunities of capitalism have not been narrowly confined to the captains of industries alone, they have been opened to the other sections of the community also. All these citations are attempts to say that the crisis of capitalism in Europe is not related to American capitalism and America is still suited for capitalism.

Such a theory of capitalism as differently suitable to Europe and America is extremely doubtful. For even in America, capitalism has given the sound of pain and the cracks have been visible. Mr. James Byrnes, former Supreme Court Justice had said, "United States could be led over a bridge of socialism into police state." The battle of "liberty versus socialism" has already started and as Jesse

W. Wolcott has pointed," the United States is now within eight per cent of socialism... and in future it has to be decided between those who would further apply to our daily life the concept of individual freedom and equality; and those who would subordinate the individual to the dictates of the state." No wonder, that the advent of the post-war economic solutions were attempts to introduce un-capitalistic and semi-socialistic instruments in America. The New-Deal, the Fair-Deal and other methods were to rationalise the unfettered capitalistic spirit and this was clearly a signal of decline of capitalism. But what is significant in American capitalism is the sincere attempt it has made to survive, on the other hand in Europe no such attempt has been made. European capitalism has been too flexible to adopt to a definite pattern and to whatever wind had blown; it had surrendered. American capitalism has accepted certain fundamentally different aspects than European capitalism. In Europe, economic freedom is different from political freedom, but in America they are the same; at least are co-existent. Economic freedom is the outcome of laws the aim of which is to establish, maintain, or strengthen economic freedom. In Europe, economic freedom is an absence of will; in America economic freedom is an act of will. This difference between the two approaches is clear when we deal with practical situations. Like every thing else produced by man, capitalism has many limitations and errors; Europeans were at a loss when faced with the shortcomings of capitalism; Americans were willing to introduce the apparatus of legislation when faced with such problems. For the Americans, legislation never meant curtailment of freedom, but for the Europeans it always meant so. There has been a wrong notion in Europe, that unemployment, poverty, and crises were part of the laws of nature and they should not be interfered with. This notion led to laissez faire and ultimately exposed capitalism to its inner skeleton. The decline

of capitalism has been more rapid and painful in Europe than in America.

None-the-less, capitalism has declined every where. Capitalism as an economic institution might have been valid in the past. The classical economists thought, "within the institutional frame work of capitalism, the manufacturer's and the trader's self-interest made for maximum performance in the interest of all." Capitalism was exclusively thought as an English institution and proper to the socio-economic conditions of the 18th. and 19th. century. Capitalism was supposed to have based on competition and monopoly. In the modern economic analysis we have neither pure competition nor pure monopoly. Moreover, the classical advocates of capitalism believed that capitalism is static. But as Joseph A. Schumpeter has pointed, "the essential point to grasp is that in dealing with capitalism we are dealing with an evolutionary process. It may seem strange that anyone can fail to see so obvious a fact which moreover was long ago emphasised by Karl Marx..... capitalism is by nature a form or method of economic change and not only never is but never can be stationary. And this evolutionary character of the capitalistic process is not merely due to the fact that economic life goes on in a social and natural environment which changes and by its changes alters the data of economic action; this fact is important and these changes (wars, revolutions, and so on) often condition industrial change, but they are not its prime movers...the fundamental impulse that sets and keeps the capitalist engine in motion comes from the consumer's goods, the new methods of production or transportation, the new markets, the new forms of industrial organisation that capitalist enterprise creates." Capitalism contains the seeds of its own decay and revival. By a process of Creative Destruction, capitalism degenerates itself with a hope of rebirth. In certain cases, as in many evolutionary human processes, this rebirth may not be possible. The development of new theories of market, decline of the gold-standard, open-

ing of new lands, increase in population and the close contact between economic and political activities have meant a positive decline in the position and prestige of capitalism. From such a fundamental reality there was no escape. The difference between Karl Marx and Keynes seemed to be narrower though both of them had divergent targets. It is obvious and inevitable that capitalism must meet half-way the socialistic approach of the 20th century. Prof. Schumpeter in his "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy" suggests that "there is no such gulf between Marx and Keynes as there was between Marx and Marshall or Wicksell." The theory of vanishing investment opportunities has been accepted as correct by the Marxist and the non-Marxist writers. Capitalism, being essentially an evolutionary process, would become atrophic. There would be nothing left for entrepreneurs to do. They would find themselves in much the same situation as generals would in a society perfectly sure of permanent peace. Profits and along with profits the rate of interest would converge towards zero. The bourgeois strata that live on profits and interest would tend to disappear. The management of industry and trade would become a matter of current administration. Socialism of a very sober type would almost automatically come into being. Human energy would turn away from business, other than economic pursuits would attract the brains and provide the adventure. "The Capitalistic art and style of life" must give place to other patterns; the whole fabric of capitalistic civilisation has to be remodelled as to suit the changing conditions of the dynamic world. As Prof. Schumpeter has pointed out the capitalistic civilization is rationalistic and anti-heroic. The modern trend of life is opposed to both these aspects. The present culture gives much emphasis on heroism and hero-worship and the conditions of life have been greatly irrational if not anti-rational. In the present century it has become clear that capitalism must be remodelled and lose its high place.

Another factor greatly responsible for the decline of capitalism is the spread of socialism. Apart from the theorists of different types of socialism, the practical men fought for it. Socialism did not confine itself with the intellectuals and the agitators. Practical men like the Rockefellers, Fords and Carnegies paved the way for it. Both in America and Europe the idea was clear that socialism has to be accepted with honour, lest it forces its way disgracefully. The capitalistic civilization created a labour class which has to be flattered and kept under control. Labour did never care for the intellectuals, but the intellectuals could not afford to ignore the labour force. In a very grip situation the intellects were bound to make flattering promises, mould dogmatic and idealistic slogans and degraded the position of other sections simply to upgrade the position of labour and win its support. This illegitimate birth of the labour prestige and the undue importance laid on the labour organisations and labour movement weakened the capitalistic civilization. The success of socialism in the Soviet Union and other European countries and the hungering of the millions in the underdeveloped continents made socialism the only escapable alternative to capitalism. With this came the idea that Democracy need not necessarily be associated with Capitalism. As Sydney and Beatrice Webbs were of the view that there is nothing theoretically impossible for the socialistic countries to adopt democracy as a working principle. In fact they were of the view that the Soviet type of democracy is the perfect example of democracy. We have got a number of examples to show that socialism and democracy can be compatible and they cannot be contradictory as they were supposed to be some years back. With this assumption, the fundamental objection against socialism fell down and capitalism had to face the worst crisis in its career.

Capitalism as a difficult and less befitting economic principle is facing trial. The Ameri-

cans themselves agreed that the development which the Soviet Union has made is fantastic and this development would have been impossible for a capitalistic Russia. Measured in terms of economic and social emancipation, the Russians are very soon to beat out the Americans. This tremendous success of socialism is not only the Soviet Union but also in other socialist countries puts a big question mark before Capitalism in the world in general and in America in particular. The fear of the future war, the necessity of co-operation among all peoples, the chances of rescue under international socialistic unity and above all the rapid development under socialism has made socialism superior to any other kind of socio-economic doctrine and particularly exposed the

inner inconsistencies and weaknesses of capitalism. However and whatever attempts might be made to differentiate the American type of capitalism from the rest of the world, and whatever frantic changes might be made in Capitalism as a whole, the time has come that capitalism has to give way for other principles of economic, political and social life. Capitalism has become simply out-dated and like all economic laws it has to be replaced.

Thus, capitalism which had been considered as one of the most spectacular and successful or all human, evolutionary and intellectual results is on decline. It may take some decades of some years, but Capitalism is sure to accommodate other principles and ultimately destroy itself.

—*—

Victor Hugo Looks At India

By

Mr. B. BISSOONDOYAL

THE introduction of Indian literature in the West marks the nineteenth century. The event is so important that Bertrand Russell makes mention of it in the opening paragraph of the twenty-first chapter of his *History of Western Philosophy*.

Even before that century Indian ideas had been finding their way to Europe. But the great translators who were to give an exact idea of the voluminous works that Indians had produced through the ages were yet to come.

The way for the entry of the literature of India had been paved in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The year 1789 is memorable not only because it is the year of the French Revolution but also for the reason that it saw Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* appearing in an English garb. From 1790 to 1807 the English translation of this Sanskrit work by Sir William Jones appeared as many as five times. *Sakuntala* became a literary event.

Sakuntala kindled interest in India so that everybody was keen to know the Indian. And the best way to know him was to understand his sacred books, his mythology, his poets and his philosophers.

The Lake poets started writing about India. Southey devoted several pages of the "Curse of Kehama" to the story of the Ramayana. Shelley wrote poems that were reminiscent of the verses of the Upanishads. Wordsworth expatiated on the theory of reincarnation. Coleridge reminds one of Wordsworth when he writes :

"Oft in my brain does that fancy roll
Which makes the present (while the flesh
does last)
Seem a mere semblance of some unknown past,
Mixed with such feelings as perplex the soul
Self-questioned in her sleep : and some had said
Welived, ere yet this robe of flesh we wore."

of Mother India as a whole and not for any particular class or community. Today, as the Head of the Indian Government he feels for all irrespective of caste, creed or colour. None feels so much as he does for the millions who lack food, clothing, money and who are on the verge of starvation.

He is one of those few leaders who lost no time to visit Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar, Gurgaon and Lahore, and sympathised with the sufferings of his countrymen. Unlike the leader of the Muslim-League, he contributed Rs. 5,000/- for the relief of Bihari Muslims and reprimanded his brethren for the atrocities they committed on the minority community of Bihar.

This idea of communalism or sectarianism in any shape or form is foreign to his nature. As a matter of fact, nothing human is foreign to him. He loves freedom intensely not only for himself, for his country, but for all nations and for all human race. He cannot stand for one moment the idea of one nation, however mighty and efficient, dominating over another nation, however weak and incompetent. He loves to see all peoples to be free, independent and prosperous. That is like a true Brahmin, a true Aryan who has been taught by the Upanishads and Srimad Bhagavat Gita to serve all and identify himself with *Sarvabhutani* all living creatures and to feel the oneness of life in all. He believes in the solidarity, liberty and unity of mankind and is proud to be a worthy son of India which has always upheld the cause of common humanity. One of the essential principles of Indian thought has always been the attainment of the liberation for every human being.

So in the name of Mother India, he extends his hand of friendship to all the peoples of the world and wishes them well. To quote his own words; "We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and co-operate with them in the furtherance of the world peace and freedom." He further says "We are particularly interested in the emancipation of the Colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrines of racialism wherever and in whatever form it

may be practised. We seek no domination over others and we claim no privilege over other peoples."

Panditji is rightly conscious of the glorious history of ancient India when she did not stand in any isolation but had intercourse with other Asiatic countries. To quote his own words "in the past, her culture flowed to all the Asiatic countries and they came to her in many ways."

The noble policy of even-handed justice in his Government which he is pursuing is the service of the common man who has been so much neglected by the previous rulers. He says "We shall look to the common and forgotten man in India and seek to bring him relief and raise his standard of living. We shall continue our fight against the curse of untouchability and other forms of enforced inequality, and shall especially try to help those who are economically or otherwise backward."

While deploring the tragic and insensate attempt of dividing India into separate parts in order to satisfy the demand of a section of intransigent people and their unheard of political blunder Panditji in his speeches delivered after the 3rd of June 1948 has given us encouraging hope and comfort in the thought that in spite of the secession or separation for the time being from the Mother country on religious or other suspicious grounds, India, our dear motherland, remains one undivided for all time to come. No power on earth can disrupt her unity. All the people born in this land belong to one Indian Nation and have a common political destiny. His breadth of view and large-heartedness have dominated all his thought and action during the whole period of his struggle for freedom. India the sacred land of Rishis, has her own message of common humanity to give to the world, although she may seem to be torn for the moment in various castes and creeds. She has also a message of the one-ness of life that dwells in every heart to convey to the rest of the mankind. Her chosen and accepted leader Jawaharlal is the fittest person to pilot the ship of state and to weather every storm. He is a true representative of Indian ideal and we have no doubt that he will guide the destiny of our nation safely and accurately for all time to come.

Agriculture in Yugoslavia

By

"AN YUGOSLAVIAN"

NOTWITHSTANDING the adverse atmospheric conditions during the autumn and spring planting season, Yugoslav farm production registered noteworthy results this year. The total farm production exceeded last year's level, the wheat and maize harvest was equally successful, steady progress is being made in livestock farming, the land under high yielding varieties of wheat and maize were increased, collaboration between the individual peasants and cooperatives in the sphere of agricultural production was broadened, and public investments in agriculture increased.

According to current estimates, contemplated in terms of physical volume, the 1960 farm production is lower than last year although its value is greater. This is best illustrated by the following data: although wheat, maize, fruit and vegetable production fell short of last year's figure the total value of farm production is almost 28 billion dinars higher than in 1959. This is attributable to the qualitative changes that took place in the Yugoslav agriculture, namely the sustained improvement of the quality of wheat, maize, sugar beet, some kinds of fruit, livestock etc., thus assuring the continuous and rapid development of Yugoslav agriculture since 1957 when the first wheat and maize bumper crop was obtained. This proves that the successes achieved are not a temporary phenomenon, but a result of a given farm policy and the efforts made to change the social relation in rural areas and assure the over-all advancement of farm production.

Crop farming is the most important branch of Yugoslav agriculture, wheat, maize and sugar beet being the staple crops cultivated. Although the area sown was more or less the same as in 1959 and notwithstanding the bad weather that persisted almost during the entire period, wheat, maize and sugar beet production achieved an all-time record. A total 4 million tons of wheat 6.2 million tons of maize 2.2 million tons of sugar beet, 120,000 tons of sunflowers and three million tons of potatoes were harvested. Comparison of the 1960 and 1959 farm production figures shows that the out-put of maize, wheat and vegetables was affected by the big collective farms on

their holdings and the broad collaboration between the cooperatives and individual peasants in the sphere of production, the losses sustained owing to the unfavourable atmospheric conditions were not excessive except in the case of fruit and vegetables.

Livestock farming is the second most important branch of Yugoslav agriculture and accounts for 40 percent of finished products and the largest share of marketable and export surpluses. The sustained development of livestock farming was continued this year. Livestock increased numerically. The agricultural organizations and individual peasants had more cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry at the beginning of 1960 than in 1959. Poultry rose by three million (40 percent) pigs by almost half a million (44 percent) sheep by 300,000 (1.7 percent). The number of cattle increased by 6 percent. This was the situation at the beginning of the year, while the number of cattle has increased notably since then, especially on the big collective farms. It is estimated that the number of cattle on the socially-owned farms had doubled.

Production of meat, lard, milk and eggs reached a record level this year. About 700,000 tons of meat were produced thus exceeding the 1957 and 1959 levels by 300,000 and 130,000 tons respectively. Milk production increased by 600,000 tons, over three million tons having been produced. About 1900 millions eggs were likewise produced in the meantime. These figures may be considered an all-time record and are attributable primarily to the vast progress made in this sector on the big socially-owned farms and to the promotion of collaboration between the cooperatives and individual peasants in the sphere of livestock farming.

As distinct from crop and livestock farming where the role of the big socially-owned holdings and collaboration between the cooperatives and individual peasants are invested with a dominant role in the sphere of fruit-growing viticulture and market gardening. This is why bad weather did the greatest harm in this sector. Total vegetable production (not including potatoes) is estimated at about 1.7 million tons or almost 200,000 less than in

1959. The potato harvest was almost 240,000 tons higher than in 1959. The potato harvest was almost 240,000 tons higher than in 1959 having reached the record figure of 3 million tons. Potato production during the 1930-1939 period averaged 1,650,000 tons while reaching the two-million ton mark from 1949 to 1958.

The gross fruit harvest is about 300,000 tons lower than in 1959 and is estimated at 800,000 tons approximately, while the grape harvest totalled 1,200,000 tons or almost 300,000 tons more than in 1959. This is actually a record year for grape growing, the grape harvest having been equalled only in 1952.

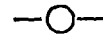
It is primarily the merit of the big socialist farms and organized collaboration between the peasants and cooperatives that the bad weather did not impair farm production to any greater extent. The yields obtained are also a result of the increased public investments made in agriculture, the improved material conditions, the better supply of agriculture with equipment, artificial fertilizer, chemicals etc.

The big socialist farms and cooperatives

account for one tenth of total area sown. These organizations produced almost one million tons of wheat, a little more maize, half of the total 1960 sugar beet crop etc. Although their share in total livestock numbers is similar, the big socialist farms produced 100,000 tons of meat, 400,000 tons of milk, 20 million eggs, etc. this year. The yields obtained on the big socialist holdings and on the land cultivated jointly by the individual peasants and cooperatives by far exceed the yields obtained by the individual peasants.

Exports of farm products also show a sustained increase. Thus exports of agricultural produce were valued at 38.7 billion dinars in 1958, 32.3 billion in 1959 and 20.3 billion dinars during the first half of 1960. It should be particularly stressed that Yugoslavia exported 150,000 tons of wheat this year, as well as certain quantities of sugar and lard. It is known, however, that this country imported wheat and some other farm products valued at about 100 million dollars up until 1959.

The production figures cited show that agriculture in Yugoslavia has fulfilled in four years the targets set by the five-year plan.



Economic Planning in General

By

MR. M. ABDULLA KHAN, M.A.

THE last two decades have witnessed a phenomenal growth in economic planning all over the world. Planning has become an effectively controlling principle of economic organization in the communist countries. In the developed countries of the West the earlier dogma of economic liberalism has given place to the doctrines of "Controlled" and "Planned Capitalism." In the under-developed countries planning is being increasingly accepted as an indispensable tool of economic progress. But the democratic institutions seem to be on the down-grade in the world. The communist countries persist in flouting all the traditional values of the democracy and their ideology stands, as ever before, in sharp conflict with democratic political theory. In the

United States and other capitalist countries it has become an insurmountable task to make democracy work well under conditions of inherent economic instability. Political instability continues to be the characteristic of many under-developed countries and one can even detect its significant increase in recent years. To be tempted by these international trends to establish some sort of an inverse correlation between planning and democracy would be to tread on treacherously slippery ground.

Planning has now-a-days become the too and indispensable instrument for the economic growth of Backward countries. Planning is of a recent origin and growth. During the 19th century there was no planning and there was entire freedom to consumers, freedom to

producers but there was no freedom to workers. The state was not at all interfering in the affairs of private enterprise. The most important tasks such as construction of buildings and roads, public works, railways and irrigations were also successfully discharged by private enterprise. There were certain subjects such as foreign affairs, currency and defence, which were controlled by the state. Private entrepreneurs were playing an important role for the economic development of many of the important countries of the world.

The policy of non-interference of state in the sphere of private enterprise was responsible for causing great hardship to the majority of the people. There were certain individuals who were fortunate enough to get handsome fortune from their fore-fathers and who were leading luxurious lives. There was another class of wage earners, who were working hard and were unable to get their proper shares out of the sincere efforts. In other words the rich were becoming richer and poor were becoming poorer. There was no equitable or fair distribution of wealth.

The policy of non-interference of state in the affairs of private enterprise was also responsible for the creation of monopolistic tendencies. They were charging very high prices by curtailing their out-put and thereby stimulating demand, as the result of which the prices of many of the commodities of necessities of life increased to a considerable extent. It has adverse social and economic effects. The number of industrial disputes too increased to a great extent. The labourers had to work for long hours and they were not getting their due share from the powerful capitalists. In other words the exploitation of consumers and labourers was slowly increasing. By and large the economic development remained at stand-still due to the then prevailing effects. The standard of living of the people was going down.

In the 20th century many of the countries thought it better to remove this defect by means of sound planning. Planning means "proper utilization or mobilisation of various resources for the common good and common betterment of the society." It also means proper allocation of various resources for the general welfare of the people. By means of planning the defects of *Laissez-faire* can easily be removed. Planning in the strict sense refers to a set programme for the economic develop-

ment of the country in regard to the rate of investment and saving, rate of the growth of production, consumption and employment.

Planning so far has made a rapid economic progress in socialist countries rather than capitalistic countries. It is due to the fact that in a socialistic economy all the resources are effectively controlled and organized by the State. In a capitalistic economy the success of planning depends upon innumerable persons, who control the means of instrument and production. Moreover in such a society there is a fear of recurrence of trade-cycle, which often upset the whole economy of the country. Days of boom are often substituted by days of depression. Depression is a very bad period in the economic life of a country, where wages, prices, income and profits fall thereby disturbing the main channels of economic growth such as production, saving, investment and employment. It may also lead to unfair distribution of wealth in a country. In due course of time this may gradually increase the inequalities of income and wealth in a society. Planning has been defined in various ways. It has been defined as the proper utilisation of the various resources for the common betterment of the society. In other words it also means the proper allocation of the various resources as regards the rate of saving, investment, employment and production. In simple words it can be defined as to do or achieve something within a given period of time.

Planning has removed the main defects of *Laissez-faire* doctrine. It has increased the volume of production by modern technique, thereby developing the standard of living of the people. Planning has become the order of the day. "Plan or Perish" is the main slogan of the world. It is executed for achieving different purposes. It is not necessary that a country should have one basic object for its achievement.

In brief there are many objectives of an economic plan. The following can be treated as the main objectives of an economic plan.

(1) To develop the standard of living of the people, thereby increasing the per capita income of the country.

(2) To reduce the greater inequalities in income and wealth by several methods and means such as nationalisation of industries, abolishing of Jagirdari and Zamindari system,

progressive system of taxation, Land Reforms and ceiling system and co-operative farming.

(3) To increase the volume of production in both agriculture and industry within a given period of time.

(4) Rapid industrialisation of the country and stressing more emphasis and importance to the development of heavy and basic industries.

(5) To create or provide more employment to the people.

(6) To control inflationary pressure in a country by different effective methods.

(7) To check the recurrence of the trade-cycle which brings disastrous results in the various channels of the economic growth.

(8) To check or rectify the adverse balance of trade or payment. Unfavourable balance

of trade is bad sign for the economic progress of a country.

In short the main objectives of an economic plan are to develop the standard of living of the people, to control prices, to provide more employment and to reduce the greater inequalities in income and wealth. Planning should be flexible but not rigid in character. It should be according to the conditions prevailing in a country. The success of planning depends upon the technical, social and administrative side. In a mixed economy, where both private and public sectors play a predominant role, the success depends upon proper co-ordination and efficient organization. In short I may say that no backward country can survive, flourish and prosper without sound system of planning.

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How London Elects Her Mayor

By

Mr. JOHN HEFFERNAN

THE City of London is distinguished not only for its antiquity but also for the almost unique thread of continuity which runs through its history. Other cities have for a time been overthrown and their traditions interrupted by invasions or revolutions, but in the case of London the thread has remained unbroken.

Nowhere can this be more clearly seen than in the annual ceremony, held each September, for the election of the Lord Mayor—a ceremony which can be traced back to King John's Charter of May 9th, 1215, issued a few weeks before he sealed Magna Carta, the great charter of liberty, at Runnymede. This Charter, which can be seen at Guildhall to this day, gave to the citizens of London the privilege of the annual election of their mayor. There had been mayors of London before then, the first being Henry Fitzalwyn, who was appointed in 1192 and remained in office for 21 years until his death in 1212. Modern Lord Mayors of London, who only have to stand the rigours of their office for one year, often remark that Fitzalwyn's digestion must

have been one of the marvels of the world if he had to attend as many City banquets as take place to-day. Since Fitzalwyn's time, there have been 632 mayors and the 633rd elected in London's ancient Guildhall on Michaelmas Day, September 29th. The election ceremony is open to the public, and it is preceded by a service in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, the City Corporation Church. Then the Aldermen, carrying the traditional nosegays "to ward off the evil-smelling livery", will walk in procession to Guildhall, the floor of which will be strewn with sweet-smelling herbs.

The meeting in Guildhall is referred to as Common Hall, and the Aldermen take their seats on the dais called the Hustings, a Saxon word denoting a court held within a building as distinct from one in the open air. The Common Cryer calls for silence and the Recorder of London explains to the Livery that it is their task to choose two men from amongst those Aldermen who have served the office of Sheriff but have not already been Lord Mayor. The Livery are the 13,000 members of the 81 Livery Companies, or

trade guilds, of the City of London, some of which are nearly a thousand years old and most of which date back to the 15th century or earlier. About a thousand liverymen attend the election ceremony.

The Lord Mayor and the Aldermen who have already held that office then retire with the Recorder to await the choice of the Livery. The door is closed on them and the City Marshal prevents anyone from entering. Generally it may be expected that the liverymen's first choice will be approved, but there have been occasions in the past when it has been opposed.

The names of those qualified are then read out, and the Livery shout "All" to the name of the Alderman whose turn it is to be Lord Mayor—for, although this is an election, in fact each Alderman may expect in time to become Lord Mayor and the order of his seniority is known already. On the second name being read out, the liverymen shout "Next Year," and to subsequent names "Later."

The remaining Aldermen, together with the Sheriffs and Common Serjeant, then go to report to the Lord Mayor the first two names chosen by the Livery: and, on the return of the Lord Mayor, the Lord Mayor-elect is seen walking on his left side a sign that his candidature has won the necessary approval. The

Recorder announces the election, and the Lord Mayor-elect is called on to make a speech. Then the proceedings are closed by the Common Cryer, and the various dignitaries leave Guildhall in procession, to the accompaniment of a fanfare of trumpets. The new Lord Mayor takes office on the second Saturday in November, when he rides in his gilded coach through the streets of his "kingdom."

What are the necessary qualifications to be elected as Lord Mayor of London? The first requirement is that one should be an Alderman of the City. There are 26 Aldermen elected for the various wards of the City. The next essential is for the Alderman to be elected a Sheriff—an excellent rule, for the Sheriff accompanies the Lord Mayor on his round of duties and thus serves an apprenticeship, as it were, to the arduous office to which he may be appointed a few years later. Two Sheriffs are elected annually by the liverymen, this ceremony taking place on Midsummer Day (June 24th).

When finally an Alderman is elected to the honourable position of London's First Citizen, he must be prepared to spend several thousand pounds from his own pocket in entertainment and other expenses. The Lord Mayor of London is expected to be the soul of hospitality and charity—and the annual allowance of £ 15,000 from the City Corporation does not nearly meet the bill!

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The Ebb in Our University Education

By

Mr. C. K. BHATIA

QUITE a storm has been raging and much being said about the decline of standards in our University education, but as little has been done to check the mounting indiscipline and tumbling of the standards of education at the University level.

Much ink-slinging has been done. While our educationists are racking their brains in a vain effort to dig to the very root of these knots, burning problems the newspaper reports regarding student behaviour which has scaled the highest peaks of indiscipline, continue to be an eye-sore for them.

That the Government has its share in the cause of this whirlwind there is no doubt. The erroneous policy of our Government in filling the vacancies that exist in its various departments has landed it into these troubled waters. The policy is aptly termed as 'erroneous.' For many of the vacancies which are to be filled the essential qualifications required are at least a Bachelor's Degree, if not a Degree at least a certificate of a recognised University. No doubt the Government cannot have unqualified people in its machinery, but this essential requirement of a University Degree should be curtailed to such vacancies as which *Essentially*

need such qualifications (e.g. the technical personnel etc). But the error of our Government lies in demanding a Degree indiscriminately when such a post could rightly be entrusted into the hands of an experienced and a skilled person who has an enthusiasm, zest and maturity of technique in handling that post and might not have been fortunate enough to pass through the Portals of an University. Yet the latter may accomplish and fulfil the requirements of that post even more efficaciously and smoothly than the one who merely holds a Degree but not the knack, incentive and initiative for that post. Thus a Degree ceases to be a criterion for the call and command of a particular post.

The achievements of Harinarayan Apte a luminary of Marathi literature fully substantiates the above argument. After Matriculating from the New English School he joined the Deccan College only to leave it to join the Fergusson College started by the Management of the New English School. After spending a year at the Fergusson College he rejoined the Deccan College. In all he spent five long years in both the Colleges but unfortunately could not progress towards the University Degree, his stumbling block being mathematics. But it is very heartening to note that by the sheer dint of hard work and literary genius and wide knowledge of things he very soon rose to the position of an Examiner in Marathi of the very same University whose degree he could not obtain. Not only that, he very soon reached a stage when he was appointed a lecturer in Philology by the University of Bombay; later as a literary giant of Marathi literature he stood among those with whom few could rub shoulders.

Reverting to our subject, we shall see how the Govt. policy has germinated decay in our educational system. The requirement of a University Degree for jobs which do not absolutely need one has resulted in the clamour for College seats. Every Tom, Dick and Harry wants to join a College whether it be on his merit or through influence' (a very common channel these days;) the ultimate aim of a large section of them being to procure a certificate and ultimately a job in some Government department. As a consequence a rot is created with every class, type and strata of students being admitted. Students with no family background, no zeal and no enthusiasm

for studies but mere certificate-maniacs. A Degree and a certificate at any cost come to be their motto and an end. The College ceases to be an Alma-mater and turns into an unofficial 'Employment Bureau.'

A motley crowd of earnest students and certificate-maniacs results in the degradation of the College standards which ultimately eats up to the core becoming a blot upon the fair name of the University and the student community at large.

Elbowing through the certificate-maniacs we come to two other groups of "pseudo-students." First among them are those who are forced to join a College with a matrimonial end in view, the second group among them being those who are simply thrust into the Campus arena by their parents just to maintain the social status of the family. I personally know a student who has been the victim of such coercion and has somehow or other managed to drag along upto the Inter-Arts University Examination. The academic standards which such students can achieve, I think, can conveniently be to the commonsense of the reader. This argument logically brings the parents to the scene. The parents too have thus their own burden of blames to bear. This needs no further elaboration, I feel.

The teachers and professors too, have burned their fingers in the raging fire. Not all are to be blamed. The few of the ones who come to the class-room droning away the textual facts in a bone-dry manner are the real culprits. This method of teaching is a reminiscence of the days when no proper text-books were available and the student had to scribble every word of the lecturer. Teachers should not be mere third-rate oral copies of a text-book but rather have a firm knowledge and command of that particular field. They should be first-rate supplements to the already existing text-books. In the presence of the former type of teachers the studies become a burden upon the students awaiting to be unloaded on the examination day. Again, many students take a "French Leave" during such lectures, idling away their precious time in the corridors or in the canteen puffing away a cigarette over a steaming cup of tea, and no paraphrase will be needed in saying that the idle mind very soon turns into a devil's workshop. Proper teachers thus come to be a prerequisite of an educational institution.

Last but the most formidable agency which is responsible for the decay is the School. Many a young mind has been fed with distortions and misconceived ideas of a College. The elder strata of students is to be held responsible for these misconceptions stuffed into the young minds. They take College life to be the most enjoyable phase of their lives. It is, they think the same romantic, spicy and breezy life as it was depicted in a particular picture they had the misfortune of seeing. Naturally, this creates a very loose picture of a College upon their minds, and when they face the harsh reality they become bent upon making it the same happy-go-lucky sort

of a life which they had dreamed. This again results in a sharp decline of the standard of education. School teachers have consequently to bear the brunt of embossing upon the tender minds a clear picture of the College life and its highest ideals, thus clearing them of all misty and dubious ideas.

There can be no easier and a happier solution to this problem of problems, the cry of our educationists, then only if students realise things for themselves and determine to put an end to this inglorious and dark chapter in the bright annals of educational history keeping before them the loftiest ideal of a 'Guru-Chela' relationship.

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Soil Pollution and Prevention of Diseases

By

Dr. T. R. BHASKARAN.

SOIL is the surface layer of the earth's crust derived from disintegration of rocks and decay of vegetable and animal matter. Soil serves man in various ways. It supports agriculture which is the ultimate source of all food and clothing. It also houses a variety of micro-organisms—bacteria, moulds, protozoa, worms and insect larvae—which act as important agents in universal hygiene. These microbes decompose plant, animal and human wastes thereby cleansing the environment and making it sanitary and comfortable for our living.

During the process of decomposition of wastes, the important elements of plant food, which get otherwise locked up in the wastes, are also turned back into the soil in a form in which the elements are again assimilated by plants to produce more food and clothing. Under certain favourable soil conditions, infections of all kinds that get into the soil through the wastes are also killed in due course. Soil is thus a great friend of man and plays an important role in the promotion of health and prevention of disease.

Although soil is capable of disposing of large quantities of organic wastes, it can also endanger health if it is over-burdened with human and animal wastes. The nature and

amount of wastes as well as the manner in which the wastes are disposed of in soil are important factors to be taken care of in this connection.

Indiscriminate fouling of surface soil with human and animal wastes results in serious soil pollution. If proper precautions are not taken to keep the soil clean and free from excessive pollution, faecal-borne infection and infestation become a major cause of death and debility of communities living in these regions.

The diseases communicated through the agency of soil pollution are hookworms, ascariis (round worm) and other worm infestations, diarrhoea, dysentery and typhoid. Soil pollution with animal wastes is also an important factor in the spread of tetanus, anthrax and botulism. The mode of spread of disease through polluted soil is represented below.

Man is the reservoir of infection of the diseases mentioned above. When people do not use sanitary latrines and defecate in the open, the infection is carried to the surface soil with the excreta and remains there for varying periods. Hookworm is contracted through direct contact of the skin with polluted soil when people usually step on the soil barefooted. In the case of diarrhoea, dysentery and other enteric infections, the danger is indirect,

through contamination of water supplies by polluted soil or food through flies. Mechanical contacts and ingestion of infection through fungus and consumption of raw vegetables grown on polluted soil may also be the responsible factors.

Pathogenic bacteria and eggs of parasite worms which are discharged in the excreta will survive in soil for varying periods depending on the temperature, moisture and other soil conditions. The competing bacterial flora and predatory protozoa also help in the destruction of the pathogenic bacteria.

Typhoid, dysentery and other pathogens do not find soil a suitable environment for their growth and multiplication and die within a few days. On the other hand, hookworm, ascaris and other helminthic eggs may survive for several months in wet sandy soil. However, the infectious material is properly incorporated into the deeper layers of the soil and allowed to digest for a period of at least three to six months, the material will be rendered innocuous and free from infection. The excreta is ultimately converted into inoffensive, odourless and stable product.

Spread of infection through water and flies takes place when the polluted soil is washed into water supplies or exposed to flies. It has been shown by a number of workers that the chances of contamination of ground water soil pollution are indeed limited in consolidated soils.

In India, more than 80 per cent of the population lives in rural environment, where there are no adequate facilities for collection and disposal of excreta and other community wastes. Even in the urban areas, particularly in the slums and fringes of industrial towns, arrangements for disposal of human excreta and other effluvia of the community are quite unsatisfactory. Latrines are rarely used by rural people and they practise defecation in the open resulting in widespread soil pollution in these regions.

The net result is that the incidence of hookworm ranges from 40 to 70 per cent of the population in different parts of the country, with over 200 million people suffering from this disease. Other worm infestations are also widely prevalent. During the period 1940 to 1950, nearly 30 million people died of enteric diseases in the country. Thus, control and

prevention of diseases arising out of soil pollution are a major public health problem and demand immediate attention.

An important sanitary measure for prevention of soil pollution is to provide satisfactory arrangements for collection and disposal of human and animal wastes throughout the country and particularly in the rural regions. These wastes include excreta, urine, refuse, garbage and animal dung. From the point of view of control of soil-borne infections, proper disposal of human excreta is the most essential.

A variety of excreta disposal methods, and latrines have been used in different parts of the world. Experience in using these latrines has shown that the non-service type is better than the service type latrines from the sanitary point of view.

Recent researches carried out by the Research-cum-Action Project and Indian Council of Medical Research have shown that the dug well or pit latrine fitted with a water seal squatting plate provides satisfactory answer to this problem. The dug well latrine not only prevents soil pollution but is also cheap and easy to instal under rural conditions. The latrine can be safely installed in most soil conditions. Even in areas where the soil is made up of coarse sand or gravel, pollution of ground water by the latrine can be prevented by providing an envelope of fine sand around the latrine.

Pollution of surface soil with refuse, garbage, animal dung and other liquid wastes leads to fly-breeding. Proper collection and disposal of these wastes are also important for the effective control of diseases arising out of soil pollution. Satisfactory disposal of these wastes in rural areas can be achieved by providing manure pits in every house or a group of houses. The capacity of the pits should be adequate to provide at least 3 months of storage of waste before it is used as manure.

The liquid wastes from the family can be satisfactorily disposed of by having soakage pits into which the wastes are drained. Composting of the wastes with animal or human excreta may also be adopted. When composting process is practised supervision of the composition necessary to ensure that the compost material is free from disease germs before it is handled as manure.

Nature has endowed soil with a remarkable power for decomposition of wastes and destruction of germs of disease present in them. The decomposition of wastes enriches the productivity of the soil and results in great benefits to agriculture. This basic principle is widely adopted in disposal of family and community wastes all over the world because such a method of disposal leads to health protection and prevention of diseases. The Wardha

latrine, which was dear to Gandhiji's heart, is also based on this principle.

If soil is to be used in this dual role for our benefit, it is imperative that its cleanliness is maintained by prevention of pollution. A national campaign for providing dug well latrines and manure and storage pits in every home and village will go a long way in maintaining sanitary cleanliness of the soil and control of diseases arising out of soil pollution.

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Lord Lothian : The Liberal Imperialist

By

"A STUDENT OF POLITICS."

LORD Lothian, better known as Philip Kerr of *The Round Table*, was one of the group of brilliant Oxford men, who leaving New College with distinction, started his career by joining what was known as Lord Milner's "Kindergarten set" in South Africa. Milner had started on his work of pacification and re-construction after three years of warfare. Civil Government was established in the newly annexed Colonies, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, and the High Commissioner was determined to cleanse the aegian stable of corruption and incompetence and to introduce a new system of administration, more in conformity with the best traditions of the British Civil system. For many of the Key-posts in the new administration Milner looked to the young men of talent and integrity from the old university. Oxford men mostly from New College answered the call with alacrity and among them are Lionel Curtis, and Geoffrey Robinson (later Dawson of *the Times*) Sir George Craik and Sir William Marris. Kerr joined this group and was soon carving for himself a position of great usefulness and responsibility. The story of his four and a half years' apprenticeship in administration and Journalism in the dark continent is told with vividness and a wealth of detail in a special chapter in the official biography. (*Lord Lothian 1882-1940* by J.R.M. Butler, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. 42 sh.) Indeed his career in South Africa was in the words of the biographer "Spectacularly successful" and doubtless paved the way for more effective service in a wider field in later years.

The vast spaces and the complex problems involved in coordinating diverse elements of the population, should have fired his imagination and set him on the track of a new imperialism as distinct from the unimaginative plodding of the little Englander. Kerr must have been deeply impressed by Milner's historic farewell speeches in Pretoria and Johannesburg in which he reviewed and defended his work in South Africa declaring his hopes for the future and his faith in the Imperial Ideal.

When we who call ourselves Imperialists talk of the British Empire, we think of a group of states, all independent in their own local concerns, but all united for the defence of their own Common interests and development of a common civilization, united but in an alliance-for alliances can be made and unmade and are never more than nominally lasting-but in a permanent organic union. The British and the Dutch alike could without loss of integrity, without any sacrifice of their several traditions, unite in loyal devotion to an Empire-State, in which Great Britain and South Africa would be partners and could work cordially together for the good of South Africa as a member of that greater whole. And so, you see, the term Imperialist is also the best South African.

Thus by the time he returned to England in 1909 he had already made his mark and become deeply interested in politics with an enlarged outlook on the international scene.

The next phase of his life started with the founding of the *Round Table* quarterly of

which he became the first Editor, gathering about him a galaxy of like-minded people devoted to the cause of the Empire, in strengthening and broadbasing what was later to be known as the British Commonwealth of Nations. After a spell of travel he returned home to be recruited to Lloyd George's personal secretariat in December 1916. The First World War was in full swing and the Cabinet was devising methods of closer union among the scattered units of the Empire. Montagu was at the India Office and we can see the note of caution as well as imagination in the Declaration of 20th August 1917: "The gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Of course to us "the progressive realization" a phrase suggestive of a lengthening shadow seemed a tarduous and long-winded process. But even so we can see the vision and the broad sweep of Kerr. In fulfilment of this pledge came the Government of India Act of 1919. Kerr in the meanwhile chose to leave Downing Street for "other fields" and Montagu's testimonial on the occasion speaks for itself:

"I cannot let you leave Downing Street without expressing...not merely appreciation of your work. That would be platitudinous. It is gratitude for much helpful advice and much helpful assistance; always disinterested, always impersonal, always detached, always judicious. I do not know how my Indian work, in so far as it impinges on Downing Street can prosper now that you have gone."

As Secretary of the Rhodes Trust from 1925 to 1939 he made frequent visits to U.S.A. and the contacts he made on these occasions were a source of considerable value in subsequent relations between London and Washington. All the time he continued to be a contributor to *The Round Table* on commonwealth and international affairs. Nor can we forget the part he played as a Liberal Member of the National Government of 1931 when he visited India and made important contributions to the scheme of Indian self-government which he supported both in and out of office. As Chairman of the Franchise Committee he prepared the ground for the working of the new Constitution. At the Round Table Conferences he made contacts with leading Indians like

Gandhi and Sapru whom he must have deeply impressed by his reasonableness and suavity. This is no place to discuss his specific contributions to the Indian scheme of reforms but there is no doubt he brought to bear upon the scheme the vision and experience of a statesman at work. Of course his views were mainly inspired by his faith in the Empire and its destiny, but even so he never lost sight of the good that it meant for India. Indians naturally felt he did not go far enough but the work of bringing all parties together meant a measure of give and take for which the country was by no means prepared in the then frustrated mood of the time. Lothian had to pay a price for his habitual moderation and his aptitude to look into all aspects of a case with a judicial mind. His so called Elineden set was suspected of favouring Germany at a crucial moment when in fact he was trying to be fair to Germans, according to his lights. England was then in no mood to temporise with Nazism, when the fight was on.

From the point of view of British interests perhaps his most important work lay in the crucial decade preceding his appointment as British Ambassador to Washington. We do not propose to review his work in furthering the cause of Britain and the Allies at the outbreak of the Second World War. But it is on record that Sir Winston Churchill thought that Lothian was the greatest ambassador that Britain had sent out to the U.S.A.

Mr. Butler has done his task with scholarly competence and thoroughness. The book is enriched with relevant appendices containing reports of Lothian's two interviews with Hitler and some Nazi leaders. Lothian, as a man, possessed great charm, with a keen, well informed and inquiring mind. He had of course many friends, but few intimates and Mr. Butler has a separate chapter to assess his character and personality. Indeed the book comprises 16 chapters, each dealing with a specific sphere of his activities; and he has chosen to treat the subject by topics rather than in strict chronological order. The method is well designed to give completeness to his record of work in different spheres. The biography is altogether a fascinating account of a brilliant career and a remarkable character.

The First Sonnets in Bengali

By

MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT

(Translated from Bengali By Umanath Bhattacharya)

THE INTRODUCTION

Duly saluting th' Sea of Ecstasy,
This the Poet submits to the good people
Of Bengal, folding his hands: 'Tis me, who years
Ago did dive in th' Ocean deep and brought
The Pearl 'Tilottama' while still a youth.
Then blest by Poet-sage Valmiki, did harp
His lyre deep and grave and sang the Epic:
How Sumitra's Son in Lanka War did kill
The Prince of the Rakshas, a dread to th' demons, men
And gods. Then trav'ling with Fancy in Gopaland,
Who heard the lament of Radha, roaming forlorn,
Apart from her Beloved; whose quill did yield
'Epistles Heroic' from ladies chivalrous to
Their Lords. 'Tis me: Listen! Sons of Bengal!

THE SONNET

Famous is Italy, the Paradise of Poets.
Many a warbler sweetly flute in
Her forest-bower, pouring th' melody and thrilling
The heart with the mirth of Spring eternal
Where in olden days came to birth
Petrarch, the Prince of Poets; Favour'd by Muse,
He came in the lime-light, a lyrist honey-tongued,
Carrying in his hand a harp of gold.
Finding this tiny gem in the mine of Verse,
He offerr'd this to th' Muse of his Land.
Pleased, She wore it in her necklace gay,
Granting him the boon of heart's desire.
Deeming it worthy of Vani of Ind, to-day
I dedicate this to her, with a fervent heart.

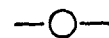
TO HIS MUSE

Like a lotus sketching on the crystal waters
Of the lake her picture in golden colours
Of love, with th' lustre of the Sun, the portrait
That thou hast drawn on th' canvas of my soul
Who can wash away, so long the World
I tread? As the Ganges abides with the Sea for aye

At th' outfull, an' th' fragrance in the lotus abides,
 O stay with me! Maid of beautiful eyes!
 Where'er I go, come what may, I'll serve
 Thee,—far or near where'er I dwell. Thou art
 The image of love in light and shade, enshrined
 For aye in th' temple of my heart,—the temple
 Built by Memory fond. My constant
 Mate on this side of the grave! by Muse!

THE RHYMES

How callous was he!—oft I think within,—
 Who fashion'd first—alas! to torment thee,
 The fetter in guise of rhymes, O Language sweet!
 Ah, how it pains thy tender feet to wear!
 When I consider this, my bosom burns
 With rage. O say, had he no wealth of thought,—
 No fervour in his heart save this jewel fake
 Of fondness false, wherewith to woo thee?
 Ah, what's the use of rouge to a lotus red?
 Fair is the Crescent in the sky, aglow
 With charms innate. Why chant the scripture to hallow
 The Ganges? Who showers the scents on a flower fragrant?
 Lovely by nature is Poetry true. Then why
 The shackles of iron shoon, like women of China?



Social Sciences — A Plea For Integration

By

Mr. J. NARAYANAN, M. A.

THIS is an age of worship at the altar of science. There are very few amongst us who know what science exactly is, but almost all of us are in favour of it. One has to admit that not all students of scientific method, nor even all social scientists, are convinced that the various social sciences such as history, political science, sociology, anthropology and economics qualify as full-fledged sciences. Certainly the general public does not accord the social scientist the same kind of position and hearing that it gives to those who work in the field of so-called exact sciences. The common man who would not dare to venture an opinion on atomic fission, glibly expounds

on international relations. No matter how often social scientists proclaim that they are real scientists, most people appear to view them as pseudo-scientists.

All the social sciences study, with different emphasis, the same reality—man in terms of his relationships with other men. This is the justification for the word 'social'. Some of the exact sciences, such as medicine and its many allied fields, also study man. These branches of knowledge, however, are concerned primarily with man as an individual physical organism. Their basic stress is not upon man as a social being. It may be said that the exact sciences—or the physical or

natural sciences as they are sometimes called—investigate the physical universe, of which, as a biological organism, he is a part. The social sciences, on the other hand deal with the social universe—a net work of human relationships—which is a product of man's group life. It should be noted that the social universe is just as real as the physical universe, despite the fact that it appears more intangible.

Briefly, it would be accurate to say that the exact sciences attempt to examine the physical universe by the scientific method, and the social sciences attempt to examine the social universe by the same (scientific) method.

"Man, know thyself" is an old advice. Despite this good advice, man has learned more about external things than about himself. As some opposed the application of scientific modes of study to man, man started to study himself scientifically many centuries after he had built up fairly impressive sciences of many other things varying from the parrots to the planets. He knows more about the air he breathes, the water he drinks and the binocular he uses than he does about himself. In this way, after concentrating scientifically for centuries on virtually every phenomenon in the universe except himself, man is coming at last to try to understand himself by the use of an analytical method of study called 'science'. The result is a group of knowledge called 'the social sciences'.

The increase of knowledge about the control of the physical universe has raised the question as to whether the society will be able to control this knowledge. The invention of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the aftermath of the second world-war have made clear the necessity for a more widespread knowledge of a theoretically sound and practically applicable science of human relations. The increased growth of the physical sciences enslave man and it tends to work for human destructiveness. But an increased knowledge in social sciences help a great deal to balance this and work for human constructiveness. The social sciences, by discovering enough about society so that society can, if it wishes to use this knowledge, control the use of physical knowledge. Science unguided and uncontrolled by Humanities would be like Frankenstein's monster. To achieve a happy and peaceful co-existence of people in this world, the importance of the social sciences

might seem needless reiteration. Study of social sciences could help the execution of social welfare programmes. Thus, the mastery of social sciences has become a task which is not only something which we ought to do, but an obligation which we must fulfil.

One must take note of the effect of social sciences on society and at the same time one must not also ignore the influence of society on the social sciences. Regarding the former, the social scientists paint a rosy picture and they talk about its role, value and importance to the society. This aspect cannot be denied. Social sciences really serve the society. But many of them do not realize the fact that the knowledge of social sciences can also become a threat to society and work for the destruction of society.

There are evidences that we are acquiring some potentially dangerous social knowledge. First we have witnessed the power of propaganda and other mob-persuasion and mob-incitement techniques to control people. Social scientists have also studied the problem of changing the attitudes and opinions of people. This knowledge might be utilized by those who do not have the general welfare at heart; it might be directed against certain groups.

Another area of social science research, which has developed largely within the last few years and which has possibilities for modifying the power-position of groups within society is the field of industrial relations research. One purpose of this research is to increase the happiness of workers in industry, which involves finding out what makes them dissatisfied and what techniques can be employed to reduce their dissatisfaction. Another purpose is to increase productivity. Since the research is on the attitudes of workers alone, the knowledge gained increases the possibilities of control only over workers, and not over employers. As such it is potentially dangerous research to the labourers and to their unions. Instead of furthering "democracy in industry", it can help the employers to squash the employees. It is clear that knowledge is power and there is the likelihood for the abuse or the misuse of power.

The effect of social sciences on society can both be positive or negative and the effect depends upon the social backgrounds, the personality traits, and the attitudes of the social scientists. In other words, it depends upon

the influence of society on the social sciences. It is the society which, in a way, determines the personality and attitudes of social scientists. Social scientist also has a number of human frailties and he may be selfish and callous of others. For example in the Indian society, integration among the social sciences is not seen. Unbalanced growth and lack of harmony among the social sciences make the problem still more complex. So the economists and sociologists consider themselves as rivals and hence they are selfish. This is not a good sign and this may foster the abuse of knowledge.

A second fact to be noted is the low prestige of the social sciences and the consequent frustration of the social scientists. Social scientists have a lower status than do physical and biological scientists, not only in the minds of general public, but frequently in their own minds as well. Quite a number of social scientists feel inferior to natural scientists in the possession of techniques for acquiring new knowledge.

In the present-day India, technological and scientific advancement are given much priority and the social sciences are practically neglected. This naturally accords the former a higher status and the latter a lower status. If we happen to meet two young students, one studying engineering or medicine, and another studying social sciences, the former holds his head high and thinks that he has achieved great eminence in life and the latter behaves and speaks as though that he has done a crime. This is due to the lack of official support and encouragement to the social sciences. The statement of this fact should not be taken as an accusation, or an attempt to fix blame, but as an evidence of the relatively low prestige of the academic pursuit in the social sciences.

Because of lack of patronage, large number of social scientists and students of social sciences escape academic life, for jobs in which they can serve the society. Here also they experience enough frustration and they are not given the right job and a good status in the society. As and when they recognize that their knowledge has no social influence, they are likely to give away their knowledge and

services to anybody who could pay a high price for them, without much concern as to where it is going. In this way instead of working for the social good, the social knowledge is directed against the society which finally leads to the destruction of the society. As Lord Keynes observes, social sciences are very powerful. "...the ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood." So it is upto the society to use the social sciences to its own general welfare and for the common good.

To the extent that the above statements are true, certain actions are incumbent upon social scientists if they are not to be dangerous to society. Knowledge is power, and if the social scientists wish the avoidance of the misuse of power they produce, they shall be obliged to take certain more positive steps. Here the suggestions of Arnold M. Rose are worth mentioning : They are as follows :

One is to integrate the learned associations a little more so that membership in them confers some prestige. Developing a sense of professional dignity and the minimizing of frustrations would enhance the integrity of the individual members.

Second step is to select the subject matter for study with some attention to its possible use by society.

A change in attitudes of social scientists toward the uneducated people will go a long way to attain the social good.

To conclude all the possible steps must be taken to integrate the social scientists into the society and a sense of social responsibility must be developed in them. In other words, the activities of the social scientists must prove an asset to the democratic society.

All the branch of social sciences must also have to be integrated. It is easier to talk about integration than it is actually to do it. Any how for an efficient, effective, and immediate solution of a social problem an inter-disciplinary approach (using the knowledge of several social sciences) is the only possible way open to society.

Crisis in Character

By

Prof O. P. GUPTA, M.A., LL.B.

IT is obvious that what we lack and need most urgently is character. Knowledge : people possess in ample. There is no dearth of graduates on this unfortunate soil of ours and the number of readers is countless and daily multiplying. There is a spate of books on all subjects of human interest in the market and some of these books are really competent to impart to us knowledge of all types and shades. The number of schools, colleges and other kindred institutions which already is huge, is increasing day by day. These schools and colleges are the chief centres of equipping the students with whatever branch of knowledge they desire to be equipped.

But before we proceed further we should be able to differentiate knowledge from wisdom which is decidedly more positive, higher, finer and far more worthy of possession. Wisdom is rather the essence of knowledge which often is of the surface. The former is much deeper and more helping. A man of wisdom is more learned, dependable, praiseworthy than a man of knowledge. These schools and colleges, as a matter of fact, are disseminating centres of knowledge and not wisdom which rather comes with years and a good deal of brooding or pondering over.

The term 'character' used in the maxim also requires a fuller explanation. Character is not the mere expression of cheap morality in your conduct or reaction towards your fellowmen. It is not compromised with or flouted when youth indulges in slight, fleeting infatuations or seeks the throbbing company of beauty. Character is a much higher thing—a broader term, a nobler article. Its very basis is charity which may be also regarded as its essence. A man of character is always charitable, tolerant, accommodating; he is honest, open and frank in his dealings with his co-travellers; and he believes in the grace and equitable dispensation of God. Character is purity of means and ends. It is good motive or virtuous intention. It is virtue of the heart in action.

Now when we watch and look into the conduct of the educated people in our surroundings or even peep within, we find that charity

which is the corner-stone of character is conspicuous by its absence. Our officers are undeniably men of knowledge. Many of them accept bribes, neglect their duties, and exploit their subordinates for their own personal interests. Knowledge, rather makes them smarter and more imaginative on the wrong side. They misuse the fruits of their learning for wrong ends. The same is true in the case of our politicians out of whom we draw our legislators. These Politicians are men with a little integrity and scruple and what is most unfortunate is the notion popular among them that at least a politician, of all the persons, need not bother about morality.

Knowledge is abroad. It is fast spreading and unluckily the faster it spreads, the faster it, say, extinguishes the light of character within us. You may take the instance of lecturers themselves. They may be models of knowledge, but, in no way, models of character. They also indulge in the same petty and great jealousies which others partake of. They are as much soiled and sordid at times as any other less educated man can be.

So character is at a discount everywhere. People talk in terms of politeness; but work in terms of haughtiness. People talk in tone of non-violence, but act violently. People confess a loud love of morality; but their deeds are anything but moral. People pretend to be friendly, but often they prove to be worse than enemies. Everywhere is in evidence a gulf between speech and action. Unfortunately we live in an age of affectation, pose and sham. There is little sincerity and truth in people. Few are dependable and responsible.

Now the question arises why in the present era character is at a low level. The answer to it is that we live in an age of scepticism, irreligion and hard and severe science. Science has shattered old values of religion and so far no definite, positive new articles of faith which could provide shelter to the weak, weary and desperate have been evolved. In the absence of any values and religious sanction, characterlessness thrives. People become sensual in their taste and lead a life of cheap carnal pleasures. They seek knowledge, not with a view to improving their senses and elevating their

moral self, but with a view to earning some sort of officership which may provide to them a larger number of unfettered opportunities for self-indulgence. Knowledge for the sake of wisdom or for the sake of self-development pure and simple is scoffed at. People go in for some branch of knowledge only with a view to enhancing their material prestige and prospectus.

To-day our life has become considerably mechanical, outer and material. For the gain of a few glittering dollars we are almost always prepared to sell our soul and scruples. Matter, matter, matter—this is the slogan of this age. It has practically smothered all other nicer

moral and intellectual considerations. The argument of the man in the street is: "why follow virtue, when only vice pays in practical life?" The younger generation, within a short time is forced to shed off its idealism and sentimentalism when it finds the older people following the path of least resistance—the path of dishonesty, double-dealing, dodging.

The crux of the matter is that the acquisition of knowledge does not necessarily lead to the sound development of character. It is really sad that to-day knowledge is being exploited for wrong ends—for the end of blackmail, profiteering and thriving as a parasite in society.

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An Aspect of the Functions of Modern Governments

By

Mr. J. A. RAMALINGAM

IN the modern times the power of governments is increasing rapidly, and its authority and control includes every aspect of the life of man. The impotence of any private agency resulted in the expansion of governmental functions. The rationale and justification of its extension is, that it would establish a stable and dynamic order in society by which the individual will enjoy the fruits of freedom. Thus it is designed to fulfil certain collective needs of society, to promote ends which cannot be pursued by an individual alone. Government is the most formidable and effective instrument of the state and is man's unending adventure.¹ Through it only man has achieved and maintained freedom and peace, otherwise the situation, in the Hobbesian phrase, can be described that man's life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." It is a matter of common observation that no human institution is static but undergoes great changes and transformations bearing the seal of time. The primary purpose of government is to establish peace,

justice and order in the state, where all individuals without any restraints develop their personalities. The functions of modern government are too many, and comprehensive and have to keep pace with all the changes technological or social taking place in the society. It satisfies all the needs and requirements of its citizens. Its function have been classified under the following heads—general welfare functions, functions of economic control and natural functions.²

Modern man finds himself isolated, insecure and lonely while living in a competitive and impersonal society. He finds his freedom fraught with fear and anxiety. He craves for a sense of direction, of belonging, of community with his fellow-citizens. The social scientist Sebastian Grazia and Erich Fromm have thrown flood of light over this issue. The structure of the modern society affects modern man in two ways simultaneously he becomes more independent, self-reliant and critical and he becomes more isolated, alone and afraid.³ In these circumstances

man's life becomes empty and loses all its meaning. In the modern industrial civilization, finds a situation where individuality is an illusion. The machine age has made man rich in mundane things, but in the face of today's vast problems and responsibilities he feels powerless. He has too little freedom to realise his potentialities to live actively and spontaneously.

The Technological revolution has brought about a total change in the city life, and the State with Government as its formal and effective instrument under these changed circumstances has to re-assess its values. State is the source and fountain of all values and it maintains it even if necessary by force. The State has a mission and is according to Burke "a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants." State has also the monopoly of coercive power but it does not mean that its powers cannot be questioned. Power is always a trust, and it is always held upon conditions.⁴ In other words political power is sustained by content as well as constraint of the governed. In the ultimate analysis the claims of the State to obedience rests upon its will and ability to secure to its citizens the maximum satisfaction of their wants.⁵ The old doctrines of equality of opportunity and of freedom from restraint that the individual may progress has to be reinterpreted under the new context of technological society. Now means have to be provided so that there would be security in the social and economic sphere. There is the necessity of widening and equalizing of the range of choices for citizens, whereby the development of their potentialities would be consummated. Also the cultural level of the citizens would be elevated and enriched, and their energies would be canalized in the right direction, provided the State does not put obstacles and stumbling-blocks. The State has to play the role of a great insurance agency for society. In a society there are many maladjusted personalities, who do much harm in the social group in which they function. It leads to waste and frustration of abilities and energies especially on the part of many sensitive and creative individuals. Today we see the victory of hyperdemocracy, in which the mass acts directly, outside the law, imposing its aspi-

rations and its ideas through the device of material pressure. The mass destroys beneath it, everything that is different and excellent, and anyone who does not think like everybody runs the gravest risk of extermination.⁶ Dictators had always flattered mass man for the materialization of their ambitions. Under democratic government the State can use its power to remove or diminish the major conflicts between groups, masses, individuals and institutions. So it can take up the role of adjustment agency and a regulator between opposing and conflicting interests of groups and in institutions. This would impart stability to the society, inspite of many changes taking place in the social structure. At the same time it should be borne in mind that the true well-being of a society, lies in diversity rather than in identity of interests. The harmony best suited to a society is one which comes from many sided inner tensions, strifes, conflicts and disagreements. These are the essential ingredients of social peace and continuous harmony.⁷ So Government has the responsibility of adjusting their differences and maintaining a balance, whereby none is exploited by the other. The State has to play the important role of social psychiatrist. It must evolve techniques for preventing extreme maladjustment and frustration. It has to provide within the boundaries of its legal order and of the social and institutional order connected thereto devices by which fundamental human drives and impulses may find positive outlets which are harmless to, or creative within society. Provision of highways, parks, municipal concerts and art galleries do create effective outlets for human energies and for the fulfillment of varieties of temperament. Man's social nature is a complex system of responses and of needs. The state using the agent of Government, has the responsibility or obligation both through the administration and legislation to make provision for all this, and not to repress diversities but to canalize them. The democratic state differs basically from the totalitarian regimes—it assumes that individuals possess different temperaments and it should in no way be regimented to a particular pattern. The new science of Human behaviour brings into the service of the totalitarian government a

1. Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, P. 5.

2. R. MacIver, *The Web of Government*, P. 314.

3. E. Fromm, *The Fear of Freedom*, P. 99.

4. Laski, *Grammar of Politics*, P. 35.

5. Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice*, P. 104.

6. Jose Ortega Y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, P. 12.

7. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol 61, 1946, P 504.

knowledge of the human mind which enabled them to play on mass emotions.⁸ It becomes one of the functions of the State to attempt by research to find techniques and devices by which diverse wills and impulses may be fulfilled in a social way. In pursuance of this goal, the State should spread myths and symbols for loyalty and allegiance which will foster a sense of common belonging and at the same time provide contentment to the group when it participates in a common adventure. Such myths and symbols serve as a cement which bind people and hold them in check from disturbing the social equilibrium. Every society is held together by a myth-system, a complex of dominating thought-forms that determines and sustains all its activities. All social relations, the very feature of human society, are myth-born and myth-sustained.⁹ The totalitarian regimes rule largely through fear. They employ myths and symbols to gain a common allegiance while destroying diversity. Their aim was not to satisfy them at the level of their own needs and impulses. The democratic society must explore the avenues to provide means to diverse satisfactions and for a reasonable degree of social adjustments among its citizens. It must keep these myths and symbols alive and vital, which also can adapt itself with the diverse needs of the people in changing society.

The state, through its agent the Government must develop balance, whereby restraining man from upsetting the balance or equilibrium of the society to his harm. Man lives in a certain environment with certain resources which he utilizes and develops for the satisfaction of his own needs. If the State wants to be successful there must be some continuity in the development of these resources and some guarantee of their preservation. Man by his abilities can change and exploit the environment to such an extent that its balance is upset completely. It has become a hard reality, that man with vast and big machines in our technological society can exploit and utilize the environments in which he lives. With some medicines the pollution of rivers can be brought about and the water can become poisonous, with gases the whole atmosphere and area may have been made obnoxious and

uninhabitable. He can destroy valuable resources which may have been contributory to his prosperity. The cause of this is liberty where it degenerates to licence. The State through influence on citizens should endeavour that dynamic continuity of a society by which it is maintained and not impaired. It should conserve the established ways of living and allow its citizens to destroy it so easily. As Government the instrument of the State monopolise force, it can establish the framework within which groups and individuals can live and work together peacefully.

On the other hand it should not be forgotten that Government of the State may become dictatorial by and all-powerful where individuality would remain an illusion. In spite of many modern political and judicial institutions to safeguard the individual freedom against the encroachments on the part of the Government, it has been observed that freedom becomes a chimera. Society cannot do without a social apparatus of coercion and compulsion i.e. without States and Government. So society that it may progress creates the State as an instrument, then the State establishes its predominance and society has to live for the State, and has to obey to its dictate. Every spontaneous social action of man is curbed by the State, and a situation emerges where society lives for the State, and man for the Government machine.¹⁰ Individual can retain his freedom by paying a heavy a price for it, by keeping himself vigilant. Government should not be allowed to impose its supremacy over the cultural life of the community. Intellectual slavery gives rise to the totalitarian regimes. Government should not be given too much powers over the economic sphere, because in the implementation of these functions the indirect supremacy over the cultural life of the people would be imposed. We are living in an age of planned economy, which takes every aspect of life into consideration. Planning to be successful means it should be total. In this the citizen is merely asked to give up his right of decision to the superior reason of the expert. For example in countries where planning did succeed, it has done so at the expense of freedom i.e. Soviet Five Year Plans; and the Nazi Four Year Plans. Therefore some writers have already reached the conclusion—that planning is opposed to

8. Mannheim, *Diagnosis of our Time*, P. 2.

9. R. MacIver, *The Web of Government*, P. 4.

10. Jose Ortega Y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses*, P 305.

freedom and overshadows the individual. In other words planning and democracy are not compatible. The powers of the Government are legitimate only to the extent, it is exercised for the end of social life. There is a note of interrogation at the end of every governmental pronouncement, and it is for the citizen to decipher in what manner the question will be answered.¹¹ Then only the individual can keep himself free and indepen-

11. Laski, *Grammar of Politics*, P 36.

dent. Freedom is an essential ingredient of civilization, it only guarantees the flowering of the spiritual qualities of man and gives birth to inspiration of creative ideas. It is necessary to the formation of social loyalties and group solidarity through spontaneous choice and not by coercion.¹² Government as agent of the State must cultivate the respect, the confidence and the gratitude of the governed—and must use authority with good judgement and understanding.

12. Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, P 335.

Temples in Ancient India

By

Mr. S. G. LAL

THE recognition of personal gods necessitates the form of worship associated with temples. Temples have symbolised India's culture through the ages. India is generally known as the land of gods—and the people of the country naturally expressed their appreciation and gratitude to the "All Powerful" by means of creating according to the dictates of their own imagination - miniature abodes of that Supreme Being in various parts of the land.

The earliest abode of that Supreme Being or temple is found at Bairat near Jaipur. It is believed to be of 3rd century B.C. Now nothing remains except the foundation.

We do not have any remains of Hindu temples built before the Gupta period. From Gupta period onwards several temples have survived. With the development of better techniques of stone construction new temples were erected during Medieval period.

As far as architecture is concerned we can divide these temples into two parts (a) Northern or Indo-Aryan and (b) Southern or Dravidian Style. In the former style is a single tower with rounded top and latter is in the shape of a rectangular truncated pyramid. The stylistic development in South is clearer than in North. It should be noted here that entire area in which Dravidian temples may be found comprises only one fifth of the country as a whole, the Indo-Aryan being distributed over the remainder and therefore the building of

the latter type are more numerous and more diversified.

Temple building gained much from the patronage of Pallava Kings. Of all the powers that make the history of Southern India none had a more a marked effect on the architecture of region than the Pallavas whose productions provide the foundations of Dravidian style.

Temples both to Siva and Vishnu were built during this period. The great renaissance of religion and literature characteristic of the Gupta period found reflex during the age of Pallavas.

The Pallava dynasty's productions resolve themselves into two phases the first of these occupying the seventh century and second the eight and ninth centuries. In the former are examples of rock cut and the latter are entirely structural.

The first Pallava building to be constructed was "Shore" temple. The proof of this excellent workmanship is that even after one thousand years the "Shore" temples' twin towers are still erect, its shrines intact, immutable it stands with ceaseless activity of sea on one side.

In North all traces of architecture have vanished-probably due to Muslim invasion. The only exception is a Buddhist temple at Gaya.

The temple architecture, in North, is best illustrated by schools of Orissa, Bundelkhand and Rajasthan.

The Orissan school flourished from 10th to 13th centuries. The main group of temples of Orissan schools is in Bhuvneshwar. The Orissan temples are of the astylar order, pillars being notable by their absence. One of the most remarkable feature of the Orissan temples is the plain and featureless treatment of the interior contrasted with the profusely ornamented walls of exterior. The Lingaraja temple at Bhuvaneshwar is an outstanding example of this school.

The group of temples at Khajuraho show the work of Bundelkhand school. Situated near Jhansi these temples are the most refined manifestations of Indian architecture having an individual character. In the first place instead of being contained within the customary enclosure wall, each stands on a high and solid masonry terrace. Secondly the mass comprising the Khajuraho temple type moves in an upward direction, its trend is towards height showing its inspiring quality. Contrasting with the excessively plain treatment of Orissan interiors, the halls of Khajuraho temple are richly decorated with sculpture.

Rajasthan school of architecture is to be found in the Shrines of Mount Abu. Here temples are of white marbles and are designed to conform to the usage of the Jain religion being one of the oldest examples of that religion. The exterior has no special architectural character. The interior including the pillars is elaborated with sculptured form. Beautiful sculptures on ceilings have a rich effect.

As far as the gods in these temples are concerned it is to be noted that Gods and demi-

gods are young and handsome, bodies rounded and well nourished.

In a way these dwellings of gods explain how people thought of their creator—thinking is an art in the sense a shape is given to the content and belief of one. Hence they assert, that the awareness of the presence of Supreme Being and constant feeling of gratitude of his blessings, acted as a forceful stimulus in the development of various arts in ancient India, would not be an exaggeration. Every temple belonging to ancient period in India's History epitomes the events of significance in culture and tradition pertaining to that particular stage. Well, then let us consider the tide of history—the standard maintained or attained by cultural India. "Believe in progress" is the first lesson of human history—No gain in allowing pessimism to dominate one's outlook. Modern India could well boast of her Birla Mandir—a poem in stone, that narrates the changes that have taken place in India's architectural and cultural sphere, with the rapid infiltration of alien trends and modes. New Delhi's Birla Mandir attracts equal number of tourists as does any of ancient India's temples.

Secular India is the culmination of a long process of political and social change—assimilation of alien cultures and modes of expression and retention all the same of indigenous traits; that accommodating spirit which never fails to make itself heard, and which will always enable reconciliation of the irreconcilables—this is the culture and chief trait of modern India and this certainly smacks of ancient tradition.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

American Presidential Election

Senator John Kennedy of the Democratic party was elected the 35th President of the U.S.A. last month. He is the youngest President, for he is only 43.

Mr. Kennedy's victory especially because of almost equal popular support which his opponent, Mr. Nixon, received does not mean the nation has expressed lack of confidence in the Eisenhower Administration's policies. In fact these were never in question in the election but only the effectiveness of the administration's leadership. Mr. Kennedy's thesis right

through was under Eisenhower's leadership, the United States was not moving forward enough economically and militarily to meet the challenges of the times.

Mr. Kennedy's victory holds out the promise of becoming a turning point in international situation if only because American foreign policy will start moving again from dead centre where it has been stuck for the last four years. Not that he is going to give anything away to the Russians, but the world can expect him to make an honest attempt to break the existing deadlocks on disarmament and other

nagging East-West problems, for the less-developed subject countries too, his election is of considerable import. He has been a staunch champion of their cause and under his Presidency, the accent in American assistance is bound to change from military to economic.



SENATOR JOHN KENNEDY
(President-elect of U.S.A.)

He is also likely to throw American influence more effectively against the forces of colonialism. He believes that the United States has of late abandoned its historic anti-colonial attitude for the sake of cold war expediency.

Whatever Mr. Kennedy may or may not achieve, Washington is certainly going to see a lot of new blood and new ideas and a new approach to the various international and domestic problems. The President's principal adviser is the Secretary of State and he is expected to announce his choice for this all-important post quickly.

When Mr. Kennedy moves into the White House next January, it will end six years of divided Government in Washington. During most of Mr. Eisenhower's term Congress has been controlled by Opposition Democratic Party. Mr. Kennedy can look forward to close co-operation from Congress for implementing his programmes for three reasons. His party will be in a majority in the Legislature. He is himself a member of that club and has many friends there. Thirdly, and the most

important of all Senator Lyndon Johnson who will be his team mate as Vice-President commands great influence in Congress and will therefore, be a priceless asset as liaison between the White House and the Capitol hill.

Mr. Kennedy is a Catholic. This time the religious bias never attained any importance.

For instance, Mr. Kennedy did very well in some Catholic-populated areas, but not so well in others. On the other hand, he ran exceptionally well in the strongly Protestant South, which accepted not only a Catholic president, but a strong civil rights platform as well.

Mr. Kennedy's election means that for the first time in six years a President will be working with a Congress in which his political party has a majority. The Democrats now hold a 64-36 edge in the Senate and a 259-178 margin in the House of Representatives. However, it may be noted that this marks a gain of two Republican seats in the Senate and 24 in the House. This prompted the *New York Times* (which supported Mr. Kennedy) to editorialize "the new administration has no mandate to embark on drastic changes of policy, foreign or domestic." Such observations are not considered, however, restrictive on Mr. Kennedy's efforts to implement his "New Frontiers" program and to shape his administration with a new vigour and a new dedication.

Mr. Kennedy has already expressed his willingness to meet Mr. Khrushchev if the Russians show goodwill. World Peace and the international situation which deteriorated will be the chief subjects the new President has to solve. He will bring a new point of view. There are other problems—nuclear weapon warfare, problems in Africa, new approach to the Berlin question and economic policy at home.

It may be said that for Mr. Nixon the present defeat is the end of his political ambition. Like Mr. Kennedy, this young man has had a meteoric career. He stumbled into politics and within eight years rose to be the Vice-President and in another eight, almost became the President. It is doubtful if his party will give him its nomination for the next Presidential election in 1964. Governor Nelson Rockefeller, whose challenge he was able to ward off this time may prove too tough a nut to crack next time.

Ikeda's return to power in Japan

Prime Minister Ikeda's Liberal Democratic Party scored a comfortable victory in the general elections held on the 20th and 21st of last month increasing its strength in the Lower House of the Diet by 13 seats to 296.

Now that the elections are over, the major problem facing Premier Ikeda is the task of reconciling conflicts among different factions within the Party and satisfying their demands for positions in the Government and Party. The party now consists of four chief factions each of which has emerged stronger. These are the groups led respectively by Mr. Ikeda, former Finance Minister, Mr. Esaku Sato (Mr. Kishi's brother), former Premier Mr. Kishi and former Foreign Minister, Mr. Fujiyama.

Both Mr. Sato and Mr. Fujiyama have already set their eyes on the next Premiership succeeding the one which Mr. Ikeda will shortly establish while Mr. Sato is reported to be keen on obtaining the Foreign Minister's portfolio in the forthcoming Ikeda Cabinet as a stepping stone to Premiership.

How Mr. Ikeda will solve these party factional claims is being watched with keen interest.

Congo

Prime Minister Nehru strongly urged that the Congolese Parliament should be allowed to meet immediately and settle its own domestic problems.

Mr. Nehru who was initiating the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha, on Nov. 22 was sharply critical of the Belgian Government's attitude towards the Congo situation. He said that the arrival of an increasing number of Belgians in the Congo, in an organised manner, and the support the Belgian authorities were giving to disruptive elements in the Congo were primarily responsible for the continued unsettled conditions prevailing in that country.

Mr. Nehru regretted that cold war politics had prevented even the convening of the legitimately elected Congolese Parliament. It was the impression that some countries were not eager about a meeting of the Congolese Parliament as they could not foresee what decisions it would take. Mr. Nehru hoped that the Good Offices Commission of the United Nations would help solve the political tangle

inside the Congo. Mr. Nehru was definite that the United Nations did the right thing in taking over the Congo problem, and he had no doubt that any other alternative would have resulted in civil war and intervention of outside agencies.

In the meanwhile disquieting news regarding the serious deterioration in the law and order situation in Congo on Nov. 24 is reported.

It has been reflected in the manner in which Indian members of the U.N. forces have been grossly maltreated by Colonel Mobutu's undisciplined myrmidons. One other, even more serious, incident was that in which the U. N. forces were compelled to open fire in self-defence against armed Congolese. There is an almost absolute disinclination on the part of the U.N. military personnel to use force but there seems to be no other way of restoring peace in the Congo except by asking the U.N. forces to take over and to put the Mobutu rabble under restrictions. For, the humiliating attacks on U.N. personnel may tell upon their morale. Even though they are now on an errand of peace, these international groups are all first and foremost soldiers, placing the emphasis on discipline, self-respect and a desire to maintain a high prestige. Already the massacre of Irish members of the U.N. forces by rebellious Baluba tribesmen has caused grave concern.

As we go to press Mr. Lumumba has been arrested by the troops of Col. Mobutu the army commander who has virtually become the Dictator in Congo to-day. We learn that Mr. Lumumba is very much ill-treated. Several countries including India, have expressed grave concern at the turn of events in the Congo; and some have asked the U.N. to ensure Mr. Lumumba's safety. There is a general feeling that the anarchy in the U.N. has become so complete that firmer action by the U.N. is inevitable. But this firm action has become impossible because the U.N. is itself split wide on the Congo issue. Meanwhile Col. Mobutu's men go their way merrily they have just seized material addressed to the Indian embassy in Leopoldville. Perhaps it is too much to expect them to have any knowledge of diplomatic procedure. "Fantastic and Gilbertian" are the words used by Mr. Nehru in the Lok Sabha, to describe conditions in the Congo on Dec. 5.

Atomic weapons for Nato

General Lauris Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander, in Europe, addressing the NATO Parliamentarians' conference at Paris on Nov. 21, called for a basic pool of atomic weapons to give all NATO members an essentially equal voice in the control of these weapons.

If the proposal is implemented this would make NATO the fourth nuclear Power, the others being America, Russia and Britain. France has tested two atomic devices but does not yet have an operational atomic bomb.

General Norstad said the points he has given to his staff planners were - 1. The security of Europe continues to demand military strength in face of a continued global threat. 2. The purpose of the NATO shield forces already created are not only valid but of greater importance in the age of atomic weapons. 3. The forces now in Europe are adequate in quantity but not in equipment. 4. The forces must be deployed to use conventional weapons and atomic weapons if necessary. 5. Atomic weapons should be introduced in battle only after a clear decision is taken at a higher level than the combat commander, except on certain occasions as when the other side uses them. 6. Medium range ballistic missiles, both land and sea-based, should be made available to NATO as part of a modernisation programme. 7. The availability of a basic pool of atomic weapons and an equal voice of all NATO members in the control of these weapons.

General Norstad called for balanced forces with "substantial conventional capability" backed up by nuclear weapons. "This programme, I regret to say, has not yet been completed. I press for its completion."

The General added that the creation of a deterrent "is the first priority mission by the NATO command for the preservation of peace."

U.S. Warning to Laos

The U.S. Government on Nov. 23 warned the Laotian Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma against the dangers to independence and even neutrality of all countries in accepting military and economic aid from the Communist bloc.

Commenting on reports from Vientiane that the Soviet Government had decided to grant aid to Laos' neutralist Government, the State Department spokesman said bluntly that "this did not come as a surprise to us."

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"If it could be demonstrated that Communist economic and military assistance does in fact preserve the independence and even the true neutrality of any country, then we could welcome this ready Soviet response," the spokesman stated.

"Unhappily," he added, experience has taught us to have reservation on this score. Therefore, I can only say that we hope that the Laotians will consider carefully the course upon which they seem out to be steered," the spokesman declared.

Replying to questions, the State Department official said the U.S. Ambassador in Vientiane had informed Prince Souvanna Phouma of the American views on the political development in Laos.

Colombo Plan Conference

The 12th Colombo Plan Ministerial Conference met at Tokyo on Nov. 16. The Conference noted the "very heartening progress" that has been made in the economic situation among the countries in the Plan area in the year ending June 60.

In most of the countries in the Plan area, production had increased and conditions were "favourable to the expansion of both public and private investment," a communique issued at the end of the Consultative Committee meetings stated.

The annual report adopted by the Consultative committee this year, which will be published in various Capitals on or after January 12 next, "reflects both optimism arising from the satisfactory year of progress in the area and the determination of the member countries to face the challenge of many of the remaining problems."

The closing session of the Ministerial conference upheld the continuation of the bilateral nature of assistance given under the Philippine-backed Burmese suggestion to make-known by prior consultation among donor countries the amount of aid which would be made available to the whole region each year which in turn could be broken down to enable the recipient countries to know in advance the amount available from each donor country.

The British delegate, the Marquess of Lansdowne led the heated debate against changing the bilateral basis which, he said, had worked satisfactory so far. After a long debate, the proposal was dropped from the agenda without a vote being taken.

The 13th session of the Committee next year will be held at Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

Algeria's future

President De Gaulle told his Cabinet at Paris on Nov. 17 that he had decided to hold a referendum on Algeria "when the time comes." The General said he intended to seek the approval of the country by a referendum for a bill on the organisation of public power in Algeria pending self-determination.

The two most important plans which are being considered by General De Gaulle were reported to be.

(1) Organising Algeria into five or six new administrative regions corresponding to some extent to the different social groups in the Algerian population. Each region would have an Assembly of elected representatives with local autonomy. Such an organisation would, according to this plan, provide the groundwork for an autonomous executive for the whole of Algeria as a later stage.

(2) General De Gaulle may appoint a leading member of the Government as the specific Minister for Algeria, taking over much of the Government responsibility for Algeria from De Gaulle himself. This Minister would be assisted by a number of secretaries of State, also members of the Government. The idea of this plan would be to set up a sort of Algerian Cabinet within the National Government, foreshadowing an Algerian Cabinet in Algeria itself later on.

The referendum to be held in France and possibly Algeria on "provisional organisation of public powers in Algeria cannot be staged "before the first three months of 1961," M. Paul De Louvreir, French Government-Delegate General in Algeria said on his return from Paris.

The French Cabinet announced on Nov. 24 that the referendum on General De Gaulle's Algerian policy will take place within the first two weeks of January.

The announcement, made at the end of Cabinet meeting, said the referendum would be held simultaneously in France and Algeria.

M. Louis Terrenoire, Information Minister, said that details of the questions to be decided by the referendum would be known before the end of the present parliamentary session.

Queen Elizabeth on aid to India

Queen Elizabeth II of England opening Parliament's session last month said that the

British Government would introduce legislation to enable the Government of England, "in common with others to help the governments of India and Pakistan to finance the construction of important works in the Indus River basin."

Addressing the members of the Houses of Lords and Commons from the Gilded Throne in the Upper Chamber of Parliament, the Queen opened by saying,

"My husband and I look forward eagerly to the series of visits we shall make next year in the Commonwealth, where we shall renew and extend the friendships which we value so very highly.

"In the early part of the year we shall visit India and Pakistan, on the invitation of the Presidents of those countries, and I welcome especially the opportunity of seeing for the first time something of these two great nations of the Commonwealth."

Tamils in Ceylon

Leaders of the Federal Party headed by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam conferred with Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike at her official residence last month on a number of outstanding problems affecting the Tamil-speaking minorities in Ceylon. The Ministers of Finance, Education, and Commerce and Agriculture were also present during the discussions.

It is reliably learnt that a number of problems including the Government's proposal to implement the Sinhala-only Act on January 1 next year, the position of Tamil civil servants thereafter, a request for the establishment of regional councils and the official status of Tamil in areas inhabited by Tamilians were freely discussed. Earlier a spokesman of the Federal Party said that the Federal Party would place before the Government, matters connected with the "overall settlement of the problems affecting Tamil people, including the language switch-over."

A spokesman of the Federal Party told *The Hindu* on 19th Nov. that it was agreed at the conference not to issue any statement to the Press regarding matters that were discussed at the conference but expressed his personal opinion that he was hopeful of the outcome of the discussion which was both frank and free.

Meanwhile, Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratne asked the Finance Minister in the House of Representatives whether it was true that the Federal Party was submitting a memorandum to the

Prime Minister and if so whether that memorandum would be made available to the House. Mr. C. P. Desilva, leader of the House, in reply said that the Federal Party was submitting a memorandum and the Prime Minister was considering it as coming from a political party. He said that he would bring the member's question to the notice of the Prime Minister and also ask the leader of the Federal Party about it. He added he would consult "both sides" on the matter.

Dr. Radhakrishnan at Unesco

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Vice-President, speaking to the plenary session of Unesco at Paris on Nov. 15 made a stirring appeal to the "minds and hearts of the humanity" to establish world concord, abolish wars, and speed up the growth of education, science and culture.

He said: It is essential we should do all in our power to establish basic good feeling which is absolutely essential if any kind of political decisions are to be reached."

He referred to the question of disarmament and said nothing concrete had been achieved in this field "because we live in a divided and suspicious world. We are afraid of encirclement, of surprise attacks, and so we lack confidence."

"We send intelligence planes, we try to bribe people of other countries—all this arises from one fundamental lack of trust. Unless that trust is established, unless it is possible for us.....to establish some kind of concord, the future of the world seems very bleak."

Dr. Radhakrishnan called for a diminution of the tensions between nations and said: "Now that the United States has a new President, we very much hope that the great leaders will soon meet, understand each other's fears, suspicions and difficulties and strive to remove them, and save the world from the threat of annihilation."

"If we do not bring about a new climate of opinion," said Dr. Radhakrishnan, "total annihilation may overtake us. If we go on experimenting with nuclear weapons, manufacturing them, stockpiling them, keeping them in readiness, sooner or later a time will come when some of them will go off. It might be a deliberate blunder by some subordinate officer or inefficient novice. We cannot assume the basic rationality of human nature."

"War," added Dr. Radhakrishnan, "has to be given up and disputes among nations should

be settled by peaceful methods, by negotiations, adjustment or arbitration."

Dr. Radhakrishnan said that the world would be united only if people learnt to reconcile different civilisations and religious traditions with their different economic systems and political responsibilities.

On political freedom the Vice-President said that one of the tensions which gave rise to military conflicts in the world was the political subjection of peoples. He referred to the recent resolution in the United Nations demanding immediate political independence for colonies still under foreign rule and said: "The whole structure of subjection and tyranny depends on the foundation of ignorance. To-day ideas of freedom and progress are spreading all over the world, and the mind of man is not so impoverished and crippled as it used to be."

Political freedom, Dr. Radhakrishnan said, should be accompanied by a simultaneous liberation of the peoples from social and economic ills. He added that education, health, housing and industrial development required to be speeded up in the nations which had won political independence. "Advanced nations", he said, "are in a position to help the new free nations with doctors, engineers, chemists and agriculturists. They should not work up the highly excitable peoples of the African States into civil strife so that they might themselves maintain their influence, if not power, indefinitely."

Foreign Assistance for Third Plan

In a statement on his recent visit to U. K. and U.S.A. Mr. Morarji Desai told the Lok Sabha on Nov. 21 that India's financial problems were fully appreciated in Britain. A further loan of five million pounds to finance a broad range of imports brought the total British loan during the current year to 15 million pounds. The Finance Minister stated that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had informed him that for the Third Plan Britain would be prepared to make loans amounting to 33 million pounds to finance orders to be placed in the United Kingdom for capital goods. In addition it was agreed to explore the possibilities of getting another 20 million pounds from Government and private sources for the expansion the Durgapur steel works.

Referring to India's balance of payments position, Mr. Desai said that the sterling balances, which stood at Rs. 189 crores at the

beginning of the current financial year, had now come down by Rs. 48 crores. There would be a large gap in the payments position at the close of the current year, which also marked the end of the Second Plan. Additional loans from the American Development Loan Fund totalling 187 million dollars had been granted for specific projects. But only a fraction of this amount would go to relieve the balance of payments situation. As a result of the discussions at the Paris meeting of friendly countries, held under the auspices of the World Bank, two further loans of 25 million dollars each had been agreed to for imports of steel and machinery. The World Bank had given a loan of 70 million dollars for the Railways and 20 million dollars for the Industrial Credit and Investment Credit and Investment Corporation of India. West Germany had given two loans of 30 million dollars each and also agreed to the conditions of repayment in regard to the Rourkela steel plant debt.

U. P. Agricultural 'Varsity

Pandit Nehru declared open on Nov. 17 at Rudrapur (U.P.) Nainital District the U. P. Agricultural University. He warned students against developing the "Baboo mentality" and said that it was this mentality which had caused the degradation of the nation. "Baboos" (clerks), he said, had a job to do but to think that the man who worked with the pen was superior to the one who worked with his hands was wrong. "It is necessary for the healthy growth of the nation that this mentality is uprooted, crushed and totally eliminated, he said.

Built with assistance worth about Rs. 1,40,00,000 provided by the United States Government, the University will impart integrated education in agriculture, animal husbandry, engineering and basic sciences as also humanities with a functional bias.

Mr. Nehru began by saying, "When I was asked to come and inaugurate this University, I was afraid that it might also add to the type of educational institutions we already have in this country." He was however, glad to learn he said, that the University proposed to teach the "gospel of dirty hands."

Earlier, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain who is the Chairman of the Board of Management of the University, thanked the United States Government for the assistance given and described the University as "a symbol of international co-operation."

Co-op. Farming Societies

The National Co-operative Farming Advisory Board, which ended its first session at New Delhi on Nov. 19, unanimously recommended that co-operative farming societies should be constituted on a voluntary basis.

While enunciating the principles for setting up co-operative societies in the pilot projects, the Board emphasised that the bulk of their membership should consist of small cultivators or landless agricultural labour or both.

It was urged that land should be pooled for a minimum period of five years and the society should adopt labour intensive methods in agriculture and develop mixed farming like dairy keeping, poultry and cottage industries. Importance was attached to good working conditions and sound management of these societies.

Mr. Nehru on China

Speaking on the debate on foreign affairs in the Lok Sabha on 23rd November Mr. Nehru emphasised the importance of disarmament and said that was more important than any other problem, national or international. The survival of human race depended on the solution of this problem of disarmament.

But if a country like China provokes war it was going to be a terrible affair. He said that China was not going to overwhelm India, nor India was going to overwhelm China. One might be stronger or weaker than the other, but the two countries were big and any conflict between the two would be a tremendous thing.

Mr. Nehru continued, "The basic problem is the attitude of China, what the Chinese Government may have in its mind, may be thinking of, in the present and in the future. I do think it is of highest importance for us to have friendly relations with China. That does not mean—and I do not think—there can ever be friendly relations by adopting a weak attitude towards a strong country. That is not the way of having friendly relations. If you don't respect yourself if you don't protect yourself, others will not respect you."

"Nevertheless, the fact should be remembered that it is a matter of utmost importance in the present, more so historically speaking that these two mighty colossuses—India and China—should not be in perpetual conflict with each other because it makes vast difference to Asia and world because we live on the verge of a world war."

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Human Types. An Introduction to Social Anthropology. By Raymond Firth. Mentor Book, New York. Fifty Cents.

Professor Firth of the University of London is in the same grade as Professor Berriedale Keith who summarised his massive volumes on Dominion Governments into about fifty pages in the course of twenty-four hours without missing anything essential. It does not mean, in either instance, that the massive tomes were diffuse or redundant, but that like the Readers' Digest the busy masses must have tabloid information unlike the specialists. The loving and intimate touch with which the author describes the disintegration and the disappearance of institutions like the Taupo or High-Born Virgin of Samoa is inimitable. The final chapter on Anthropology in Modern Life is most thought-provoking. As he points out, the descriptive study must be "value-free" and exhaustive and unprejudiced, though inevitably the final reactions must be reassessed in terms of attaining as rational a control of our natural and social environment as possible.

Towards Nonviolent Socialism. By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price One Rupee.

These extracts from Gandhiji's written and spoken words like Plato's 'Republic' should be utilised not as final directions. They should be treated rather as provoking thought for crystallising fresh solutions. Much of the attack on the Communist ideology sound frolicsome when one finds that whereas the Congress declared abolition of death-penalty as a fundamental right through Motilal Nehru in 1931, Shriman Narayan, in 1957, objects to ex-Congress man, former Communist Nambudripad, commuting death sentences. Similarly, whereas a greater equalisation of income and an absolute spirit of Swadesi dominated Gandhiji's ideology, we are now paying huge salaries especially to foreign experts and hope to make India agriculturally and industrially efficient by being protectively kind to exploiting foreign interests.

The Bachelor Party. By Paddy Chayefsky. A Signet Book. Published by The New American Library. Price 35c.

This is the usual book of the film. It is full of the usual tense situation and cute wisecracks.

The Art of Spiritual Healing. By Joel S. Goldsmith. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 12th. 6d.

'The Art of Spiritual Healing' by Joel S. Goldsmith is a very unusual book and is well worth a reading. It will particularly interest spiritual seekers as it does not only deal with Spiritual Healing, but also with the basic concepts, the understanding and application of which are very essential for practising spiritual healing.

The emphasis made on the fact that God is the creative principal of this Universe and His nature is an infinite all-embracing love is an echo of the Hindu Philosophy well brought out in the Isopanishad.

The author develops the premises of Spiritual Healing, namely that "God appears as, and that sin, disease and death are unreal because they are no part of God and have no existence in a consciousness lifted to Spiritual Awareness." The disease is an illusion comparable to a mirage which on discovery ceases to exist.

Therefore, the Spiritual healer's responsibility is to lift the world in some measure above its present level of consciousness and that is done only by the constant striving to build up a spiritual impulse and to realise the one presence of God. It is a very interesting book. **Wit and Wisdom of Nehru.** By N. B. Sen. New Book Society of India, Publishers, P. B. 250, New Delhi. Rs. 30.

The book is compiled by Mr. Sen from Prime Minister Nehru's writings, Speeches, Utterances, and valuable thoughts on many topics of public and permanent interest, as well as his observations on Men and Matters and various nations of the world. The selections of several thousand quotations culled are classified alphabetically under 800 subjects. The author must be congratulated for his research in this laborious task in presenting the public this book of over 600 pages which is indeed very instructive, inspiring and useful as Nehru always speaks and writes with courage and conviction all his own. This book of reference rather this 'THESARUS' should be in every home and library not only in India but also throughout the globe. Madame Chiang Kai-shek aptly remarks—'Nehru will continue to shine as a star in the firmament of English Literature as long as the English Language lasts'.

Illusions and Delusions of the supernatural and the occult. By D. H. Rawcliffe. Dover Publications Inc. 180. Varick Street New York 14. Price \$ 2/-

A British psychologist finds that fraud, wishful thinking and unconscious mental delusions are behind every known case of psychic and supernatural phenomena.

According to D. H. Rawcliffe, the author, modern psychology and experimental research have taken much of the mystery out of so-called "supernatural" experiences. In a study ranging from crystal-gazing and table-turning to extrasensory perception and multiple personality, Mr. Rawcliffe exposes some common and uncommon misconceptions on the psychic and the occult.

Some of the oldest and most spectacular "supernatural" feats are still performed in Eastern countries today—the fire-walking practice of many mystics or the famous Indian rope trick, for example. Recent investigation has shown, however, that fire-walking is a simple endurance test which any Westerner can perform by walking steadily and quickly over red-hot coals. Actually, Mr. Rawcliffe points out, the feet are never in contact with the coals for more than 1/2 second.

While most of these forms of occultism have disappeared in the West, many persons still assume that telepathy, ESP, mind-reading and table-turning are proof of psychic or divine powers. Having examined the work of such psychical researchers as Dr. Joseph Banks Rhine in the United States and Dr. S. G. Soal in England, Mr. Rawcliffe concludes that a simple physical explanation can be offered for all these psychic experiences.

When a mind-reader claims to read your mind, he is actually reading your muscles. He is evaluating and assimilating a number of sensory cues—slight, involuntary muscular movements which always betray the person whose mind is being read. Involuntary movements are also a factor in table-turning although the medium may be completely unaware of them.

Sensory cues is the key to many supernatural performances from the water-witch, who is often more successful in finding water than the trained geologist, to extra-sensory perception. Even under the controlled conditions of laboratories and universities, ESP experiments reveal that it is possible to transmit involuntary whisperings or muscular

movements from one person to another at a distance of several yards.

Such apparently fantastic phenomena need not amaze us today, when we know so much more about the intricacies of the human mind. But there is still more to learn about the delusions and illusions which the mind can foster on itself. "William James rightly observed," Mr. Rawcliffe concludes in his book, "that the limits of the human mind are unknown: the range of its potential abilities is virtually unexplored territory."

Yoga Psychology. By Swami Abhedananda, Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta. Rs. 10

This book deals with the method and practice of Yoga by one who, with Swami Vivekananda, was one of the first batch of disciples of Sri Ramakrishna. Yoga is a Sanskrit word commonly used to signify the practical side of religion; and the first concern of the training for which it stands, is according to Swami Abhedananda "to enforce proper obedience to the laws of our moral and physical nature, upon which depend the attainment of perfect health, and of moral and spiritual perfection." The first 15 chapters were lectures delivered in 15 consecutive weeks to cultured audiences in America in 1920; and the last on "Ego and Egoism" delivered separately on another occasion is added as a topic of allied nature. The lectures edited with care with footnotes and glossaries by Swami Prajnananda are now published for the first time as a suitable memorial volume. The Yogasutras of Patanjali are in these lectures explained in a very systematic and scientific manner.

Basu's Introduction to the Constitution of India. By S. C. Sarkar & Sons. (Private) Ltd., Calcutta, 12. Price Rs. 10/-

This is a short guide to the student of the Constitution and may well form a good ally to the more renowned books by the same author. Nicely presented, the short book contains both the historical background and also indicates the provisions of the constitution without entering into the actual wordings of the articles. The book contains a special chapter on Jammu & Kashmir, which is a good addition to any book on India's Constitution. The book makes interesting reading and will be a useful handbook in the hands of both the practising lawyer and the eager student.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA

CENTENARY OF FIRST ARRIVAL

The Indian community at Durban was cheered on Nov. 1 by prospects of the Durban City Council approving grant of £ 1,25,000 to help centenary celebrations commemorating the first arrival of Indians in South Africa in November 1860.

The Indian community's plans for the celebrations include the establishment of a £ 50,000 scholarship trust fund, erection of a monument, starting of a sea-side home for poor children and general festivities.

For the past six months the Durban City Council has been attempting to discuss the celebrations with Indian leaders, but its efforts were frustrated mainly because the Indian centenary committee was temporarily disbanded during the recent state of emergency.

PORTUGAL

INDIANS IN PORTUGAL JAIL

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, stated in the Lok Sabha that the Government of India viewed with grave concern any deportation of Indians and Goan political prisoners to prisons in Portugal.

She was replying to Dr. Rama Subhag Singh who had asked if Government was aware that Mr. Mohan Ranade, an Indian serving a sentence in jail in Goa in connection with the Goa freedom movement and several other political prisoners had been sent to Portugal.

CEYLON

INDIANS QUITTING CEYLON

A suggestion that all Indian nationals leaving the island for good after the expiry of their residence visas be finger-printed so that their re-entry into Ceylon as illicit immigrants might be effectively checked, was made in the House of Representatives on Nov. 14 by Mr. S. D. Bandaranaike, member for Galaha.

The Finance Minister Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, replying to a series of questions by the same member on the question of illicit entry into Ceylon stated that there was already a provision in the statute book for finger-printing all non-nationals but the provision had not been implemented. The question of using the finger-printing technique as a measure of preventing illicit immigration was receiving the attention of the Cabinet Subcommittee on the subject.

Earlier, the Finance Minister said that a legal provision had already been made to throw the burden of proof on the person charged with illicit immigration to prove that he was not an illicit immigrant and therefore, it was not necessary to amend the existing law. If any of senior police officers were under misapprehension about this, the Finance Minister said, he would take the necessary steps to put it right.

MALAYA

WARNING TO INDIANS

The Indian community in the Federation is in "real danger" of being reduced to an "insignificant population" because of continued estate fragmentation according to the Malayan Indian Congress President, Dato V. T. Sambanthan. In a recent Press interview, Dato Sambanthan said: "The continued fragmentation is throwing thousands of Indians out of jobs. Economic chaos has already started with the Indian community. Thousands of estate workers—many of them Federal citizens—have left the country because they could not find alternate employment. They were forced to leave Malaya." According to Dato Sambanthan, who is also the Minister for Posts, Works and Telecommunications in the Federation, fragmentation is not only affecting the rubber tappers but other sections of the 700,000 strong Indian community as well. It has already affected the business community and will soon affect the "white collar" workers too, he warned.

FIJI

RIGHTS OF INDIANS

"As Fijians' rights are covered by the Deed of Cession, the rights of the Indians in Fiji are covered by the declaration of Lord Salisbury. Both are firm obligations of the United Kingdom and they must be respected." This was the observation made by Mr. Julian Amery, when, as British Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, he met Press representatives from Nandi recently at Suva. He said that Fiji was fortunate for it did not suffer from the grinding poverty of China, India and Burma and her problems were clearly seen before they became acute. He added that the United Kingdom's financial assistance to Fiji depended on the fullest use to which Fiji put her own resources.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Nov. 1. British Parliament opens: Queen Elizabeth II speaking from throne announces her forthcoming visit to India.
- Nov. 2. Rajeshwar (Dayal), special representative of U.N. Secretary-General leaves Congo (Leopoldville) to report to Dag about Congo situation.
- Nov. 3. Soviet Union warns U.S.A. against interfering with Cuba.
—Nehru opens Buddhist Pilgrims' rest house in Delhi.
—Cyclone havoc in East Pakistan: over 4,000 persons died in Chittagong District alone.
- Nov. 4. Mr. Gaitskell is re-elected leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party in Britain.
- Nov. 5. 43rd anniversary celebration of Bolshevik October Revolution begins at Moscow.
- Nov. 6. Prime Minister Nehru inaugurates the first phase of production of the Rs. 100 crore heavy electrical plant at Bhopal.
- Nov. 7. Mammoth Military Parade in Moscow in connection with the celebration of the October Revolution.
- Nov. 8. States Governors' Conference meets in New Delhi.
- Nov. 9. Senator John Kennedy of the Democratic Party is elected the 35th President of the United States defeating his Republican rival Vice-President Nixon.
—Air Marshall S. Mukerji is dead.
- Nov. 10. U.N. Assembly postpones debate on Congo.
- Nov. 11. U. Nu, Premier of Burma arrives in New Delhi and meets Pandit Nehru.
- Nov. 12. Revolt of S. Vietnam quelled: Rebel para troops surrender.
- Nov. 13. Crown Prince Akihito of Japan arrives in Calcutta.
- Nov. 14. Nehru completes his 71st year: Nation greets Premier.
- Nov. 15. Negroes attend White School in New Orleans.
—Dr. Radhakrishnan addresses the plenary session of Unesco in Paris.
- Nov. 16. De Gaulle decides to hold a referendum on Algeria "when the time comes."
- Nov. 17. Mr. Kotaro Tanaka of Japan is elected to World Court.
—Twelfth Colombo Plan Ministerial Conference concludes.
- Nov. 18. Dr. Radhakrishnan arrives in New York.
—Agreement on rail link between East and West Pakistan is reached.
- Nov. 19. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is elected to the 12 members' Executive Board of UNESCO.
—Mr. Nehru inaugurates the Gandhi Sagar Dam and power House (completion of 1st stage of Chambal project).
- Nov. 20. Severe gale in Madras resulting in heavy damage to property.
- Nov. 21. Prime Minister Ikeda's Liberal Democratic Party's comfortable victory in the General Elections in Japan.
- Nov. 22. U.N. and Congolese troops clash resulting in the killing of seven soldiers and wounding many Indians.
- Nov. 23. Central Parliamentary Board decides to end the coalition Ministry in Orissa.
- Nov. 24. Pt. Nehru protests against attack on Indian soldiers and officers by Congolese.
- Nov. 25. President Joseph Kasavubu withdraws threat against U.N. and cables to Col. Mobutu to co-operate with U.N.
- Nov. 26. Pt. Nehru demands the resignation of Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of U.P. to resolve U.P. Congress crisis.
- Nov. 27. Nationalists triumph in New Zealand Elections: Ruling Labour party is defeated.
- Nov. 28. Air Marshall Engineer is appointed Chief of Air Staff in succession to late Air Marshall Mukerjee.
- Nov. 29. Crown Prince Akihito and Princess Michiko of Japan arrive in New Delhi.
- Nov. 30. Mauritania proclaims her independence: French rule ends.
—Lumumba escapes from Congo Capital.
—Mr. V. Munuswami (D.M.K.) is elected Mayor of Madras.

READERS' DIGEST

CANAL WATERS AGREEMENT

Under the caption "Quiet Flows Indus", the *Glasgow Herald* editorially observes:

"At least the Indus waters dispute is over. A complete agreement has been reached. In a little room in the World Bank building, delegates from India and Pakistan have been hammering out their differences for the past six years. Their work was rounded off formally when, on September 19, Nehru and Ayub signed the Indus Treaty in Rawalpindi. In all, the dispute between their countries dragged on for twelve years. Economic progress along both sides of the partition line through Punjab has been held back seriously; political tension at times has been dangerously increased. Now dogged patience of the World Bank has won a sensible compromise. The Agreement, which has now been completed, broadly follows the programme the Bank suggested way back in 1954. India will use the three eastern rivers of the Indus system; and Pakistan, the three western. Dams and canals will be built to supply those parts of Pakistan which previously depended for their supplies on the eastern waters. To pay for this a vast aid scheme has already been mounted.

The United States, Britain, West Germany and three Commonwealth countries will co-operate with the World Bank to make available nearly £ 270 million. Since most of this amount will be in the form of grants or loans repayable in local currencies, India and Pakistan should have no difficulty in finding the extra £ 90 million, that will be needed. Both countries will benefit from the more rational development of irrigation and electric power. Both, too, will enjoy greater flood protection. Soil reclamation and drainage will be more important on the Pakistan side; India will at last be able to make the Rajasthan desert flourish. In the long run, political advantage of the Agreement may prove no less important. After years of often bitter delay, India and Pakistan are ready to start on the great joint enterprise. More difficulties than economic ones, may pan out in the quiet waters of Indus.

CONGRESSMEN AND COMMUNISTS

Sri. C. Rajagopalachari sees no difference in the policies of the Congress and Communists though their antipathy to each other is well known. What we are concerned with is their policies and these, he says in *Swarajya*, are not conducive to production and progress. He has therefore to oppose them, he says, even though it is Congressmen that pursue them.

"The fact that Congressmen carry on a tribal warfare against Communists should not mislead us and make us take sides with Congressmen and imagine that we thereby help a national cause. Political battles should not deteriorate into a kind of tribal conflict which is waged irrespective of policy. Congress has become a tribe and fights the Indian Communist party as an ancient enemy. It has adopted every shibboleth of the Communists. Socialism, atheism and class struggle are the basis of communism. These mark out the present Congress also, unless we make personal loyalty to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru a separate pillar and principle. The rivalry may be bitter between the Congress and the Communist party, but it is only a form of tribal warfare, not a conflict of principles. The subordination of fundamental citizen-rights to government control and the elevation of the State to godhood is the common faith of both the tribes. The economic freedom of the individual suffers at their hands in equal measure. The men who obtain licences and permits may differ if the rulers be Congressmen or Communists, but the principle of total ownership by the State is common to both. The distribution of patronage may differ but they both agree on the suppression of the individual."

UNKNOWN MEN ABOVE US

An American scientist raises the possibility of a probe from a deep space super-civilisation orbiting in the earth's solar system and attempting to make the contact.

Writing in the current issue of the leading scientific weekly "*Nature*," Prof. R.N. Bracewell, of the Radio Science Laboratory of Stanford University, California says: "Such a probe may be here now, trying to make its presence known to us."

WHAT IS DONE AT U. N. ?

With the whole House free to talk, the members of the General Assembly of the U.N. turned it into a seminar or symposium dealing with individual complaints and miscellaneous grievances, says Mr. Pothan Joseph writing in *Sunday Standard* commenting on the proceedings of the present session of U. N. Mr. Pothan writes :

The first round went in favour of the Argentine resolution recommending official contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union instead of any resumption of parleys between the dominating Premier of the Soviet Union and the outgoing President of the United States. As man to man, they are not keen on a reunion and the proposal conceived in urgency suddenly fizzled out to the annoyance of shortcut peace-makers and formula-fakers.

In the desultory speeches, a large number of remote and incompatible themes were set afloat. It reminds one of the oddities in the mediaeval procedure in the House of Commons.

There is a fable illustrating at least one such incongruity. It appears that a divorce could be obtained in Britain only by a writ of the court or a special enactment of Parliament. A clerk of the House named Blenkinsop longed for a divorce, but being a stingy person he wanted to avoid litigation. He, therefore, decided to smuggle in a clause about his case when a lengthy bill about the Panama Canal was on the anvil.

The preamble of a bill contains repetitions of the word "whereas." Sneaky Blenkinsop inserted a short para to the effect (in legal language) that whereas it is expedient that Mr. Addlehead Blenkinsop should have a divorce, now be it enacted that the same be granted etc., etc.

In that massive piece of legislation, (so the myth goes) no one noticed the matrimonial interpolation, and Mr. Blenkinsop lived happily ever afterwards.

In the General Assembly debate, there was a tendency to raise promiscuous grievances, so much so, it is a surprise that it did not occur to some meddlesome mediator to dwell on Mr. Phizo's demand for a separate State or the Dalai Lama's complaint of genocide.

Incidentally, it may be remembered that in the absence of any Asian Power appearing aggrieved about colonisation and savagery in Tibet, it was Ireland and a South American Republic who had tabled a reference to the treachery in the foot-notes of the U. N. Agenda. The President of the session, Frank Boland, the Irish spokesman, was bound to a *persona non grata* from the start as against his Czechoslovakian rival who obtained only 22 votes in an unusual contest for the Chair under Moscow's manoeuvre for the prelude to a stormy session.

Did India back Ireland or Czechoslovakia? Digression apart, the number of minor themes aired is surprising.

Who, for instance, could imagine the Portuguese delegate intervening in the World Affairs debate and boasting about the liberalism, at home and abroad, of the Salazar regime? Dr. Vasco Vieira Garin (chief delegate), advertised the enlightened state of Portugal's overseas territories, which some speakers had, apparently, defamed.

Mr. K. had, of course, denounced Spain's General Franco for Fascism, a charge repudiated by Spain as due to ignorant disparagement of an honourable chapter in history, calling for a Salute to Catalonia. Some Arab countries denounced Israel as the spearhead of capitalistic imperialism in Emergent Africa. Dr. Jawad, Foreign Minister of Iraq, declared that the Arab nations could see through the guile of Ben Gurion of Israel when he visited Paris and Bonn, and subsequently made an offer of aid to Congo. Until Palestine was restored to the Arabs, there would be no peace in the Middle East or North Africa, he said.

At the same time, King Hussein of Jordan declaimed in pro-West accents, and since he had accorded diplomatic recognition to the Iraq regime and to the Shah's Government in Iran, the Egyptian delegate at the U. N. roundly attacked certain nations (not named) for subversive conspiracies to overthrow President Nasser, whilst he himself was charged with having plotted against the Amman authorities.

President Sukarno was not backward in pointing out the peril of the Dutch claim on West Irian which is part of Indonesia, just as Goa belongs to us, or Formosa to Mainland China.

In the midst of the complaint parade, there was a bad blow or the British Yemen's representative from Prince Sayid Islam al Hassan, who demanded the end of "British aggression in Oman." He further declared that "manoeuvres" prevented last year's General Assembly session from adopting a resolution on the Algerian war.

He said it was the duty of the U. N. to assume responsibility for ending the Algerian war in justice to the hopes of the Algerian people. The Algerian case, not to mention the recognition due to Mongolia, had been eloquently argued by Prime Minister Nehru in his one-hour speech.

Fidel Castro's address had been the longest, lasting 4-1/2 hours, without any room found for the aggressors in the Afro-Asian region of the world.

On account of the mutual repugnance inherent in the proposal for a Khrushchev-Ike resumption of chatty friendship, 44 Afro-Asian nations assembled in the basement to hear Prime Minister Nehru whose sincerity found him in full circuit amongst all the participants. Nehru at the end stood high in stature, most of the 44 apparently adopting the policy of the musical song: "I like to walk behind the man who smokes the big cigar."

Every one of the 91 members when criticised, had one prerogative to raise, the prerogative being found in the United Nations Charter, not to say the Panchshila now in the *dhobi-geot*. It flows from the doctrine of national sovereignty which provides that there shall be no interference with the independence of any member-State. Each unit is free to plead that the criticism ventilated impinged on the domestic sphere of a proud and sensitive nation.

Israel seems to have scrupulously avoided wagging the tongue nor did it appear to wag the tail. In the total review of the proceedings registered at the time of Prime Minister's departure, there seems to be a clear warning that a *kumbhamela* session of the whole Assembly to devise the methods of disarmament and world peace would probably result in voluble speeches calling for the closing note: "Business done—NIL."

"MAGNETIC BRAIN" SATELLITE

The United States placed in orbit on Oct. 4 a "Magnetic brain" satellite—Courier 18—designed as the forerunner of a world-wide military communications system.

The satellite—a 61-inch, 500 pound sphere—packed with five magnetic-tape recorders, transmission equipment, and solar cells for transforming the Sun's energy into electricity can simultaneously send and receive 68,000 words a minute. In 12 minutes it could memorise and transmit the Bible between continents.

An earlier attempt to place a Courier satellite in orbit failed on August 18, when the carrier rocket exploded two and a half minutes after launching.

Mr. Wilbur Brucker, Secretary of the Army, sent up a one-minute congratulatory message aboard satellite, which was beamed to ground stations on its first circuit around the world.

President Eisenhower sent a message from Washington to New York via the Courier. The message was addressed to Secretary of State Herter.

President Eisenhower's message was sent from the military transmission centre at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, to the satellite, which then retransmitted it to another American army installation in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rico station sent the message by military radio on to Mr. Herter, who was in New York.

Army research chiefs, who gave the report on the satellite messages at a Press conference in Washington, said that the contents of the Eisenhower message were being held secret for the moment.

At the same Press conference newsmen saw a message from Secretary of the Army Brucker appear on television as it came from the Courier. The Courier was orbiting the earth at an altitude of between 436 miles and 649 miles.

An announcement by the Defence Department in Washington said the satellite had achieved an orbit and "the instruments are working and we are receiving very good information."

Mr. Benedict Jacobellis, Manager of the Courier project, told reporters that the exact course of the Courier's orbit had not yet been ascertained, but preliminary indications showed it to be "very satisfactory."

"LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER"

Under the heading "Lady Chatterley acquitted," Mr. George H. Gorman observes in the *Guardian* of Madras :

In 1959 the Obscene Publications Act was added to the Statute Book. Its object was to clear our bookstalls of pornographic literature and to protect authors of real literary merit from having their works unjustly condemned as obscene. It is one thing to pass a law, it is another to apply it. Penguin Books Ltd., a pioneer firm who first introduced 'paper backs' of high quality into this country decided to test the new act by publishing D.H. Lawrence's novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and submitting it to the police.

Since Lawrence wrote his book over thirty years ago no unexpurgated version has appeared in this country, although copies have been available on the continent. Lawrence is widely recognised as one of our outstanding authors and most of his other works have been published long ago.

Penguin Books printed 200,000 copies of *Lady Chatterley*, but before publishing them handed several issues to the police. Shortly afterwards it was announced that the firm would be charged with publishing an obscene article. Distribution was stopped immediately and preparations made for trial at the Central Criminal Court. The trial lasted six days and began with an order to the jury to read the book, in a room allotted to them in the Court. The defence gathered a formidable array of witnesses, thirty five of whom were called. They included the Bishop of Woodwich. In his evidence the Bishop stated : "Clearly Lawrence did not have a Christian valuation of sex, and the kind of sexual relations depicted in the book are not those that are necessarily of the kind I should regard as ideal. But what Lawrence is trying to do, I think, is to portray this relation as in a real sense an act of Holy Communion. For his flesh was sacramental of the spirit." In answer to questions by the Prosecution and Defence Council the Bishop expressed opinions to the effect that "in intention nor in effect is this book depraving." He felt that in dealing with adulterous relations it shows "real artistic integrity and is not advocating adultery for its own sake and is certainly not advocating promiscuity." In the last two pages of the book the Bishop believed that there was a "tremendous and most moving

advocacy of chastity." He believed it was a book that ought to be read by Christians.

While the jury were unanimous in their verdict that the book, in law, was not obscene the Archbishop of Canterbury felt that the law was a clumsy tool by which to define moral responsibility. The *Observer* reports : "Dr. Fisher said that the Bishop had full right to appear as a witness on the point of law involved. "But to do so would obviously cause confusion in many people's minds between his individual right of judgment and the discharge of his pastoral duties.

"Inevitably anything the Bishop said would be regarded as said by one whose chief concern was to give pastoral advice to the people committed to his charge and, particularly in these moral questions, pastoral advice to teachers and parents, upon whom such a heavy burden of responsibility lies.

"Anyone must know that in this sexually self-conscious and chaotic age, to speak pastoral wisdom in public on particular questions is extremely difficult and dangerous. The Bishop exposed himself to this danger.

"The Christian fact is that adultery, whether in fact or in lustful longing, is always a sin, and at present a very prominent, even all-pervasive, sin.

"The good pastor will teach his people to avoid both the fact of, and the desire for, sex experience of an adulterous kind and fornication also, from the plain undeviating teaching of the Bible, both Old and New Testament.

"That is the short way there : and the pastor will not encourage his people to travel by the side roads and tortuous windings and muddy lanes and added tracks of the long way round.

"In my judgment the Bishop was mistaken to think that he could take part in this trial without becoming a stumbling-block and a cause of offence to many ordinary Christians and I think I ought to say so here since I am pastor and your chief pastor."

The press has generally welcomed the verdict. The *Observer* in a summary of press opinion quoted a *Daily Express* comment : "It's an odd thing but now one knows that it's profoundly moral and packed with deep spiritual significance a lot of the old charm seems to have gone."

This was felt to echo the feelings of many, including one felt, some of the leader-writers

who felt obliged to express opinions of the verdict.

Only the *New Daily* openly admitted its boredom with the whole affair. "We are happy to bid Lady Chatterley and her lover a thankful and, we trust, a prolonged farewell".

The *Daily Herald* welcomed the verdict, adding that young people might be sufficiently impressed by the evidence of the witnesses to "find it easier than their bewildered parents did to achieve responsible standards of sexual ethics and sexual conduct". The *Daily Sketch*, however, issued a front-page warning to parents not to avoid responsibility for watching their children reading.

The *Guardian* felt it to be "a triumph of common sense and the more pleasing because it is unexpected". It wondered why the case had been brought at all when so much pornography escaped prosecution.

From a considerable height the leader-writer of *The Times* preached a sermon on obscenity and the decline of moral values. "On grounds of decency and taste, and even morals, it is still possible to dissent". He concluded sternly : "Yesterday's verdict is a challenge to society to resist the changes in its manners and conduct that may flow from it. It should not be taken as an invitation to succumb".

It seems unlikely that the verdict will cause a flood of pornographic books, but will in fact safeguard the genuinely artistic writer.

BASIC HUMAN VALUES

According to Abdul Quyyam human values are to be selected on the basis of ends or ideals chosen by human beings themselves and not given by any authority other than man himself. A common man, he says in the *Pakistan Philosophical Journal*, takes most of his values on authority, but this authority should be such as would be open to free, honest and rational examination.

"Only such authority can be source of light and guidance under certain circumstances, but acceptance of authority on blind faith and in utter disregard of the extent to which it may harmonise with reason and experience, is detrimental to human progress."

If, values depend on interests, he mentions the following dominant interests with corresponding values :

1. "Economic interests which give value to all those things which sustain life.
2. Recreational interests which give rise to the values of play and leisure.

3. Social and political interests which give value to those things that secure power in social order.

4. Moral interests which create personal and social virtues.

5. Aesthetic interests which give rise to the value of beauty as found in nature and works of art.

6. Intellectual interests which give value to true and rational knowledge.

7. Religious interests which give value to worship, and devotion to some supernatural being."

The question may be raised : Which of these interests or values constitute the ideal end of good of humanity ?

"There is a general agreement among moral and social philosophers that those things which are thought as good-in-themselves (intrinsic values) constitute the ultimate or ideal end of life. Other things are the means (extrinsic or instrumental values) we use to attain this end."

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ISLAM

Dr. M. Nasim, writing in *The Review of Religions* makes the following interesting observations : It cannot be denied, he says, that some Muslim rulers have used force to propagate Islam, there are many other Muslim rulers who have acted on Islamic teachings of toleration and gave complete religious freedom to their non-Muslim subjects.

"Thus even the much maligned Emperor Aurangzeb has held down the principle of toleration for his non-Muslim subjects. Professor Arnold says, "An attempt had been made to induce the Emperor to deprive of their posts two non-Muslims, each of whom held the office of a pay-master, on the ground that they were infidel Parsis, and the place would be more fittingly filled by some tried Muslim servant of the Crown; moreover it was written in the Quran, 'O believers, take not my foe and your foe for friends' (60 : 1). The Emperor replied, "Religion has no concern with secular business, and in matter of this kind bigotry should find no place. "He too appeals to the authority of the sacred text, which says 'To you your religion, and to me my religion.' (109 : 6) and points out that if the verse his petitioner had quoted were to be as an established rule of conduct, "then we ought to have destroyed all the Rajas and their subjects, government posts ought to be bestowed according to ability and from no other consideration."

CANCER

Cigarette smokers and manufacturers of cigarettes have a new worry about causing cancer, says the *Science Service*.

The possibility of heavy smokers getting lung cancer from long-time inhalation of the trace amounts of nickel in cigarette tobacco was suggested recently at a joint meeting of the American Society of Clinical Pathologists and the College of American Pathologists.

Drs. F. William Sunderman and F. William Sunderman Jr. of Philadelphia reported experiments with rats, a species notably resistant to the induction of pulmonary cancer.

The rats were subjected to 30 minute inhalations of nickel carbonyl in concentrations of four parts per million three times a week for one year. Two or more years after the first exposure cancerous tumors were observed.

Estimates of the amount of nickel that might be inhaled by heavy smokers of cigarettes, the researchers say, are similar to that proved cancer-producing in rats.

The hazards of exposure of industrial workers to nickel carbonyl or nickel dust have been studied previously by the Jefferson Medical College laboratory staff. It is well established that workers who have been chronically exposed to inhalations of the nickel compounds have a high percentage of respiratory cancer.

TRUTH ABOUT HYPNOSIS

The subject of hypnosis is one which has fascinated people for a very long time. It is sometimes performed on the stage by professional hypnotist who charge fees to demonstrate his art to the public; or it has been practised by "quacks" in less clear circumstances. It is sometimes practised by the medical profession, in certain cases of mental troubles where it can be very useful.

But it is sometimes very much misunderstood, and people feel that it may be the answer to all sorts of problems when in fact its application is really quite limited.

First of all, let me make clear that you cannot hypnotise someone who is quite unwilling to be hypnotised. Whatever you may have heard to the contrary, this is really the case; the subject has got to be willing and has to co-operate to some extent.

Secondly, though under hypnosis people can be made to do some odd things, and may say on "waking up" that they would never have dreamed of during such things, it is nevertheless true to say that no one under

hypnosis can be made to do anything which is really fundamentally opposed to his will. A peace-loving citizen cannot be induced to become criminal while "in a trance."

Any one can learn to hypnotise. Some people are better at it than others, just as some people drive their motor cars better than others do; but it is not a matter of having "hypnotic eyes" or a "magnetic personality" whatever either of these silly phrases may mean. It is a technique which any intelligent person can learn and apply.

Essentially it consists in making the person relax, and in suggesting to them very strongly that they are unable to do something they wish to do; for example, that their eyes are heavy and they cannot keep them open. This has the double purpose of making them really more sleepy and of demonstrating that they are "in a trance" or that they really cannot do this simple thing. This depends almost entirely on suggestion: they accept the fact if it is suggested to them strongly enough; there is no question of anything happening to their "will power" or of any supernatural influence being at work.

It follows that suggestible people are the best subjects; and this is why the professionals usually start by asking the audience to clasp their hands together, then saying they cannot undo them, and this sorts out at the start those people who will make good subjects for the latter demonstrations.

Hypnosis is used medically in certain cases says a physician in the *Hindustan Times* that where there is a sudden, catastrophic symptom, such as blindness or paralysis, for example, which has come on due to mental and not physical causes. The person is just as blind, or just as paralysed, as he would be if it were a physical condition; but if it is possible to prove to him that he does not have this permanently, then recovery becomes possible because he is able to believe in it and strive towards it. Under hypnosis the symptom can be suggested away, and the victim is wakened up to find the symptom gone.

This is trick-treatment if you like, but it works because it gives the patient the confidence he needs to get well. But when this method is used, it must be remembered that the cause of the illness has not been removed; only the symptom; and the patient still has to have treatment to sort out the conflicts which were responsible for his getting the symptom in the

first place. There is some danger that his family may see this as meaning that he wasn't really blind or paralysed at all; only "putting it on." This is not so; he did not wish to be like that and is as surprised as his relatives when it goes as mysteriously as it came.

SCIENCE AND THE HUMANITIES

The chief importance of science, says Mr. E. G. Boell in an article published in *The American Review*, consists in what it can do and has done to broaden man's horizons and to liberate his mind from ignorance and superstition, from prejudice and preconceived idea.

"The scientist is driven by a single urge, curiosity; curiosity to learn as much as possible about himself and about the total physical world in which he finds himself. And the knowledge that he has given him not only the means of controlling his environment, but also the faith that the universe in which he has his being is not chaotic or capricious but that it is based on order. The scientist strives through the powers of disciplined imagination, by all physical aids to the senses, and by the refined techniques of logic to see that order—whether on the level of the cosmic or the atomic, or in the realm of the living or the non-living; to see it accurately, to describe it faithfully, and to relate what he sees to the whole of what man knows. Is not the aim of the scientist, therefore, the same as that of the poet, or of the artist, or the philosopher, or the historian? Although their techniques are different and the fields in which they search are different, all of these seek truth; all strive for understanding."

Throughout the ages, seer and scientist have sought by every means at their command to know the truth about man, the purpose of his being, his function, and his fate. But to the question "What is man?" there have been only partial and imperfect answers.

"So long as time will last, man will strive to know, but the final answers will remain elusive. Yet, as Vannevar Bush has said, "we must go on until we can go no farther, for it is not in our inquisitive nature to abandon the quest for knowledge merely because we are told that we can never know all that can conceivably be known or know anything with certainty."

The great and constant need of every human being, declares George Wald, is "to feel at home in the universe, to have some sense of direction in his daily life, some purpose in living, and some hope for the future."

"Part of this need science can fulfill, for science is the most powerful means we have of changing things in the physical world "from what they are to what they ought to be." Some of the aspirations I have enumerated can best be nourished by the humanities. Science and the humanities can operate effectively together, for the humanistic spirit can provide the impulse and the motive, and science—the servant of man—the means of making a better world, a world in which beauty and happiness and health prevail, a world in which material achievements contribute to the dignity of man."

MAN ONCE A SEA APE

Sir Alister Hardy, (64), Oxford professor of zoology, has proposed a new theory of the origin of man—that he was once a sea ape.

This, the professor told a conference of marine scientists accounted exactly for the differences in body shape between humans and apes.

Sir Alister said he had spent 30 years gathering evidence for his new theory and had only just reached a conclusion.

According to the professor, many apes were once driven to hunt in the sea by fierce competition for food in the forests. At first they waded and groped. Gradually they learned to swim.

The sea ape's water life went on for several thousand years, Sir Alister conjectured. The species lost its hair—as happened to whales—but keep enough on the head to protect it against the sun.

It learned to stand upright—as apes cannot—because water supported the body. For swimming, it developed longer legs than an ape. Its hands became more sensitively shaped in order to feel on the sea bed for shell-fish.

Sir Alister also conjectured that early man learned to use tools in the water—picking up beach stones to crack open sea urchins.

He added that it was only a step for man to discover flints chipped into sharper, more useful tools, knives and arrows.

"I estimate apes were driven into the shallow water a million years ago", he added, they emerged as men about 500,000 years ago.

Sir Alister said his theory would also explain why men could swim so well and for so long.

"Why do we love to go to the sea-side? Isn't it because we are aquatic animals at heart and always have been?"

REVOLUTION AT THE DINNER TABLE

To the political and economic revolutions which have been in progress in Ghana for 12 years and brought her to independence in 1957 has lately been added another revolution of minor importance but relevant significance says Mr. Frank Pilgrin in the *Observer*.

Barely a month ago all the "top people" who are in Ghana's top hotels dined on roast beef and vegetables or plaice and chips, or baffling assortments of other—but all Western—cuisines. Now, however, palaver sauce, abum stew and groundnut stew are on the menu at every main meal. Vegetables like yams cassava and plantain are there, brought with an occasional smirk by waiters who formerly kept all these things for the native staff canteen.

A visitor could have spent most of the past summer in Ghana without once tasting or even seeing at close quarters any of the local dishes. The nearest he would get would be the frustration of seeing Ghananians in the streets gnawing happily away at the delicious-looking cobs of boiled or roasted corn. Even if he dined with Ghananian friends in their homes he would find that they had deliberately gone to the trouble and expense of preparing roast beef, potatoes and canned peas, polished off with a tin of peaches or pears.

Hard on the heels of the reorganization of the country's parliamentary procedure and the transfer from white to black hands of the civil service, this new expression of the African personality has spread itself on the dinner table.

Two of the mainstays of any normal Ghana diet are kenke and foo-foo. Kenke is a concoction of fermented maize meal, steamed in the corn husk, and emerging as a sourish dough, and said to be as rich in nourishment as yeast or youhurt. Foo-foo is made from yams or plantains or cassavas, put into a wooden bowl and pounded with a stick until it has become quite glutinous. On its own it hits the palate like wet cotton-wool, but it makes an excellent foundation for abum stew and palaver sauce.

These two have not yet appeared on the menu at the august Ambassador Hotel, but it is only a matter of time. The next stage for this facet of the African Personality to demonstrate itself with pride will be when the Ambassador's guests discard the instruments the Western overlord brought in, and eat foo-foo as it should be eaten—with the fingers.—*Observer*.

1960

The chances are that you think it is 1960 and Leap Year. You are right according to Christian way of reckoning, points out *So day*:

"In Israel it is the year 5720 and the month is Shebat. The Jews count their years from the era of the creation, which they hold to have occurred in the autumn of the year known in the Christian calendar as 3760 B. C. Jewish New Year is therefore always in the autumn.

In Abyssinia and parts of Egypt which follow the Coptic Calendar it is 1967.

In India it is officially the year 1882 of the Saka era, but by other calendars also in use, it is the year 5062 of the Kaliyug era, or the year 2017 of the Vikrama era.

In Japan it is Showa 35. The Japanese calendar is the same as ours except that the years are numbered in periods or epochs, each of which begins with the accession of an Emperor, whose actual name is not necessarily that given to the period.

In Moslem Countries it is only 1379. Their calendar begins from the Hijra, the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina which, in the Christian calendar, occurred on July 16th AD 622.

Our Calendar was basically established under Julius Caesar in 45 B.C to make the calendar and solar year keep in step. By AD 1582 Pope Gregory discovered that there was ten days' difference between the two. He decreed that October 5th, 1582, should become October 15th and changed the counting of leap years to prevent further days being lost. Great Britain only adopted this amended calendar reckoning, the Gregorian Calendar, in 1752. In the same year the New Year was changed from March 25th to January 1st."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

V. K. K. MENON'S APPEAL

The Union Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, appealed on Nov. 25 to industrialists, labour leaders and all young men to come forward to assist in the formation of the Auxiliary Forces' Welfare Associations in the country.

Mr. Menon who was broadcasting on the eve of the eleventh anniversary of "Territorial Army and Auxiliary Air Force Day" said that the Territorial Army was to-day larger than it was a few years ago. But it had not reached the target sanctioned by the Parliament.

Mr. Menon added: "I think the time has come when young people of military age and fitness whether they be members of Parliament and whether they be in the professions or Government, and only where they can be spared from the essential services of Government, should go into training camps which are part-time colleges for the training of territorial officers, because we cannot afford to play with the scheme and merely regard it as a decoration. I am glad to say, and I am sure my countrymen will be glad to hear, that there are territorial units of the army in active operational roles. And while they are embodied—and some of them stay out on their homes over a whole year or even more—their record has been very brilliant."

CAMPAIGN FOR BIRTH CONTROL

Well-known scientists from many countries and several Nobel prize winners in a petition asked that the United Nations to launch a world wide campaign for birth control.

The petition signed by 172 outstanding world figures including 39-Nobel prize winners, was handed to U.N. Secretary-General by British biologist, Sir Julian Huxley and Mr. Cass Canfield, Chairman of the American Organisation for Birth Control.

It said two-thirds of the world's present population was under-nourished, and stressed that this population continued to increase by some 140,000 a day. In a generation the petition said, the world's population would double, if there was no change in the current trend.

U.N.'S. CALL TO COLONIAL POWERS

The United Nations General Assembly's 99-member Trusteeship Committee adopted last month by 72 votes to nil with two abstentions (Britain and Australia) a resolution moved by Mr. Dinesh Singh (India) and co-sponsored by 14 Afro-Asian States and Bolivia demanding that countries with overseas territories should immediately rescind racial discriminations.

Sir Andrew Posen of the United Kingdom said Britain "wholeheartedly" supported the spirit of the resolution but contended that the two concrete measures suggested by the sponsors, namely, revocation of all laws and regulations which tend to encourage or sanction, directly or indirectly discriminatory policies and extension to all inhabitants full exercise of basic political rights, particularly the right to vote could be implemented not immediately as the sponsors desired but only progressively.

FUTURE OF NON-AUTONOMOUS COUNTRIES

The U.N. General Assembly passed last month a resolution calling upon all nations administering non-autonomous territories (colonies) to report to the U.N. on their political development.

The resolution, which was passed by 61 votes to zero with 24 abstentions, called for reports not required by the Charter of the United Nations but which the sponsors of the motion hoped would accelerate the independence of the world's remaining colonies.

The Soviet bloc, Britain and France abstained; the Soviet bloc because it wanted the resolution postponed until the General Assembly had voted on Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's "proclamation" abolishing colonialism.

ADMINISTRATION OF S. W. AFRICA

South Africa is accused of racial discrimination and suppression of rights and liberties of the inhabitants of the mandated territory of South West Africa in applications instituting proceedings before the International Court of Justice filed by the Government of Ethiopia.

MR. NEHRU ON WORLD PEACE

Speaking at a banquet given in honour of Mr. U. Nu at New Delhi on Nov. 14, Mr. Nehru said that the world had "a good face and an evil face." When you come, the evil face recedes, and only the good face is evident."

In spite of this evil face "I believe that essentially we are passing through these very difficult phases to something much better for the world and we see this awakening for a better life or better thinking, for better co-operation and more friendliness peeping out in many places."

Mr. Nehru added: "We see and we have seen the whole of Asia astir. We are now seeing Africa in a state of ferment, full of hope and expectation, full of vitality and also full of difficulties. But those difficulties, I suppose, anywhere are the price we pay for moving forward."

In this forward march of the human race, "It seems to me inevitable that Asia and Africa should play a great part," he said.

KHRUSHCHEV'S WARNING

The Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, warned in this speech read at the UNESCO General Conference in Paris on Nov. 15 that the "arms race encouraged by the imperialists is depriving humanity of immense material and spiritual resources, and is pushing the world towards catastrophe."

In his speech which was read at the opening of the conference by the leader of the Soviet delegation, Mr. S. G. Lapin, Mr. Khrushchev said UNESCO could make a considerable contribution to the noble cause of creating a world without war, a world without armaments, a world without oppressed and enslaved peoples."

He added: "I am convinced that scientists and scholars and cultural workers cannot remain unmoved in the great struggle for peace, just as they cannot remain indifferent towards the just movement of the oppressed peoples for liberation and against colonial slavery."

BERTRAND RUSSELL ON U.N. FORCE

The British philosopher Bertrand Russell has suggested that the United Nations "must have a strong police force to carry out its decisions if, once taken, they are disputed by one or more recalcitrant nations."

In his speech during the celebration of the 15th anniversary of U. N. he said:

"It is of paramount importance that people be brought to see that the U. N. must include all nations and be accepted as the world authority and that it must have a strong police force to carry out its decisions if, once taken, they are disputed by one or more recalcitrant nations. This authority, backed by a strong international police force of its own, should obviate the necessity of national armed forces beyond those small forces which are needed to preserve internal order in each country."

KRIPALANI ON CHINA

Acharya Kripalani warned the Government of India in the Lok Sabha on Nov. 23 that unless they were very careful with China, they would come into trouble with her.

Describing China as an "an arrogant and power-intoxicated Communist neighbour," Acharya Kripalani said that China did not believe in peaceful co-existence in spite of her "eternal talk of Panch Sheel."

"China," Acharya Kripalani said, "believes in the inevitability of war with all nations which are not Communist. Even Russia is charged with being rightist or what is called revisionist, because she believed in co-existence. China's appetite has been growing on what she has been allowed to swallow. We have to be careful of our enemies inside and outside India if we value our freedom and our way of life."

RADHAKRISHNAN ON WORLD RELIGIONS

India's Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, dedicating a new centre for study of world religions at Harvard University, declared at Cambridge, Massachusetts on Nov. 21 that if man sought harmonious living he must know other religions.

"In every religion," he said, "we have people who do not believe in provincialism, who emphasise religion as an experience to be attained by self-conquest and self-transformation, an appreciation of other faiths and a sense of loyalty to world community."

"We must set aside differences caused by accidents of geography and history, and accept universal ideas transmitted by common heritage, it should become as normal for an American or a European student to be familiar with civilisations of the East—Chinese, Japanese and Indian."

TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

Prime Minister Nehru, making a statement on the Berubari controversy in the Lok Sabha on Oct. 6 appealed for the implementation of the Border agreement with Pakistan and added that the words and agreements of the Government had a "sacredness" about it. He did not want anyone to say that India did not stand by her pledges or undertakings.

Prime Minister Nehru declared that the Central Government had acted strictly in accordance with the advice given by the Supreme Court in framing the Bills relating to Berubari. Mr. Nehru dealt at length with the various grounds under which the West Bengal Assembly had declared the reference to it of the acquired Territories Merger Bill as "unconstitutional."

At the outset, the Prime Minister sought the indulgence of the House for making a detailed statement. "When a State Government and a State Assembly challenge the legality of some step that we have taken, it is only right that we should give full thought and give a considered reply. Therefore, I have to deal with this matter at some slight length," he said.

He recalled the agreements entered into with Pakistan for settling the border disputes and the reference to the Supreme Court when a doubt arose regarding the method of implementation of the agreement relating to Berubari and the exchange of Cooch-Bihar enclaves.

U.N.'s FINANCIAL POSITION

The United Nations faced the threat of bankruptcy.

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General, bluntly warned members of this possibility when he addressed the General Assembly's Budgetary Committee.

He said there would be a "virtually empty treasury" unless Governments produced 20 million dollars (about Rs. 95 million) in the next six weeks.

C. R. ON NEHRU'S FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, founder-leader of the Swatantra Party, said that whatever difference he and his party might have with Prime Minister Nehru over his handling of Indian affairs, he wholeheartedly endorsed the foreign policy of Mr. Nehru. "He is the best expert on foreign policy", Mr. Rajagopalachari added. He was addressing the Society of Foreign Affairs at Poona on Nov. 24.

U. N. ON GOA

The United Nations Trusteeship Committee demanded on Nov. 22 that Portugal furnish the United Nations without delay with information, on nine of its overseas territories including Goa, Prince Island, Angola, Mozambique, Macao and Timor.

The resolution also asked the U. N. Secretary-General to take the steps required following the Spanish Government's announcement that it was willing to communicate information to the U. N. on certain overseas territories under Spanish administration.

PROHIBITION IN BIHAR

The Government of Bihar is not likely to introduce complete Prohibition in the State during the Third Plan period. The Planning Commission and the Government of India have been informed accordingly by the State Government indicating that it would not be possible for them to introduce Prohibition in the State and thereby lose a revenue of about rupees four crores annually, when large finances were required to meet the cost of the Plan projects. It is gathered that the Bihar Government is also not in favour of declaring any area or district in the State fully dry or partially dry during the next five years.

INDIA AS "FREE WORLD"

American official documents have begun to describe India as part of the "free world" though at the United Nations itself delegates tend to confine the expression to countries allied with the United States militarily.

In a State Department document entitled "Communist economic policy in the less developed areas", the agreement by which the Soviet Union will grant India a credit equivalent to 375 million dollars for Third Five-Year projects, is described as "the largest single credit yet extended to a free world country by the USSR".

One American political commentator told the PTI that the change had been gradual. "It will be difficult to say what single factor caused it," he said. "Maybe such things as the Chinese attack on India contributed to it but we have moved far from the days when we used to regard neutralism as 'immoral' and 'sinful'. We may continue to use the word 'neutralist' but we now accept India as belonging to the free world".

Dr. A. R. MUDALIAR ON STUDENTS AND POLITICS

Delivering the Convocation address of the Karnatak University at Dharwar on Nov. 24 Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar said, "Nothing can be more disastrous to the development of sound higher education than the ill-advised interference of political heads in purely academic matters." Such interference, he added, would destroy the very purpose of University life and education.

There were undoubtedly some defects in the methods that had been followed in the past, certain deficiencies in the courses of study that were prescribed, even in the text-books that were chosen for study. There was a certain imbalance in the emphasis that was given to the study of arts as against that laid on the study of sciences and such imbalance was even more marked when we consider the education imparted in technical and technological subjects. But while accepting the existence of these defects and deficiencies let us not underestimate the part that such education has played in the life of the nation, the contribution it has made to the developments of political consciousness of the people, to the urge for democratic institutions and above all to the welding of bonds of common citizenship among people of different parts of the country, talking different languages.

MR. DESHMUKH ON NEW UNIVERSITIES

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, said that the Commission was not allowed sufficient time by State Governments for proper consideration of proposals for establishing new universities.

Addressing the fourth annual convocation of the Jubbulpore University at Jubbulpore on Nov. 18 Mr. Deshmukh said that according to figures in his possession it was an expensive business to set up even a comparatively small university. This was a consideration not often borne in mind by State Governments who "have exhibited recently a dangerous tendency to establish new universities, one suspects, under political pressure or from motives which are not entirely academic."

Mr. Deshmukh said that in spite of protests in the past, such new proposals were either not referred for advice to the University Grants Commission or even if they were, the reference was perfunctory.

MR. GIRI'S ADVICE TO STUDENTS

"The training in the University, it should be remembered, is not only imparted to produce expert-researchers and scientists, but also good citizens. It is up to you by sheer hard work and initiative to improve your lot, socially, economically, or culturally. It is the youth of the country who should come forward and equip themselves for assuming the leadership of the nation," observed Mr. V. V. Giri, Governor of Kerala, while delivering the Convocation address of the Kerala University at Trivandrum on Nov. 24.

DR. SUBBAROYAN'S CALL

Delivering the convocation address of the Annamalai University on Nov. 23 Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Union Minister for Transport and Communications, exhorted the students to have faith in democracy.

He said that at a time when the world was more and more gravitating towards totalitarian societies—as instanced by the setting up of military rule in many countries—the only hope for survival depended on the evolution of democratic States.

He advised the students to utilise the freedom of speech and worship, equal rights of citizenship and other ideals enshrined in the Constitution, to uphold the sacred traditions of the country. He added that on them lay the burden of enunciating their less fortunate brethren in the proper exercise of democratic rights.

USE OF ENGLISH IN GUJARAT VARSITY

The Governor of Gujarat on Nov. 21 issued an Ordinance called the Gujarat University (Amendment) Ordinance, 1960, amending Section four of the Gujarat University Act, 1949, for purposes of continuation of English as medium of instruction and examination.

The amendment permits the use of English as medium of instruction and examination in the university for such period until the end of November 1966 and in respect of such subjects and courses of study as may be prescribed from time to time.

The Ordinance also permits English to be the medium of instruction and examination for such period as may be prescribed till the end of November 1968 in respect of post-graduate instruction, teaching and training in subjects in the faculties of agriculture, technology including engineering and medicine.

"LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER"

A jury of nine men and three women in the London Court found Penguin Books not guilty under the obscenity laws for publishing an unexpurgated edition of D. H. Lawrence's novel, "Lady Chatterley's Lover". The novel deals with a wellbred woman's passionate love affair with her impotent husband's game-keeper.

The firm, who deliberately courted prosecution in an effort to have a 32-year-old ban on the book lifted, had pleaded "not guilty".

The defence had called a string of expert witnesses including writers, broadcasters, literary dons, teachers and two clergymen, including a Bishop, to support their contention that, the book was not obscene and that as a work of high literary merit by a leading author, it should be published.

The prosecution, who called no witnesses, objected to the many detailed descriptions of the sexual act in the book, and contended that it was obscene and might corrupt and deprave any reader.

There was applause from people at the back of the court when the verdict was announced. The jury had taken three hours to reach their verdict.

REVIEW OF JUDGES' WORK

Speaking as the guest of honour at a reception given by the Andhra Pradesh High Court Advocates' Association, Hyderabad last month, Mr. B. P. Sinha, Chief Justice of India, described the reported recommendation of the Law Ministers' Conference that the work of Judges should be periodically reviewed by the Chief Justice as "unwise". He added, "I for one, as the Chief Justice of India, will resolutely oppose any such proposition".

The Chief Justice said: I have been pained to be told, though I have no official information, that the Law Ministers' Conference has come to certain conclusion. The Press had it to the effect that periodically the Chief Justice should review the work of the sitting judges. I do not believe that this is a correct report. I still would fain believe that it is a misunderstanding of what the Law Ministers have decided, because I refuse to believe that such a responsible body of men could have come to such an absurd conclusion. If this report is correct, I think it is adding another terror to the judicial life. There are so many terrors. When we become judges, we are told that we

must maintain isolation. We should not mix with all and sundry, and we should not accept invitations from each and all. We should do this or do that. With all these do's and don'ts if the judges are told that their work will be periodically examined even by a responsible person like the Chief Justice, I think it is a very unwise decision, to put it very mildly. I hope and trust that the authorities will not accept such a recommendation if there is one such. The judges of the High Court, or for that matter the judges of the district courts, are expected to be responsible persons, realising their responsibility to the high position they hold.

PANCHAYAT COURTS

The Centre has initiated a study of the system of Panchayat courts in the country, according to a Press release.

A three-man team has been appointed for this purpose. The members are: Mr. C. R. Rajagopaul, Special Secretary, Central Legislative Department, and a representative each of the Ministries of Home Affairs and Community Development and Co-operation.

The team will visit the States, study their reports and also associate the State officials with the job.

The main item for the study team is, how to make Panchayat courts as organs to dispense speedy, cheap and impartial justice, as also, what steps should be taken to popularise these courts in areas where they are not firmly established.

CITIZENSHIP RULES

Mr. Justice Broome at the Allahabad High Court held last month that clauses 3 and 5 (B) and (D) of Schedule III of the Citizenship Rules were null and void by virtue of Article 13 (2) of the Constitution and must be struck down.

Under these clauses, obtaining a Pakistan passport or a temporary permit for entering India from Pakistan is taken as a conclusive proof of the acquisition of Pakistani citizenship and such acquisition by virtue of Section 9 (1) of the Citizenship Act involved automatic termination of the Indian citizenship.

The Court gave the above ruling while accepting a revision petition filed by a Muslim youth, who claimed himself to be a resident of Gorakhpur district, against his conviction and sentence of six months rigorous imprisonment for staying in India without a valid visa.

STRENGTHENING OF THE BANKING SYSTEM

The Government of India, in consultation with the Reserve Bank, are considering a number of measures to put the banking industry in the country on a more stable basis, it is learnt. These measures include the introduction of a deposit insurance scheme, increasing the equity capital of banks, amalgamation of small banks with big ones and increasing the liquidity ratio of banks.

Recent happenings in banking in the organised sector have pointed to the need for ensuring that the provision of credit facilities for trade and industry is placed on a more orderly basis and that the interests of depositors are more effectively safeguarded. The failure of the Palai Central Bank and the grant of moratorium to some banks in order to enable their reconstruction and their subsequent amalgamation with some of the major banks have been responsible for the anxiety expressed by a section of the public that the Indian banking system even though it is generally sound, should be strengthened by instituting a deposit insurance scheme and merging small banks into medium-sized banks which in turn might have working arrangements with the bigger institutions. In a sense, the greater attention that is now being paid by the Central Government and the Reserve Bank of India to the problems confronting the banking system, has to be welcomed.

WORKING OF L.I.C. IN 1959

The Life Insurance Corporation in its third annual report, shows a reduction in the renewal expense ratio from 15.46 per cent in the year 1958 to 12.92 per cent in 1959. The overall expense ratio that is, the ratio of expenses to the total premium income for the year, is 28.7 per cent as against 29.2 per cent in the year 1958.

The report, which has been adopted and submitted to the Government, also reveals a 16 per cent increase in business-in-force over 1958.

The salient features of the report are: The total life insurance business soared up to Rs. 1964 crores covering seven million policies and showing a record addition of Rs. 282 crores over the 1958 business of Rs. 1,682 crores. It will be of interest to note that the addition to business in force in 1955, i.e., pre-nationalisation year, was only Rs. 43 crores.

INDO-WEST GERMAN PACT

An agreement granting India a 125,100,000 marks West German credit was signed on Nov. 15 by the Foreign Minister, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, and the Indian Ambassador in Bonn, Mr. Badr-ud-din Tyabji.

The two signatories exchanged letters regarding the prolongation of part of the liabilities for the Rourkela Steel Works falling due between November 29 this year and March 30, 1961.

INDO-CZECH TRADE

A new trade and payments agreement between India and Czechoslovakia has been concluded in Prague. The agreement which comes into effect from January 1, 1961, will remain valid for a three-year period.

Mr. K. R. F. Khilnani, Joint Secretary, Government of India and Mr. F. Hamouz, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Government of Czechoslovakia, signed the agreement on behalf of their Governments.

In the course of the discussions, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, opportunity was taken by the two delegations to review the course of the trade between the two countries in the past year and explore ways and means of expanding the same. As a result of the agreement, it is expected that trade between the two countries will show a considerable increase.

INDO-PAK RAIL LINK

The delegations of India and Pakistan, met at Rawalpindi last month and reached agreement regarding the procedure to be followed for the introduction of direct rail link between the East and West wings of Pakistan and West Bengal and Assam across each other's territory.

This was announced in a joint communique issued at the end of the talks on Nov. 18.

The communique said that the agreement was subject to the approval of both the Government of India and Pakistan.

THIRD FINANCE COMMISSION

Mr. A. K. Chanda, I.C.S. (Retd.), former Comptroller of India is appointed Chairman of the New Finance Commission. The Commission will meet in Delhi with its members in the middle of Dec.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

National institutes for women's education are to be set up in the country with the idea of training promising women for high-level executive jobs in fields where women personnel are in short supply.

A committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Indira Gandhi has been set up by the National Council for Women's Education for working out the details of the scheme. A tentative outlay of Rs. one crore has been fixed for the scheme during the Third Plan period.

The proposal envisages the setting up of one or two such institutes, in the first instance.

Details of the scheme are contained in the first report of the National Council for Women's Education which was presented at the State Ministers' conference at New Delhi last month.

The report covering the period September 1959 to October 1960, outlines the special programme. The Council which went into the question, drew up a comprehensive programme for making available increased facilities such as quarters for women teachers, scholarships and stipends for girls and women teachers, village allowance to teachers in rural areas condensed courses for training women teachers and free tuition to certain categories of girls and free or subsidised transport.

WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN MADRAS

The Senate of the Madras University, at its ordinary meeting held on November 18, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, presiding, adopted two resolutions moved by Mr. N. Ramaswami Aiyar. One of these sought to recommend to the University Grants Commission to provide grants to Women's Colleges for constructing staff quarters and for providing laboratory facilities at the rate of 75 per cent of the cost as has been done by the Commission in the case of raising the salary of teachers and in the case of hostel buildings, etc. The second one also sought to recommend to the University Grants Commission that the present ceiling of Rs. 2,000 for the Students' Aid Fund be raised to Rs. 6,000 for Women's Colleges and that the Women's Colleges should be asked to provide only 25 per cent of the total amount of the fund, the U.C.G.'s grant being 75 per cent in conformity with the Commission's policy in various other respects.

INDIAN WOMEN IN HOCKEY

India won the rubber in the women's hockey series with Ceylon by beating them by one goal to nil in the fourth "Test" at Bhopal on Nov. 17.

The solitary goal was scored in the first-half by centre-forward P. Huggins.

L.I.C. ON JOINT LIFE POLICIES

The Life Insurance Corporation of India has instructed its offices to reject all joint life policies pending for acceptance and not to book any new policy under table No. 17.

Recently, a good number of claims were made on joint life policies, in which the wives' deaths were alleged to be found mysterious.

KALIDASA ON WOMEN

Mrs. Tarakeswari Sinha, Union Deputy Finance Minister, said in Ujjain on November 3, that Poet Kalidasa had a soft corner in his heart for women whom he tried to uplift from the pitiable position they had in the society of his time. Delivering the third of a series of lectures on Poet Kalidasa, organised in connection with the third All-India Kalidasa Jayanti celebrations, Mrs. Sinha said that Kalidasa had placed women on a very high pedestal in society and his dramas were named after women.

MRS. RUKMANI MENON

Mrs. Rukmani Menon, who has been appointed the First Secretary to the Indian High Commission in Malaya, left Singapore, for Kuala Lumpur on November 12. Mrs. Menon, who was a Deputy Secretary in the Indian External Affairs Ministry before her new appointment, will succeed Mr. Prithi Singh.

MISS ZAMIRA

Zamira, 20-year-old daughter of violinist Yehudi Menuhin by his first wife is to marry Fou Tsong, Chinese pianist, it is learnt in London (says AFP). Fou Tsong took asylum in England in 1958 after a visit to Poland while on a concert tour of Europe.

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI

Mrs. Indira Gandhi received the Howland Memorial prize from Dr. A. Whitney Griswold, President of Yale University (U.S.A.), on November 11. The award is given every two years for outstanding achievements in literature, fine arts or government.

General

CLARK GABLE

Mr. Clark Gable, 59-year old "King of Hollywood" and Idol of women cinema-goers for most of his 30 years of stardom, suffered a heart attack at his home in the San Fernando Valley California, on November 6 and was taken to the Presbyterian Hospital in Hollywood the same day. He died on 17th November.

Throughout his long career, he appeared in 90 films. Yet in more than 30 years as screen leading man, he won an "Oscar" only once for best performance as an actor—in 1934 for his part in "It Happened One Night," with Claudette Colbert.

His most famous screen successes were in "Mutiny in the Bounty," with Charles Laughton, San Francisco, with Spencer Tracy, and "Gone with the Wind" with Vivien Leigh. He also worked with many other stars to become one of the top money-spinners in Hollywood.

MR. ALBERT CHRISTOPHER

Mr. Albert Christopher (75), a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi during the passive resistance campaign in 1913, died in his home at Greenwood Park at Durban on November 24.

He was one of few Natal Indians who practised as an advocate of the Supreme Court of South Africa. He joined the Natal Bar in 1926.

Mr. Christopher was a past President of the Natal and South African Indian Congresses and the Natal Indian Association,

AIR-MARSHALL MUKERJEE

We record with deep regret the death of Air Marshall Mukerjee, Chief of Air Staff, in Tokyo, on Nov. 9.

In August 1943, he became the first Indian officer to command an Air Force station and this was at Kohat. He became Director of Training in the rank of Group Captain at Air Headquarters in 1946.

After Independence, when the Air Force became a separate Service he was appointed Deputy Chief of the Air Staff at Air Headquarters. Shortly after, he was promoted to the rank of Air Vice-Marshall.

It was during his tenure of office that the Indian Air Force witnessed an all-round expansion and modernisation and its transformation into an all-jet force. Air Marshall Engineer is appointed as chief of Air Staff.

MR. WEDGWOOD BENN

Viscount Stansgate, a Labour Peer and Secretary for Air in the 1945 Labour Government died in a London Hospital on Nov. 17. He was aged 83.

Lord Stansgate more popularly known as Wedgwood Benn was Secretary of State for India from 1929 to 1931.

Lord Stansgate was a great friend of India. But for his efforts the first Round Table Conference on India would not have been possible. He did a lot to bring about a change to the British Government's attitude to India. His son Mr. Anthony Wedgwood Benn has renounced the peerage.

NEW BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER

Sir Paul Gore-Booth, High Commissioner of U.K. to India, presented his credentials to the President at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, at a special ceremony on Nov. 5.

The High Commissioner was presented to the President by Mr. M. J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary.

Presenting his letter of credence Sir Paul Gore-Booth said it was source of pride to him to represent the Government of U.K. in this "great and friendly country." He felt particularly proud to have been appointed to succeed Mr. Malcolm Macdonald who had distinguished himself as a friend of India and other Asian countries.

LIFE INSURANCE CORPORATION

The total volume of foreign business transacted by the Life Insurance Corporation up to October 15, 1960 amounted to Rs. 28.60 crores, Mr. Morarji Desai, Finance Minister, told Mr. Anirudh Sinha in a written answer in the Lok Sabha on Nov. 21.

The Corporation transacted business in ten African and Asian countries, he said.

RANKINGS IN TENNIS

Mr. Shamsher Singh, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association, announced the ranking for the current year on Nov. 24.

The rankings are :

Men's singles : 1. R. Krishnan, 2. Premjit Lall, 3. Naresh Kumar, 4. J. Mukherjee, 5. Akhtar Ali and 6. V.R. Balasubramanian.

Boys' junior singles : 1. J. Mukherjee, 2. S.P. Misra, and 3. V. Dhawan G. Banerji, R. Venkatesan and J. Dehiya.

