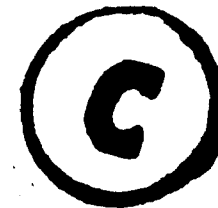


THE

INDIAN REVIEW

1960



Vol. 61

July - Sept.

No. 7, 8, 9

JL

m2, NOOR.

N 60.61.

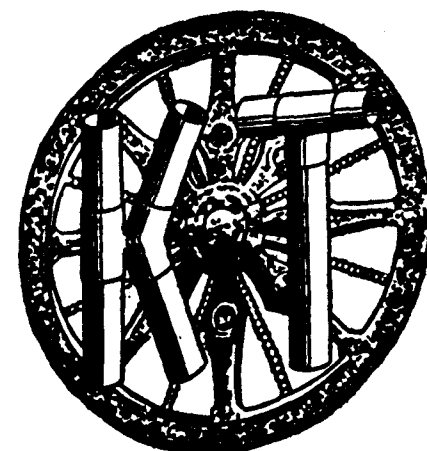
129661.

1960]

THE BOMBAY REVIEW

167

16



*Verified
m*

KALINGA TUBES

FOR

WATER AND GAS DISTRIBUTION

*

KALINGA TUBES LTD.,

33, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE,

CALCUTTA-12

Factory: Chowdwar, Cuttack (Orissa)

Cables: **KALTUBES**

Phone: 23-4088/89

THE INDIAN REVIEW

Editor : MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 61]

JULY 1960 : DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 7

Current Affairs	... 337	Books in Review	... 373
Reform in Indian Universities		Indians Outside India	... 375
By Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee	... 353	Diary of the Month	... 376
Kalidasa		Readers' Digest	... 377
By Mr. V. Shankar	... 357	Questions of Importance	... 385
Circumlocution		Utterances of the Day	... 386
By Kalidasa	... 360	Political	... 387
South Korea and Dr. Rhee's Exit		Educational	... 388
By Sri Aditya Prasad Sen Gupta	... 361	Legal	... 389
Nehru's India		Trade and Finance	... 390
By Mr. B. Natesan	... 362	Women's Page	... 391
A Hurricane of Common Sense		General	... 392
By Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman	... 364		
The Indian Ocean : Its Strategy			
By Commander Malcolm W. Cagle	... 369		

Your Attention Please !

If you are interested in the regular supply of this Journal, kindly fill up this form and post it to :—

G. A. NATESAN & Co.,

Publishers, "INDIAN REVIEW,"

ESPLANADE, MADRAS-1

Dear Sirs,

Please enrol me as a subscriber to the INDIAN REVIEW from
M. O. for Rs. 6 (Six)

.....I am sending an (Foreign £ 1

Cheque for Rs. 6.25

U. S. A. 4 Dollars) one year's subscription.

Name

Designation

Address

Yours faithfully,

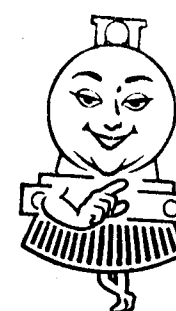
JULY 1960]

THE INDIAN REVIEW

3

ADVICE TO TRADERS

Traders are requested to make full use of railways for the movement of their goods traffic.



Railways carry all traffic that is offered, whether it is a cheap commodity like coal or an expensive commodity like piece-goods. Railways are able to charge low rates for coal etc. only because they also carry other traffic at higher rates.

Please remember that Railways are our National assets and it is in the larger interest of our country that all available capacity of the Railway is fully utilised.

We will do everything possible to enable you to do this. The Chief Commercial Superintendent or the local Divisional authorities of the Railway will be pleased to discuss any special problems in regard to movement of goods traffic, that you may have.

(ISSUED BY SOUTHERN RAILWAY)

A new monthly journal published in London. The only paper of its kind

THE
AFRICAN & COLONIAL WORLD
Incorporating THE INDIAN at Home Overseas

Managing Editor : DR. K. D. KUMRIA

A POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND TRADE REVIEW

AFRICAN AND COLONIAL SECTION

History is in the making in Africa and the colonial world, and the job of the new magazine is to give you the facts.

It will tell you not only what is happening, but the significance of it.

Edited and produced in London—one of the world's keenest news centres, "African and Colonial World" will attempt to reflect the opinions and aspirations of the African and colonial peoples themselves.

There is no more dynamic factor in present day politics than the struggle of these peoples for equality and self-government.

INDIAN SECTION

Promotes the political and cultural welfare of the four million Indians overseas.

Provides means of closer contact, through its news service, between Indians in various parts of the world. Ventilates problems and disabilities of Indians domiciled in other lands and brings them to the attention of metropolitan governments.

Presents Indians in overseas lands to the people of India and presents Indians at home their problems and progress, to their fellow country men in other lands. Publishes regular articles affecting of Indians everywhere with special cultural and trade sections.

Annual Subscription 14 Shillings.

The ideal medium for manufacturers and exporters to reach Colonial and Indian merchants in the overseas territories.

Distribution and Advertising Agents wanted throughout India.

Please address all Communications to :—

70, ST. GEORGE'S ROAD, LONDON, S. E. 1.

Telephone : WATERloo 3 0 0 9

READ

THOUGHT

(A WEEKLY REVIEW OF POLITICS AND THE ARTS)

TO UNDERSTAND

THE TEMPO, DYNAMICS AND

DIRECTION OF WORLD EVENTS AND

IN THE LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THOUGHT IS KNOWN FOR ITS

OBJECTIVE APPROACH AND INTEGRITY

* * * * *

THOUGHT, FAIZ BAZAR, DELHI-7.

FOR
QUALITY RAYON YARN
&
TRAYOPHANE
(TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM)

*

THE TRAVANCORE RAYONS LIMITED

(INDIA'S PIONEER MANUFACTURERS OF RAYON YARN & TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM)

FACTORY:

RAYONPURAM P. O. KERALA STATE

SALES OFFICE:

2/6, SECOND LINE BEACH

MADRAS-1

MANAGING AGENTS:

EMCETE & SONS (TRAVANCORE) PRIVATE LTD.

UPAKHYANAMALA

(A Garland of Stories)

(Selected from the Epics and the Puranas)

Text in Sanskrit Devanagari

Condensed by Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR

Translated by Mr. V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

With a Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER

RUPEES THREE

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS-1.

LEXIN

If no breath, unconscious, unable to inhale, Lexin is dropped into nostrils 5 drops in each and given artificial respiration. Saved many a hopeless case of snake bite.

P. BANERJI—MIHIJAM

(S. P.) INDIA

BOOKS ON BUDDHISM

Maha Bodhi Society's Diamond Jubilee Souvenir	Rs. 6 0 0
Anagarika Dharmapala	
Relationship between Hinduism & Buddhism	0 6 0
The Psychology of Progress	0 12 0
What did the Lord Buddha Teach ?	0 12 0
World's Debt to Buddha	0 8 0
Kosetsu Nosu & Basil Crump	
Mulagandhakuti Vihara Wall Paintings	7 8 0
The Life of Buddha in Frescoes	2 8 0
Devapriya Valsiaha	
Buddhist Shrines in India	5 0 0
Buddhist Way of Life	0 4 0
Bhikkhu Silacara :	0 8 0
Kamma	
Madam A. C. Albers	
Life of Buddha for Children	0 4 0
Jataka Tales for Children	0 8 0
Dr. B. Jayaram : Perfect Health	1 0 0
Bhikkhu Sangharakshita	
Where Buddhism Begins And Why it Begins There	0 2 0
Anagarika Dhammapala (A Biographical Sketch)	1 0 0
Apply for Complete Catalogue :	
MAHA BODHI BOOK AGENCY, 4-A, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.	

"FOR

THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE

THE "CHOWRINGHEE" WEEKLY

OF
CALCUTTA
IS

WINNING NEW READERS AMONG THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE WHO WANT TO KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD, AND WHAT THEY SHOULD DO ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS."

Address : No. 1-A, PREYA NATH BANERJEE ST. CALCUTTA-9.

RAM KRISHAN KULWANT RAI

IRON & STEEL IMPORTERS, CONTROLLED STOCKISTS & RE-ROLLERS

STOCKISTS OF PIPES & PIPE FITTINGS

*

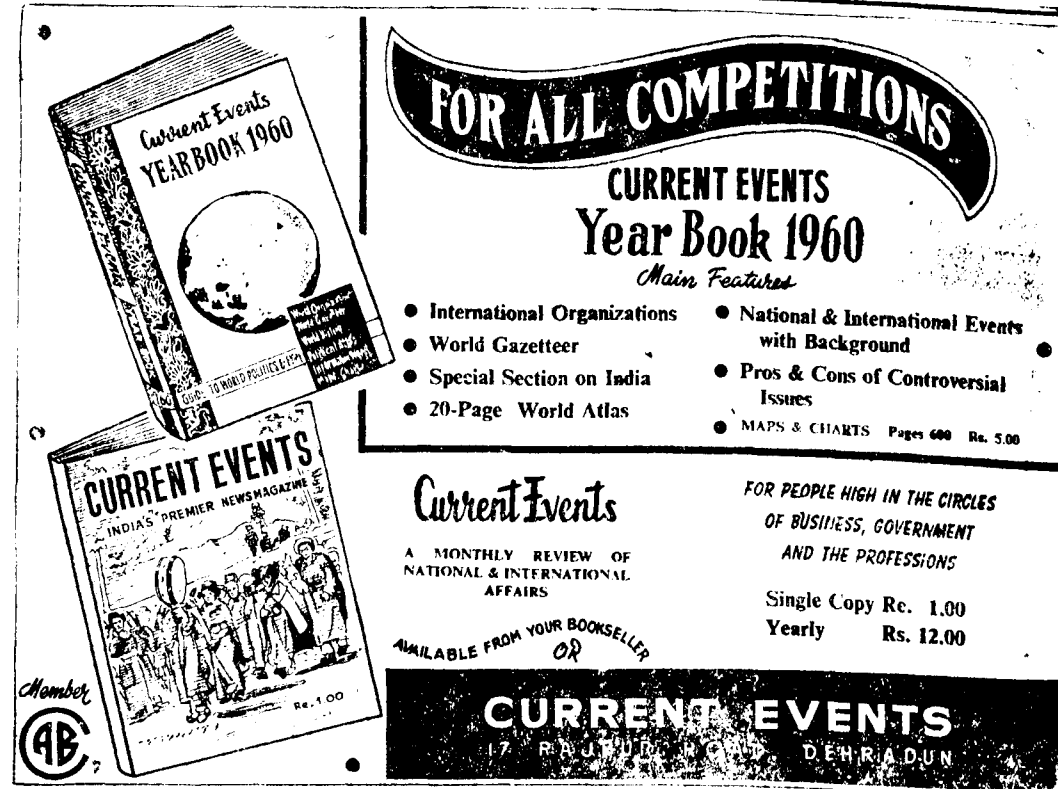
ASSOCIATES.

KULWANT RAI & SON

*

OFFICES AT:

	DELHI	CALCUTTA	MADRAS
	50, G. B. ROAD	33, NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD	33, SEMBUDOSS ST.
GRAMS :	"KULJAS"	"FEROSTOX"	"KULJAS"
PHONE :	26411.	22-6686.	4906.
	DELHI	LUCKNOW	BOMBAY
	HAUZ QAZI	18, A. P. SEN ROAD	Post Box No. 4089
GRAMS :	"KULJAS"	"KULJAS"	"KULJAS"
PHONE :	27895.	5169.	



FOR ALL COMPETITIONS

CURRENT EVENTS Year Book 1960

Main Features

- International Organizations
- World Gazetteer
- Special Section on India
- 20-Page World Atlas
- National & International Events with Background
- Pros & Cons of Controversial Issues
- MAPS & CHARTS Pages 600 Rs. 5.00

Current Events

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOR PEOPLE HIGH IN THE CIRCLES OF BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT AND THE PROFESSIONS

Single Copy Rs. 1.00
Yearly Rs. 12.00

AVAILABLE FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER OR

CURRENT EVENTS
17 RAJENDRA NAGAR, DEHRADUN

FREE INDIA

SOUTH INDIA'S BEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY

PRINCIPAL FEATURES :

Beautiful Front Cover
Film & Fun Pages
World Window
Snappy Leaders

Opinions of the Week
Plan with planets
Cartoons
Up-to-the-Minute Photos
Short Story and Hindi Lessons

SINGLE COPY : 20 nP. 6 MONTHS Rs. 5 ONE YEAR Rs. 10.

Please ask for a Specimen Copy.

Further particulars from

FREE INDIA WEEKLY

77, General Patters Road :: MADRAS-2

THE GREAT EPICS

Valmiki Ramayana

Condensed in the Poet's own words. By Pandit A. M. Srinivasachariar. Translated by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon), M.A. With a foreword by The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL.D.

The Twentieth Century.—"The distinguishing feature of the book is the scholarship, the taste, almost the genius that the compiler brought to bear on the text in condensing it so as to make the work neither too small nor too large and in making the current of the story run smooth without jarring the air or breaking the thread of the story.....The translation is excellent."

Prof. Schrader.—"The Sanskrit Ramayana has been made accessible to even a tiro in Sanskrit who knows enough English to use the translation."

The Mahabharata

Condensed in Vyasa's own words by Pandit A. M. Srinivasachariar. Translated by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. This is a fitting companion volume to the condensed edition of the Ramayana. The MAHABHARATA of Sage Vyasa is the biggest Epic of the World and in this admirable condensation achieved by Pandit A. M. Srinivasachariar, the story of the great war is presented with the main narrative enriched by the best portions of the dialogues and discourses. Indeed, it is the Poet Vyasa that is speaking, not the compiler.

Prof. A. Berriedale Keith : "It is a most ingenious idea to condense into such brief compass the contents of these two great works and to give these summaries, together with English renderings. This difficult undertaking has been most successfully carried through and I trust that the book will serve the purpose of making accessible the essential substance of the texts to a wide range of readers."

Rupees Three Each

THE INDIAN REVIEW

The *Indian Review* is the best, cheapest and the most up-to-date monthly published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, and priced at Rs. 6 per annum. Send your name and address with 4 as. postage stamp for a free specimen copy

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

(From 1911 to 1934)

This book contains full text of the Addresses of the Presidents of the Congress from 1911 to 1934.

As this volume is likely to serve as an authentic book of reference, advantage has been taken of the issue of this volume to supply a comprehensive and exhaustive index at the end.

SELECT OPINIONS

The Hindusthan Review :— "A perusal of the speeches serves, to give a connected political history of the times and reveal the increasing complexities of the political problems. They form an interesting historical record of the politics of the country with a good deal of creative criticism of the present day problems."

The Official History of the Congress :— "The gratitude of the Public is due to this enterprising and patriotic firm—forerunners in the field of national literature—for this act of additional service to Indian Nationalism done in the "Jubilee" year of the Congress."

PRICE RS. 8. POSTAGE EXTRA

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS-1.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers are requested to quote their numbers given on the wrapper of the Review sent to them, either when intimating their change of address to this office or when remitting their Subscriptions, to facilitate prompt action on their communications.

The Circulation Manager,
"THE INDIAN REVIEW"
 G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS 1.

"CURZONS"

LAMINATED BLOCK BOARDS

- * Guaranteed against warping, cracking, expansion or contraction
- * Ideal for Table-tops, all panels for Furniture (up to 4 ft. width) & Flush Doors.



Now Available

with special decorative finish and
attractive colours or wood-grains

- * Glass-hard smooth surface
- * Resists abrasion, wear and tear
- * Proof against alcohol and acids
- * Not affected by boiling liquids or Ice.

SEEING IS BELIEVING!

ASK FOR DEMONSTRATION



NATESAN'S PUBLICATIONS

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Price Rs. 5 each

Lord Sinha

Sir D. E. Wacha

Sir W. Wedderburn

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Price Rs. 5 each

Indian Judges. Sketches of 21 famous Judges.

Indian Christians. Sketches of famous Indian Christians.

POLITICS

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. By Mahatma Gandhi. As. Eight.

Fellowship of Faiths and Unity of Religions. By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Prof. Abdul Majid Khan. Re. One.

Congress Presidential Addresses. (1911-1934) Containing full text of residential Addresses. Rs. 8.

The Governance of India. By Babu Govind Das Rs. 5.

INDIAN TALES

The Guardianship of India: A Mock Trial. By R. Javanthinathan. Rupee One.

Select Tales from the Sanskrit Dramatists. Contents: Sakunthala, Malavikagnimitra, Uttararama-charita, Nagananda and Mudrarakshasa. Re. One.

Sakuntala. By Kamala Satthianadhan. As. 6.

Works of Dr. Radhakrishnan

Freedom and Culture Rs. 2.

The Heart of Hindustan Re. 1-8.

WORLD TEACHERS

Re. One each.

Sri Rama: His Life and Teachings. By M. R. Sampatkumaran, M. A.

Jesus Christ. By Mr. S. K. George.

Sankaracharya. By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.

Sri Krishna: His Life and Teachings. By Mr. M. R. Sampatkumaran, 2nd Edn.

Life and Teachings of Zoroaster. By Prof. A. R. Wadia.

Buddha. By D. Dharmapala 4th Edn.

Prophet Muhammad. By Ahmed Shafi and Yakub Hasan.

NATIONAL CLASSICS

(Abridged editions)

Price Rupees Three each.

Valmiki Ramayana. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H.

The Mahabharata. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

Upakhyanamala. Text in Devanagari. Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The Upanishads. Selections from the 108 Upanishads. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. With a Foreword by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A Handbook of Saiva Religion. By S. Katireshu, Rs. 2-8.

Aspects of the Vedanta: A Symposium. Rs. 2.

Hindu Ethics. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 2.

Temples, Churches and Mosques. By Yakub Hasan, 68 illus. Re. 1-8.

The First Four Califs. By Ahmed Shafi. Re. 1.

North Indian Saints. (Ramanand to Ram Tirath) Rs. 2.

Chaitanya to Vivekananda: Lives of the Saints of Bengal. Rs. 2.

GENERAL

50 Years in the Service of the Nation. A Golden Jubilee Souvenir recording the nation's progress through fifty years of G. A. Natesan and Co's publications. By B. Natesan. With Foreword by C. Rajagopalachariar, Rs. Two.

Sixty Years of Publishing. (1897-1957) Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of G. A. Natesan & Co. Tributes & Appreciations and articles of interest with illustrations etc. on Art Paper. Rs. 5

Books That Have Influenced Me. A Symposium by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. C. Jinarajadasa, Justice M. C. Chagla, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others. Price Re. 1-8.

Famous Battles in Indian History. By T. G. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T. Re. 1.

Shakespeare's Tragedies: King Lear, Macbeth Hamlet and Othello. By Dr. W. Miller, Re. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS and BOOKSELLERS. MADRAS-1.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 61]

JULY 1960

[No. 7

Current Affairs

De Gaulle's call for Peace

Early last month, Gen. de Gaulle, the French President in an epoch-making address at Paris said that 'two camps are lined up face to face, under such conditions that it depends alone on Moscow or Washington whether a large part of humanity is destroyed in a few hours.'

Three conditions were necessary in the world, he said: "(i) Detente or better relations without provocative acts and speeches; (ii) a categorical measure of controlled disarmament; and (iii) a beginning of East-West co-operation dedicated to the service of man, for underdeveloped peoples."

Gen. de Gaulle said there was "no territorial clash or doctrinal dispute that is worth talking about, when compared with the need of exorcising this monstrous peril" of planetary war.

Gen. de Gaulle said that "in the East as in the West, it was recognised that nuclear war would in any case bring disaster for the world, since there was a risk after the conflict of not having on either side powers, laws, cities, cultures cradles or tombs." He said that as this realisation came about, "we began to hear a new song in Soviet Russia."

Gen. de Gaulle added: "A statesman, who came to the first rank, proclaimed the need for peaceful co-existence, declared that competition between the Communist system and Capitalist system should have as its object the standard of living of men, affirmed that the ambition of his country consisted of ensuring its own development and gave us to understand that the meeting of those supremely responsible in the Soviet Union, United States, England and France would open the way to peace."

Gen. de Gaulle added: "If the flight over Soviet territory by an American photographic plane, 15 days before the meeting, was assuredly and to say the least, untimely—which in fact the President of the United States recognised by proscribing such flights in the future—it was not a sufficient motive to refuse to open discussion of world affairs at the summit."

The French President continued: "At the very moment when Moscow has just launched a new space ship passing 18 times daily over the West, it appears excessive to insist on public excuses and reparations from Washington because a single-engine plane equipped with a camera tried to cross Soviet air space, while the plane which was shot down was being held with its films, and a guarantee was received that the act would not be repeated. After all, if the Soviet Premier intended to make as a condition of the Summit opening that the May 1 incident be settled as he wished, would it not have been better if he remained in his capital until this condition was decidedly liquidated in one way or another?"

Gen. de Gaulle remarked that the Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev undoubtedly raised "a condition that was contradictory to the detente in saying that a so-called peace treaty concluded by himself would establish for all time the present division of Germany and would set for West Berlin a statute which would condemn that city, which is now free and intends to remain so, sooner or later to undergo the totalitarian yoke."

Mr. Khrushchev had then made certain delays and accommodations in this position, Gen. de Gaulle said, and later his trips to the U.S. and France appeared to be "the prelude to a new orientation."

It appeared then that a Summit conference might help, but "we know what happened," Gen. de Gaulle commented.

Gen. de Gaulle said that France took the outcome "with sang-froid." But he said what was necessary yesterday, "remains so to-morrow" —detente, controlled disarmament, and co-operation for helping other States.

Gen. de Gaulle said that "the recent trials have demonstrated the profound solidarity of the Western Powers."

He added that "doubtless, President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Macmillan and myself each have our own problems and our own temperament. But faced with this event, the three friends that we are, had little difficulty in agreeing on wisdom and firmness. Our alliance has appeared to be a living reality."

Gen. de Gaulle declared that France intended to remain "an integral part of the Atlantic alliance," while keeping for itself its own nuclear arms and a certain autonomy. But he added, "It goes without saying that such autonomy should have as a corollary a closer agreement by the Western world Powers as to their policy and their strategy."

Gen. de Gaulle said that France was still prepared to hold the Summit conference in Paris "at the proper time," after reasonable diplomatic preparation.

Commonwealth Press Conference

The 51st Conference of the Commonwealth Press Union met at London on the 13th June. The union represents more than 500 newspapers and news Agencies throughout the Commonwealth and the Colonies. The session lasted for 2 days. Lord Hailsham, Lord Privy Seal and Minister for Science, opening the Commonwealth Press Union said that "never before has there been a greater need for informed understanding between the nations of the Commonwealth."

Lord Hailsham suggested that the time had come for all responsible newspapers and periodicals in Britain to appoint well-equipped Commonwealth correspondents who would make a special study of Commonwealth affairs.

The subjects dealt with included the situation of the Press in the S. African Union, Pakistan and Malaya.

Because of the need for understanding within the Commonwealth, the independent functions of the Press were more important, more difficult and more responsible than ever before, Lord Hailsham said.

The very complexity and nebulousness of the ties between the members of the Commonwealth put great responsibility on all those whose duty it was to project the events and philosophies current in any part of the Commonwealth at any particular time.

"In some ways, the Commonwealth has become the prototype of what international relations generally might be in the future," he declared.

The relationship between modern States whether or not friendly with one another, were increasingly complex and on the official and political level there was an indispensable process of consultation between personalities "even though it is sometimes accompanied by untoward results and exhibitions of strange codes of personal behaviour."

Lord Hailsham spoke of the various developments in Commonwealth Co-operation including possibilities of Cultural exchange and technical improvements in communications.

He said he asked himself whether the British Press was technically adequately equipped to give Commonwealth affairs the coverage they needed and deserved.

He said newspaper readers in Britain must depend partly upon the reports of the British correspondents in Commonwealth territories and partly on the interpretative role of Commonwealth correspondents attached to the headquarters of British newspapers.

Referring to the corps of British correspondents resident in Commonwealth countries, he said there were two in Australia and none in New Zealand. "In South Africa where the opportunity for misunderstanding is so great, I am informed that there are only two regular British correspondents," he said. There were seven in India, none in Ceylon or Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, three each in Ghana and Malaya and only one in Pakistan.

There were to be added a number of editors or sub-editors now in Britain who had worked in the Commonwealth and a large number of so-called "stringers" who, whatever their

ability, would not be claimed as equivalent of a resident British staff correspondent writing for the British public.

Lord Hailsham, in pleading for an improved standing for the Commonwealth Press generally said officials, particularly Whitehall officials, were inclined, he understood, to be uneven in their dealings with Commonwealth Press interests. Some departments as they should, rated the Commonwealth Press as a close second to the British National Press itself. "Others, on the other hand, I am told, are less forthcoming and have perhaps not tumbled to the fact that the Commonwealth has become of such tremendous importance to the country."

He said there were 55 important Commonwealth newspaper offices in London and this strength should be ample to ensure for them a goodly share of any newsworthy facilities but this was not always the case.

He had been informed that there were only eight "Commonwealth correspondents" in Britain reporting and interpreting to the British public the march of events in the Commonwealth.

This was an extremely small number compared to the number of foreign diplomatic and other specialist correspondents. "And yet every year the impact of hard news from the Commonwealth and the giant strides of our colonial policy focus more and more attention on to Commonwealth members and dependent territories alike," he concluded.

Future of South Korea

The South Korean Interim Government officially promulgated on the 15th June the constitutional Amendment bill after it was passed by the National Assembly thus ushering in the 2nd Republic.

In promulgating the new Constitution, acting President, Mr. Huh Chung, announced that general elections would be held within 45 days under the new Constitution and the date would be announced immediately after President Eisenhower's visit on June 22.

It was understood the election date would be on or around 1st July.

Mr. Huh Chung said he preferred elections for both the Lower and Upper House to be held simultaneously to save time and expense, although the new Constitution stipulates that the Upper House election should be held within six months.

The National Assembly passed the Bill by 208 votes to three. As the Assembly Speaker announced the voting, a unanimous cry of "Mansei" (victory) went up from the floor of the chamber. Outside, a large crowd listening to the proceedings through loud-speakers, echoed the shout with wild cheers.

Then the Assembly members prayed for a minute for the students who fell during the April uprising which brought down former President Rhee's 12-year regime and his exit.

Meanwhile, jubilant students paraded the down town streets to celebrate. Riding on trucks and jeeps, they shouted "Congratulations," "Our efforts have been rewarded," "The dawn of the Second Republic has come."

Crowds of people gathered round news stands joined the students and an air of festivity pervaded the streets of the capital.

Under the new Constitution, the new lower House will be convened early in August to elect a President, and the President will nominate a Prime Minister whose task it will be to form a Cabinet.—

The new Constitution Bill introduces a responsible Parliamentary Government system.

The Bill was presented to the National Assembly on May 11 by the South Korean Constitution Revision Committee. It provides for a new election for the Lower House within 45 days of being adopted.

The Bill provides for a free Press, election of a President by the National Assembly's two Houses, and political neutrality of the President, Government officials and National Police.

It also specifies that the President can be elected for only two terms.

Situation in Dutch New Guinea

On June 15 the Indonesian Delegation accused Netherlands of "belligerent policy" in despatching forces to West Irian (Dutch New Guinea).

Indonesia's chief delegate, to United Nations Mr. Sukardjo Wirjorpranoto, in a letter to the Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, said that an "explosive situation" had been created by the "hostile attitude of the Dutch Government." He asked that his communication be circulated among all member-nations.

Mr. Wirjorpranoto appended to his letter a supplementary statement of the Indonesian Government about "Dutch aggressive provocations in West Irian," and asked that this, too, be circulated as a United Nations document.

"On the basis of its view that the despatch of Dutch armed forces to West Irian must ultimately endanger peace and security in South-East Asia, and could even lead to the outbreak of a major Pacific conflict, the Indonesian Government has issued strong protestations and warnings in denunciation of the Dutch action," the letter said.

Despite these protests and warnings, it went on, the Dutch Government appeared "determined to risk an armed conflict with Indonesia."

"The Dutch Government's decision to back up its policy in West Irian is considered a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which prohibits the use of force in the settlement of international disputes," Mr. Wirjorpranoto wrote.

His letter drew these conclusions: (1) The Dutch Government was "determined to use force in executing its policy in West Irian." (2) The decision to despatch Dutch naval, air and ground forces to Dutch New Guinea was "clearly contrary to the Charter of the United Nations." "As the Dutch Government has formally adopted a belligerent policy in West Irian, thereby raising an open armed conflict with Indonesia, the responsibility for such eventual conflict must rest solely with the Dutch Government. Any counter-move on the part of the Indonesian Government would only result from provocative action by the Dutch Government." (4) The Netherlands had "intensified its policy of force and, up to the present, has made no formal repudiation of its official statement concerning the despatch of its armed forces to West Irian."

Tito on Summit Failure

Speaking at a luncheon on June 13 at Brioni, the secluded retreat of President Tito, held in honour of President Nasser, of the United Arab Republic, President Tito declared that the "uncommitted countries cannot passively watch the events any more."

President Tito, urged greater activity by "uncommitted" countries, because the Big

Powers had shown they were unable to solve world problems.

President Tito said the world had become "disappointed and disturbed" after the Summit failure in Paris, Yugoslavia had drawn the conclusion that "representatives of the biggest Powers who met at the top level turned out not to be capable of solving problems of a general character, important for the whole world, for the whole of mankind. They had not created the political conditions needed for such a meeting."

"Since it was so, and having convinced ourselves that for the time being the Big Powers are not able to approach in a constructive way to the solution of these problems, we consider that we should not passively follow the events, and to wait and see what destiny will be tailored on this or that meeting of the Big Powers."

Foreign observers noted that President Tito returned to his earlier attitude of throwing all responsibility on the Big Powers, a view which has already caused severe criticism by the Soviet Union.

Following the criticism the Yugoslav leader had shifted and put the blame for the failure entirely on the United States.

President Tito said, "We shall probably also be attacked because of this. But when have we not been attacked? We are attacked even to-day, regardless of our constructive views. Nevertheless, this should not discourage us. We have an obligation before history to direct our actions towards correct solutions of international problems....."

Yugoslavia had never favoured world destiny being decided by a restricted circle of a few Big Powers only. Although she had supported the ideas of the Summit, she was always in favour of solving international problems within the United Nations, the President added.

African States' Conference

Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia presided at Addis Ababa over a Conference of Foreign Ministers of Independent African Countries on the 14th of last month. The Conference lasted for 12 days. The Conference was also attended by representatives of national movements in other African Countries. Inaugurating the Conference the Emperor said: "The bloodshed and sufferings

that we have witnessed during the past year in various parts of this continent are too vivid in our memory. They are tragic and we must see to it they will not recur. We must devise ways and means to arrest the senseless destruction of African lives. Africans have committed no sin unless the pursuit of independence and freedom from colonial oppression is considered one."

Urging the conference to give appropriate expression in their decisions to African yearning to attain independence, he said, "We shall succeed in our endeavours if we are united in our determination."

The Emperor, however, warned them against illusory independence behind which colonial powers could continue to operate in disguise.

Emperor Haile Selassie appealed for closer collaboration among themselves for the rapid attainment of African aspirations and exhorted them to "take bold decisions for intra-African co-operation."

He said the Bandung conference opened the way for Afro-Asian co-operation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields and suggested "it is time a second such conference was convened to press forward in these fields."

He expressed great concern at the failure of the Summit conference and suggested that in any future conference, "small powers should be heard and afforded equal opportunity for consultation and deliberation."

Algeria, the Cameroons, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic attended the conference as full members. Angola, Kenya and South Africa were represented by leaders of nationalist movements in those countries while Tanganyika and Uganda were represented by observers.

Earlier, the conference decided to take Somalia, Congo and Nigeria—becoming independent this year—as full members of the conference reversing their earlier decision to include them to work in all committees only.

Congo did not turn up possibly over differences in their status as those States becoming independent had urged a postponement of the conference until they formally took over power.

Obviously, the conference decision to include them as full members came too late for Congo.

African representatives draped in colourful native costumes loudly cheered as the Emperor immaculately dressed in military uniform told them that the future of Africa will be decided by Africans and not by outsiders.

The conference had as its chief topic how best to foster African-political economic and cultural solidarity, and free the whole of Africa for home rule.

The independent African States Conference on June 26 unanimously adopted a resolution urging Colonial Powers to fix dates in conformity with the will of the people for immediate attainment of independence by all non-independent countries and to communicate those dates to the peoples concerned.

The Conference resolved that independent African States should continue to exert concerted action to achieve through all possible peaceful means the complete eradication of colonial rule from Africa.

The Conference, at its closing session on 26th June urged "African States which are members of the British Commonwealth to take all possible steps to secure exclusion of the Union of South Africa from the British Commonwealth."

Algeria also was a major topic during the conference, apartheid boycott of South Africa and France, an African common market. French Sahara tests, aid for Algerian insurgents and removal of foreign bases from African soil came up for discussion.

Although unanimity was hard to reach on all questions at the conference it succeeded to give stimulus to Pan-African sentiment—though in the opinion of many people a United States of Africa is still "some way off."

Russia has scored a propaganda point by organising the first foreign trade fair in Addis Ababa to coincide with the conference.

Over 20,000 Ethiopians had already visited the fair and during the first week of the conference, the Russians have suspended the admission fee to attract even more spectators.

Prince Norodom of Cambodia

As expected Prince Norodom Sihanouk has won a sweeping success in the recent referendum in his country. The vote of confidence is said to be for his policy of neutralism; it would not be wrong to say, writes the *Hindu*, that it is an over-whelming vote of confidence

in him, recorded by his countrymen. The Prince's Party, the "Popular Socialist Community" has won decisively and the "Free Khmers" and Communists, parties of the extreme right and left, cannot hope for success as long as the Prince is at the helm of affairs. The armed forces, the National Assembly, the police and the Royal Council have petitioned him to succeed King Suramarit as Head of State. These are the groups, apart from the parties mentioned earlier, which are likely to be politically-minded. The Prince, with assurances of loyalty and support from so many quarters, has now agreed to assume the responsibilities of the Head of State. He has not made himself King in succession to his father if he wants to he can become that, too. But a Head of State seems more appropriate to the spirit of the times. In fact his countrymen are willing to entrust him with almost dictatorial powers. They are now changing the Constitution to clothe the Prince's new office with legality; and providing him with an oath of office which would pledge him to be "faithful to the throne." The responsibility of Prince Norodom is all the greater for this fact, that his people have thus shown their great trust in him. He like the King of Nepal, must hold himself responsible for the administration of the country and the introduction of forms of democracy suitable to his people. He will have to build up the country's security forces until they are able to withstand any external and internal pressures. The vote for a policy of neutralism should help Cambodia to combat Communism more effectively. The Cambodians have to be introduced to the spirit and responsibilities of representative Government and the Prince will have to build up a new and democratic leadership for his country which can undertake the tasks of the future in a particularly sensitive area of Asia. Dependence for ever upon one leader is never conducive to genuine democracy. In fact the Free Khmers Party had accused the Prince, in the course of electioneering, of being a dictator. Between India and Cambodia cordial relations exist already and this decisive trend towards neutralism will strengthen this feeling. In fact, the Western Powers, too, as was made clear in the case of Laos, would prefer countries like Cambodia to be neutral rather than have serious trouble with the Communist bloc.

Ike Cancels visit to Japan

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, told a specially called Press conference on June 16: "To my regret the present conditions in Japan are not appropriate to welcome a State guest. The Japanese Government have requested that the United States Government postpone President Eisenhower's visit to Japan until the Japanese people can welcome him with unanimous cordiality." While touring in Manila President Eisenhower announced that he will not visit Japan at this time.

An official statement read to reporters by Mr. James Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, said that the President fully accepted the decision of the Japanese authorities that his visit should be postponed and therefore would not visit Japan at this time.

There will be a sense of relief at Mr. Eisenhower's decision to accept the Japanese Government's suggestion that the U.S. President should postpone his visit to a more suitable occasion. Mr. Eisenhower's term of office will end in a few months and it does not seem very likely that he will be able to go to Japan during this period.

American officials and analysts are busy assessing the extent of diplomatic and political damage suffered by the United States as a result of the cancellation of the President's visit to Japan. There is unanimity of opinion that the Tokyo developments have dealt a severe blow both to America's and the President's personal prestige. It is all the more embarrassing because this has come so close upon the heels of other diplomatic setbacks suffered by the United States in recent weeks like the aerial espionage incident and Mr. Khrushchev's cancellation of the invitation to Mr. Eisenhower to visit Russia.

Japan's Ratification of U. S. Security Pact

The controversial Japan-United States Security Treaty got the automatic approval of the Diet on June 19 at one minute past mid-night despite another massive demonstration by nearly three lakhs of people in Tokyo since early that morning in a final show of force to prevent the ratification of the Treaty.

The Treaty was automatically approved when the ruling Liberal Democratic Party decided not to call a plenary session of the House of Councillors (Upper House of the Diet) as had been planned. Under the

Japanese Constitution a treaty passed by the Lower House gets the automatic approval of the Diet if the Upper House fails to act on it within 30 days of its passage by the Lower House.

The Security Treaty, it will be recalled, was rammed through the Lower House by the ruling Party on the night of May 17, although the Opposition had boycotted the session. The ruling Party had been seeking to submit the Treaty to a plenary session of the Upper House instead of getting it passed automatically. However, the Opposition had threatened to block any such move physically and further a tense atmosphere prevailed around the Diet as demonstrators assembled in its vicinity. In view of the situation, the Government decided not to call the Upper House into session and thus the Treaty got the automatic approval of the Diet.

The State Department of U.S.A. said, "we are naturally gratified" that Japan's ratification of the new United States Japanese Security Treaty had been completed.

"We share Mr. Kishi's gratification and we view this as another demonstration of United States-Japanese friendship," the statement continued.

"The United States has made clear that it firmly believes that the Security Treaty will be mutually beneficial to both countries."

The treaty will come into force after the United States Senate has approved it and the two countries' instruments of ratification have exchanged in Tokyo.

The new Japan-U.S. Defence Pact signed on June 25 will be valid in the first instance for ten years and after this period it can be abrogated by either party upon one year's notice.

Algeria

Four African States—the Cameroons, Ethiopia, Liberia and Nigeria—have decided to group together to persuade the Algerian rebel leaders to negotiate with the French Government in the wake of President de Gaulle's proposal on Algeria.

The four States want to prevent the Conference of African States, from making any drastic decisions since the door is now wide open for negotiations between France and the Algerian leaders.

The group has been formed without any fanfare or publicity. This group, it was

understood, could also count upon support from Morocco and Tunisia. The two latter countries, however, felt they could not take a stand publicly in this matter, either to urge the rebels to accept negotiations, nor to oppose the spectacular proposals of military support made by Guinea.

They are privately urging the new four-Power Group to do these things.

Thus, at least six delegations out of the 13 attending the Conference have taken a moderating stand in the Algerian question.

Recently, in a television broadcast, President de Gaulle repeated his offer to the rebels, asking them to come to Paris to negotiate with him, and reiterated his adherence to a policy of self-determination for Algeria.

Algeria is a harassed, puzzled, tragic land and deserves peace after so many years of suffering.

U.S.—K.M.T. Pledge

President Eisenhower and Kuomintang Chinese President Chiang Kai-shek pledged in a joint communique that their Governments would "continue to stand solidly behind the Sino-United States Mutual Defence Treaty in meeting the challenge posed by the Chinese Communists in this area."

The communique published at Taipei on June 19 after President Eisenhower's departure for Korea stressed the need for continued vigilance and firmness in face of violence.

The two leaders deplored what they called the Chinese Communists' barbaric practice in shelling and ruthlessly killing Chinese people on the offshore Islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

The Taipei communique also said discussions were held on the importance of accelerating Formosa's economic development to enhance the well-being and prosperity of the people.

Gen. Chiang explained the steps his Government was taking towards this goal and President Eisenhower assured him that United States assistance would be continued.

Gen. Chiang also expressed appreciation for the valuable assistance given by the United States to Kuomintang China. President Eisenhower said the American people admired the progress made by the Republic of China in various fields in recent years.

Congressmen and Corruption

On the 14th of last month the Congress President, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, announced the appointment of a panel consisting of "public men with a good name" to inquire into charges of misuse of authority by responsible Congress members.

Mr. Reddy also announced that Congress Ministers of the Central and State Governments and Congress Members of Parliament and State legislatures will, henceforth, be required to submit to him annual statements of their assets, incomes and expenditure.

These decisions were taken by the Congress Working Committee at Poona and disclosed at a Press Conference at New Delhi, recently.

Mr. Reddy said that the machinery to inquire into the charges of misuse of authority would be permanent and the names of persons to be appointed on the panel would be finalised in about two weeks' time.

The Congress President said that the decision to have charges of misuse of authority inquired into came into force with immediate effect and "if a complaint is received to-day I would like to appoint at least one member of the panel immediately, to go into it."

Asked what would be the criterion for the appointment of members to the panel, Mr. Reddy said: "They need not necessarily be Congressmen. They do not compulsorily have to be judges either. What we want is people with some political background and above all, with a name 'which is respected.'"

As regards the strength of the panel, he said that in the first instance five or six persons may be appointed. But more people would be added if and when necessary.

Mr. Reddy said that the panel would examine complaints against Congressmen from whatever quarter they came.

The Congress President made it clear that he would not take a legal view of complaints. "If I am satisfied that the action of a Congressman is improper whether it is bad in law or not I will refer it to the panel."

From the organisational point of view, said Mr. Reddy, the scope of the panel was wide enough to cover every Congressman, including Central and State Ministers.

Mr. Reddy said that if a complaint related to a State Minister, he would consult the Chief Minister concerned before taking any

steps. But that did not imply that he was bound by the views of the Chief Minister on the question. "We may differ."

In the event of a Chief Minister or a Central Minister being involved, "I will consult the Prime Minister", he added.

Asked what action the party would take against those found guilty, Mr. Reddy said that the action would depend on the nature of the guilt.

"We can take organisational action, as permitted by the constitution of the party. But if the guilt is much more serious and calls for legal steps, I am sure the Government would do the needful," he added.

Referring to the Working Committee's decision, requiring Congress Ministers and legislators to submit to him annual statements of their assets, incomes and expenditure, Mr. Reddy said that these returns would not be treated as secret documents. "Any one can come and see them."

He said that a particular month of the year would be fixed during which the returns should be submitted.

This step, said Mr. Reddy, was being taken to show that "all Congressmen are not bad. Those who are bad, let them be condemned. But loose talk that Congressmen in general are not honest is harmful. This is vitiating the atmosphere of the whole country," he said.

A correspondent asked whether a Minister would be required to submit returns of the income etc. of his blood relations, such as brothers, sons and wife.

Mr. Reddy replied that if the relations were not dependent on the Minister then it would be difficult to ask him to do that.

The main question, he said, was whether a Minister had misused his position. The proposed panel was competent to go into allegations of misuse of influence and if the charges were substantiated, action would certainly be taken.

When Pressmen asked why these decisions were not announced at Poona, or immediately after his return from there, Mr. Reddy said: "I could have released them earlier. But I was busy and since these decisions are very important I thought it would be better to meet you and explain them in detail."

The Congress President said that the Prime Minister was consulted before the Working

Committee finalised the proposals. In fact, he was present at the meeting at which these decisions were taken.

Replying to a question, Mr. Reddy said that it was not at all necessary for the Working Committee to seek the approval of the AICC on these matters.

"It is important that such enquiries into allegations against men in high places with possible political implications, should be conducted with the utmost expedition, as the prolongation of the agony is bad for all concerned. Charges of corruption have become a familiar political tool and it is as necessary to probe them quickly as it is to make public the full findings with supporting evidence. Witch-hunting can damage public morale, but a policy of hush-hush and dilatoriness may smear even the innocent by lending support to vague and damaging rumours and allegations."

Are Examinations Necessary ?

The report on the present system of examinations drawn up by a Committee of distinguished educationists at the instance of University Grants Commission reveals some very good suggestions that are worthy of our serious consideration. The conclusions arrived at by the committee are, more or less, on expected lines. It finds that the practice of classifying students almost entirely on the results of a single final examination is "undesirable in many ways." It draws attention to the mental strain that the student too often suffers in cramming for the examination—only to acquire a degree or a diploma which is thus invested with "an intrinsic rather than a symbolic value." The examination becomes a test of little else but memory and the purpose of education nothing but the provision of (often stereotyped) information. The Committee feels that colleges must concentrate their attention on educating and not merely on instructing their students. To this end, it urges the adoption of a method of combining the results of the final examination with the internal assessment of the work of the students based on cumulative records to be maintained by the teachers. The Committee admits, as should anybody, that "in the conditions of Indian universities there is no acceptable substitute for examinations of some kind." The examination does constitute an index of the

gains derived by the student from the course he has gone through.

Often the examination is rough and ready, but in the words of a contemporary, it could be made a lot more trustworthy by some immediate reforms, such as the choice of competent examiners, the spacing of examinations, the introduction of more objective systems of marking the answer-papers, etc. But examinations have to stay; and there is nothing wrong in the purveying (and testing) of information. After all, a student has to know many things if he is to make good in life. Indeed, the experience of the many Public Service Commissions and other examining authorities in the country is that the university student of the present day knows very much less than his compeer of a decade or two ago. Memory may be abused but it is a great asset when properly used. That is why, the Committee has done well not to decry examinations as such but to see if their defects could not be set right by keeping a close record of the student at class and watching his progress carefully."

The Committee is, of course, conscious of the danger of the abuse of such internal assessment and it is of opinion that this could be prevented by correlating such assessment with the performance of the college as a whole in the final university examination.

At the Vice-Chancellors' Conference which met at the campus of the National Defence Academy, Khadak Valsa near Poona on the 15th June Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman, University Grants Commission presided over the deliberations and said categorically that the present system of Examinations put a premium of learning things by heart. This was almost "a cheating of the nation" he pointed out.

Progress of Prohibition in India

The Government of India have informed the State Governments and Union territories of their decision to set up a 44-member Central Committee for Prohibition.

The Committee will review the progress of Prohibition and co-ordinate the activities in different States. It has been made clear to the State Governments that it would not be possible to meet any deficit in their incomes on account of the loss of excise revenues or any additional expenditure that they may have to incur to enforce the Prohibition programme.

The members of the committee are the Minister of State in Ministry of Home Affairs (Chairman), one nominee each of the Ministries of Community Development and Co-operation and Information and the Planning Commission; the Minister in charge of Excise or Prohibition in each State; the Lt. Governor or Chief Commissioner in the case of Union territories; and one representative each of the State Prohibition Board or committee or one official or non-official representative of the State or Union territory. The committee can co-opt some official or non-official members.

The committee's functions have been indicated in detail in a letter sent out by the Union Home Ministry. There are to be periodical reviews of Prohibition policies and progress of Prohibition in different States. Suitable measures will be suggested to the States to encounter difficulties in implementing the Prohibition policy. Similarly, ways and means will be recommended to intensify propaganda both in areas that are already under Prohibition and in areas which are not. Scientific research and statistical studies are to be promoted in respect of the economic and social implications of Prohibition and alcoholism, especially to find out the alternative economic uses of the raw material now utilised in the production of alcoholic beverages and intoxicants and to rehabilitate the families hit by Prohibition. Suitable measures are to be indicated to encourage and assist official and non-official agencies working for the rehabilitation of alcoholics and drink addicts.

Vinoba Bhawe and Dacoits

Acharya Vinoba Bhawe, during his tour in U.P., recently was successful in making many dacoits of that area surrender. This was an accomplishment which had no parallel.

Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, issued a statement "to help clear the atmosphere of misunderstandings" arising out of Acharya Vinoba Bhawe's mission in the dacoit-infested area.

The statement dated June 13 said:

"From the very beginning, I have been in touch with those who have been trying to contact dacoits. As is well known, such efforts have had the blessing of Rashtrapati and the Prime Minister."

Dr. Sampurnanand said, "The conversion of an evil-doer under the spiritual influence of

a saint is nothing new in human history. Everyone has heard of the story of Valmiki and of dacoit Anguliman who was weaned off his sinful ways by the Buddha. There was, therefore nothing inherently wrong in allowing Acharya Bhawe and those who were working on his behalf, notably General Yadunath Singh, to carry on the experiment they proposed to conduct. We gave them every facility to meet the dacoits making it unequivocally clear at the same time, that any dacoit who surrendered must be prepared to face prosecution and trial and in case of conviction, any punishment which the court might impose."

"Spiritual conversion is an individual's own personal affair but law cannot take official cognizance of it. The saint of to-day must pay the penalty for his past misdeeds. We were keenly alive to the possible consequences of such surrenders. An impression was bound to be created in the public mind that some kind of a promise of pardon or mild punishment had been conveyed to the dacoits. But in spite of these and other misgivings, we took the risk. The popular mind was captured by the novel spiritual approach of Acharya Bhawe and we could not think of standing in the way."

"I should like to say a few words here about the police. I know that uncharitable comments have been levelled against the forces by certain people. I must say that for my part I found the officers—I use this word advisedly because naturally I did not come in direct contact with the men—invariably co-operative. They and their men had been doing a splendid work in the difficult circumstances of which few men have any idea, but their sole objective was the restoration of peace and maintenance of law and order. They were not motivated by the desire to gain credit for themselves and were eager to give the fullest opportunity, consistent with their own legal and moral responsibilities to those, who were seeking to re-establish peace through persuasion and moral appeal."

"In an atmosphere of charity and goodwill, it would be unfair to withhold praise from this gallant body of public servants. I should like to say a few words about the dacoits as well. Let them have a mild treatment by all means. There is no intention on the part of anyone to persecute them in any way or to take advantage of their surrender. But it is not possible

for me to subscribe to the view that they are rebels in the sense that every non-conformist is one. I cannot express any opinion about individuals but it is difficult for me to believe that a great majority are brave men, victims of police oppression and forced unwilling into a life of lawlessness. Murders, lootings, ruthless vendetta, all these cannot be explained away lightly. As I pointed out when I had the pleasure of meeting Acharya Bhawe in Agra some time ago, after dacoit Man Singh's death dacoits have split up into small groups which are not on good terms with one another. This has made it difficult for them to offer a united and sustained resistance to the forces of law and order."

The U.P. Chief Minister said: "I am not in a position to say how far they have undergone a change of heart but there can be little doubt that the unfavourable circumstances in which they have been operating recently have also been a contributory cause to their surrender. There is a certain amount of unrest and dissatisfaction among those who have been suffering at the hands of these men for years and there is a fear that any one who comes forward to give evidence against them will not be safe from their vengeance. I need not go into details but legal proceedings in connection with serious offences with which many of them might be charged have been rendered exceedingly difficult by the manner of their surrender."

Dr. Sampurnanand said: "I trust that this bare narrative will help to clear the atmosphere of misunderstandings. I also wish to assure the residents of the affected areas that Government will not slacken its vigilance in any way but will, on the other hand, continue to take all steps necessary for the protection of life and property. In this task, we seek the active co-operation of all sections of the population."

Sri V. T. Krishnamachari

The retirement of Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari from the Planning Commission from the 18th of last month marks not only the end of a long association which was most valuable to the Commission in the years of its formation and consolidation, but a stage in the history of planning in India. In the past ten years that he was a member of the Commission—for seven of which he was its Deputy Chairman—India has put through two five-year plans and firmly established continuous economic plan-

ning as a method of social reconstruction. The idea of economic planning took roots in people's minds.

Like all new institutions, the Commission had to learn from its mistakes, and Mr. Krishnamachari's dedication to the institution helped to make the process less painful than it might have been without him. There were also problems of the physical growth of the Commission. From a skeletal body tucked away in one small wing of the Rashtrapathi Bhavan ten years ago, it has grown to a full-fledged organisation to-day. Soon it will move into its new home—the modernistic "Yojana Bhavan" on Parliament Street.

A product of the old administrative tradition, Mr. Krishnamachari's grasp of problems ranging from the trivial to the profound, was an asset to the Commission. With this, and a genius for bringing discordant elements together, he made a greater impact on the details of Indian planning than probably any other member of the Commission. Free from the complexes and prejudices that beset politicians and latter-day administrators, he was able to inspire the confidence of diverse types with whom he came into contact all over the country. To a job that meant an endless series of meetings and conferences he brought the gift of making the other man feel completely at home. Among the institutions in the capital which have benefited from his vast experience are the Delhi School of Economics, the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the National Council of Applied Economic Research.

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Prime Minister Nehru, Central Cabinet Ministers, members of the Planning Commission and high officials were among those who attended the farewell party on June 18. Mr. Vishnu Sahai, I.C.S., Cabinet Secretary, presented Mr. Krishnamachari an album.

The Union Cabinet at a special meeting adopted a resolution recording appreciation of the services of Mr. Krishnamachari to the country in regard to planning and the assistance given to the Central Government.

Co-operative Farming

Mr. S. K. Dey, Union Minister for Community Development and Co-operation, said that by the end of the next two years, during which pilot co-operative farms would have

been established, joint farming should become the dominant agricultural pattern in India.

Addressing a Press conference on the conclusion of the three-day State Co-operation Ministers' conference held at Srinagar on June 16 Mr. Dey said that the decisions of the conference on establishment of some 3,000 to 4,000 experimental co-operative farms would be examined by the Government of India in the course of the next two months and work would then begin on their execution.

It was not going to be an easy administrative matter. Therefore, he said, the conference had accepted the recommendations of the Nijalingappa Committee that special organisations should be built up in the Community Development and Co-operation Ministry and in State Ministries for looking after joint farming. These new organisations, Mr. Dey said, would soon be set up.

Mr. Dey said that all the States in the country had accepted co-operative farming. Joint co-operative farming, he however, said, would still not be smooth sailing but as the country had decided on this programme, the administration was being geared to face whatever difficulties might arise in establishing them.

Mr. Dey listed the following as the main recommendations of the Co-operation Ministers' conference : (1) top priority should be given to increasing agricultural production ; (2) the co-operative movement which had so far benefited mainly the richer sections of the community should concentrate on improving the conditions of weaker sections of society ; (3) Government should participate in co-operative activities but should not dominate the movement ; (4) there should be an elaborate programme of training and education of officials and non-officials in co-operation during the Third Plan period.

These recommendations, Mr. Dey said, would now be considered by the Government of India and they would form the basis of the policy to be pursued during the Third Plan period.

Mr. Dey added that the total allocations for Community Development and Co-operation for the Third Plan period was Rs. 400 crores. **The Vice-Chancellors' Conference**

The Vice-Chancellors of all the Universities in India met in conference on June 15 at National Defence Academy Khadakvasla (near Poona), when Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chair-

man University Commission presided. Rear-Admiral Samson, Commandant National Defence Academy welcomed the Vice-Chancellors. Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Union minister for Education inaugurated the Conference.

Dr. K. L. Shrimali, strongly defended the national service scheme for students which would make it incumbent on students to put in an additional year of national service to complete their education in the school. But, he said, it was not Government's intention to hustle through the scheme "nor have the Government any ulterior political considerations."

Dr. Shrimali told the Vice-Chancellors : "The scheme should be accepted or rejected on its merits. It must be justified on educational grounds and in the context of our national needs and requirements."

"In this connection," the Education Minister told the Vice-Chancellors, "the Government will greatly benefit by the wisdom and experience of distinguished Vice-Chancellors who have assembled here from all over the country."

One criticism against the national service scheme, Dr. Shrimali said, was that at a time when the country was in the process of rapid economic development it was wasteful to add one additional year of national service to the educational span. This criticism, he said, was based on the assumption that the school leavers and graduates of the universities were in such great demand that it would retard the progress of development if their period of educational training was prolonged. But the facts were otherwise, he said.

Dr. Shrimali said that at the commencement of the Third Five-Year Plan it was estimated that there would be a backlog of 76 lakhs of educated unemployed—matriculates and above. In addition to this number, it was estimated that another 17 lakhs of this category would be entering the labour force during the Third Plan. It would be thus necessary to create nearly 25 lakhs of employment opportunities during this period to eradicate the educated unemployment. It had been estimated that with a plan of the size of Rs. 10,000 crores only 17.5 lakhs educated persons were likely to be employed, leaving a backlog of 7.5 lakhs at the commencement of the Fourth plan.

Surveys of unemployment at the district level indicate that a significant proportion of

those registered as unemployed were educated young men ranging from the middle courses, in school education to the first or the second year of the college. The number in this group was increasing rapidly as education expanded in the rural areas.

"With this situation in view", Dr. Shrimali said, "it is for your serious consideration whether it would not be a better national investment to keep the boys and girls engaged for another year in nation-building activities rather than to allow them to remain without work with the inevitable feeling of despondency and frustration leading to all sorts of anti-social and disruptive activities. It is true that the scheme of national service will provide only a temporary palliative, but we should not forget that from the psychological point of view seventeen plus is the age of most crucial importance and if we can keep the youth at this age engaged in productive and constructive work for one year it may change their whole outlook and may make them more self-reliant and better equipped to face the realities of life. By keeping the school leavers engaged in worthwhile activities under the supervision of their instructors, it may be possible to rebuild their morale which is at a low ebb at present."

Dr. Shrimali said that the main justification of the scheme must be in terms of its educational character and value and it was for the Vice-Chancellors to examine carefully and to pronounce upon the educational value of the scheme and decide upon its priority and urgency in the realities of the situation.

"It is clear to me," he said "that the boys and girls who enter our universities in ever-increasing numbers from year to year are not mature enough for higher education nor do they possess qualities of character and proper awareness of the world outside which an adequate schooling at the secondary stage imparts to young people in more advanced countries. Perhaps, nowhere in the world do students enter universities at so young an age as they do in India. The Deshmukh Committee has therefore, proposed an additional year of national service between the schools and university in order to complete the education of school leavers and to prepare them for entry into university or employment."

Dr. Shrimali said that the argument that organisation of national service and, especi-

ally its compulsory character, would lead to regimentation did not take into account the fact that in a planned society one had to work within a certain social framework and therefore some restriction on individual freedom was inevitable.

He said that there was a growing tendency among the educated youth to expect all the benefits from society without having any desire or obligation to serve the community. Rights were demanded loudly while there was little realisation of performing corresponding duties.

"Our people in the rural areas continue to live in ignorance, poverty and disease while the educated youth prefer to remain without work rather than go to the villages for work even though they may be paid for it. It is true that conditions in the rural areas are extremely difficult and the educated young men and women are by and large repelled by these.

"But how can these conditions improve unless the educated people manifest a spirit of service and give the necessary leadership? This vicious circle must be broken and it can be only when it is made obligatory for the educated youth to spend at least a part of their time in understanding the problems of rural communities and in assisting the village folks to raise their standards of living. It is the function of education to expose the youth to such influences which may make them sensitive to the needs of masses of people and create an urge in them to serve their fellow-men with fervour and idealism. If, this is called regimentation or indoctrination, I dare say that education cannot and should not escape it."

It had also been said, the Education Minister went on, that while there might be need for compulsory national service during war, there was no justification for it during peace time.

"It is true that there is no grave emergency in our country at present but we should not be too complacent specially when we find that our frontiers are no longer safe and inviolable. The inner strength of the country must be built up for peace time activities and also for any emergency which the country may have to face. In the long run the country's greatest strength depends on the discipline and determination of its people and especially the character and patriotism of its youth."

Dr. Shrimali then referred to complaints of falling educational standards and said that it had been stated—to some extent rightly—that reforms in education were not possible unless the economic status of the teaching profession was improved.

He said that while Government would continue to make efforts to improve the salary scales of teachers, one should not be misguided into the belief that the upgrading of salaries alone would remedy all the defects in education.

“The improvement of standards ultimately depends on a change of attitude on the part of teachers. They must realise that their primary responsibility is to teach and guide their students. While everything that is possible should be done to improve their economic status and prestige in society, the university authorities should also insist that the teachers gave more time to teaching and less to all those activities which distract them from their academic pursuits and often tend to lower the dignity of the teaching profession.”

Dr. Shrimali said that the question of indiscipline was closely linked with that of low standards “since both are to be attributed largely to the poor quality of teachers.”

He said that the problem of indiscipline was confined to a few areas and in these areas also more to those faculties where the students were not required to put in strenuous work. But at the same time the grave consequences which might follow as a result of the present state of indiscipline should not be underrated.

In the ultimate analysis a solution to the problem could be found by exercising greater care in selecting teachers. It was common knowledge that a great deal of pressure was exercised by the influential members on the governing bodies of the colleges and universities in selecting the teaching staff.

Dr. Shrimali said that nothing had demoralised the teaching profession more than the fact that it was through personal influence or favour or through family and caste relationships that teachers get appointments and promotions in the universities.

Dr. Shrimali urged the Vice-Chancellors to devise suitable measures to bring about greater co-operation and mutual understanding between the universities and the University Grants Commission.

While some Vice-Chancellors had complained that the UGC had become “too rigid” in dealing with the universities, he said, there was also a growing feeling in Parliament that the UGC should be vested with greater powers so that its advice was not easily ignored: “While it is not our intention that the UGC should make intrusions into the day-to-day administration of the universities and interfere in academic affairs, you will agree with me that the UGC cannot remain completely indifferent to a situation in which it is expected to foot the bill while no heed is paid to its advice in regard to the maintenance of standards.”

The UGC, he added, was not a bank whose only function was to draw money from the treasury and issue cheques to the universities.

Dr. Shrimali, at the opening of his address, called upon the universities to make a proper diagnosis “of the crisis facing them at present and devise remedial measures to restore the confidence of parents, teachers and students. A feeling of helplessness and despair had been created among them by the constant criticism in the Press and on the platform against the educational system.”

“If we allow the present state of affairs to drift any longer,” he said, “it will lead rapidly to an all-round deterioration of values and standards in our society. The universities must accept the challenge of our time and take bold steps to reorient our educational system.”

In his presidential address Dr. C. D. Deshmukh said that the present system of higher education in India as compared with systems obtaining in other countries was both inadequate and sub-standard.

Dr. Deshmukh said that two issues of the present system of higher education in the country had an overall importance. The first was whether the prevailing system of higher learning served its purpose to meet the national needs and the second was whether the standard of research and teaching was what it should be.

He expressed the view that the answer to these issues rested with their basic character. They were not cleverer than others, though they had a fair share of intelligent men. Besides they had to consider the educational and social backwardness of the country. The important conclusion emerging from such a consideration

was that the total number of young men at our universities was not excessive, he stated.

Dr. Deshmukh also pointed out that the “span of educational training” in India was distinctly shorter than in most other countries. On general statistical comparison, he said, the number of students in universities was “very small” especially taking into account the size and population of the country.

He also said that the minimum age for university admission was fourteen years, “two years shorter than in many other countries.” In the United Kingdom secondary education was elaborate and the age of admission to universities was eighteen. The product of such universities was readily assimilable in the different walks of life. The Japanese system of higher education and its variety of institutions permit students to earn while learning, he said.

Referring to the purposes of higher learning, Dr. Deshmukh said that it aimed at the development of the personality and also served the need of the nation. When we were on the eve of industrialisation, the standard of university education was of special importance, he said.

“Every young man is not fitted to be the recipient of higher learning.” Mr. Deshmukh said, “While not denying the sentimental attachment for higher education, it was beyond the capacity of a certain percentage. University education involved consideration of proper selection and preparation of the student, age of entry, maturity, and consideration of the quality of secondary education.”

It is to be considered, he said, whether everyone who passed the Matric or the S.S.L.C. examination was fit for admission to the university. The trouble and expense involved in imparting university education had to be borne in mind lest there should be unrestricted flow of students to colleges and universities. The percentage of passes in Matric was forty to fifty and they did not automatically become eligible for university education.

“Screening” of young men going to our universities deserved specific discussion at the Vice-Chancellor’s conference, he said.

Dr. Deshmukh said that the present system of examinations put a premium of learning things by heart. This was almost “a cheating of the nation,” he added.

Referring to discipline among students, he said that if the method of selection of students was improved a better result could be obtained.

ed. He said that in Japan after twelve years of schooling, a special examination was held for boys seeking admission to universities. The number of candidates appearing for such examinations was ten times higher than the seats available. A high quality and standard of instruction were necessary if the students were to be imbued with a high sense of responsibility, he said.

About university autonomy, he said that there was no such thing as “absolute autonomy” even as there was no such thing as “absolute sovereignty.” He said university autonomy was a creation of the laws of the country. In advanced countries, there was “free enterprise” as well as university autonomy in the field of higher education. There were both national universities and public or private universities.

No State has taken complete command of universities except in totalitarian countries, he added.

In India, he said we had taken a middle course, keeping in view a balance between academic freedom and the necessity for planned economy.

The two-day conference of Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities stressed the need for Central and State Governments to have “adequate consultations” with universities and the University Grants Commission before taking executive action or promoting legislation in regard to university education.

The conference, which ended approved the general principles embodied in the report of the Deshmukh Committee on national service of student and requested the Government of India to work out details of the scheme and take steps for training the necessary personnel.

On the subject of examination reform the conference suggested that each university should set up a special unit to study the issue in the context of conditions obtaining there.

At its concluding session, the conference approved the recommendations of committees appointed by it. The committees had suggested, among other things, improvement in the teacher’s status, limiting the number of students for each institution and imparting of spiritual and moral instruction at all levels.

After considering the various documents concerning the national service scheme placed before it, the conference approved “wholeheartedly” the broad approach and general principles embodied in the report of the

Deshmukh Committee on National Service of students.

The conference expressed agreement with the view that an additional year between the higher secondary/pre-university stage and the university stage in the educational span was essential for developing students' maturity and for imparting discipline, practical training, co-operative spirit and national outlook.

The conference placed great emphasis on the educational aspect of the scheme and on its implementation by educationists.

The Government of India was asked to work out details of the scheme with the greatest care and to take appropriate steps for training the personnel required for implementing a scheme of such importance and magnitude. Before launching the scheme on a national scale the conference hoped that steps would be taken to secure the agreement and enthusiasm of all concerned.

Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, presided both at the inaugural and concluding sessions.

He said in his concluding address that the "first principles" of the reports submitted by the various committees which dealt with these issues had been generally accepted. He expressed gratification at their acceptance by the conference.

The Vice-Chancellors discussed at length the non-utilisation of funds allotted for research scholarships in humanities. It was pointed out how procedural delays hindered scholars from taking advantage of these scholarships. Every scholar had to deposit in advance with Government a sum of Rs. 5,000 as security which operated as a handicap in many deserving cases. The Ministry of Education was requested to remove these hurdles in the way of the scholars utilising the funds for research in humanities.

Regarding the issue of Commerce Education the conference thought it better to await the final report on the subject by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao who has been appointed chairman of a special committee for commerce education by the Minister for Scientific Research.

Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, who attended the conference deliberations relating to national service scheme, by special invitation, intervened in the debate and said girl students should also be covered by the national service

scheme. She said they did not want any "kindness" or exemption in this regard since "such kindness operated against women in the past."

The recommendations of the committee on student indiscipline and moral and religious education were also adopted.

The broad conclusions reached were that no institution should have more than a prescribed number of students. The teacher-pupil ratio should be improved as it would help the teacher to act as guide, philosopher and friend of the students and a minimum age should be fixed for entry into universities. Normally, no student should be allowed to be on the rolls of a university if he fails twice in a particular examination, it was decided.

The conference wanted that students in colleges and universities should be provided with better conditions of work. It recommended that suitable measures should be taken to give arts students more intensive tutorial classes and regular written assignments. Organisations of students for extracurricular activities should be encouraged, but care had to be taken to see that the organisation did not assume the character of a trade union providing nothing but a bargaining counter. The conference strongly recommended that youth festivals should not be organised on the present elaborate scale. It also wanted teachers' status in society to be improved.

Besides adequate facilities proper emoluments and proper conditions of service, it was recommended that every teacher should be provided a residence as near the college or university campus as possible. There should be orderly and civilised behaviour and breach of discipline should be firmly and immediately dealt with.

It was also recommended that "a convention of political parties be called to agree on a concord that they will desist from interference in the affairs of universities, directly or indirectly, in the interest of the future generation." It would be worthwhile for university or college authorities to examine whether it would not be desirable to prohibit the entry of outsiders into the campus without the permission of heads of institutions, it was felt.

The conference felt that instruction in spiritual and moral values should be introduced at all stages of education.

Reform in Indian Universities

By

Mr. ASAF A. A. FYZEE

THE aims of university education have often been discussed by eminent authors since the days of Cardinal Newman. Broadly speaking, there are four main objects : (a) to cultivate and improve the minds of the young ; (b) to build up their character ; (c) to fit them to serve their country ; and (d) to create a centre of research and higher learning in an atmosphere of freedom.

A university is not a technical school ; it does not manufacture civil servants or mechanics or professional men. But it does give a certain training and balance to the intellect ; it fills the minds of the students with an adequate bundle of facts, and trains them to understand their significance and arrive at proper judgments. A university also attempts, systematically and with a consciousness of its duty, to build up the character of the students.

All over India today university men are conscious that in so far as discipline cannot be maintained, the universities have failed in one of their primary functions. It cannot too often be emphasized that if university students do not behave themselves, the fault lies with the universities that will have to find the remedies.

The weakness of our universities is due to a variety of causes. First, there are enormous numbers of university students for whom the proper facilities for teaching, guidance and research are not available. Secondly, language constitutes and will continue to constitute a formidable barrier. Our knowledge of English is poor and to that extent we are not in a position to use this potent instrument for the critical appraisal of a subject. Thirdly, there is on the national scale a lack of co-ordination regarding universities.

Each state is free to go its own way and the Centre cannot enforce rigidly a particular poli-

cy. Admitting that this is perhaps the lesser of two evils it is a source of great weakness at the present stage of national development. A notable example is the position of Hindi ; another is the three-year degree course. Each university has a different programme, and we can only hope that in such diversity there are not the germs of ultimate chaos.

Nowadays it has become the fashion to decry university education. Everyone seems to know the defects, but no one has suggested the one sovereign remedy for all our ills. Criticism of this character is so wide-spread that it is worthwhile to examine the question broadly and to discover the principal reforms which should be introduced in Indian universities. Is the position really so hopeless ? Perhaps it is necessary to add the caution that a general sense of panic is the thing to be avoided.

For an analysis of this problem we shall begin with 1947. As India gained independence there was a widespread belief that in *Swaraj* we had acquired the magic wand and that all our fond dreams would come true. But educationists and their critics soon realized that criticism was easier than reform ; that the unerring instinct to introduce the proper remedies for our weaknesses was very uncommon and that therefore reform was a painfully slow business, fraught with enormous difficulties.

The very first difficulty, and the one with which I shall begin, was the problem created by growing numbers. At each stage, primary and secondary and higher, demand has outstripped supply, and almost everywhere we hear complaints of shortage of teachers, shortage of accommodation and shortage of funds. The latter two, important as they are, cannot be compared with the most unyielding problem of shortage of teachers. 'You can mar-

age with smaller funds ; you can teach in ramshackle houses, not satisfactorily, indeed, but somehow. But when you are faced with shortage of teachers, and there is no remedy at hand, then matters come to a stand-still.

The long-term remedy for shortage of teachers is undoubtedly to improve the prospects of university teachers and to train them, and also to see that provision is made for technical schools and colleges which would absorb a certain proportion of the school population. Canalisation of students in the different technological spheres useful to the nation is one of the most important tasks awaiting educationists and planners, and this will also tend to decrease pressure upon the universities.

The immediate remedies however are drastic but require courage. First, not to admit more than such numbers as can really be taught. This is a primary requirement of sound education. It is generally recommended that in colleges not more than sixty students should be admitted to a class. Even this is too large a number. In times of stress the number may be increased to 80, but beyond that we must realise that class work in the formal sense is not possible, and the quality of instruction imparted cannot be satisfactory. It is no use having classes of 100 and over and deceive ourselves that this is university instruction.

With larger classes some kind of tutorial work becomes imperative, for there are a number of academic problems that can only be discussed with the student across the table; and as far as it is humanly possible, such opportunities should be afforded to the student. Discussion of individual problems, criticism of essays and papers, reviews of books or articles—that is the most important part of education, and a student gains an individual insight into the subject when he has the opportunity to discuss it either with an experienced teacher or even a tutor, who is well-read and has kept abreast with the current work on the topic.

There can be no doubt whatever that while the problems of number have no easy solution if we can bring student and teacher more together, we shall be able to see the beginnings of a solution. The solution proposed is that if it is impossible to have a large number of regular teachers, such as professors, readers and lecturers, at least let us have tutors or fellows who are senior graduates and who will be able to discuss particular topics with the students.

In all universities the magic touch of the great teacher is one of the most inspiring experience for the student. With increase in numbers, instead of a real, live and stimulating lecture we have nothing but a factory manufactured discourse catering for the needs of the multitude in a mechanical fashion. Or else, notes are dictated, which are repeated from year to year, conveying little to the student, and not reflecting the intellectual temper of the teacher. My first proposal is that we should try to introduce the tutorial system immediately wherever large classes are held. Even if senior teachers are not available, fellows and tutors may well undertake this work.

Discipline is the next question that must be dealt with. Here we have a matter of fundamental importance, for the desire to play truant and break laws is ingrained in man. Indiscipline has become the order of the day in a number of universities in India. The matter is causing anxiety to all educationists, and Professor Humayun Kabir has dealt with the problem in his *Letters on Discipline*. These letters constitute a major contribution to the subject of educational reform in India.

He rightly observes that the problem should be dealt with at the secondary stage, and around the problem of discipline he has given us a critical analysis of the reforms needed in our schools and colleges. Among his most important proposals are that the management of schools should be improved in the manner indicated by him ; that the administration of

universities should be remodelled and that our examination system should be reshaped. The final examination is unduly emphasised in most of our schools and colleges. Regular work during the year is therefore neglected, unfair practices are sometimes adopted and cramming becomes a matter of habit.

For this the reforms suggested : reducing the number of formal examinations, reserving marks for class work and regular application introducing a system of weekly or monthly tests of an informal and healthy character, and removing the subjective element in examinations.

Some of these reforms have already been adopted by our universities, but it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the secret of discipline is a well-contented mind. If the boy is satisfied with his work, if his leisure is well employed, and if he has love for his teachers, his school or college, acts of indiscipline would be rare. We often raise our hands in horror at the acts of hooliganism committed, but unless we look for the deeper cause of the malaise, the real remedy will not be found. Unless we can establish a personal bond between teacher and student, and student and school indiscipline cannot be avoided.

If a boy loves his teacher, he will never raise his hand against him, and he will obey him at any cost. Similarly, if he loves his school, college or university, he will not indulge in acts of destruction or indiscipline. Every activity therefore which can be introduced to bring student and teacher together should be encouraged. The tutorial system, games and sports, debating societies, small study groups, cultivation of hobbies, these are the real defences against indiscipline.

There are of course many causes that lead to indiscipline such as frustration in university activities, unhealthy activities by politicians and economic anxiety. It is difficult to discuss them all here, but if we can instil love and un-

derstanding in the heart of the student, we shall have gone a long way towards solving the problem.

The next problem which I propose to discuss is the selection and training of professors and teachers in the University. We shall assume that the teachers are paid on the University Grants Commission's scale, and have been selected by expert committees in an objective manner, free from personal, communal or parochial prejudices, and their terms are fixed in accordance with the all-India scales approved by the Commission. But are the junior teachers in a university fit to teach the classes without any training or experience?

In the case of secondary schools we insist on trained teachers, but where universities are concerned, we let loose a young and brilliant graduate in a class of eighty or a hundred students, without any preliminary training. How to deal with large classes ; how and where to begin ; how to prepare adequately for the lectures ; what is the value of dictating notes ? These are questions which, in my view, could be dealt with better if some kind of training facilities are provided for the younger teachers.

One solution would be to appoint a young lecturer on probation and compel him to attend during his spare time, a brief course of instruction by an eminent and preferably retired educationist who would give him the benefit of his experience. It is clear that each subject lends itself to a particular method of teaching. Mathematics cannot be taught in the same manner as literature ; nor can geology be dealt with in the same way as law. The particular subject has to be taught in a manner appropriate to its content, and yet there are certain broad principles which can be taught and learnt.

India is a country where a very large number of university teachers are needed and it is

for consideration whether some training should not be provided for them. Apart from individual reading and training in a particular subject, I would recommend three classes of lectures: (1) General principle of university teaching; (2) the preparation of lectures and methods of instruction; (3) how to deal with students.

At the risk of being dubbed quixotic, I feel that an attempt should be made to give the younger lecturers the benefit of the experience of eminent teachers. This experiment, even if it fails, is well worth a trial and its introduction in a few universities and colleges may lead to interesting results. The young lecturer should be induced to read a good deal on the teaching of his own subject; he should also study some broad principles of the theory of instruction in general and he should be given an opportunity to come in contact with the mind and personality of a great teacher and benefit by his experience. Whatever may be the practice in other countries, we cannot afford to allow our university students being taught by lecturers who suffer from inexperience and ignorance of the principle of teaching.

The fourth suggestion I would make is regarding the exchange of professors and students. This applies more in the case of students than in the case of teachers. In German universities, particularly in the case of Ph. D. students, it is extremely easy for a student of one university to migrate for a time to another university and do some work under another professor.

Let us suppose there is a student working under a professor on a certain subject in the M.A. class of a certain university, and the professor is convinced that there is another university where the student can profitably spend a year under another teacher. Facilities of this kind should be provided by the universities, and rules and regulations should not impede the intellectual progress of the

student. Often there is the financial difficulty; a student in one university can hardly afford to go to another. In such cases, every effort must be made by the provision of stipends and scholarships to enable him to lead a fuller intellectual life and come under the influence of another first rate mind. This I consider to be one of the most needed reforms in our universities.

I remember some years ago the Rotary Club of Bombay offered a studentship to an Indian student for spending a year in an American university. Apart from other difficulties, such as those of syllabus, studies examinations, it was found that in India the majority of universities did not allow an M.A. student to pursue his studies for some time at another university. The M.A. course is generally of two years' duration; no student was permitted to work at another university, say, for the first year, come back for the second year, and take his examination after the completion of his academic term.

Apart from students, attention must also be given to the exchange of professors. In most universities today the teaching work is so heavy, that, after a few years, lecturers and readers would welcome a Sabbatical year of rest and study, during which they could do refresher courses. As most colleges and universities are unable to afford their teachers the luxury of a Sabbatical year, I suggest that an alternative scheme be formulated, whereby professors in a certain university could be exchanged with their counterparts in other parts of the country. This can be done most usefully in subjects like Economics.

To take an example, the Delhi and Bombay Universities have well established schools in the subject. It may be an advantage to exchange lecturers or readers on the same topic of specialization. Thus the students of one university will gain by coming in contact with a fresh teacher, and the teacher himself

may like to work for a period under a professor who is a specialist in his chosen field.

Although not so favourable to the teacher as the Sabbatical year, this system would relieve the monotony of lecturing on the same syllabus to the same classes in the same atmosphere. The change may bring back to life a spark which may lead to fresh thought and an original approach to old problems. The financial problem could be solved by providing that each university should pay its own teacher as if he were doing his normal duty.

The fifth suggestion relates to co-curricular activities. A number of universities realize the importance of debates, dramatics, musical clubs and athletics; but attention is not given to art as such. I think the time has come to give students the chance to do painting, classical, musical and the plastic arts. Apart from the regular university courses in these subjects, if any, provision for developing one of the arts as a hobby should also be made. Our life in the modern world tends to become monotonous in the extreme; we have no time for the appreciation of beauty and art and for self-expression. If a university arts club could be promoted, it would greatly help stu-

dents to develop their inborn talents, and they might begin to express themselves joyfully in song, dance, painting and sculpture.

The problem of hobbies is intimately connected with that of leisure, and the proper use of leisure is one of the important arts of life. No one can be said to lead a full and balanced life until he has found the secret of employing his leisure usefully and joyfully. A university student is apt to forget that there are other things to do than cram his text books; a student far away from his home in a residential university may also have a sense of loneliness gnawing at his heart. It is therefore necessary to offer him a wide variety of hobbies to rest his mind and give him that mental health which is so necessary for university life.

Some students have an excess of animal vigour and may like to play games; others may want to express their inner emotions through art and music, poetry and drama; some others may want to play about in a mechanical workshop or do carpentry or indulge in a manual craft like book-binding. It is up to the university authorities to give these students the widest opportunities in this respect.

Kalidasa

By

MR. V. SHANKAR,

Director-General, Posts & Telegraphs

Kalidasa, the foremost poet and dramatist in Sanskrit literature, is a treasured and invaluable part of India's heritage, pre-eminent in a most glorious chapter of its past. This star of matchless brilliance on India's literary firmament shone with splendour in times which must have produced a galaxy of talent. Whether we accept the earliest period (the last century before Christ) or the latest (the fourth century after Christ), during which probably

he flourished, there can scarcely be any doubt that period was one of great patronage of art and literature, of leisure and prosperity, and of valour and greatness.

Little is known of Kalidasa's life either in history or in his works. In these he reveals the Indian world around him but gives few glimpses of himself. It was, therefore, inevitable that legend and tradition should have endowed him with an origin which enhanced

the merit of his subsequent accomplishments and his art with a divine inspiration and stimulus. It is beyond dispute, however, that whatever his origin and whatever his learning, he was an accomplished devotee of the fine arts, particularly poetry and song, dance and drama; was a seasoned traveller and had thus gained a good knowledge of the geography of his country; was well versed in contemporary laws and the philosophical systems, religious principles, traditions and ritual practices. He had the painter's eye for realism and beauty, the scientist's precision of observation and description, the householder's love of peaceful and settled life, the worldly-wise man's sense of human values, the devotee's love of the divine and the religious, and the master craftsman's use of the supernatural to serve a mundane ethical purpose.

It is this versatility of his genius and essentially human approach to his themes and characters that endows his personality and works with a universality which places him among the foremost literary figures of the world—Homer, Plato, Sophocles, Virgil, Shakespeare and Milton. Whether he dealt with an epic theme as in the *Raghuvamsa*, or described the beauties of nature as in the *Ritusamhara* or portrayed mythological scenes and characters as in the *Kumarasambhava* dramatised human characters as in the *Shakuntala* or turned to a pure lyrical and imaginative subject as in the *Meghadoota* Kalidasa's appeal is essentially one of rich human experiences and ideals. It has been said of Shakespeare that he had no heroes but only heroines; Kalidasa in a sense has neither heroes nor heroines; his characters live through the pages of his works as human beings with their human virtues and foibles. Even the religious figures and supernatural beings appear to us in humanized garbs, displaying either the perfection of human attributes or the translation of the "desirable" in human beings to a divine plane.

In a life so rich in human experiences, in works so high in excellence and attainments

and in art so great in accomplishment, it is not easy to choose representative works for purposes of epitomisation. To contain a big canvas of varied art in small dimensions is difficult enough in the normal course; in the case of Kalidasa the task is rendered even more difficult because of the vast field of life that he has taken in his artistic stride. Kalidasa is essentially the product of his time; whether we regard it as the period of Vikramaditya of Ujjain, the founder of the Vikrama era, or as the golden age of the Gupta dynasty during the reign of Chandragupta Vikramaditya, the hero of many a battle, great administrator and rare patron of fine arts—the age of Kalidasa was of one of those rare periods of history in which life appears to find its fulfilment in different channels of human endeavour.

The extant works which by common consent bear the unmistakable signs of his authorship are seven in number and comprise the following:

(i) *Abhijnana-Shakuntala*: a drama dealing with the love and marriage of Dushyanta, the King, and Shakuntala, a child of nature bringing joy and beauty to the hermitage of a sage. The theme is taken from the great epic—the *Mahabharata*.

(ii) *Vikramorvasiya*: a drama dealing with the love and marriage of Pururavas and Urvashi.

(iii) *Malavikagnimitra*: a drama dealing with the love of Malavika and Agnimitra.

(iv) *Raghuvamsa*: an epic poem describing the history, reigns and lives of the kings of the Solar race which included Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*.

(v) *Kumarasambhava*: an epic poem dealing with an entirely religious theme, the marriage of Siva and Parvati and the birth of their son Kumara.

(vi) *Meghadoota*: or the Cloud Messenger—describing the journey of a Cloud carrying the message of an exiled Yaksha to his beloved, separated from him.

(vii) *Ritusamhara*: a descriptive account of the six seasons with their variety, beauty and colour.

Of these the most widely known, read and appreciated is the *Shakuntala*, first translated into English by Sir William Jones in 1789 and now adorning the libraries of almost all the languages of the world. It is this play which brought forth from Goethe the following tribute:

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
and the fruits of its decline,

And all which the soul is charmed,
enraptured, feasted, fed,

Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in
one sole name combine?

I name thee, O Shakuntala, and all at once
is said."

The next best-known work of the Poet is the *Meghadoota*, a lyrical, imaginative masterpiece rooted in the pathos and passion of separated and pining love and placed in the midst of the vast geographical panorama stretching from the plains of Narmada and Tapti to the snow ranges of the Himalayas—"the abode of Gods", which, judging from his raptures over the mountain in the *Kumarasambhava*, were "the measuring rod of the world". Kalidasa's love of nature and eye for beauty of natural scenery find their full expression in all his plays and poems and nowhere so superbly as in the description of the seasons in the *Ritusamhara*, of the journey of the Cloud through different territories in the *Meghadoota* and of the rivers, mountains, animals, forests and trees in the *Kumarasambhava*, *Raghuvamsa* and *Shakuntala*. His interpretation and ideals of life and his analysis of human moods and emotions are presented in three dramas and two epic poems with mastery and richness combined with practical idealism which only sympathetic

imagination, varied experience and balanced judgment can produce.

If it is for all these reasons that Kalidasa's influence over his contemporaries and his successors has been profound. In fact, such has been his hold on the Sanskrit literary world that once, when the poets were being counted, Kalidasa, being the first, occupied the last finger, but none could come upto even the second place and the ring finger has consequently remained nameless, 'anamika' as it is referred to in Sanskrit. On Indian poetry in particular and on Indian art in general, the stamp of his genius and inspiration has been enduring. The excellence and the quality of his works have created a widening circle of admirers abroad, and if the Posts and Telegraphs Department, departing from normal tradition and policy, has decided to commemorate this illustrious poet-dramatist with the issue of two stamps unrelated to any conventional anniversary but related to a date in one of his own works, it is as a humble tribute to the great and honoured place which Kalidasa occupies among the world's most illustrious authors and which his works have achieved in the libraries and literatures of the world.

The two stamps illustrating scenes from his great works viz., the *Meghadoota* and the *Shakuntala* were issued on the first day of Asadha (June 22, 1960), the day on which the day on which the Yaksha of the *Meghadoota*, while sojourning in Ramagiri, appealed to the Cloud to carry his message to his beloved in Alaka on Mount Kailash.

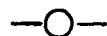
The picturization is based, in the first case, on a painting by Professor Radha Charan Bagchi of Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan, and in the second, on a painting by the late Raja Ravi Varma celebrated in this country for his portrayals of figures and scenes from classical and mythological life and lore. Incidentally, this was the very first painting done by the Raja

on Indian mythology in 1878. The designs of the two stamps have been executed by the staff artists of the India Security Press—Sarva Sri P.B. Chitnis and K.M. Dhar.

The scene from the *Shakuntala* depicts the incident of her writing a love-letter to her beloved Dushyanta in the midst of the sylvan

beauty of the hermitage of her adopted father, the sage Kanva. The scene from the *Meghadoota* represents the Yaksha, pleading with the Cloud to convey his message of love and pathos to his beloved in far-off Alaka.

The stamps bear as theme verses out of the two works that they seek to represent.



Circumlocution

By

KALIDASA

(The following two verses are from 'Sringar-tilaka' a tiny book of Sanskrit lyrics dealing with erotic love, which is generally attributed to Kalidasa. The scholars however, dispute over the authorship of this work. The common surmise is that, some lesser poet, a name-sake of the author of 'Sakuntala', or perhaps, one under the assumed name 'Kalidasa' might have written these poems which are generally sensual or licentious but not devoid of effective expressions and epigrams. The two stanzas translated here are the instances of the poet's love of playing with language. Suggested sense is more important with our poet than the expressed meaning of the words used. Mark the dubious tone and the artful artifice of equivocal overtures!

In the first verse the superficial excuse for the pretended denial of the shelter seems to be the loneliness of the bride in the empty house from where her guardians are away; in the second one, fear of robbers would appear to be the immediate cause for the nocturnal encounter. Both, however, mean to say "The coast is clear; now's the opportune hour, if you please!" But the import of this hint is shrouded in the subtle irony—the use of word to imply the very opposite of what is actually stated. Herein lies the beauty of the poetic

art and indeed, the dilemma—to stay or not to stay!—of the traveller, perplexed by the ambiguity of his fair hostess—Translator)

Away is he for trade,
My husband from home;
Of him no news we get!
Gone's his mother too, this morn
To her son-in-law's;
Her daught' is brought to bed.
A woman am I
In the full bloom of youth,—
How can you stay at ours
Tonight?
It's already eventide;
Traveller, turn to another place!

* * *

To-night is dreadfully murky
With heaps of rain-clouds dark;
Plunged in sleep my husband lies,
A prey to day's hard work.
A woman young am I, a thrilling behold!
Afraid of my own frail heart;
By burglars infested this, our village is—
Stranger, alert!

(Translated by Umanath Bhattacharya—From
the original Sanskrit)



South Korea and Dr. Rhee's Exit

By

Sri ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

IN its message from Seoul *Reuter* states that Dr. Syngman Rhee resigned on April 26 on his 85th birthday after a month's student revolt in which one hundred and forty-five were killed and seven hundred and sixty-five wounded. Dr. Rhee was the only President, the twelve-year old republic has ever known. Virtually South Korea's old regime came to an end on April 28 in a drama of blood when Mr. Lee Ki Poong, the Ex-Vice-President and his family died in a suicide pact, while his chief, Dr. Rhee, finally quit the presidential palace to become a private citizen. The New Korean Cabinet issued a statement after its first meeting, which named the restoration of order as the first task followed by a clean sweep of Governors and police chiefs and a reform of the administration. A message from Seoul states that the South Korean Government announced on April 30 the dismissal of all ten provincial Governors and the Mayor of Seoul. The officials concerned had all tendered their resignations in the wake of the fall of Dr. Syngman Rhee's regime. The message also states that the new Government accepted the resignations of all top police officials as a "first step to free the police organisation from political influences."

There was held on April 27 a Joint meeting of North Korean Communist Party and public organization leaders in Pyong Yang. At that meeting a call was made for general elections throughout Korea without any foreign interference. The stress was also laid on a joint meeting on Korean unification which would be attended by representatives of political parties from both the Northern and Southern Zones of the country. In a statement the Joint meeting of North Korean Communist Party and public organization leaders demanded withdrawal of American troops, formation of an all-Korea economic council to restore the ruined national economy in South Korea and stabilize the life of the population and freeing of all political prisoners in South Korea.

Dr. Syngman Rhee was first elected President of South Korea in 1948. Since then he

remained in office for a continuous period of twelve years and the members of the cabinet had no voice of their own. In the election held for the second time in the year 1952 as per constitutional provisions requiring election of the President after an interval of every four years Dr. Rhee and the Liberal Party led by him came out victorious easily. The reason for the victory was that the civil war in Korea had just come to an end. But here it may be mentioned that Dr. Rhee's love of power became very strong and he began to lose his popularity among the people.

It was originally provided in the constitution that the same person could not be a candidate for the post of President for the second successive term. But the provision was done away with by Dr. Rhee in 1954. There were anti-Rhee feelings in South Korea which were intensified at the time of election in 1956 owing to the malpractices of the Rhee regime and abnormal rise in the prices of necessities. Then started a keen contest between the Liberal Party and the Democrats. But owing to the sudden death of the leader of the Democratic Party Dr. Rhee had no difficulty in getting elected as President of South Korea. But the Democratic candidate succeeded in defeating the Liberal candidate in the contest for the post of Vice-President. Dr. Rhee could not forget the bitter memory of that defeat and was reported to have made adequate preparations during the last one year to make sure that the Liberal Party would come out victorious in the elections of 1960. In December 1959 *Washington Post* wrote that the year 1959 saw an end to freedom in South Korea. There was wide application of the security act which the Liberals passed after expelling the Democrats from the National Assembly for their opposition to it. The Liberals also passed an Act which required appointment of the Mayor by the President, because the opposition party acquired the rights of municipal administrations through free elections. In South Korea there was no freedom of the press and no criticism of the Rhee regime was tolerated. After the presidential election in March 1960

the *London Times* wrote that during the last one year the anti-Rhee feelings were very strong and Dr Rhee used entire machinery of the government to eliminate chances of the Democrats' success though he and his nominated candidate were at last elected President and Vice-President of South Korea.

The recent bloodshed in South-Korea reveals how excessive indulgence given to the anti-democratic forces in the interests of the

war of nerves results in paralysing the national life. In the age of Truman and Dulles there was no opposition to Dr. Rhee's anti-democratic measures. On the contrary his policy had backing from the Western Powers which utilised his services in the war of nerves. There is nothing to be surprised at such western backing which is even now being extended to the Chiang regime in Formosa to achieve the same object.

Nehru's India

By

Mr. B. NATESAN

HOW far has India changed or progressed since independence was proclaimed on August 15, 1947? What manner of man is he who has been the pivotal figure in the dozen years following our freedom? For wellnigh thirty years the stage was dominated, almost uninterruptedly, by Gandhi who had his own way in shaping the fortunes of the country. That way was different from any in recorded history. But it succeeded anyway to the surprise of many, and the novelty of the experiment has continued to baffle the more thoughtful. Books about Gandhi and his way have been legion. Gandhi died a martyr to his ideas soon after independence and the mantle fell on the shoulders of Nehru. For twelve continuous years and more it has been Nehru's privilege to lead the country through the crisis of freedom. For the preservation of freedom is no less difficult a task than the winning of freedom. How has he acquitted himself as the steward of the nation during these eventful years? Has he merely followed the Master or chalked out a way of his own? These have been discussed in countless books since Nehru undertook to steer the state. Indeed almost as many books have been written about Gandhi's heir as about Gandhi himself. Frank Moraes' *India Today** is distinguished from the rest by its frankly critical tone. As a newspaper man who has known

* *India Today* By Frank Moraes, The Macmillan Company, New York.

many of the chief actors in this historic drama and watched the development closely for over five and twenty years he has employed his exceptional opportunities to offer his own interpretation of the events and the men who took part in them. Mr. Moraes is refreshingly critical in his appreciation. He writes with the objective precision of a student of contemporary affairs. Indeed his avowal of the frankly controversial character of his criticism invites his readers to weigh and consider his views with an open mind.

"Time and again during the three decades when the Mahatma and Jawaharlal worked together for independence, Gandhi chided the younger man for his "impatience" and pleaded with him to "move slowly". Had Gandhi outlived independence for a longer period.....it is possible that he would have continued to counsel Nehru on the same lines.....The difference between the two men extended beyond ideas to approach. Gandhi's approach to a problem, whether personal, social, economic, or political was essentially pragmatic. He liked to deal with each issue as it arose, and was unwilling to probe into the future. "Why," he once asked Nehru plaintively "are you bothered about sharing a precise political goal?" The query was provoked by Nehru's insistence at the time on keeping complete independence as the political goal. Ironically enough it was Nehru who was

later to influence India's decision to remain within the Commonwealth. Nehru has always believed in defending the long time objectives, political and economic, and in giving them a clear character and content."

There are ten chapters of very readable and vigorous writing. Throughout the book Mr. Moraes describes Nehru as a very human and lovable man, leader of his people, different from Gandhi in outlook as in approach, and not free from the defects of a character forged on the anvil of the tremendously trying times through which he has lived and worked. "Three thousand years" is a panoramic review of thirty centuries of eventful history in a nutshell. "Britain in India" is a rapid but luminous survey of 200 years of British Indian history, highlighting the dominant features of an alien rule. "The Gandhian Era" is a resume of three decades of Gandhi's dominance over Indian affairs.

"Not all (Gandhi's) views commended themselves to the educated Indian who until then was the spur and spearhead of political movement.....One unfortunate result of the Mahatma's attempt to give politics a religious hue was gradually to antagonize the Moslems and to deepen their suspicion that his politics was steeped in Hinduism. It was ironic, since Gandhi was no religious conservative and in reality sought to secularise Hinduism.

The combined role of prophet, priest, and politician is difficult to sustain. Though Gandhi's thoughts, being amorphous, gave his teachings a semblance of width, they appeared to lack depth. This was probably because his ideas stemmed more from feeling than from thought, and thereby lacked an intellectual synthesis. The Mahatma's knowledge betrays great gaps and his habit of eclecticism led him to pay heed to what guided his outlook and to ignore the inconvenient.....Nehru's early reactions to the Mahatma which lingered throughout their association, reflect the impression which Gandhi made on a Western educated Indian. "Sometimes" Nehru writes in his *Autobiography*, "his language was almost incomprehensible to an average modern. Gandhi's views on machinery and modern civilization frankly made little sense to the class of educated

Indians of which Nehru was typical. They were irked by Gandhi's habit of giving politics a religious flavor and felt that the Mahatma's definition of private wealth as a trust was both unrealistic and out of date. To praise poverty and suffering and to laud asceticism for its own sake seemed to them an exercise of excessive idealism. It was medieval and revivalist.

Nehru overcame his opposition to the Mahatma's views by rationalizing those opinions which he could not easily accept and was able by his example to persuade many other Westernised Indians to forget their inhibitions and antipathies and to follow the Mahatma.....However impractical his theories might seem they noticed that his methods were often practical enough to yield results. He had a habit of arguing his point gently but with unusual earnestness and they noticed also that he generally got his way. Generally he also proved right. The results showed that the Mahatma had rare political insight than they had suspected him of possessing and they came to the conclusion that he could deliver the goods."

In the course of this interesting chapter Mr. Moraes argues that between 1858 when India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown and 1920 when the Mahatma established his ascendancy over the Congress there were four measures of political reform. The Indian Councils Act of 1861, of 1892, 1909 and 1919.

"Thus in the thirty five years between the establishment of the Congress and Gandhi's active advent on the scene there had been four measures of political reform. It is perhaps not without significance that though India achieved independence some 27 years later, there was only one measure of political reform—the government of India Act of 1935 which was only partially implemented—in this span of nearly three decades. On the other hand the same period was punctuated by four Satyagraha struggles and some individual civil disobedience campaigns."

On these facts Mr. Moraes concludes that independence might have come earlier had not Gandhi interfered. This presumption is hardly justified. Consider the nature of the

reforms in the pre-Gandhi era. Are they anything more than trivial concessions—expansion of legislature, an additional member to the Viceroy's or the Secretary of State's Council, right of interpellation etc. Could they be called major reforms any way? What have they to do with Poorna Swaraj or complete independence? Insolence of power and neglect of timely concessions led the way to the total demand.

How can one forget that until Gandhi came political agitation was confined overwhelmingly to the handful of educated classes? As Mr. Moraes himself admits "it is the Mahatma's distinctive contribution that he made the masses politically conscious." It needs little imagination to realise that even the Second World War and the advent of Socialist government in Britain could not by themselves have brought us freedom without the irrepressible pressure of a mighty mass upheaval in the country—an upheaval that would have made any alien rule impossible.

Mr. Moraes points out Gandhi's inconsistencies on the question of war and violence—his attitude in the Boer War and in the First World War as a loyal subject of Britain. It surely knocks the bottom out of his own plea for nonviolence.

"Yet these nuances in his complicated being however much they may have mystified and irked the average educated Indian, flitlike fitful shadows across the sunlit stretches of his personality character. Gandhi was not a saint. He was a great human being with many shining

virtues but also with some of the foibles and quirks of ordinary men. Those who knew him remember him for the radiance and strength he shed around him. Insignificant though he was physically there was something kingly about him. He had the majesty of the meek."

The New "Class" is the electorate and the politically conscious class which had the power to make or mar the state. "Red Harvest" deals with the tragic interlude in T and C State when the communists enjoyed a spell of power. Other chapters in the book deal with the way unity was forged after partition and how planning in progress has been carried out in the Nehru rule. That planning involves heavy industries and lays stress on the public sector which the Mahatma would perhaps not approve but which Nehru thinks essential in the present posture of affairs. The chapter on "Foreign Policy" discusses Chinese intervention in Tibet and possible communist aggression on neighbouring territories which might eventually tend to a change in the Indian attitude of nonalignment so sedulously cultivated by Nehru. One of the most rewarding chapters is that dealing with "Men and Politics" where the question of leadership after Nehru is discussed with considerable knowledge and insight into the character and position of many of the leaders with their chances "After Nehru." Altogether the book is of absorbing interest to the student of politics and history eager to have first hand knowledge of contemporary affairs.

A Hurricane of Common Sense

By

Dr. Frank N. D. BUCHMAN

(Founder M.R.A.)

THERE is a hurricane of common sense sweeping through the world. "A Hurricane of Common Sense"—that was the headline in a newspaper read by the leaders of Washington. It refers to the manifesto *Ideology and Co-existence* which in the last six months has gone to 73,000,000 homes throughout the United States, Canada, Scan-

dinavia, Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Greece and Turkey, as well as India, South Africa, South America, Australia and Japan. It has already been translated into 24 languages, and will be read by the millions. It puts squarely to the modern world the choice—Moral Re-Armament or communism.

My old friend General Guisan, wartime Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of Switzerland, wrote the foreword to the Swiss edition. In it he said, "On the ideological plane neutrality can be dangerous, for refusal to fight for what is right plays the enemy's game. The training centre at Caux is a unique instrument that has changed the conduct of nations. I long that our whole people should face realistically the forces which confront each other today, that we draw from our traditions a relentless determination to safeguard at all costs the freedom we inherit."

This was the last public statement General Guisan made. When he died 300,000 citizens of Switzerland stood in silent tribute to the man who was regarded as saviour of his nation. His widow wrote me, "General Guisan was gripped by the idea and the might of Moral Re-Armament. In the evening of his life it was a great girder of support to him."

Moral Re-Armament is a hurricane of common sense sweeping irresistibly through the heart of nations. It is smashing down the barriers between nations and races, dispersing the fogs of hate that threaten humanity and bringing a mighty wind of hope to the millions of the earth.

Hope - Hoffnung is the name of the play God put in the mind of a miner from the Ruhr. He is a worker at the coalface. He had never thought of writing a play. He changed. He found an answer to division in his home, his nation and the world. Chancellor Adenauer heard of this play and sent for this Ruhr miner and his friends. He asked them to go to Britain and France to prepare the way for his own visits to those countries. "Many of us Germans," he said, "do not realise how deep are the wounds in other countries which were caused by what we did through having the wrong ideology." In an exclusive article in the *New York Journal-American* headlined "Adenauer Calls MRA World's Hope", the Chancellor said, "A nation without an ideology is always on the offensive. A nation without an ideology is self-satisfied and dead."

In Britain, *Hoffnung* was like a hurricane. It shifted the prejudices of years. In the spirit of Moral Re-Armament men like James Coltart, executive of the British press and television, took inspired and fearless action

to prepare for Chancellor Adenauer's visit. His time in Britain was hailed as a triumph. Back in Bonn the Chancellor at a meeting of the Christian Democrat Party referred to the mistrust between Britain and Germany which had been swept aside, and said, "we have to thank Moral Re-Armament for that."

In Paris, French audiences stood and cheered. Some were in tears as the German miners sang the *Marseillaise* in French.

There is a shrine at Mont Valerien where during the occupation 4,500 Frenchmen of the Resistance met their death. To Mont Valerien went those Ruhr miners. They were escorted by the wife of the General at the head of the French nation's defence, and the niece of President de Gaulle. They were the first Germans to go there in fifteen years. They gave news of an idea powerful enough to unite nations separated by generations of hate. They expressed their sorrow for the past and their resolve to lay down their lives to rebuild Europe and the world. The columns of *Figaro* gave the news of this event to the French nation.

Vaterland, leading Swiss Catholic newspaper, reported the response to the miners' play in the monastery schools of central Switzerland under the headline, "Catholic Colleges Hail MRA Play." *Vaterland* reported Rektor Scherer of Schwyz as saying, we can all subscribe to the principles of MRA. To recognise absolutely the dominion of God, or to bow down under the domination of human tyrants, that is the alternative which should unite us all whether we are Catholics, Christians, or non-Christians." *Vaterland* also reported how Father Rektor Thommen of Kollegium Niklaus von der Flue in Sarnen declared, "Because you live what you believe, we can whole-heartedly accept this ideology."

In Luxembourg where the German miners were Government guests, the Prime Minister, Pierre Werner, said, "The moral and spiritual values on which your actions are based are the ideology that can save the Christian West from its enemy."

The hurricane blew into Kerala and its 16,000,000 inhabitants, the first major state in the world to vote itself into the Communist camp. Night after night vast crowds flocked to hear the evidence of Moral Re-Armament. Mannath Padmanabhan, father of his state,

leader of the Hindu majority in Kerala, had found at Caux the secret of uniting with Christians. The Governor of the state, the Cabinet Ministers, trade union leaders, industrial men and students in their hundreds and their thousands came to hear the news of an answer.

Archbishop Gregorius of Trivandrum said, "History will record our permanent gratitude to Mannath Padmanabhan not only for having ousted the Communist regime in Kerala, but for creating the unity of all the communities following his return from Caux." The Governor of the State, Ramakrishna Rao, then said, "All our problems, political, economic, individual, must be solved in the spirit of MRA. It has an essential appeal to every man."

Men changed in Kerala. The leader of 38,000 students made the experiment of listening to the voice of God. "I am going to end impurity in my own life and clean up the student body. It is through moral compromise among the students that Communism has gripped us. I see that the choice for India is Moral Re-Armament or Communism, and I choose Moral Re-Armament."

Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of my old friend Mahatma Gandhi whom I met on the first of my nine visits to India in 1915, said, "Without Moral Re-Armament the new government in Kerala might already have fallen. Moral Re-Armament will save India and Asia and the world from Communist take over." When Chou En-lai arrived in India for his conferences with Prime Minister Nehru, the *Times of India* and the *Hindustan Times* carried full pages with the double-banner headline, "Moral Re-Armament—the next step for Communists and non-Communists alike."

These pages challenged the two men who today lead 1,000,000,000 Asians to find a new way of doing things for the sake of all men everywhere. They said in part, "Communism has failed to produce the new type of man—the unselfish man who can develop and run the unselfish society. The ideology of MRA changes people. That is why thousands of former Communists all over the world are fighting the battle of Moral Re-Armament to restore the world on the basis of absolute moral standards." It was a *real* hurricane, and it was common sense.

When Chancellor Adenauer arrived in Tokyo for his state visit, he was welcomed at the airport by his miners from the Ruhr. He spoke to a joint session of the Japanese Diet calling for a moral ideology that could unite East and West and an Khrushchev's challenge to take over the world. Next day in the Japanese Diet a Cabinet Minister said, "Chancellor Adenauer proclaimed Moral Re-Armament to Japan."

The miners had come to Japan in response to an invitation from Japan's Prime Minister and other leaders of the country and they were the guests of the Japanese throughout their six weeks' visit. A special train was put at their disposal by Governor Sogo of the Japanese National Railways in gratitude for the sanity of the news they brought.

Prime Minister Kishi said, "You are giving a moral backbone to the whole world. I wish to express my gratitude for the massive impact MRA has made on this nation during the past six weeks. The reports which I have received from all over Japan have convinced me of the effectiveness of this mission in giving ideological clarity and a moral answer to our people."

A leader of the Japanese Socialist Party, at a crisis point early this year, said that Moral Re-Armament had played a key part in healing a fresh split in their ranks and prevented Communism from taking over. A leader of the Seinendan, a political organisation of 4,300,000 youth, cabled me at Easter saying that MRA had once again won every seat from the Communists at the annual election in spite of the Communists' outpouring of power and money in the last twelve months.

A trade union leader tells how through Moral Re-Armament the President of one of the great mines of Japan was changed and as a result of his change, 3,500 miners, who needed 3,000 armed police to keep them from attacking the President, went back to work satisfied that their just claims were being met.

At the Miike mine where workers had fought workers at the pithead, one man had been killed and hundreds injured. The leader of the organised women of the mine said, "You brought us the answer to hate. Without it more would have been killed and injured. MRA is the answer to every injustice and human hate."

And one of the great men of Japan, primarily responsible today for the security of his country, said, "For the first time since the end of the war you have given me hope. Moral Re-Armament is restoring a sense of destiny to a hundred million Japanese people. You are talking straight to us and cleaning us up in homes and politics. You are saying to us what no one else has dared to say."

A movie is going out to the millions which says what needs to be said in a way that the modern man understands, accepts and follows. It is a full length musical in Technicolor called *The Crowning Experience*, which in the words of Arthur Baker, for 21 years Chief of the Parliamentary Staff of the *Times* of London is of "indescribable beauty. Its message is so deep that it needs to be seen again and again and yet again. It answers all the hunger and hurts of nations."

When Spyros Skouras, President of 20th Century Fox, saw this movie, he threw his arms in the air saying, "Fantastic! Fantastic! Fantastic! This must go to every movie theatre throughout the world."

S. S. Vasan, President of the Indian Film Federation, said of it, "A thousand times wonderful. You have shown me not only how to make a film, but how to live a life."

And the leadership of the nations of Africa are clamouring for *The Crowning Experience*. They say it will blow like a hurricane through the hearts of the Africans and heal the hating of a continent. Dr. Azikiwe, the man to whom 35,000,000 Nigerians say they largely owe their freedom, says, "I spent many years in America where I was fed with the bread of bitterness. It took me fifteen years to find an answer to my spirit of revenge. I found that answer at Caux." He added that *The Crowning Experience* attacks with tact and subtlety the social inequalities that have created wrong ideologies between men and gives definite promise of a cure. And he says, "Moral Re-Armament was the secret of independence for Nigeria."

Jasper Savanhu, first African to be a member of the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, says *The Crowning Experience* must be seen by every African, black and white, this year. He says, "winning political power will not by itself secure the future of

the African. We can throw off the foreign yoke and then find African leaders who live only for personal advantage. Unless leadership is inspired by Moral Re-Armament, there is no future for the people. Moral Re-Armament is the solution to the greed, ambition, selfishness and competition in high places all over the world."

Leaders for the 40,000,000 French-speaking Africans eagerly demand *The Crowning Experience* for their people. They say its message could bring the bloodshed in Africa to an end. Gabriel Marcel, the world-famous French writer and philosopher, said after seeing it and talking with leaders from Africa, "I came to Caux in despair. Here I have found a transfusion of hope. A deep confidence flowed back into my being."

White and black leadership in South Africa want their Cabinet and the whole country to see this movie. They say it holds the secret that alone can cure the racial divisions that are tearing South Africa apart, dividing her from other countries, and undermining her economic life.

Mrs. Daisy Bates, Negro leader of Little Rock, Arkansas, known all over the world for the part she played in the battle with Governor Faubus over racial integration in the schools, saw *The Crowning Experience*. She said, "Magnificent! It must go everywhere. It is essential in the South, but MRA is now needed throughout the world. It will soon catch the imagination of the whole world. Nothing else on the scene can do it."

Mrs. Bates, and her husband, as publisher of a newspaper, came to our training centre in Mackinac Island, Michigan. There Mr. Bates said, "For the first time in my life I have lost my hatred of the white man." On her return to Little Rock, Mr. Bates invited some of the leading citizens of her state, white people who had also been to Mackinac, to dinner in her home. They came—the first time in the history of Arkansas that such a dinner-party had been possible. After dinner, Mrs. Bates suggested a time of quiet in which together they should seek God's way of ending the deadlock. The thought came that Mrs. Bates should visit Governor Faubus, the man who for years had been pictured to the world as her bitterest ene-

my. She trembled, but she went. She said later, "The Governor could not have received me more graciously if I had been the President." They shook hands, and the picture of that handshake went round the world. Governor Faubus had previously said, "Moral Re-Armament is sowing the seeds that will prove to be the salvation of us all."

Mrs. Bates told an audience in Washington, "Without Moral Re-Armament it would have been impossible for me to meet Governor Faubus without hate. But I have learned to fight for what is right without hatred. I want Moral Re-Armament for the children of the South and of America. We can see on the horizon a new day." The Columbia Broadcasting System in its review of 1959 described this handshake as possibly the most significant news event of the year, which could mark the end of a hundred years of civil war in the United States of America.

In the Republics of South America the hurricane is blowing too. Millions read the news of an answer. Millions more hear it over the radio. In one week alone all the main newspapers of Montevideo carried reports of the world work of MRA, and eighteen leading papers of Argentina, Uruguay, and Peru carried 51 articles. A leading editorial in *La Prensa*, the largest newspaper of Peru, said, "Moral Re-Armament has a unique strength for the ideological battle in the world today. It is an insistent call to all who believe in a supreme Creator to confront those who preach atheism. It is a world effort to defeat materialism. The morally rearmed are not an easy prey to materialist indoctrination." Eudocio Ravines, one of the great revolutionaries of our time who, trained by Mao Tse-tung, introduced Communism to Peru and Chile, met in Moral Re-Armament a superior ideology that changed him. He says, "The basic problems of Latin America are not under-development, but corruption and Communism. While our countries welcome economic aid, alone it cannot touch the root problem. Without a moral ideology, it may even aggravate the problem. The best

export the United States of America or any nation can send to Latin America is Moral Re-Armament.

In a long lifetime of experience that has taken me to all parts of the world and brought me in touch with every sort of people, I have never seen a greater hunger and a greater hope than we find today. Man must choose the road of common sense or he will inevitably take the path of common suicide. Mr. P. J. Little, the well-known statesman and thinker of Ireland, put the challenge clearly in the Dublin *Sunday Press*. His article about Moral Re-Armament occupied two central pages. It was headed, "World War III—the war of ideas—the Battle we cannot lose."

He said, "The Cold War has only to heat up to boiling point for ten seconds, and civilization will be blasted into eternity. Ideas not bombs will determine who wins the battle of ideologies, and on this battle depends the length of time we have left to live and whether our children will ever grow up." But the far-seers of this century recognise in Moral Re-Armament the certainty of cure. My friend Robert Schuman of France, who has twice written the foreword to the French edition of my published speeches, puts it this way, "Moral Re-Armament is a philosophy of life applied in action that I have seen reaching the millions. It is a worldwide transformation of human society that has already begun."

It needs a hurricane of common sense to bring men to their senses, restoring the Communist and the non-Communist world to sanity and unity before it is too late. That hurricane is sweeping through every nation today, and in the midst of the hurricane the still small Voice of the living God, an unseen but ever-present Guide, willing and able to speak to the men of the Kremlin, the men of Washington, to the millions everywhere, leaders and led, who have lost their way and seek to find it.

It is so normal. It is so practical. It is a hurricane. And it is common sense.

The Indian Ocean: Its Strategy

By

Commander MALCOLM W. CAGLE, U.S.N.

THE third great ocean of the world—the neglected Indian Ocean—is an historic and strategic ocean, which washes the shores of the volatile, oil-rich, Middle East, the shores of awakening Africa, the triangular coastlines of restive India, the threatened shores of Southeast Asia, and the thousands of islands of strife-torn Indonesia, is to become an increasingly important arena in forthcoming decades.

The current "cold war" has been described as a contest between the free world and the Communist world for the allegiance of the uncommitted world. The free world, numbering roughly 800,000,000 people and largely encompassing the area of western Europe and the western hemisphere, is looked in mortal contest with Communist imperialism. This enslaved portion of the world also numbers about 800,000,000 people and occupies the Eurasian land mass from the Baltic Sea to the South China Sea. The remainder of the world, variously called "neutralist," "uncommitted," "unaligned," or "independent," is that area of land around the Indian Ocean—Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, containing approximately 1,500,000,000 people. If this latter area willingly sides with or is absorbed by Communism, western civilization is doomed to insignificance, if not extinction. The converse is equally true.

Perhaps this capsule of the current struggle, like most generalizations, is a bit too broad and simple, but it *does* draw attention to the vital, even critical, strategic importance of the Indian Ocean.

To better appreciate its importance, consider the geography of this third largest ocean. Despite all that has been written about the Arctic and the Antarctic, which have little connection with the inhabited land, both of these are only seas when compared to the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, which run east and west and is almost land-locked. The vast subcontinent of India juts for hundreds of miles into the Indian Ocean. In further contrast, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans sweep from ice in the north to ice in the south

almost from pole to pole. The Indian Ocean is embayed, protected, and largely tropical.

The total size of the Indian Ocean is about twenty-eight million square miles—slightly smaller than the combined North and South Atlantic (which covers approximately 31,000,000 square miles). The sea distances are great—Capetown to Singapore: 5,631 nautical miles; Capetown to Calcutta: 5,480 nautical miles; Aden to Karachi: 1,470 nautical miles; Suez to Jakarta: 5,510 nautical miles; Kuwait to Suez: 3301 nautical miles.

There are several important geographical features of the Indian Ocean, one of the most important being its six major bays or bights (1) The Red Sea; (2) The Arabian Sea; (3) The Persian Gulf; (4) The Bay of Bengal; (5) The Gulf of Aden; and (6) The Gulf of Malacca. Several great rivers, many of them of great strategic as well as historic significance, flow into the Indian Ocean—the ancient Tigris and Euphrates in Iraq (in whose Mesopotamian Valley, the Garden of Eden is traditionally located and man is supposed to have originated); India's Indus, Irawady, Salween, and of course the sacred Ganges; East Africa's Zambesi, Limpopo, Ruvuma, and Rufiji. In each case these rivers are enfolded in rich and fertile valleys and many of them have hydroelectric power potential of strategic importance.

Of naval importance in the Indian Ocean is the wind and weather. Because the lofty and mountainous terrain to the north disturbs the normal wind pattern, and because the Indian Ocean lies largely between 20°N and 30°S, the Ocean's character is largely tropical—normally without ice and ice-bbergs¹, with predictable and reliable weather, and relatively free of fog. The "roaring forties" and the "shrieking fifties" lie to the south.

¹There are several reasons why the Red Sea is so called, none of them satisfactory; (1) algae growth is supposed to give it a reddish tone; (2) the mountains surrounding the sea are reddish in colour and this colour is reflected in the sea; (3) the ancient Romans called the whole Indian Ocean the "Erythraean Sea" and the word "erythra" means red. In any case, the Red is no more red than the Blue Danube is blue.

²In very rare instances, icebergs have been seen as far north as prince Edward Island.

Notwithstanding, the Indian Ocean has its tempests, its gales, its milk seas.³ its sandstorms, and its calms. It also has its fables and myths—for example, the ghost ship *Flying Dutchman* of the Cape of Good Hope (whose tormented captain, condemned for impiety, endlessly sails his ship over the Indian Ocean, bringing bad luck to the sailors who see her) is one such myth. Sinbad the Sailor operated in the Persian Gulf.

Hurricanes are prevalent from November to March in the area of Mauritius and have been known to become almost stationary. One particularly violent hurricane hung over the islands of Mauritius and Reunion for five days, dumping forty inches of rain on the land.

Finally, the Indian Ocean is famous for its two monsoons—the northeast and the southwest. (The word “monsoon” means “season.”) Each lasts approximately five or six months. The northeast monsoon of cold, dry air off the Asiatic mainland is the Ocean’s trade wind—gentle, gracious, and dependable. Indeed, it is the wind which gave birth to open-ocean seafaring. The southwest monsoon of moisture-laden ocean air brings periods of heavy rains, clouds, rough seas, and poor visibility from June through October.

Another key geopolitical feature of the Indian Ocean is its islands—huge ones like Madagascar and Ceylon, small but highly strategic ones like Socotra at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden; Zanzibar and Seychelles off East Africa (where Yankee whalers hunted), Mauritius, Rodriguez and Reunion near the Tropic of Capricorn; Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, the Andamans and Nicobar islands off Burma.

The riches of Ceylon are the historical back-drop for western civilization. With its garnets, moonstones, amethysts, sapphires, and rubies, its ebony and satinwoods, its legendary spices, and in modern times, its rice, rubber, and tea,⁴ Ceylon’s riches have been eagerly sought for centuries. Highly

³Described by Frank Bullen in his book *The Cruise of the Cachalot*.

⁴The Indians dispute the Chinese claim to being the original tea drinkers. They say that an Indian saint, one Darma, vowed to remain awake for seven years in order to cogitate about religious matters. He managed to stay awake for five years, but on becoming drowsy, he plucked some leaves from a nearby bush and chewed them. They happened to be from the tea plant.

important too are its fine harbours of Trincomalee (with its naval base) and Colombo (an artificial harbour) which the British Navy and Royal Air Force evacuated only in 1957. (However, the British are now constructing a base in the Maldives to replace Trincomalee.)

Madagascar, with its fine natural harbour and naval base of Diego Suarez, is one of the world’s largest islands—almost 1,000 miles long and 250 miles wide—but, even today, still a relatively backward land.

The island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf floats in an ocean of salt water, beneath which is another ocean of oil. (Not so well remembered since the discovery of oil are the Persian Gulf’s fabulous pearls)

Still another physical feature of this Afro-Asian area is its lack of road and rail transportation—which places a premium on sea transportation. Distances by land are great and the terrain is unusually rugged. Conquest and trade, therefore have traditionally moved by sea.

Another geographic feature of the Indian Ocean is its scarcity of natural harbours. There are fewer good harbours in this ocean than in any comparable length of coastline in the world.

But the prime geopolitical feature of the Indian Ocean is its almost land-locked condition and its vulnerability to control from only five key points: The Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, Bab el Mandeb Strait (the “Gate of Affliction”) at the south end of the Red Sea, the Strait of Ormuz at the south end of the Persian Gulf, the Strait of Malacca between Malaya and Indonesia, and Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra. The first of these sits athwart the shipping routes around Africa,⁵ the second guards the southern end of the Suez Canal (and the Suez crisis of 1956 highlighted again the great importance of these routes); Ormuz Strait guards the shipping routes from the oil-rich lands of Persia and Arabia; the fourth and fifth control seaborne traffic from the Western Pacific.

⁵Originally called, “Cape of the Tempests.” Before the Suez Crisis, only 4% of Middle East Oil went around the Cape of Good Hope, since the longer distance boosted the cost of oil about Rs. 2 per barrel. During that crisis, traffic around the Cape had doubled. The newer 60,000-ton super-tankers will be able to carry oil via the Cape just as cheaply. Since they will not have to pay the \$1 (Rs. 5) per ton Suez passage fee, a great increase of traffic is envisioned.

With such riches and such strategic importance, it is surprising why the Indian Ocean has received such little consideration in modern naval strategy. But even Mackinder, the founder of the “world island” concept, regarded the Indian Ocean only as a bridge between the Atlantic and Pacific. Haushofer’s *Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean* became a virtual text for Japanese naval strategy and Haushofer’s amplifications’ of Mackinder’s ideas for Eurasia are well known, but he gave scant attention to the Indian Ocean. Even Admiral Mahan considered the Indian Ocean only as part of his doctrine of “the indivisible sea.” The attention of all three was largely focussed on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The story of the lands adjoining the Indian Ocean is a catalogue of sea power. Centuries ago, the ocean was a highway of migration. The Camoro Islands, for example, are peopled by natives who bear Jewish features and characteristics and have such names as Moses, Lot, Abraham, and Gideon. Madagascar was populated by pre-Malayan groups two thousand years ago. One of the greatest sea migrations in history was the voyage in A.D. 603 of more than 5,000 Indians to Java in a fleet of more than 100 ships. The Prince of Gujarat, with his tribal followers, reached Java in four months. A second expedition with 2,000 additional Indians, followed as the second wave and in a few years a flourishing trade was begun between India, Java and Ceylon.

The fabulous wealth of the Indies also made the Indian Ocean an area of piracy, as well as being the ocean of conquest, migration, and trade. Both Pliny and Marco Polo recorded the piracy of bygone centuries. The Indian Ocean’s spices, jewels, ivory, gold, and slaves have always been coveted by pirates. (Today, the lure is just as strong, but oil must be added to the above list.) In fact, the Indian Ocean was the original and most famous ocean of piracy. Captains Kidd, Avery, Roberts, and Tewall operated in Indian waters.

Modern sea power in the Indian Ocean began with the Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama, who accomplished in 1498 what Columbus failed to do: he found a sea route to India. Later, the farsighted Portuguese strategist, Alfonso de Albuquerque, was first to realize that there were three main door ways into the Indian Ocean—Ormuz Strait, the Strait of

Babel Mandeb, and Malacca Strait. Building a small colony at Goa, on India’s West Coast, the Portuguese erected a commercial empire by controlling these three points.

Portuguese control was supplanted successively by Dutch, then French, and finally, in 1784, British naval power. From that time until the fall of Singapore in 1942, the Royal British Navy controlled the Indian Ocean completely and unobtrusively, making it a veritable British Lake. It is the Royal Navy’s diminishing sea power which is creating the present vacuum.

Communist interest in the Indian Ocean area (both Russian and Red Chinese) is ancient and well-documented. For example, Red China’s ambitions to extend her control over South-east Asia can be traced through many centuries. Nepal and Tibet, the Indo-Chinese and Malayan peninsula are plainly future areas for Red Chinese conquest. Burma, South Viet-Nam, Thailand, and Laos are areas which can help feed China’s exploding population. While Mr. K. M. Panikkar⁶ was thinking of Nationalist China when he wrote in 1945, “there is every reason to believe that a victorious China will embark on a naval career,” the warning is certainly even more applicable to the Red Chinese.

As far as Russian ambitions are concerned, these can be documented as far back as the early days of the Tsars who dreamed of a warm water port on the Persian Gulf. But considering only recent evidence, the November, 1940 diplomatic exchanges of the alliance between Hitler and Stalin are illuminating. When the Nazis asked the Communists to submit their “spoils’ list” for territory in exchange for their cooperation with the Nazis, Foreign Minister Molotov made a revealing reply: “The area south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf should be recognized as the centre of aspirations of the Soviet Union,” he wrote.

In 1945, in fact the Soviets moved southward to snare Iran behind the Iron Curtain. Success in this venture would have placed the Soviets astride the Persian Gulf. Turkey was also threatened and intimidated. Only a firm stand by Iran in the UN and strong backing of the United States drove the Reds behind their own borders.

⁶He later became India’s Ambassador to Red-China during the Korean War.

Certain Indians have recognized Russia's historical interest and yearning for access to the warm Mediterranean to their west and the Indian Ocean to the south. Remembering the World War II flow of lend-lease aid to southern Russia via the Persian Gulf, Mr. Panikkar wrote in 1945: "It was the uninterrupted supply of material into Basra and its transport across Persia that rendered the heroic defence of Russia possible. The lesson is not likely to be forgotten. The possibility of the presence of naval power of the magnitude, resources, and persistence of Russia on the Persian Gulf is in itself sufficient to revolutionize the strategy in respect of the Indian Ocean."

It should also be noted that today the Soviets enjoy a transit agreement with Iran which permits the rail shipment of sealed and bonded cargo across Iran from the USSR border at Jaffa through Tabriz and Teheran to the Persian Gulf port of Khorramshahr—the aforementioned Lend-Lease route.⁷ This arrangement is pleasing to Iran since it promises them potential overland access to European markets.

If the Soviets succeed in reaching the Persian Gulf, not only will they have brought Middle East oil under their control, but NATO and Turkey will be outflanked, the bridge to Africa will be opened, and the Indian Ocean will wash their back doorstep. It is not too much to say that when the Soviets reach the Indian Ocean they have taken a giant step toward ultimate victory in the world struggle.

What is the objective of the United States in the Indian Ocean area? For some time now the U.S.A. has also been thinking in terms of maintaining an Asian fleet, but this concept has been vigorously opposed by India.

While the British still maintain Singapore, a small Eastern Fleet, and an even smaller East Indies Naval Command at Aden, an examination of recent British White Papers and Brassey's Annual reveals that the Royal Navy will number approximately 65 operational ships (frigates, destroyers, *Darings*, cruisers,

⁷ On page 88 of his book *Great Mistakes of the War*, Hanson Baldwin states "...at Yalta, President Roosevelt suggested to Stalin that perhaps the Russian ought to have a commercial outlet to the Persian Gulf; and may be the Trans-Iranian railway, built by American engineers with the help of American capital, ought to be partially owned by Russia, for at least Russia should have certain transit rights!"

and carriers, and 99,000 men), enough to place only a token fleet in the area.

In 1945 Mr. Panikkar acknowledged India's dependence on British sea power (then considerable) and expressed his hopes for the future in these words: "...an oceanic policy for India is possible only in closest collaboration and association with Britain."

An independent India cannot for at least half a century or even more undertake so great a responsibility—it will be nothing short of suicide for [Britain] to withdraw from [the Indian Ocean] area."

What can American sea power contribute?

It may provide some stabilizing influence of the type which made the ocean a peaceful lake for 165 years during *Pax Britannica*. By making periodic visits to the major ports of the Indian Ocean, some impression might be made. Such force may, the authors claim, prevent trouble before it starts, merely by being present.

In the case of an emergency, it can control the major points that control the Indian Ocean, providing the ASW coverage,⁸ the mine warfare control, shipping surveillance and convoying that supports from of the seas.

"Whoever controls the Indian Ocean has India at his mercy," wrote Panikkar in 1945. "India cannot exist without the Indian Ocean being free—the Indian Ocean will be one of the major problems of the future." Mr. Nehru has stated quite accurately that the period of India's greatness in history has always coincided with those periods "when she looked outwards on the outer world." Still another Indian leader looked to sea power as the bedrock of freedom for that area: "Sea power has in the past been an instrument of Imperialism," said Secretary of the States Ministry C. S. Venkatachar in 1953. "If that power is utilized for the maintenance of democratic ideals, liberty, human freedom and deeper understanding between East and West, it will be the strongest link uniting the free peoples of the world. Sea power based on the unity of the ocean may powerfully aid and promote the unity of humanity..."

⁸ While at great distances from Soviet naval bases, it should be recalled that German and Japanese submarines operated in both the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal in World War II. In fact, it was this enemy submarine activity which moved the British to capture Madagascar during World War II. Atomic powered submarines, of course have no range or fuel problem.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Educating Young Nations. By Mr. W. E. F. Ward. Published by Messrs George Allen And Unwin Ltd., London. Price 15s.

One of the most epochal events of the Twentieth Century is the achievement of freedom from foreign rule by many countries throughout the whole world. The Political awakening that followed this achievement has resulted in an ever wider appreciation of the value of Education in building up a responsible body politic. The demand for universal basic education has thus become an article of faith with all political parties and leaders. In the new Independent countries this is not an easy task.

The difficulties that exist in the way are twofold. Firstly there is the question of the content of the basic education to be given. Secondly, there are various administrative problems to be solved in imparting education to the citizens of the country.

In the present book the author has ably discussed the second type of problems. He is fully qualified indeed to discuss these problems on an International level. There can hardly be two opinions regarding the urgency with which these problems should be solved. Though, as the author himself has said, the book does not attempt to discuss these problems exhaustively it nevertheless succeeds in clarifying them and outlining broadly the probable solutions. In these days of doctrinaire approach to all questions this book would indeed be a sensible antidote.

Democratic Socialism. By Asoka Mehta. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Rs. 2.

The book having gone into its third edition speaks for its popular appeal. Asoka Mehta's lectures deal with fundamental problems of democratic socialism. The Democratic Socialist Movement, not only in India but also abroad, would indeed be indebted to Sri Mehta for these thought-provoking and illuminating lectures into which he has packed so much fundamental thinking seasoned with such conspicuous scholarship. Sri Jaiprakash Narain in his Foreword to the book rightly observes, "In India these Lectures of Asoka Mehta mark an important advance in that world process of drawing up the map of a new human civilization."

Evening Talks. By Sri Aurobindo. First Series Recorded by Sri Purani, Sri Aurabindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Price Rs. Eight.

As the Editor warns, Aurobindo is not responsible for the *ipsissima verba* nor has he authorized and approved these records of Memory sometimes more truthful than mere facts or tape-record. Con Amore, the Disciple has recorded the loose sallies of the Guru's Tongue against the background of the free-and-easy flow of evening talks with both ardent acolytes and critically-curious visitors to the Ashram. Only then can we understand heretical flashes like the following: "The villagers must be rescued from their living death, but they cannot be leaders of thought. It is the Doctor who heals and not the Medicine," etc., etc. It would be an act of super-arrogation to give samples and select particular obiter for special mention. A book worth possessing which will always repay perusal and reperusal.

Johnny Tremain: A Story of Boston in Revolt. By Esther Forbes, Popular Library Inc., New York. Price 15 cents.

This is a special student edition of the magnificent novel originally published in 1943. This was awarded the John Newbery Medal as the most distinguished contribution to American Literature for children in the year of its publication. Facts and fancies about the present twentieth century have become so confused, that many good writers after 1940 sensibly decided to make the old days of the preparation for the Struggle for American Freedom (1773—1776) live again as in this living Romance. As someone recently put it in the *Readers' Digest*, it is time we lived again those days when people knew the difference between Right and Wrong instead of speculating about Behaviourism and Irresistible Impulses. Grandsire Sisbee with his gun across his knees marching on though he heard that "Rab is dead" is the eternal type which must ever be reborn to keep the good fight going. The fight against Death and Disease and Distress must go on but so also in Defence of Liberty and Democracy and against Tyranny.

A Restless Breed. By J. William Terry. World Publishing Company. New York 35 cents.

A Signet cheap reprint in the New American Library, this is a captivating account of the amalgamation of different types and races into a Yankee Reserve which became an Ohio Town. Nymphomaniacs, dipsomaniacs, satyriasts, go-getters, all are drawn with a sureness and delicacy of touch which reminds one of O. Henry. Doctors and clergymen lend the background of tragi-comedy in some of the stories. The collection deserves not only first reading but also re-reading again and again, as being both interesting and instructive.

Song Sublime or 'Geeta' (In Rhyme) by Prafulla Kumar Lahiri, published by the author at 57, Monohar Pukur Road, Calcutta-29. Price: Re. 1/.

This is another verse translation of the Geeta by P. K. Lahiri. It is intelligible and accurate and gives one more picture for study by the devotee of the Lord's Song.

Warnings of History. By K. M. Munshi. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan-Bombay-7. Price. 75 n.p.

This booklet written by the eminent Editor of the *Bhavan Journal*, represents as it should, the viewpoint of the leader of the opposition party. It deals with various aspects of life in India, and ends with a factual analysis of the life in Kerala under Communist rule. His analysis presents the dangers of over-enthusiasm of the Govt. and its followers.

The Bhagavadgita. A simple paraphrase in English by S. Parthasarathy Iyengar. Introduction by Rajaji. Gnana-Vignana Trust Gautamashram, Madras 5. Price Rs. 2.50.

This is a posthumous publication. The manuscript, written perhaps before 1929 when the author-patriot died, is now edited in book form by Mr. M. R. Sampat Kumaran, M.A. of Madras. The book gives a simple, paraphrase of the slokas of the Gita in English and the interpretation is based mainly on the exposition of Sri Ramanuja.

It gives Sri Krishna's teachings in a coherent and consecutive manner. Here and there the learned Editor has added a few footnotes mostly for the purpose of explaining ideas and principles taken for granted in the Gita. As Rajaji has said in his introduction the book will be of great benefit to many who do not know Sanskrit to understand the original.

Silas Marner. By George Eliot. A Signet Classic. New American Library, N. Y. U.S.A. 50 cents.

This often-read story of the linen weaver is rendered as a Signet Classic. It has all the deeprooted pathos for which the author is reputed. The linen weaver, who is first accused of theft, then robbed of his gold, finds his salvation in the bringing up of an abandoned child Eppie. The child gives him a new life. In the end when the true father comes and demands his child, pathos reaches its climax. Altogether a gripping story, there is the final poetic Justice. The Signet Classic has grown richer by a good addition.

Buddha Dhamma (A Higher Affirmation) By G. C. Lall, Publishers, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5.

As Luther hatched the egg which Erasmus laid, the author frankly is hatching many chickens out of the eggs laid by Rhys-Davids and Ananda Coomaraswami. In twenty-one chapters, he makes cross-sections of the teachings of Lord Gautama Buddha, and he glances from heaven to earth and earth to heaven with the maturity of a mind which has grown not only by much reading but also by much experience of sin and sorrow. He sets out the achara of Conditioned Co-Production in a truly original way. The author does not forget that Buddha's teachings also suffered the fate of the teachings of other Great Teachers, namely, adulteration, misinterpretations and decay. He bids us work towards the Coming Buddha, the Lord Maitreya, as while the teachings of the Buddha, are for a whole Kalpa or Aeon, they need reinterpretation in each age, according to the growing spiritual and social consciousness of humanity. So, the Higher Affirmation is the Noble Eight-Fold Path in which there is ceaseless pursuit of knowledge, spirit, or earnest enquiry, and a love for a tough life and spirit of adventure.

A History of Jazz in America. By Barry Ulanov. Student Edition. Pyramid Books, New York. Price 15 cents.

The author is a teacher, and has written the biography of Bing Crosby and Duke Ellington and so well equipped for his task. Jazz or Syncopated Music has often been caricatured as an uncertain movement from bar to bar and to bring its various sources including the acknowledged Negro spiritual origins into a synthesis is a difficult task which has been well-executed by the author.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

INDO-CEYLON PROBLEM

India's standpoint that the Indo-Ceylonese problem was a "national problem" of Ceylon was reiterated by the outgoing High Commissioner, Mr. Y. D. Gundevia, at a farewell dinner given by the Indian Mercantile Chamber at Galle Face Hotel, Colombo, on June 13. The problem of Indian-origin settlers in Ceylon could not be solved by sending them back, the High Commissioner said.

Mr. Gundevia said Ceylon's high birthrate and low economic condition perhaps had given the settlers' problem some undue importance. India too had been faced with a similar problem and although her population increased by about five millions annually—far greater than Ceylon's—she was not attempting to solve them by emigration. India regarded it as an essentially national solution. He felt sure, the High Commissioner said, that if the Indian issue was approached in a statesmanlike way by "honest and friendly" discussions at a round table, a satisfactory and favourable settlement could be reached.

Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan, President of the Chamber, earlier proposing a toast to Ceylon, referred to the contribution made by Mr. Gundevia in bringing about better understanding and friendly relations between India and Ceylon during his stay there. It was also largely due to Mr. Gundevia's efforts that the Indo-Ceylon Ferry Service had been restored to original daily schedule, he said.

MALAYA

INDIANS AND CITIZENSHIP

The Malayan Indian Congress is to ask the Malayan Government for an "amnesty" for who had unintentionally given false information when obtaining citizenship papers. "We are very perturbed over the increasing number of court actions under the Citizenship Ordinance," said Mr. V. Ponnusamy Pillai, a leader of the M.I.C.

He said that many Indians, most of them labourers, through ignorance and misunderstanding had given wrong information when applying for citizenship. "There was no intention on their part to cheat the government," he added.

Mr. Pillai said that during the citizenship registration campaign, many voluntary workers went out to get Indians to become citizens.

So far at least 1,000 Indians have been either fined or imprisoned for citizenship offences, and their citizenship papers revoked. Mr. Pillai has asked for an amnesty period of six months "to rectify these errors."

SINGAPORE

RECIPROCITY IN CITIZENSHIP

Any Singapore citizen would be eligible for Indian citizenship after a minimum of two years' residence in India. That is because Indians required only a similar qualification to become Singapore citizens. But now that Singapore has increased this qualifying period to eight years in the case of all Commonwealth citizens including Indians, it is difficult to imagine that India would continue to treat Singapore citizens as before. Now however as it has become a *fait accompli* in so far as Singapore is concerned, it is difficult to imagine that India would carry on under the old arrangement. It is quite possible that India House has already moved in the matter, informing New Delhi of the new amendment and its effect on the reciprocity between the two countries. It is quite possible also that the Singapore Government themselves might have taken the initiative in this, since the amendment disturbs the reciprocal arrangement with India and so it is their duty to inform the latter if they have not already done so.

India's policy, however, in this respect is no secret. It has been explained times without number by top-ranking leaders from President Prasad and Premier Nehru downwards, and has been repeated by every Indian Ambassador or Commissioner abroad, and it is this: Indians abroad wherever they are settled should get themselves assimilated in the local population by identifying themselves with the countries where they are settled and by taking up the local citizenship. This would give them obviously a greater stake in the countries in which they are resident and also earn for them—and through them for India herself great credit for their sincere intentions towards those countries and their peoples. All are unanimous in their view that nothing should be done that would hinder Indians from taking up the citizenship of Singapore or the Federation. Not only that. They are also always eager to do whatever they can to help their compatriots to settle down there permanently and eventually become local citizens.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- June 1. Diplomats in London boycott the 50th anniversary of the founding of the S. A. Union.
- June 2. Chilean quake disaster results in over 10,000 deaths.
- June 3. A. I. C. C. meets in Poona.
- June 4. Chinese Military Build-up along Nepal border is reported.
- June 5. A.I.C.C. condemns U. 2 flight in Soviet territory as a violation of International Law.
- Over 200 are arrested in Madras in Connection with the map burning campaign.
- June 6. The 10-nation Disarmament Conference resumes work in Geneva.
- June 7. Prince Nerodom Sihanouk of Cambodia wins an overwhelming vote of confidence in the National Referendum.
- June 8. Tibetan recruits to Chinese army revolt: About 3,000 soldiers from People's China are reported killed or wounded.
- Police open fire in village ryots in Punjab.
- Malaya stops trading with South Africa as a protest against the latter's racial policy.
- June 9. Typhoon lashes Hongkong causing heavy losses in life and property.
- Japanese Trade Unionists protest against Security Pact with U.S..
- June 10. Chinese attack on Tibetan Rebels continues: Grim battle fifty miles north of Everest.
- June 11. Delhi Akalis defy ban on procession: Clash with Police results in over 100 injured and 500 arrested.
- June 12. Ike leaves Washington on Far East tour.
- The proposed Textile Labour strike in Coimbatore is called off.
- June 13. Draft Constitution for Turkey is published.
- Army revolt in Argentina fails: Rebel commander is arrested.
- June 14. Eisenhower in Manila: Over 1,500,000 people greet and give a rousing reception.
- June 15. Vice-Chancellors' Conference meets at New Delhi.
- Demonstration against U.S. Japanese treaty in Tokyo results in several deaths and many injured.
- June 16. President Eisenhower postpones his visit to Japan.
- Chinese cavalry units chase Tibetan guerillas into Nepal border.
- June 17. China shells Quemoy group of Islands as a protest against Eisenhower's visit to Formosa.
- June 18. Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari, Dy. Chairman of Planning Commission retires.
- June 19. Eisenhower arrives in Seoul: Grand reception is accorded to him.
- June 20. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan is sworn in as the Acting President of India.
- President Prasad leaves for USSR.
- President Prasad arrives in Moscow.
- June 21. M. Patrice Lumumba forms the first Congo Government.
- June 22. The U. S. Senate ratifies the U. S. Japanese Security Treaty by an overwhelming majority.
- June 23. M. V. Nobusuke Kishi announces his decision to resign Prime Ministership.
- June 24. Nehru confirms large build-up of Chinese forces in Egypt.
- June 25. Independent African States' Conference concludes its session at Addis Ababa.
- June 26. President Eisenhower arrives in Washington after his Far Eastern tour.
- June 27. Rebellion against South African Government takes place in Pondoland reserve of the Cape Province.
- June 28. Collapse of talks on disarmament at Geneva.
- June 29. Chinese troops intrude into Nepalese Territory and thus make an unprovoked raid.
- June 30. Congo becomes Africa's largest and newest sovereign state: Belgium King issues Proclamation to that effect.

READERS' DIGEST

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

General Mohammed Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, says that unless India and Pakistan resolved their problems, there was bound to be an increase in the "inexorable push of the north."

Writing in the influential quarterly magazine *Foreign Affairs* the Pakistan President says:

"We have made some little progress with India in certain fields, but we are stuck over the Problem of Kashmir. There is some reluctance on the part of the Indian leadership to move forward and discuss this problem in a spirit of realism and justice. They do not seem to realise that a running sore like this between two neighbours is a dangerous thing."

"I think there is room and need for India and Pakistan to live as friends. If we cannot live as good friends, at least we should have a decent, human, neighbourly relationship with each other. This is what we, on our part, are trying to develop. But this has so far remained a largely unilateral endeavour. We have had very little response from the other side. This does not dismay me. I still hope that one day realism will dawn in India too."

"As a student of war and strategy, I can see quite clearly the inexorable push of the north in the direction of the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. This push is bound to increase if India and Pakistan go on squabbling with each other. If on the other hand, we resolve our problems and disengage our armed forces from facing inwards as they do to-day, and face them outwards. I feel we shall have a chance of preventing a recurrence of the history of the past, which was that whenever this sub-continent was divided—and often it was divided—someone or other invited an outsider to step in."

"Moreover, in the context of present-day world politics, Pakistan has openly and unequivocally cast its lot with the West, and unlike several countries around us, we have shut ourselves off almost completely from the possibility of any major assistance from the Communist bloc," President Ayub Khan added.

"All these factors lead to one conclusion—that the English-speaking world ought to feel a special responsibility to assist Pakistan in

attaining a reasonable posture of advancement. It is not just a claim. It is in fact a dictate of history."

Discussing the problems, which followed Independence, the President writes: "Till the advent of Pakistan, none of us was in fact a Pakistani. Actually, the boundaries of Pakistan were still being drawn and re-drawn secretly in the Viceregal Lodge at New Delhi when Independence was proclaimed. Never had the destiny of so many millions depended so helplessly on the arbitrary strokes of one man's pencil. It was because Mr. Radcliffe happened to make a small dent on the wrong side of the line that over 4,000,000 inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir have been locked in a life-and-death struggle for self-determination for 13 long and dreadful years."

U. S.—JAPAN RELATIONS

America's relations with Japan and also her strategic position in the Pacific are coming in for review as a result of the current crisis in Tokyo. A serious doubt has arisen as to where Japan is going to stand hereafter in the East-West conflict.

While the Americans are convinced that the Tokyo riots were the work of a well organised Leftist minority financed and directed by Moscow and Peking, they are disturbed by the fact, that while these mobs paralysed the democratic process of the Government the rest of the Japanese people merely looked on and did nothing to express their disapproval of what was going on.

This fact seems to most American observers an indication that the Japanese people by and large sympathise with the rioters' objectives, namely, severance of military ties with the United States and overthrow of the pro-American Kishi Government, says the Washington Correspondent of a local daily. This has raised the question, "Is Japan going neutral if not pro-Communist?" On the other hand, if it was mere apathy on the part of the Japanese people, even that is regarded ominous. A minority could, through violence, enforce its will whenever it disagreed with a democratically elected Government. This in turn has raised the question, "Is democracy failing in Japan and is the country going to be taken over by Leftists and what is the reaction toward the current events by Right-wing extremists?"

MONTY AND MACMILLAN

Newsweek magazine reported that Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery has been "told off" by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan.

The magazine's report from London, in its periscope section, said: "Field Marshal Montgomery has been called down—privately and personally—by Prime Minister Macmillan for saying Formosa should be turned over to the Red Chinese. Mr. Macmillan sent Monty a letter which called that 'most unfortunate.'"

"Lord Montgomery should be more careful of what he says in public, the P.M. wrote, since he has held such high official posts in the past."

SPY FLIGHTS OVER U.S.S.R.

An American Air Force pilot who withheld his name, disclosed that he had made several spy flights over the Soviet Union as early as 1951 when Mr. Harry Truman was President.

The *Chicago Daily News*, which published the story, said the pilot was still in the Air Force. The pilot said the flights began shortly after the beginning of the Korean war under the Truman administration.

The State Department knew about the flights. The pilot said he thought that if the State Department knew it, he supposed President Truman must have known it also.

The *Chicago Daily News*, quoting the pilot said the spy flights were the best kept secret of the Air Force.

DOCTRINE OF WHITE SUPREMACY

A leading Commonwealth businessman states in a report issued to the British Press: "The catastrophic events in South Africa have finally shown that the doctrine of white supremacy is as dangerous and unworkable as it is wrong and inhuman."

The businessman, Sir Jock Campbell, Chairman of the Booker Group, the big Commonwealth merchants, sugar producers, and rum distillers, says in the Company's annual report: "African constitutional development there must be. The choice lies between its achievement by constructive and imaginative statesmanship or in violence and bitterness. African nationalism is a reality. It is realism, not idealism, to recognise it."

Sir Jock says the visit to Central Africa of Mr. Iain Mcleod, the British Colonial Secretary, "has apparently done much to set the scene for restoring African confidence and

progress." He adds: "We in Bookers, with our business in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, have a direct as well as moral stake in what happens."

Sir Jock contends that no form of federation or association in Central Africa can command African acceptance and support "if its effect, however veiled, is to inhibit African constitutional progress in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and to sustain European domination."

U.K.'S ROCKET RANGE

The *Daily Mail* splashed on its front page recently a report that Russian "trawlers" have been caught spying on Britain's secret rocket range on South Uist in the other Hebrides and jamming the radar.

A fleet of "trawlers" it added—spy ships with elaborate radar equipment—had been concentrated in the area for the past two weeks.

They monitored the firing of a corporal rocket from South Uist into the sea near St. Kilda.

"British teams on the range and on the lonely St. Kilda found their radar tracking instruments jammed."

The *Daily Express* also devoted its front page lead to the tiny island of St. Kilda, a keypoint in Britain's defence system, "buzzing with stories of Russian spy ships."

The *Daily Express* said the spyships were seeking secrets of western radar and other electronic defence devices.

It said, "Their main purpose is to study wavelengths and frequencies being used and to detect evidence of new developments."

"They are specially interested in secret new systems for identifying friendly aircraft at long range."

"These electric eye spyships are also operating off the North American coasts. United States and Canadian counter-intelligence have aware of them for some months."

The War Office was unable to confirm the reports. A spokesman said: "The waters are not restricted, so if the Russians want to come, there is nothing to stop them."

An Admiralty spokesman said "There are Russian trawlers up there, but they are outside territorial waters, and the range does not belong to the Admiralty."

In Scotland, rumours of Russian spies near the south Uist rocket range were discounted.

TRIBAL CLASH IN S. AFRICA

The Durban newspaper, *Natal Mercury* quoted unconfirmed reports that five African constables and an estimated 25 tribal Africans had been killed in disturbances in the in the remote Pondoland African reserves in South-East Cape Province.

The newspaper said it appeared to be the most serious disturbances since Sharpeville. It said seven African constables and one white constable had also been wounded in the disturbances.

Col. Reg Jenkins, Deputy Commissioner of Police in Port Natal, arrived on the scene and immediately surveyed the area by helicopter.

A doctor at a hospital in the Reserves told *Reuter* that 13 Africans were brought in with gunshot wounds and some seriously injured. But he could not confirm reports that other Africans had been killed.

Police had been reported as clashing with armed Africans at Lusikisiki. Tribal violence has flared spasmodically in primitive backward Pondoland for years.

A Johannesburg message adds:

Official silence blanketed the Pondoland African reserves where police with Saracen armoured cars and aircraft are reported to be dealing with "serious disturbances."

The pro-Government evening newspaper *Dee Vaderland* said there were reports that police had surrounded about 300 Africans. Air Force helicopters and Harvard aircraft were said to have dropped tear-gas bombs on "rioters" who fired back, hitting one aircraft. But the newspaper said its correspondents had been unable to contact police to get the true story.

Twelve hamlets have been gutted by fire in African reserves in Pondoland, in tribal clashes in the last few weeks, the *Johannesburg Star* reported.

A message from its correspondent in Port St. John's (Pondoland) said police reinforcements supported by Saracen armoured cars and Air Force helicopters had assembled in the reserves.

The latest of the tribal clashes, which have erupted in hut-burning raids and violence, occurred when marauding Africans attacked and set fire to an African hamlet in the Flagstaff District. Eleven similar hamlets in the Bizana and Lusikisiki reserves in Pondoland have been gutted by fire.

The correspondent said many people had been arrested. Helicopters were used to remove the prisoners from the more inaccessible places.

The correspondent said there appeared to be two reasons for the clashes. Certain African factions objected to the appointment by the Government of sub-chiefs who appointed councillors for tribal authorities. The Africans believed they should have a say in the appointments. Africans also objected to the territorial authority's land settlement schemes which restricted grazing.

Mr. Chris Prinsloo, spokesman of the Department for Bantu Administration and Development in Pretoria told *Reuter* that the disturbances in Pondoland "have been engineered from the towns."

"I am well aware of these deep disturbances. They are not in the first place of local origin. They are engineered from urban areas."

RED PROPAGANDA IN NEPAL

The Nepalese newspaper, *Swatantra Samachar* has advised the Prime Minister and the Nepali Congress leader Mr. B. P. Koirala not to allow himself to be influenced by "praises and flattery of the Communist and Chinese lobby in Nepal."

The paper, in an editorial entitled "Koirala's responsibility and Democracy," said that the elements who wanted Nepal to turn to Communist China as against India were themselves engaged in anti-democratic and anti-National acts under their "propaganda cover that Koirala himself is against India."

"They are also trying their best to shake the confidence of those who understand Koirala well," the paper said.

The paper warned that apprehensions in the minds of people were so great that immediate efforts must be made to counter the "Communist lobby's campaign involving even Prime Minister Koirala. Otherwise, a stage will be reached when undesirable consequences will follow."

The *Swatantra Samachar* said that these pro-Chinese and pro-Communist elements calling themselves nationalists were trying to subvert Nepal's best relations with India. In these efforts they were utilising Mr. Koirala and his personality. By doing this they were also destroying the "political morality of Mr. Koirala," the paper added.

POPULATION GROWTH

Dr. Karl Sax, an international authority on population growth, has warned that the human race faces a catastrophe within 600 years unless birth control measures on a universal scale are adopted soon.

He said that unless measures are quickly taken to halt or slow down the population explosion, the human race will eat itself off the face of the earth.

He said that if the world population figure kept growing at the present rate there would only be one square yard of living space for each person on earth in 600 years.

Dr. Sax, who is a Professor of Botany at Yale University, also estimated that the people on earth would outweigh the planet in 1,700 years if the present rate of increase were maintained.

"The population explosion therefore is an immediate problem and has to be solved now," he declared. "Whatever happens must happen soon or the problem may be beyond our control."

He said the world must undergo in the coming years a "demographic transition." This, he explained, is a transition from high birth and death rate and a low living standard to a low birth and death rate and a high living standard.

At present, Dr. Sax contended, only 20 per cent of the nations of the world have made this transition. He offered a four-point programme for the Afro-Asian world for speeding up the process:

Development of industry; greater efficiency in agriculture, to permit 50 per cent of the population to go into industry; intensified mass migrations to take the pressure of some areas of the world; some sort of birth control.

He said the first three measures would only be temporary and that the only "lasting guarantee" to overpopulation is birth control.

"THE ECONOMIC WEEKLY"

The mid-year Special Number of the *Economic Weekly* is largely devoted to the problems of the Third Five-year Plan, the broader implications of which are discussed in a symposium on Pre-conditions of Sustained Growth. As usual, the Special Number contains a number of interesting articles on social and political problems as well.

The growing faith in the benefits of development programming makes it unnecessary for planners to get involved in discussions about the need for planning and revolutionary changes in the economic structure. The controversy about the Third Plan, therefore, does not centre around its objectives or allocations but is concerned with its size in relation to present needs and the long range perspective.

Prof A. K. Dasgupta opens the symposium with the assertion that 'take-off' for the Indian economy should imply elimination of the backlog of unemployment and raising of labour productively rather than emancipation from special external assistance. The larger amount of investment required for Prof. Dasgupta's concept of 'take-off' would necessitate a savings ratio of a little more than 13 per cent of national income, which is neither frightfully high nor moderate.

Mr. Asoka Mehta pleads for a broad-based Government in which all those political elements that support and shape the five-year plans could work together for leading the country to the take-off stage; this would require re-training of the rank and file of political parties for constructive work.

The other participants in the symposium are a sociologist and an engineer.

The fear of inflation has been a barrier to greater employment and hence more output, according to Mr. I. M. D. Little, who believes that greater willingness to tax and to keep down the wages of those already employed would pave the way for a larger Plan. Mr. W. B. Reddaway calls for annual phasing of Plan targets and resources to keep a proper watch over the progress of the Plan.

The important role of indirect taxation as an anti-inflationary measure and as a fiscal device for equalising the demand for and the supply of particular commodities is stressed by Prof D. T. Lakdawala who does not accept the view that indirect taxes will raise the price level. Mr. Don Humphrey analyses the effect of direct foreign investment on economic growth and the balance of payments.

An article on Perspective of the Third Plan takes the Planning Commission to task for altering capital-output ratios arbitrarily for maintaining its long term target of doubling per capita income by 1975.

THE CHINESE THREAT

It is right and proper for India to assert that the border between India and China is well established by treaty, tradition, usage and all that. There is also a wealth of evidence in support, says *The Round Table*.

"India's very strong argument, however, misses the point in that it does not (for it cannot) frankly recognize the two basic changes that have come over the situation. One, British power has disappeared from Delhi; two, there is now a powerful Peking, able not only to secure what it considers its rightful ambitions as a big Power. Both facts were too obvious not to be known in Delhi. If there was an error it was in hoping that a new Delhi would be treated differently by a new Peking, that the traditional manner of a strong nation would in this instance be different from that of a weak nation. In Mr. Nehru's mind there was a hope that, contrary to the European experience, nations in Asia would not fight one another to mutual impotence.

As the exchanges between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai abundantly show, China is in no mood to try this high-minded experiment.

"In almost every communication there is a cynical reference to *Panchsheel*, the famous five principles; but the emphasis is unmistakably on China's rights. When India speaks of treaties with the British, Peking's argument is that these were imposed upon a weak China by the imperialists. When Peking refers to ancient Chinese dynasties, that is simply history which it is so unsporing of the Indians to seek to deny with the help of the shameful British interlude. When the Chinese army moves, it is only to "liberate"; when Indian policemen go to posts that are theirs they betray a sad tendency of expansionism. In his last letter to Mr. Netru the Chinese Prime Minister seeks to make out that the India-China border has never been delineated anywhere and that nobody knows what anyone is talking about. As an Indian newspaper pointed out, it is interesting how the Chinese know with the utmost precision that a certain spot is indisputably Chinese when an unpleasant incident has taken place involving Indian patrols. The recent exchanges in Eastern Ladakh, in which nine Indian policemen were killed and ten taken prisoners, are a case in point."

There is still no wholly rational explanation of what the Chinese have been doing. Full-scale aggression against India still seems inconceivable, if only because it cannot be a localized affair between India and China.

LAW IN A DEMOCRACY

The All-India Law and Order Conference which concluded its two-day session at Patna recently adopted the report of its Legal and Administrative Committee. The report deserves consideration because it represents the views of the leading jurists of India who attended the session. There is undoubtedly a good deal to be said for the concern expressed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, says *Thought*, over the state of individual freedom in India today.

"The facility with which the Constitution is amended every now and then, when judges declare a law or a Government decision unconstitutional, cannot but create a certain degree of apprehension in minds for whom democratic freedom matters above most other things. And there is little doubt that the Preventive Detention Act, which, incidentally, Mr. Rajagopalachari himself piloted so admirably when he was Home Minister at New Delhi, could, in wrong hands, lead to elimination of democracy very "constitutionally."

Nevertheless, *Thought* holds that despite fears and apprehension, Mr. Rajagopalachari's implied suggestion that the judiciary's right to review the acts of the Government and of Parliament was being curtailed, and Mr. N. C. Chatterjee's explicit support for him—he said there was increasing executive interference in judicial matters"—do not seem to be wholly warranted.

"Mr. Chatterjee complained that when a law had been declared unconstitutional, the Government amended the Constitution to retain it. It is hard to believe that the Government is perversely motivated and prefers the facade to the content of the Constitution."

"Mr. Rajagopalachari's prescription—for an unwritten Constitution—hardly seems the remedy. If a Government is prepared to flout the written word in its conscious or unconscious drift to totalitarianism, it is difficult to see how an unwritten Constitution could prevent it. Britain's example is not very relevant. That country's unwritten Constitution is the result of centuries of evolution."

KHRUSHCHEV IN ASIA

Ever since the date of the Summit Conference was fixed last year Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev has been visiting a number of Asian countries including India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan. Commenting on their visits a writer in *The Review of International Affairs* points out :

"This fact alone reveals much, when one knows the place and role of these four countries in contemporary international relations, as advocates of the policy of peaceful coexistence and non-attachment to the blocs.

Khrushchev's journey is undoubtedly also aimed at strengthening bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and these countries, although there has been nothing controversial in their relations so far. Their mutual co-operation developed successfully, especially over the past few years, and the concrete arrangements and agreements reached during the current visit of the Soviet Prime Minister will contribute to its further development. The Soviet Union has particularly favourable relations with India, to which it has recently granted a new one and a half billion ruble loan.

India is a very significant factor in world developments to-day, as a country which, as Mr. Nehru has often pointed out, is great not because of its vast territory, number of inhabitants or military power, but because its policy of peaceful coexistence, and its peaceful views and principles as regards world problems.

The Soviet Union attaches special importance to the development of good relations with the Government of India."

The communiques on the talks and a number of published documents show the two Premiers—Nehru and Khrushchev—had a comprehensive exchange of opinions on the East-West negotiations.

Prime Minister Nehru, we are told, repeated his previously expressed high opinion of Khrushchev's proposal on general disarmament, adding that in the eyes of India, these principles are essentially an appeal to carry into practice the principle of non-violence in the settlement of international problems. The two Prime Ministers reaffirmed their stand on the banning of thermo-nuclear weapons, pleading that this should be the first step of the big powers towards disarmament.

Among the numerous speeches delivered by Khrushchev on his tour, the one in the Indian Parliament was considered to be particularly interesting. In it he said :

"In the consciousness of peoples and the minds of politicians and statesmen—even those who are on opposite sides ideologically—it is becoming increasingly recognized as indisputably true that the peaceful coexistence of states is a historical fact, a necessity of life resulting from the contemporary stage of development of human society. The principles of Pancha Shilla have forced way into history, and this is in no small degree the merit of peaceloving India."

The Soviet Prime Minister spoke very highly of India's foreign policy, as was stressed in the joint communique, which said :

"In his talks with Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian Government officials, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikita Khrushchev, highly estimated the policy pursued by India, a policy of neutrality and nonparticipation in military alliances. He emphasized that this policy was greatly appreciated in the Soviet Union."

ELECTRONIC SPY IN SPACE

The *Newsweek* magazine reported that Russia was preparing to launch "an all-seeing TV spy-in-the-sky" which could relay detailed photos of Western defence installations back to Moscow.

The magazine added that according to London intelligence reports, "the electronic spy" would be housed in a huge Sputnik circling the earth at altitudes ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 miles.

The *Newsweek* reported in its "Periscope" section that "top British intelligence officers" believe Mr. Nikita Khrushchev has armed some Eastern European countries with missiles and moved in the nuclear warheads to go with them.

"Medium-range rocket bases already are set up under Czech control in Moravia, they (intelligence officers) say. Similar I.R.B.B.'s are now being made available to Red Poland. But Moscow keeps tight control of the atomic warheads", the magazine said.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

ORDINANCE TO BAN STRIKES

On 8th July the President has issued an Ordinance under which the Central Government if it is satisfied that in the public interest it is necessary or expedient to do so may by a general or special order prohibit strikes in any essential services, and severe penalties like dismissal.

The Ordinance defines the various services which come under the term, "essential services" under it.

It was issued by the President after no signs of response from the leaders of the employees' unions to the earnest appeal made by the Prime Minister to call off the strike scheduled to commence on July 11.

The Government of India have issued an order banning strikes in the essential services enumerated in the ordinance issued by the President in the interest of the public.

"Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of Sec. 3 of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960 (1 of 1960), the Central Government hereby prohibits strikes in the following essential services, namely, (1) any Postal, Telegraph or Telephone service, (2) any Railway service, for the carriage of passengers or goods by land, water or air, (3) any service connected with the operation or maintenance of aerodromes or with the operation, repair or maintenance of aircraft, (4) any service connected with the loading, unloading, movement or storage of goods in any port, (5) any service connected with the clearance of goods or passengers through the Customs or with the prevention of smuggling, (6) any service in any mint or security press, and (7) any service in any Defence establishment of the Government of India."

FAILURE OF DISARMAMENT TALKS

The Russian walk-out from the Geneva Disarmament Conference on June 28 has made the whole world disappointed.

Diplomatic fiascos have been piling so fast lately that the collapse of the disarmament talks in Geneva has not surprised us. Further the Russian delegate at talks has for

some time been accusing the Western Powers of stalling and threatening to take the issue back to the United Nations.

Also after the stillborn Summit meeting the belief has grown strong that the Russians have decided not to do any business with the Eisenhower Administration.

Commenting on the Soviet Government's action Mr. Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister said the Russian walk-out of the Geneva Disarmament Conference was "a very great setback."

THE MADRAS PAY COMMISSION

The Madras Government constituted a Pay Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. K. Ramunni Menon, on February 24, 1959, to examine the existing structure of scales of pay, dearness allowance, compensatory concessions and retiring benefits of State Government servants, both gazetted and non-gazetted, and to recommend a suitable structure for the future. The report was released to the press on June 20.

The Government after considering the revised scales of pay recommended by the Commission as well as their other recommendations, have decided to accept all the main recommendations. The revised scales of pay and other benefits are given effect to from the salary for June 1960, drawn on July 1, 1960. The minimum emoluments of any Government servant under the revised scales to be Rs. 60 a month.

The financial implications of the several recommendations in regard to the revision in the scales of pay, work out to Rs. 7.04 crores per annum.

The immediate cost in the coming full year is expected to be of the order of Rs. 5 crores. "A commitment of this order", the Government state in an official note announcing the decision, "is the utmost that could be undertaken by the Government in the present context of their resources and the present demands on them of the Second Plan expenditure and the higher order of outlay anticipated in the Third Plan".

MR. BUNKER ON INDIA'S PLANS

Speaking at New Delhi on June 15 about America's help to India in the fulfilment of the latter's plans, Mr. Elsworth Bunker, the American ambassador in India said :—

"It has been a matter of great satisfaction to the American people and Government that they have been able to have some part in this great experiment taking place on the soil of India. This is so for many reasons : (1) Because we have learned that the world is becoming increasingly interdependent, that no nation can live alone. A strong, free and prosperous India will contribute to our own well-being and prosperity. (2) Because it is in the great tradition of the American people going back to our early colonial days, when we learned that mutual aid was often the price of survival to give help where it is needed. (3) Because it is a rewarding thing to wage war, together with our friends in India, against poverty and disease and illiteracy for the means to live decently for hundreds of millions of people in this vast area of the globe. (4) Because it means waging peace-creating situations where men have the incentive and desire to live with one another in tolerance goodwill and peace. And—perhaps most important of all—because of our sharing of deepest convictions and ideals. In the great struggle of the present day—the preservation and broadening of the dignity and rights of every human being—there is no doubt where India stands. She has chosen the democratic way of life."

PRESIDENT PRASAD ON INDO-SOVIET AIMS

Speaking on June 21 at a lunch in the Kremlin given in his honour by the President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Dr. Rajendra Prasad said :—

"Like you, we are striving for the good of the common man in our country, who for centuries had been denied economic opportunities for giving him a reasonable standard of living. Like you, a few decades earlier, we are now embarked on a gigantic industrialisation of our country—along with improvements in our age-old agricultural methods—which will not only change the face of India but bring to our 400 million people opportunities for a new life which did not exist before."

Addressing the envoys of Bandung Nations at Moscow on June 22 the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said that the question before the independent countries of Asia and Africa was one of consolidating their freedom by giving it a broad economic base.

"In this there is considerable room for mutual co-operation and assistance amongst the Asian-African countries themselves", he added.

MR. MORARJI DESAI ON PLANNING

Mr. Morarji Desai made a seven-day visit to West Germany last month. Speaking at Bonn on June 20 Mr. Desai said that two great experiments are going on in the less-developed countries. "One is through the easier and more quickly effective method of direction, compulsion and coercion.

We in India have chosen the other and more difficult way of consent and voluntary sacrifice. We are aware that this method will, probably produce results less quickly than the other. But, we are wedded to the ideals of individual freedom and liberty and the performance of duty without considering the benefits to oneself resulting from it—the ideal of non-attachment."

MR. GIRI ON FUNCTIONS OF A GOVERNOR

Before he departed for Kerala Mr. Giri made a speech at Naini Tal on the functions of Governor as follows :—

"While the Governor is the constitutional head of a State to be advised by the Chief Minister and the Cabinet and the Government of the State is run in his name, the Governor so long as he has a head above his shoulders could be a very useful instrument in stating his views on matters of public interest and interpret where necessary the policies and the attitude of the Ministry to the people because he is in an advantageous position representing all sections of the population by virtue of his office."

"I may therefore state that the Governor is both complementary and supplementary to the Chief Minister and his Cabinet. In one sense, therefore, the Governor is a watch dog of the Constitution trying to interpret the views of his Government to the Centre and also he is an ambassador representing the President in the State."

CHINESE INTRUSION INTO NEPAL

Chinese troops intruding into Nepalese territory at Mustang; killed one Nepalese civilian personnel and fifteen Bhotias prisoner. Two more village officials and seventeen horses were also reported to have been taken away. The Government of Nepal on June 30 despatched an urgent and strong protest to Peking against Chinese armed violation of Nepalese territory and killing of one member of unarmed Nepalese border civilian personnel and this was confirmed by Nepalese Prime Minister Koirala.

The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai said that he was "greatly concerned" over the news that Chinese troops had killed and captured Nepali citizens in a border clash according to the *New China News Agency* :

In a message to the Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. B. P. Koirala, Mr. Chou said that if a Nepali had been killed, "the Chinese Government would express extreme regret and if any Nepalese were indeed detained, they would of course be released speedily."

KHRUSHCHEV ON CO-EXISTENCE

The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, said at Moscow on June 30, that there were "some shades of opinion" among Communist nations on the policy of peaceful co-existence, but that they took a common position on the issue. There were "no differences on the main theme," he added.

Mr. Khrushchev, who was talking to Indian Pressmen at a Kremlin reception given by President Rajendra Prasad, was quoted as referring to the Bucharest communique which showed "no differences between Russia and China on the main theme of co-existence."

CHINA AND DISARMAMENT

People's China must be represented at any future negotiations on disarmament, the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, declared at Moscow on June 29.

Mr. Khrushchev said it was "unnatural and abnormal" to exclude China from the United Nations.

He was speaking at a reception given in the Grand Hall of the Kremlin by the visiting Indian President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in honour of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government.

A. I. C. C.'s CIRCULAR

On the 22nd of last month All-India Congress Committee has sent a circular to all the Pradesh Congress Committees and all Congress members of Parliament and State legislatures explaining the implications of the two important resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at the Poona session relating to a panel for enquiry into complaints of corruption and asking Congressmen to submit annual statements of income and assets.

"The President will refer to one or more members of the panel such cases which, in his opinion, call for an enquiry or greater elucidation of facts so that he or the Parliamentary Board, when they finally arrive at a decision, may have before them all relevant facts."

REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The Congo became black Africa's largest and newest sovereign State when a gun salute was fired in the capital and a declaration of independence was signed by Belgian and Congolese leaders at Leopoehill on June 30.

King Baudouin of Belgium told a packed assembly of the Congolese Lower House that the country's independence marked a decisive hour in the destinies of the Congo and of all Africa.

Beside the king were the Governor-General M. Henri Cornelis, and the new President, M. Joseph Kasavubu.

Thus ended the 75 years of colonial rule for the 900,000 square mile territory and its 14 million people.

GHANA REPUBLIC

The Republic of Ghana was inaugurated on 1st July. The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, have sent messages of greetings to His Excellency Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Republic and his assumption of office.

U. K. LABOUR PARTY

Labour members of Parliament on June 29 passed by 179 votes to seven a vote of confidence in their leader, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell.

The vote was taken at a secret meeting of the parliamentary Labour Party attended by 204 of the Opposition party's 257 M.P.s. Of those present, 18 either abstained from voting or left before the vote was taken.

Mr. Gaitskell was applauded by his followers after the vote, taken by show of hands.

ADMISSION TO 'VARSITIES

The Universities Grants Commission is giving serious thought to the question of prescribing an entrance test for admission to universities to ensure that only such students take to higher education who have the ability and capacity to benefit from it.

Both the Union Ministry of Education and the Commission are stated to feel that a proper co-ordination and determination of standards of higher education in the country cannot be achieved unless the quality and selection of students admitted to institutions of higher education are regulated.

The State Governments, it is understood, are studying the implications of the proposal to keep the "gates of higher learning" open only to students who are fit for it and have the capacity to benefit by it.

The UGC has come to the conclusion that there can be no improvement either in the academic standards or in the behaviour of students unless their numbers are restricted and only those are admitted who are likely to benefit from higher education.

DR. C. R. SANKARAN

Dr. C. R. Sankaran of Madras who was doing research in phonetics in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, has been appointed Richard-Merton visiting Professor, Bonn University, West Germany, for nine months from May, 1960 to January, 1961. His monograph "Phonemics of old Tamil" has brought to light many interesting points in phonetic science. He is the author of a new Alphaphonoid theory, based on the Aytham phenomenon of *Tholkappiar*, which takes phonology to the very last perceptual limit of audition and articulation.

In addition to his research in phonology, Dr. Sankaran has done valuable research in music. He was the first to investigate Vedic music by laboratory test and arrive at definite conclusions. He was also the first to explain the intricacies in the speech sounds by the analogy of minute *sruties* adopted in Indian Music. His researches aim at reducing the laws of phonetics to mathematical formula and scientific precision. These have attracted the attention of the Western scholars, especially the Germahs and Dr. Sankaran has been invited to lecture to them on these subjects.

NEW COLLEGE IN BOMBAY

Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, paid eloquent tributes to the South Indian community in Bombay and complimented them for starting a new college in Bombay city.

The Chief Minister, who was declaring open the South Indian Education Society's College of Arts and Science at Bombay on June 19 said that the Society's venture was admirable all the more so because this would be the first college started by the South Indian community anywhere in this country outside the Southern States.

Mr. Chavan said that he was very glad to attend the function because the opening of new centres of knowledge was exactly what the new India wanted to-day.

The South Indian community, Mr. Chavan said, was playing a very important role in the social life of Bombay city. This had been proved by their educational and cultural activities during the last few years. He was happy that this educational institution was started to coincide with the birth of the new State of Maharashtra. It represented their willingness to integrate themselves with the social life of Bombay, Mr. Chavan added.

Mr. Chavan assured that the Government of Maharashtra would provide every type of assistance which the college required.

NEW 'VARSITIES FOR BIHAR

The Bihar State Universities Bill, 1960, which seeks to set up four universities one at each of the divisional headquarters of Patna, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Ranchi in the State was presented in the State Legislative Council on June 14 by Mr. Kumar Gangannand Sinha, State Education Minister. He told the House that some significant changes had been made in the original Bill both by the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses, to whom it had earlier been referred and the Lower House. Two important changes made in the Bill provided that the Chancellor should appoint the Vice-Chancellors without seeking the advice of the Chief Minister.

DR. H. J. BHABHA

Prof. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, is one of 17 of the world's leading scientists who are to receive Honorary Doctorates of British Universities on the occasion of the Tercentenary celebrations of the Royal Society. Dr. Bhabha, is to receive his degree from London University.

HIGH COURTS IN INDIA

High Courts in India have reduced the arrears of cases filed on or before 1956 by about 80 percent, according to the figures collected till the end of 1959.

The decline in pending cases, both criminal and civil, was to the extent of 1,32,066, from 1,70,000 to 37,934. In the last year alone, the cases went down down by about 22,000, from 59,780 to 37,934.

Statewise, the reduction effected was: Uttar Pradesh—from 38,168 to 15,342; Andhra Pradesh—from 23,766 to 2,420; Assam—from 895 to 67; erstwhile State of Bombay—from 13,883 to 1,572; Bengal—from 26,639 to 9098; Kerala—from 6,428 to 1,012; Madhya Pradesh—from 6,652 to 287; Madras—from 15,090 to 903; Mysore—from 6,163 to 1,737; Orissa—from 2,719 to 274; Bihar—from 12,488 to 1,238; Punjab—from 11,493 to 2519, and Rajasthan—from 5,081 to 1,465.

One of the recommendations of the State Law Ministers who met in Delhi in September 1957 was that no civil suit should remain pending for more than two years and no criminal case for more than six months.

Among the steps taken to clear arrears are: increasing the strength of High Court Judges and reducing the number of holidays. Till April 1960, 38 Additional Judges had been appointed to the various High Courts. The number of working days in a year had also been increased to 210 by almost all the High Courts.

MR. SHARFUDDIN AHMAD

The President has appointed Mr. Sharfuddin Ahmad, District and Sessions Judge, to be an Additional Judge of the Andhra Pradesh High Court for a period of two years with effect from the date he assumes charge of his office.

ADOLF EICHMANN

The news of the capture of the noted Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann by the security forces of Israel will have its repercussions throughout the world. Eichmann will be brought to trial in the Israeli court charged with responsibility for the death of millions of Jews in Germany and in the occupied countries.

In the meanwhile meeting between the Israeli Premier, Mr. David Ben Gurion, and Argentine President Arturo Frondizi to discuss the kidnapping of Nazi war criminal Eichmann from Argentina has been set for in Europe.

JOINT LEGAL AGENCY

In the last five years, the Central Agency Section of the Union Law Ministry conducted 2,266 cases—914 on behalf of the Union of India and 1,352 on behalf of the States—in the Supreme Court.

The total expenses of about Rs. 5 lakhs on this account was shared roughly in the ratio of 2 : 3 by the Government of India and the States participating in the scheme.

Set up in 1950, the Section deals with civil and criminal cases before the Supreme Court on behalf of the Central Government and the State Governments. All the States except West Bengal, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Kerala and partly Madhya Pradesh are participating in the scheme.

The scheme has led to greater co-ordination between the Central Government and the State Governments on various matters, coming up before the Supreme Court and has also led to effect economy and efficiency.

The Central Agency Section now consists of a Government Advocate, a Deputy Government Advocate and two Assistant Government Advocates assisted by a small staff. The advocates appear without extra payment as juniors to the senior advocates, briefed by the State Governments concerned, and they also conduct comparatively small matters themselves.

JUVENILE REFORM IN MOSCOW

The Moscow Municipal Council decreed a series of stringent measures against young people including an after-dark curfew and holding parents responsible for their childrens' acts.

The laws went into effect from June 15 and remain in force for the next two years.

Included are bans against skiing and skating on public streets and squares, and hopping on to the bumpers of trams, trolley buses, buses and cars.

Under these new measures, youngsters cannot be out on the street alone after 10 p.m. Unless accompanied by their parents. During vacation time, the deadline is stretched to 11 p.m.

Moscow's young folk are also prohibited from bathing in pools and rivers. The new measures will hold parents legally and financially responsible for their youngsters' deeds.

The laws provide for fines against the parents ranging from 100 to 200 roubles (ten to 20 dollars).

THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Draft of the Third Five-year Plan was released on the 6th of this month. According to it a total investment of Rs. 10,200 crores in the economy—Rs. 6,200 crores in the public sector and Rs. 4,000 crores in the private sector, a plan outlay of Rs. 7,250 crores in the public sector; a rise of national income of over 5 per cent per annum; a production of 100 to 105 million tons of foodgrains and a capacity target of 10 million tons of steel ingots; an increase in the total generating capacity of power from 5.8 million kw. to 11.8 million kw. and creation of additional employment of 13.5 million people are some of the goals which the Planning Commission of the Government of India have set before the country.

INVESTMENT CENTRE

An Indian Investment Centre will be established in New Delhi shortly under an agreement signed at New Delhi on June 20 between the Governments of India and the United States. Its establishment had been under discussion between the two Governments and prominent industrial groups of the two countries for a long time.

The main purpose of the Centre will be to inform and assist foreign investors who may be interested in investing their capital in India. It is now an accepted official policy to attract foreign private capital to India, and it was felt that there was need for a centre where the potential foreign investor and the Indian businessman interested in collaborating with him could both get authentic information and reliable guidance on general economic prospects in India as well as the laws, rules, regulations and procedures governing investment of foreign capital in India. At present interested parties have to knock around a large number of scattered official and non-official agencies to get the intelligence they want and there is no certainty that they are the wiser for it at the end of their quest. The new investment Centre is designed to give them all that they want to know under one roof.

The activities of the Centre will not be confined to information and guidance but will extend to providing technical facilities as well. As it is the purpose of the Centre to promote the flow of foreign private investment into India in a manner most help-

ful to the Indian economy and the objectives of the Plan, it will provide the technical facilities required for locating capital sources, preparing prospectuses and assisting negotiations.

The agreement was signed by Mr. N. C. Sen Gupta, Joint Secretary of Finance Ministry, and Mr. C. Tyler Wood Minister for Economic Affairs of the U. S. Embassy.

TAX BURDEN ON FILM INDUSTRY

Mr. B. Nagi Reddi, Chairman of the Film Federation of India stated at Bombay on June 9 that the film industry in the country was facing a crisis because of the imposition of heavy excise duty on exposed films.

Addressing the annual dinner of the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association of India Mr. Reddi said the film industry in South India had paid about rupees six lakhs in two months to the Government by way of excise duty. Many productions were held up and many studios were being closed down as the duty was too heavy, he said.

AID TO BACKWARD COUNTRIES

The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, declared that the U.N. has the means to play a central role in the development of International Economic Co-operation.

Mr. Hammarskjöld, in a report on the economic future of the under-developed countries published last month said that the time had perhaps come for the United Nations to study a concerted plan for the expansion of the international markets for exports from the industrially less-developed States.

The report which will be studied at the next meeting in Geneva of the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council stressed that world economic inter-dependence had grown rapidly along with the movement for national independence, which was launched in Asia in the immediate post-war years and has continued to grow in Africa.

It would be unrealistic to consider it certain that regional agreements would be sufficient to solve the problems before the international community, the report stated.

The United Nations was the only world agency in which nations with different political structures, and different stages of industrial development, could exchange views and implement programmes for collective action.

GRAVE SIN BUT NOT ADULTERY

A woman who submits to artificial insemination commits a very grave sin but not adultery under the Canon Law of the Catholic Church, according to an article which has appeared in an Italian Jesuit monthly.

But a child born by such an insemination must be considered adulterous, the article said.

The Catholic Church bans artificial insemination.

The article, in a recent issue of *Aggiornamenti Sociali*, followed a recent decision by an Italian court that artificial insemination of a married woman by another man constituted adultery.

MISS. BERTHA ADKINS

President Eisenhower has given an important public post to a deadly rival—a woman who plays golf almost as well as he does.

She is statuesque, brown-eyed Bertha Shephard Adkins, the new Under-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Miss Adkins is the United States' first woman Under-Secretary, and her salary of the equivalent of Rs. 1,05,000 makes her the second best-paid woman (U.S. Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest is first) in Washington.

She also is one of the capital's most dogged golfers, with an average score of 75.

Golf-loving President Eisenhower, who has played with her a number of times, once said: "When I beat Bertha, I feel like doing a tribal dance."

The drive she brings to golf she has been known to play a total of 36 hours over one weekend—is typical of the vigour which the brown-grey haired woman applies to her work.

Dr. RUKMINI DEVI

Wayne State University of Detroit, Michigan, has conferred an honorary degree on Smt. Rukmini Devi, M.P., who recently visited America. The Doctor of Humanities was awarded to her on June 16 during the commencement programme at the University.

MISS M. BUENO

Miss Maria Bueno, of Brazil, retained the women's singles title on the last day of the Wimbledon lawn tennis championships on July 2.

WOMEN GRADUATES IN MALAYA

Women graduates from the University of Malaya are not wanted by employers in Malaya, a survey has shown. Male graduates are being snapped up by commercial firms and the government but the women are being given no opportunities at all.

The secretary of the university appointments board, Mrs. Y. T. Lu Sinclair, said that though many of the male graduates had been placed in good jobs, and without difficulty, not one woman graduate had secured a commercial job.

"This is not because woman graduates are not keen," she said, "but because commercial firms simply do not want them on their staff."

The commercial firms felt that women would not make good executives and among the firms which had refused to take women graduates were several banks, a shipping firm and an advertising firm. There were several cases of graduates having to take up short-hand and typing to take on secretarial jobs.

"What most women do not realise is that secretaries with university degrees can go far in any commercial organisation, she said. "The main thing is to get a foothold in a commercial house and, once they are in, their university training will enable them to get to the top."

HEROINE OF THE AIR

A 40-year-old woman passenger in a private airplane seized the controls when the pilot fainted and pulled the aircraft out of a near-fatal dive near Ancone Airport in France last month.

The heroine of the incident was Mme. Emilla Julien, Director of a hotel in Zermatt, Switzerland, who was en route with four other passengers, all German industrialists, from Palma De Majorca to West Germany.

The plane was seen from the airport going into a spin and then a dive from 2,000 metres to 300 metres altitude and appeared certain to crash.

Mme. Julien, who has a civilian pilot's licence, made her way to the empty co-pilot's seat and brought the plane under control. She flew in circles around the Ancone Airport until the other passengers revived Wollenzin. The pilot then gave her landing instructions and she brought the twin-engined "Aero-commander" to a perfect landing.

General

LENIN PEACE PRIZE FOR MR. EATON

The American industrialist, Mr. Cyrus Eaton, well known for his personal friendship with Mr. Khrushchev, was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize at his farm near Nova Scotia on 1st July.

Canadian-born Eaton, who received the award at his farm at Pugwash before thousands of people said he was very much moved and that the prize proved the great desire for peace of the Soviet people.

The Director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Prof. Skobeltzyn, who made the award, said that Mr. Eaton was very highly thought of by the Soviet population.

Mr. S. M. FOSSIL

Mr. S. M. Fossil, General Secretary of the Young Men's Crescent Society, Triplicane passed away on 6th June at Madras following sudden illness. He was 67.

A popular social figure, Mr. Fossil was the Editor of the *Mussalman*, an Urdu daily published from the City. He was connected with a number of social and cultural organisations in the City. He was also editing the *Muslim Chronicle* and the *Deccan Times*, weeklies (now defunct) published from Madras.

Mr. MELVILLE DE MELLOW

Mr. Melville de Mellow, producer Radio Newsreel, All India Radio, has won the International Radio competition known as Lidice 1960, organised by the Czechoslovak Radio and Czech Peace Committee.

De Mellow was adjudged the best documentary producer—script, production and broadcast—from out of a number of radio men from all over the world who entered the contest. He becomes the first Indian to have ever won this award. It was for the first time that De Mellow entered this contest.

His award-winning entry was the documentary feature entitled "Garden of Peace" broadcast by All India Radio on the "Human Rights Day" last year.

ANEURIN BEVAN

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, British Labour leader, died on July 6. The fiery Welsh politician—one of the most colourful figures in British public affairs—was 62. He died at his farm house home in Asheridge Buckinghamshire, with his politician wife, Miss Jennie Lee, at his bedside.

Dr. J. V. NARLIKAR

Jayant Vishnu Narlikar, an Indian student has passed the Cambridge University's mathematical Tripos (Honours examination) with first class and a "Star" and annexed the Tyson Gold Medal for proficiency in astronomy.

Announcing this at Poona on June 19 Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, former Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, said that in winning this "unique distinction" Jayant followed in the foot-steps of his father Dr. V. V. Narlikar, Professor of Mathematics at the Banaras Hindu University, who also won the same medal 30 years ago.

MALAYA GOLD MEDAL FOR INDIAN

S. Ramalingam an Indian hospital attendant at Kuala Lumpur who took off his trousers and gave them to a naked and shivering patient has been awarded a gold medal.

The award was made by the newly-formed Government Medical and Health Employees National Trade Union (1959).

The medal and citation were handed to Ramalingam by Malaya's Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Ong Yoke Lin. The citation paid tribute to Ramalingam's "high sense of duty" on July 3, 1956, which brought honour and goodwill to all hospital servants alike.

PRINCE SIHANOUK

Prince Norodom Sihanouk took the oath on June 20 as the Head of the State before the Cambodian National Assembly.

Dealing with the monarchy, Prince Sihanouk said that Queen Kossamak, widow of King Suramarit, would live in the royal palace as a symbol of the monarchy, but he indicated that the palace service would be reorganised in an economy drive.

THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

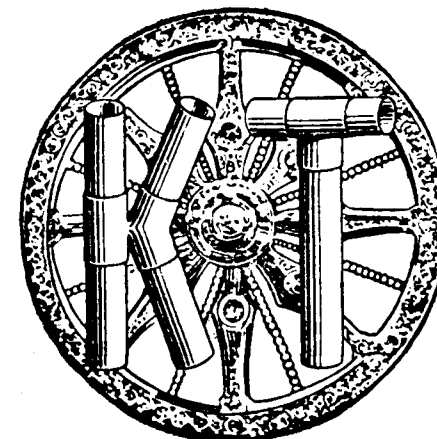
A 77-year-old British political monthly *The National and English Review*, came out for the last time on June 7. It is ceasing publication for economic reasons. Its Editor was Lord Altrincham, who made an outspoken criticism of the royal court three years ago.

WIMBLEDON TENNIS

Mr. Neale Fraser of Australia won the Wimbledon Title recently defeating Laver of Australia.

AUGUST 1960]

THE INDIAN REVIEW



KALINGA TUBES

FOR

WATER AND GAS DISTRIBUTION



KALINGA TUBES LTD.,

33, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE,

CALCUTTA-12

Factory: Choudwar, Cuttack (Orissa)

Phone: 23-4088/89

Cables: KALTUBES

THE INDIAN REVIEW

Editor : MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 61]

AUGUST 1960 : DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 8

Third Plan at a Glance By Prof. Nityananda Sen ...	393	History of Foreigners from their Epitaphs By. Mr. S. K. Asawa ...	414
The Congress President and Assam Disturbances. By Sri K. C. Chakravarti ...	397	The Art of Kathakalakshepam By Prof. R. Srinivasan ...	419
Racial Discrimination and Independent African States : By A. P. S. Gupta ...	398	A Survey of Indian Shipping By Srimati Sumati Morarjee ...	422
Credit Guarantee Scheme By Mr. Maya Dutt Sharma ...	401	Current Affairs ...	425
Youth's Growing Role in British Politics By Mr. Ormonde D. Godfrey ...	403	Books in Review ...	429
Are We Getting Richer ? By Prof. V. G. Ramakrishna Iyer ...	405	Indians Outside India ...	431
Status of Women in Ancient India By Mr. Shamsuddin ...	407	Diary of the Month ...	432
Which is the Earliest Veda ? I. By Sri C. V. Narahari Rao ...	408	Readers' Digest ...	433
II. Prof. R. K. S. Shastree ...	409	Questions of Importance ...	441
Genius and Madness By Sri P. B. K. Menon ...	410	Utterances of the Day ...	442
Labour versus Consumers By Mr. J. M. Lobo Prabhu ...	412	Political ...	443
		Educational ...	444
		Legal ...	445
		Trade and Finance ...	446
		Women's Page ...	447
		General ...	448

Your Attention Please !

If you are interested in the regular supply of this Journal, kindly fill up this form and post it to :—

G. A. NATESAN & Co.,

Publishers, "INDIAN REVIEW,"

ESPLANADE, MADRAS-1

Dear Sirs,

Please enrol me as a subscriber to the INDIAN REVIEW from

M. O. for Rs. 6 (Six)

.....I am sending an.....(Foreign £ 1

Cheque for Rs. 6.25

U. S. A. 4 Dollars) one year's subscription.

Name

Designation

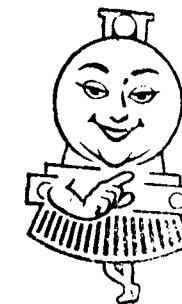
Address

Yours faithfully,

AUGUST 1960]

THE INDIAN REVIEW

3



Please help to eliminate beggars and hawkers from trains. Railways are doing everything possible in this direction through raids, prosecution etc. But complete success cannot be achieved without the whole-hearted co-operation of the traveller. Giving alms to beggars and buying from unauthorized hawkers on trains is the surest way of encouraging them. Apart from inconvenience, there is a danger that the things sold by the hawkers are spurious. Elimination of beggars and unauthorized hawkers from trains will make travel more comfortable and SAFER.

Please do not encourage beggars and unauthorized hawkers on trains by giving alms or purchasing articles.

(ISSUED BY SOUTHERN RAILWAY)

THE MAHABHARATA

CONDENSED IN THE POET'S OWN WORDS

Text in Devanagari and English Translation

COMPILED BY

PANDIT A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

By DR. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

FOREWORD BY

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

The great epic of Sage Vyasa has been admirably condensed in this handy book. The thread of the main story is seen here clearly together with the best portions of the dialogues and discourses. Indeed, it is Vyasa himself speaking, not the compiler.

Neither the ignorance of Sanskrit nor the mammoth size of the original need now stand in the way of any one enjoying the immortal epic of Vyasa.

Dr. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.S.I., C.I.E., (in a letter to Mr. G. A. Natesan):—"You must be congratulated on your attempt to condense the most unwieldy and voluminous Epic in the world.....The translation is accurate and readable and reflects credit upon the translator, Dr. V. Raghavan."

Price Rs. 3/-

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS-1.

THE UPANISHADS

SELECTIONS FROM THE 108 UPANISHADS

Text in Sanskrit Devanagari and English Translation

BY

DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN

FORWORD BY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

It presents selections from the 103 Upanishads with their translation in English. The first Part of the book contains selections from the ten Major Upanishads. Next follow the *Svetasvatara* and the *Kaushitaki* which, though classed under the Minor Upanishads, are very important from the point of view of the central Upanishadic teaching. The last Part consists of selections from the other Minor Upanishads whose classification into six groups according to the topics dealt with has been adopted. In the matter of selection, the guiding principle has been to give the main teaching of the Upanishadic philosophy. To secure this end, consistent with the limitations of space, repetitions have been avoided without omitting the important passages. At the commencement of the selections from each Upanishad will be found an introductory note giving details regarding the Upanishad as also its contents. To ensure continuity of thought, prefatory notes are given at the top of sections of the Upanishads and the contents of omitted portions are also indicated.

Price Rs. 3/-

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS-1.

UMESH YOGA DARSHAN

(FIRST PART)

In Four Languages : English, Hindi, Gujarati & Marathi (Author : Shri Yogiraj Umeshchandraji)



Shri Yogiraj Umeshchandraji

An excellent treatise on the true meaning of Yoga, which explains to you how to control your digestive, nervous, respiratory, urinary and other body systems. The book is fully illustrated with 108 real Asana Photographs and explains to you about their efficacy in attaining complete remedy of various ailments or disorders through the medium of Yoga, Naturopathy, Chromopathy, Psycho-Therapy, etc.

Useful for men and women alike, young or old, healthy or unhealthy. Deserves a rightful place in every home, hospital and library.

Price : Rs. 15/- Plus Postage Rs. 2/- No V. P. P. sent.

YOGASANA CHART

A Chart printed on Artglazed paper and fully illustrated with attractive pictures is also available here. You can perform the Asanas shown therein at your home, which will keep you fit and healthy. Price : Rs. 2.50 including Postage to be sent by M. O. only.

YOGIC CLASSES

are also regularly conducted in the morning and evening at Shri Ramtirth Yogashram. Special classes for Ladies are also conducted. Lady teachers instruct Ladies.

RAMTIRTH BRAHMI OIL

Special No. 1
Registered.

An invaluable hair tonic for the prevention of dandruff and falling hair, RAMTIRTH BRAHMI OIL is manufactured scientifically with many precious ingredients, which cool brain, improve system, and bring sound sleep. Most ideal for body massage. It is useful to every one in all seasons. Prices : Rs. 4/- for big bottle and Rs. 2/- for small. Available everywhere.

SHRI RAMTIRTH YOGASHRAM,

DADAR, CENTRAL RLY., BOMBAY-14. PHONE : 62899

A new monthly journal published in London. The only paper of its kind

THE
AFRICAN & COLONIAL WORLD
Incorporating THE INDIAN at Home Overseas

Managing Editor : DR. K. D. KUMRIA

A POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND TRADE REVIEW

AFRICAN AND COLONIAL SECTION

History is in the making in Africa and the colonial world, and the job of the new magazine is to give you the facts.

It will tell you not only what is happening, but the significance of it.

Edited and produced in London—one of the world's keenest news centres, "African and Colonial World" will attempt to reflect the opinions and aspirations of the African and colonial peoples themselves.

There is no more dynamic factor in present day politics than the struggle of these peoples for equality and self-government.

INDIAN SECTION

Promotes the political and cultural welfare of the four million Indians overseas.

Provides means of closer contact, through its news service, between Indians in various parts of the world. Ventilates problems and disabilities of Indians domiciled in other lands and brings them to the attention of metropolitan governments.

Presents Indians in overseas lands to the people of India and presents Indians at home their problems and progress, to their fellow country men in other lands. Publishes regular articles affecting of Indians everywhere with special cultural and trade sections.

Annual Subscription 14 Shillings.

The ideal medium for manufacturers and exporters to reach Colonial and Indian merchants in the overseas territories.

Distribution and Advertising Agents wanted throughout India.

Please address all Communications to:—

70, ST. GEORGE'S ROAD, LONDON, S. E. 1.

Telephone: WATerloo 3 0 0 9

READ

THOUGHT

(A WEEKLY REVIEW OF POLITICS AND THE ARTS)

TO UNDERSTAND

THE TEMPO, DYNAMICS AND

DIRECTION OF WORLD EVENTS AND

IN THE LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THOUGHT IS KNOWN FOR ITS

OBJECTIVE APPROACH AND INTEGRITY

THOUGHT, FAIZ BAZAR, DELHI-7.

FOR
QUALITY RAYON YARN

&

TRAYONS TRAYOPHANE
(TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM)

*

THE TRAVANCORE RAYONS LIMITED

(INDIA'S PIONEER MANUFACTURERS OF RAYON YARN & TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM)

FACTORY:

RAYONPURAM P. O. KERALA STATE

SALES OFFICE:

2/6, SECOND LINE BEACH

MADRAS-I

MANAGING AGENTS:

EMCETE & SONS (TRAVANCORE) PRIVATE LTD.

UPAKHYANAMALA

(A Garland of Stories)

(Selected from the Epics and the Puranas)

Text in Sanskrit Devanagari

Condensed by Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR

Translated by Mr. V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

With a Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER

RUPEES THREE

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS-1.

LEXIN

If no breath, unconscious, unable to inhale, Lexin is dropped into nostrils 5 drops in each and given artificial respiration. Saved many a hopeless case of snake bite.

P. BANERJI—MIHIJAM
(S. P.) INDIA

BOOKS ON BUDDHISM

Maha Bodhi Society's Diamond Jubilee Souvenir	Rs. 6 0 0
Anagarika Dharmapala	
Relationship between Hinduism & Buddhism	0 6 0
The Psychology of Progress	0 12 0
What did the Lord Buddha Teach?	0 12 0
World's Debt to Buddha	0 8 0
Kosetsu Nosu & Basil Crump	
Mulagandhakuti Vihara Wall Paintings	7 8 0
The Life of Buddha in Frescoes	2 8 0
Devapriya Valisaha	
Buddhist Shrines in India	5 0 0
Buddhist Way of Life	0 4 0
Bhikkhu Silacara:	0 8 0
Kamma	
Madam A. C. Albers	
Life of Buddha for Children	0 4 0
Jataka Tales for Children	0 8 0
Dr. B. Jayaram: Perfect Health	1 0 0
Bhikkhu Sangharakshita	
Where Buddhism Begins And Why it Begins There	0 2 0
Anagarika Dhammapala (A Biographical Sketch)	1 0 0
Apply for Complete Catalogue:	
MAHA BODHI BOOK AGENCY, 4-A, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.	

"FOR

THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE

THE "CHOWRINGHEE" WEEKLY OF CALCUTTA IS

WINNING NEW READERS AMONG THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE WHO
WANT TO KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD, AND
WHAT THEY SHOULD DO ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS."

Address: No. 1-A, PREYA NATH BANERJEE ST. CALCUTTA-9.

RAM KRISHAN KULWANT RAI

IRON & STEEL IMPORTERS, CONTROLLED STOCKISTS & RE-ROLLERS

STOCKISTS OF PIPES & PIPE FITTINGS

*

ASSOCIATES.

KULWANT RAI & SON

*

OFFICES AT:

	DELHI	CALCUTTA	MADRAS
	50, G. B. ROAD	33, NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD	33, SEMBUDOSS ST.
GRAMS:	"KULJAS"	"FEROSTOX"	"KULJAS"
PHONE:	26411.	22-6686.	4906.
	DELHI	LUCKNOW	BOMBAY
	HAUZ QAZI	18, A. P. SEN ROAD	Post Box No. 4089
GRAMS:	"KULJAS"	"KULJAS"	"KULJAS"
PHONE:	27895.	5169.	

Telegrams :

"SPUNPIPE" Post Box No. 32

Telephone : 76

**THE
SPUNPIPE
COMPANY
NANJIKKOTTA ROAD,
TANJORE**

*

**Manufacturers of
R. C. SPUNPIPES BY
CENTRIFUGAL PROCESS**

**On rate Contract with the D. G. S. & D.
NEW DELHI**

K. P. V. SHAIK MOHAMED ROWTHER & CO.

POST BOX NO. 1264

41, Linghi Chetty Street, G. T. Madras.

Branches at

MASULIPATAM, KAKINADA, NEGAPATAM and KARAİKAL

Telegraphic Address :

General : "SHAIK"

Coastal Service : "JALANATH"

U. K. America Service : "SAMUDRAPAR"

Singapore-Australia Service : "EASTSHIPCO"

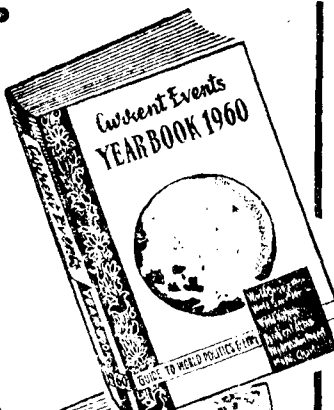
Agents For :

**THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., BOMBAY.
THE EASTERN SHIPPING CORPORATION LTD., BOMBAY.
THE UNITED STATES NAVIGATION CO., Inc., NEW YORK.
THE ALEXANDRIA NAVIGATION CO., S. A. E., ALEXANDRIA.
THE STANDARD VACUUM OIL CO., MADRAS.**

Steamer Service :

**Regular Cargo and Passenger Service to Coastal Ports
of India, Burma and Ceylon: India/U.K. and Continent:
India/America: India/Australia & Far East: Madras
Rangoon: Madras/Singapore.**

**Telephone No. { 4972 (2 Lines) Office.
3677 (After Office Hours.)**




FOR ALL COMPETITIONS

CURRENT EVENTS Year Book 1960

Main Features

- International Organizations
- World Gazetteer
- Special Section on India
- 20-Page World Atlas
- National & International Events with Background
- Pros & Cons of Controversial Issues
- MAPS & CHARTS Pages 600 Rs. 5.00

Current Events

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOR PEOPLE HIGH IN THE CIRCLES OF BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT AND THE PROFESSIONS

Single Copy Re. 1.00
Yearly Rs. 12.00

AVAILABLE FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER OR

CURRENT EVENTS
17 RAJPUR ROAD, DEHRADUN

FREE INDIA

SOUTH INDIA'S BEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY

PRINCIPAL FEATURES :

Beautiful Front Cover
Film & Fun Pages
World Window
Snappy Leaders

Opinions of the Week
Plan with planets
Cartoons
Up-to-the-Minute Photos
Short Story and Hindi Lessons

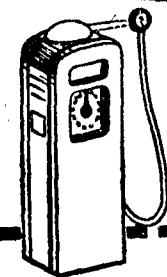
SINGLE COPY : 20 nP. 6 MONTHS Rs. 5 ONE YEAR Rs. 10.

Please ask for a Specimen Copy.

Further particulars from

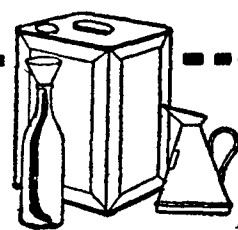
FREE INDIA WEEKLY

77, General Patters Road :: MADRAS-2



PETROL

KEROSENE



NOW SOLD IN LITRES

Petroleum industry has changed over to Metric System. Petrol and Kerosene are now sold in litres.

Prices of these will not be affected by the change-over.

Gallon	Litre	Gallon	Litre	Litre	Gallon	Litre	Gallon
1 ----	4.55	20 ---	90.9	1 ---	0.22	20 ---	4.4
2 ---	9.1	30 ---	136.4	2 ---	0.44	30 ---	6.6
3 ---	13.6	40 ---	181.8	3 ---	0.66	40 ---	8.8
4 ---	18.2	50 ---	227.3	4 ---	0.88	50 ---	11.0
5 ---	22.7	60 ---	272.8	5 ---	1.10	60 ---	13.2
6 ---	27.3	70 ---	318.2	6 ---	1.32	70 ---	15.4
7 ---	31.8	80 ---	363.7	7 ---	1.54	80 ---	17.6
8 ---	36.4	90 ---	409.1	8 ---	1.76	90 ---	19.8
9 ---	40.9	100 ---	454.6	9 ---	1.98	100 ---	22.0
10 ---	45.5			10 ---	2.20		

**1 GALLON =
4½ LITRES
approx.**

METRIC SYSTEM

FOR SIMPLICITY & UNIFORMITY

Issued by Government of India

"CURZONS"

LAMINATED BLOCK BOARDS

- * Guaranteed against warping, cracking, expansion or contraction
- * Ideal for Table-tops, all panels for Furniture (up to 4 ft. width) & Flush Doors.



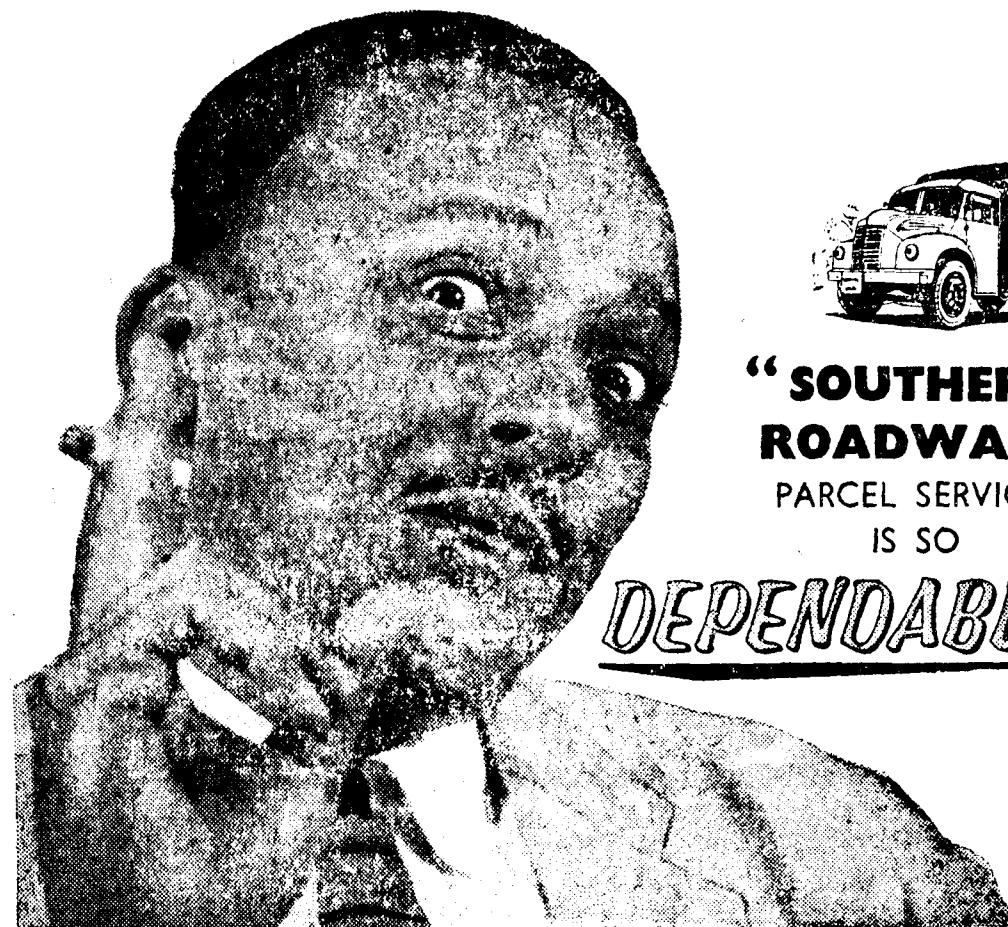
Now Available

with special decorative finish and
attractive colours or wood-grains

- * Glass-hard smooth surface
- * Resists abrasion, wear and tear
- * Proof against alcohol and acids
- * Not affected by boiling liquids or Ice.

SEEING IS BELIEVING!

ASK FOR DEMONSTRATION



"SOUTHERN ROADWAYS

PARCEL SERVICE
IS SO

DEPENDABLE"

SAFETY

However fragile your goods be, from bangles to radios, Southern Roadways is the Service for you. Every lorry is driven at a safe and steady speed to protect your parcels from jolts and jerks. An instrument called 'tachograph' keeps record of the speed throughout.

*TVS Southern Roadways Parcel Service
offers these other advantages:*

- Specially trained staff handle loading and unloading
- Every lorry is locked before leaving the station
- The running of the lorry is strictly governed by time schedule
- 111 lorries plying 57 routes along 19,254 miles a day assure the widest distribution
- Covered ware-houses in 307 stations keep your goods safe until delivery is effected
- You can charter a carrier when you need it

**TVS Southern Roadways is the largest
road transport network in South India**

*We take care of your PARCEL
as if it were a BABY*



SOUTHERN ROADWAYS PRIVATE LIMITED
Madurai Unit of TVS

NATESAN'S PUBLICATIONS

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Price Rs. 5 each

- Indian Judges.** Sketches of 21 famous Judges.
Indian Christians. Sketches of famous Indian Christians.

POLITICS

- Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule.** By Mahatma Gandhi. As. Eight.
Fellowship of Faiths and Unity of Religions. By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Prof. Abdul Majid Khan. Re. One.

INDIAN TALES

- The Guardianship of India: A Mock Trial.** By R. Javanthinathan. Rupee One.
Select Tales from the Sanskrit Dramatists. Contents: Sakunthala, Malavikagnimitra, Uttaramacharita, Nagananda and Mudrarakshasa. Re. One.
Sakuntala. By Kamala Sathianadhan. As. 6.

Works of Dr. Radhakrishnan

- Freedom and Culture** Rs. 2.
The Heart of Hindustan Re. 1-8.

WORLD TEACHERS

Re. One each.

- Sri Rama: His Life and Teachings.** By M. R. Sampatkumaran, M.A.
Jesus Christ. By Mr. S. K. George.
Sankaracharya. By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.
Sri Krishna: His Life and Teachings. By Mr. M. R. Sampatkumaran, 2nd Edn.
Life and Teachings of Zoroaster. By Prof. A. R. Wadia.
Buddha. By D. Dharmapala 4th Edn.
Prophet Muhammad. By Ahmed Shafi and Yakub Hasan.

NATIONAL CLASSICS

(Abridged editions)

Price Rupees Three each.

- Valmiki Ramayana.** Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H.

The Mahabharata. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

Upakhyanamala. Text in Devanagari. Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The Upanishads. Selections from the 108 Upanishads. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. With a Foreword by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

- A Handbook of Saiva Religion.** By S. Katireshu, Rs. 2-8.
Aspects of the Vedanta: A Symposium. Rs. 2.
Hindu Ethics. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 2.
Temples, Churches and Mosques. By Yakub Hasan, 68 illus. Re. 1-8.
The First Four Califs. By Ahmed Shafi. Re. 1.
North Indian Saints. (Ramanand to Ram Tirath) Rs. 2.
Chaitanya to Vivekananda: Lives of the Saints of Bengal. Rs. 2.

GENERAL

- 50 Years in the Service of the Nation.** A Golden Jubilee Souvenir recording the nation's progress through fifty years of G. A. Natesan and Co's publications. By B. Natesan. With Foreword by C. Rajagopalachariar, Rs. Two.
Sixty Years of Publishing. (1897-1957) Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of G. A. Natesan & Co. Tributes & Appreciations and articles of interest with illustration etc. on Art Paper. Rs. 5
Books That Have Influenced Me. A Symposium by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir C. V. Raman. Dr. C. Jinarajadasa, Justice M. C. Chagla, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others. Price Re. 1-8.
Famous Battles in Indian History. By T. G. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T. Re. 1.
Shakespeare's Tragedies: King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet and Othello. By Dr. W. Miller, Re. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS and BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS-1.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 61]

AUGUST 1960

[No. 8

Third Plan at a Glance

By

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

THREE-FOURTHS of the Second Plan period are over and we are now busy preparing the blue-print of the Third Plan. What should be its size, structure and pattern are, therefore, the talks of the day.

The method and technique, size and shape, pattern and approach to the Third Five-Year Plan as a whole should be based on the lessons and past experience gained during the First and Second Plan periods. In fact, the Second Plan suffered from too much dependence on statistical presumptions and the size of the Plan proved disproportionate to the available natural resources compelling the authorities to take recourse to heavy deficit financing. Under-emphasis on agriculture resulted in its inadequate development. The rate of population growth was also under-estimated, while the importance on cottage and handicraft industries was over-emphasised. All these technical defects, under-estimations and over-estimations, absence of a sound organisational pattern and strict discipline in work, lack of integrity and efficiency in the administrative set-up gave rise to a number of problems in the economy during the Second Plan, which should be borne in mind before the outline of the Third Plan is finally approved and put into execution.

From the discussions so far held in the Planning Commission about the broad outline of the Third Plan, which has since been approved by the National Development Council, we may conclude that its main aims would be to ensure the country to attain a self-sustaining and self-generating economy by developing the (a) Key ; basic and machine-building industries on the one hand and by stepping up (b) agricultural production, and (c) overall rural reconstruction, on the other. Although the draft Third Plan has been approved by the National Development Council, it is subjected to expert scrutiny by the Planning Commission's Panel of Economists, which will consider the structure and the strategy for financing and executing it. The following are, however, the main features of the Third Plan for attaining its basic objectives :

1. *Agricultural Development:* Agriculture would receive much greater attention and the volume of investment on the agricultural sector would be appreciably increased for stepping up food production to keep pace with the increased demand of the alarming growth of population. This would be effected through the proper organisation of village institutions like the panchayats and the Co-operatives.

2. *Co-operative Farming*: The technique of advanced cultivation through 'Co-operative Farming' would be implemented where desired and feasible and it will be absolutely based on co-operation and not coercion.

3. *Service Cooperatives*: Service Co-operatives would be established in every district of the rural areas to supply timely seeds, fertilisers, finance, agricultural implements and other facilities to the Co-operative Farms.

4. *Organisation of Panchayats*: Gram Panchayats would be set-up in each village to dispose of almost all matters concerning the village so that the villagers would be able to manage their own affairs themselves. They have also to play a fair role and do justice to all and to provide production and education to all.

5. *Land Reforms*: The entire programme of the present land reform system would be re-oriented. The present pattern of holding of land would be changed altogether and the entire available arable land would be distributed amongst the peasants, as far as possible.

6. *Development of Heavy and Key Industries*: The development of heavy and basic industries would continue to receive much greater priority in country's industrial structure during the Third Plan period.

7. *Development of Machine-Building Industry*: During the Second Plan no stress was laid on this section of industrial development, which has reflected seriously on the country's economy. So the development of machine-building industries would receive priority during the Third Plan period. These industries would be able to supply the necessary agricultural implements and machine and machine tools required for the Co-operative Farming and consumer-goods industries.

8. *Development of village small-scale industries*: Simultaneously with the development of large scale industries, the village and small scale industries including cottage and

handicraft industries would be given emphasis for healthy and sound development during the Third Plan because this sector can offer ample scope for employment opportunities without any large capital investment.

9. *Development of Industrial Co-operatives*: Industrial Co-operatives just on the model of agricultural service-co-operatives would be given a start, to assist the business enterprises to flourish various industries in rural and urban areas by providing them necessary and other finance facilities.

10. *Re-vitalization of Community Development Programme and National Extension Service Projects*: The progress in Community Development and National Extension Service Projects during the Second Plan period is not up to the expectation. Therefore, these programmes and projects would be revitalized during the Third Plan. The entire rural economy is proposed to be re-organised and developed through Community Development and National Extension Service Projects. They will look after primary education, transport and communication, agriculture and small industries, power and minor irrigation, etc. in the rural areas.

11. *Better Utilization of potential and unutilized productive powers*: The untapped natural resources including minerals would be explored and exploited to the maximum extent for achievements of the objectives and targets outlined in the Third Plan.

12. *Location of Training, Institutions, Research Centres, etc. in the rural areas*: If the rural economy is to advance more rapidly, agriculture and community projects would not be enough. It would also be necessary to locate as many institutions, such as Research Centres, Training Institutions, etc., as possible in the rural areas.

13. *Dispersal of industries and balanced regional development*: The importance of redistribution of all economic activities including

industrial development on regional basis, has been fully recognised and accepted as the guiding principle for further expansion of industries during the Third Plan. The excessive concentration of industries in one particular region of any State would be avoided and each region developed on equal footing for attaining balanced development of the country. The need for developing backward regions of the country will also receive greater attention during the Third Plan and further expansion of industries in big cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Ahmedabad would be restricted.

14. *Welfare for the Agricultural and Industrial Workers*: In order to generate the necessary enthusiasm among the people, the Planning Commission has prepared a detailed programme of providing certain minimum and basic amenities to all sections of the population including agricultural and industrial workers.

15. *No interruption of production by strikes and lock-outs*: Interruption of production would not be allowed and all industrial disputes settled as far as possible, in accordance with the spirit of the legislations so far passed and through voluntary arbitration and joint consultation.

16. *Ensuring speed, efficiency and integrity in the administrative set-up*: The administrative machinery would be suitably re-organised where necessary, so as to ensure speed, efficiency and integrity in the institutional and administrative set-up at all levels.

17. *Provision for fuller employment to the people both in the rural and the urban areas*: The Third Plan would be employment-oriented and would be possible both by the intensification of agriculture as well as by spreading a net-work of a very large number of small and cottage industries in the rural areas. The Planning Commission in collaboration with the Panel of Economists is preparing a detailed

scheme for providing fuller employment to the people through various productive projects.

18. *Removal of disparities*: The inequalities in the distribution of income, wealth and opportunities would be reduced as far as practicable.

As regards priorities for the Third Plan, it has been stipulated that—(a) food and agricultural development would receive the top-most priority because we are now under the heavy deficit of foodgrains; (b) next priority would be given for exploration and exploitation of oil in different parts of the country as we have to depend on the foreign supply and at present have to import a huge quantity of oil at a very high cost; (c) next to oil exploration, and exploitation, the Third Plan would give emphasis on the establishment of a few heavy, key and basic industries on the one hand and machine-building industries on the other, particularly for the manufacture of various machineries and machine tools; (d) village and small industries in the rural areas and transport and communications on an all-India basis would also receive greater attention in the Third Plan.

As has been already given out, the total investment under the Third Plan is placed at Rs. 10,200 crores, of which Rs. 6,200 crores would be in the public sector and Rs. 4,000 crores in the private sector. The highest investment would be made under industry and minerals, which would account for Rs. 2,300 crores (1,300 crores in the public and 1,000 crores in the private sectors). The next highest investment would be made under transport and communication amounting to a total of Rs. 1,700 crores—both public and private sectors. Social services including urban and rural housing and reconstruction would claim Rs. 1,625 crores, while agriculture and community development including irrigation would come next with a total investment of Rs. 1,950 crores. This outlay, however, has been proposed on the basis of the following estimations:

(1) an annual increase of 6% in per capita income ;

(2) an annual increase of 5% in agricultural produce ;

3. an annual rise of 2% in population ;

4. provision of gainful employment to all unemployed ; etc.

The most vital question now is how this gigantic plan is to be financed. The scheme for financing the Plan, drawn up by the Planning Commission has since been accepted by the National Development Council, but it will be further scrutinised by the Panel of Economists. The scheme provides for a total deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 500 crores and assumes foreign aid of the order of Rs. 2,200 crores. Again, an additional taxation of Rs. 1,650 crores will be collected of which the States will bear Rs. 500 crores. The rest will come from Centre and States' revenues and additional public borrowings and mobilisation of domestic resources.

It may be concluded by saying that the successful implementation of the bold programme of the Third Plan with a view to attaining its main objectives is dependent on the fulfilment of certain essential conditions, such as :

1. *Stabilization of prices*: In order to maintain the cost-price structure it is the prime necessity that the price-line should be held. So all possible measures should be adopted to stabilize the general price-level of all essential commodities, particularly foodgrains.

2. *Re-organisation of administrative machinery*: With a view to effecting institutional and administrative improvements so as to ensure proper speed, efficiency and integrity, the present administrative machinery should be suitably re-organised at all levels.

3. *Elimination of tax-evasion*: At present

there is considerable evasion and avoidance of both direct and indirect taxes, which should be put a stop to forthwith. This will be possible if the tax-collecting machinery is completely re-oriented and tightened up.

4. *Rational Industrial Policy*: Although, India, a democratic State, guided by the ideology of 'socialist pattern of society' cannot permit concentration of economic powers in a few private hands for a long time, it is no denying that the role of private sector in an under-developed country like India, is esteemable. 'Competition' being the condition precedent to its survival and 'profit' being the motive force behind, the private sector is bound to be efficient and speedier and will be able to supply quality goods at the lowest minimum cost which the Public sector cannot do because of the absence of competition and presence of State monopoly. Therefore, the Government's Industrial Policy should be liberalised and private enterprisers given the scope to expand their activities.

5. *Minimization of deficit financing*: Internal resources should be pooled up by giving impetus to new investments. Tax evasion should be checked and expenditure on top-heavy administration curtailed before deficit financing is resorted to and even if this becomes inescapable, the least amount should be arranged by deficit financing as deficit financing virtually creates heavy inflationary pressure in country's economy.

6. *Provision for more Jobs*: The Third Plan should take up such productive projects as can engage more labour at less capital. That is, all the productive projects should be labour intensive and not capital intensive.

If we can fulfil all these essential conditions, it will not be very difficult for us to make the Third Plan a grand success.



The Congress President and Assam Disturbances

By

Sri K. C. CHAKRAVARTI

REGARDING the Assam Valley disturbances, the Congress President Shri Sanjiva Reddy is reported to have stated at Delhi that the Assam Government at Shillong was, for the first three or four days, taken unawares, that it could not be said that the preparations for the disturbances were going on long before, that the amount of total loss and damage could not be much because 99% of the people who suffered were poor, that when he visited Assam, some ten days after the disturbances had started, the Assam Government was doing their best, that the situation was under control and that there was no need for any public enquiry as Shri Nehru himself went to Assam.

When two Indian peoples, Bengalees and Asamiyas are fighting, any Indian will naturally hesitate to give his verdict against one of them. It is particularly difficult for the Congress President to find out the fault because he himself belongs to a Political Party. By exposing the Congress Government in Assam, the Congress President would undermine the position and prestige of the Congress in Assam. Since the Congress President himself depends on votes, he is least fitted to act impartially. It was Mahatma Gandhi, who alone had the moral courage to act and speak impartially and disinterestedly. Pandit Nehru is possibly another person after Mahatma Gandhi but he is also a Party man. It is unfortunate that in India, there is no person or body who can command universal respect and speak openly on such disputes. It is difficult to support the opinion that there was no preparation beforehand for the violence that went unchecked for more than two weeks in Assam. Violence leading to assault, stabbing and murder took place from Goalpara to Dibrugarh which means the

whole of the Assam Valley. Colonies of Bengalees some six or seven hundred in number in compact areas, were burnt to ashes. In the towns of Nowgong, Tezpur, Sibsagar etc. the Bengalees had to vacate their houses and live in camps. Some thirty thousand Bengalees had left Assam and another fifteen thousand were living as refugees in camps inside Assam. Are we to believe that all these could be done without any preparation and without the fullest co-operation from all sections of the Assamese public including the Police?

The Governor and his Ministers, all highly paid public servants were living in the heights of Shillong when the tension was growing in the plains. Are we to believe that they did not know how the excitement was growing amongst different sections before the violence actually started? If our Congress Leaders at the helm of the Assam Government could not know things from beforehand, if they could not foresee events and take precautionary measures, do they justify the posts they are holding? While the whole Assam Valley was burning did the Governor or any of his Ministers, (not including the Chief Minister who was ill,) dare or care to go to the troubled spots?

The Congress President's hurried tour was a conducted tour. He was shown the places where it was not necessary for him to go. While not a single case of stabbing, murder or arson took place in Cachar, Shri Siddhinath Sarma took him to Cachar where the Congress President spent one useless day. There was absolutely no violence in Cachar yet the Assamese District Officer promulgated Section 144 and also curfew. The Congress of Cachar wired Shri Siddhinath Sarma not to come to Silchar as his presence

would unnecessarily provoke the Bengalees who met in conference and passed resolutions but did absolutely no violence. Shri Siddhinath Sarma's presence was necessary in the Assam Valley for restoring peace there. But the advice was not heeded. He obstinately came to Silchar with the Congress President only to create the false impression that the situation in Cachar was worsening.

In the Assam Valley the Congress President was shown the burnt huts of the poor East Bengal refugees. He simply saw what the Congress leaders of the Assam Valley showed him.

It is almost decided that an enquiry will be held regarding police firing at Gauhati resulting in the death of a College Student. It is unfortunate that the Congress President does not now support an open and public enquiry into the whole affairs. It is evident that such an enquiry would expose some of the worst features of Congress rule. Apart from other issues, the public would have known how ambitions and rivalries among persons and groups within the Congress have led to the disturbances which form only an outward symptom of the deep-rooted disease within.

The public would have also known how the Congress and the non-Congress leaders have utilised the Assamese students who have done what the Noakhali Muslims did not do.

Hiding the deep-rooted internal diseases and shielding the Congress in Assam from exposure, the Congress President can uphold its prestige and position *for sometime* but such a shortsighted policy cannot sustain the position of the Congress in the country *for long*. An open enquiry would, almost certainly place the major blame on the shoulders of Congress Cabinet of Assam, no doubt, but the non-Congress Parties have also their contributions and that should also be fully known. If nothing is done and the whole thing is hushed up by giving doles to the victims of the disturbances what will the people of Cachar and the Hills Districts conclude? What will people elsewhere in India think? The Congress virtually has no influence amongst hills people of Assam. They will now realise and rightly, that people can expect no justice when the wrong is done by the Congress. The Nagas had already realised it. Will it be wise for Congress, whatever may be its position *to-day*, if the remaining hill tribes of Assam realise it *to-morrow*?

—*—

Racial Discrimination and Independent African States

By

Sri ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

THE 11-day conference of Foreign Ministers of independent African countries which commenced in Addis Ababa on June 14 last was attended by Algeria, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and U. A. R. as full members. Angola, Kenya, and South Africa were represented by the leaders of nationalist movements in those countries and Tanganyika

and Uganda by observers. This was the third conference of all African Foreign Ministers who met for the first time in Accra in the year 1958. It is learnt from the reports published in the newspapers that the agenda of the conference included four subjects. The first subject was eradication of colonialism in Africa. The second subject was inter-African co-operation. Haile Selassie is the present

Emperor of Ethiopia. In course of his address to the conference he emphasized the need for unity and hoped that the independent African countries would advocate the cause of "our South African brothers" fearlessly and resolutely. He apprehended that the colonial powers might go on operating in disguise behind illusory independence. He told the conference that "the bloodshed and sufferings that we have witnessed during the past year in various parts of this continent are too vivid in our memory. They are tragic and we must see to it that they will not recur. We must devise means to arrest the senseless destruction of African lives. Africans have committed no sin, unless the pursuit of independence and freedom from colonial oppression is considered one." Mr Ako Adjei is the Foreign Minister of Ghana. He tried to influence the independent African States to convene an African Summit meeting for achieving three objects. The first object was to discuss nuclear tests. Secondly the proposed meeting would aim at measures necessary for bringing about disarmament. The third object of the meeting would be to force East-West agreement. Mr. Ako Adjei emphasized the need for an economic boycott of South Africa and said that a Union of Southern African states ought to be the ultimate political goal.

Dr. Julius Nyerere is the nationalist leader of Tanganyika. He attended the conference as an observer. In course of his address he said: "We must confront the Colonial office with a demand for the freedom of East Africa as one political unit." The proposal tabled by him envisaged changing the whole political balance in East Africa. In other words the proposal was aimed at the establishment of an 18-million strong East African Federation embracing Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar. About seventy thousand white people would be included in such a federation. The reports received from Addis Ababa indicate that Dr. Julius Nyerere was eager to accelerate the pace of

independence of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar even at the risk of postponing Tanganyika's own emergence as a fully independent state. The suggestion of the Federation was commended by Mr. Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya African National Union and Mr. Blundell, leader of the Multiracial New Kenya Party. But Mr. Blundell said that Mr. Nyerere's suggestion was not a new one. It was he who suggested a few days back that Kenya political leaders and Mr. Nyerere should meet to hold discussion on the future problems of their territories as they moved towards independence. Mr. Nyerere's statement re-emphasized only Mr. Blundell's suggestion. Here it may be mentioned that in a pamphlet circulated in Addis Ababa on June 16 Kenya's observer-delegation to the African conference complained that the European settlers in Kenya were conspiring with certain Indians so that there might arise in Kenya the state of emergency.

It is learnt that the third subject which stood included in the agenda of the conference was Algeria. Cameroon, Ethiopia, Liberia and Nigeria, four African States decided to group together to persuade the Algerian rebel leaders to start negotiation with the French Government. In its message dated June 25 *Reuter* states that "The Algerian situation tended to unite the conference, but here two factors weakened the joint resolve—President de Gaulle's cease fire offer on the eve of the conference, and the French influence in former French territories." The resolution unanimously passed at the conference called upon both France and the Algerian Provisional Government to negotiate on a cease fire and the application of self-determination in Algeria.

The fourth and the most important subject which stood included in the agenda of the conference was apartheid and racial discrimination in all its aspects. The government of South Africa was not invited to the conference, because it was following a policy of

racial discrimination. The conference itself was held to adopt suitable measures for combating their policy. It is reported that there was unanimous agreement among all participating countries on the need for strong boycott measures against South Africa.

Mr. Oliver Tambo is the Vice-President of the South African Congress. He managed to escape during the recent South African riots. He and Dr. Yousef Dadoo, President of South African Indian Congress went to Addis Ababa to acquaint the assembled representatives on the real situation within the country.

The boycott measures against South Africa were fully supported by Emperor Haile Selassie. He believed that the measures would serve two-fold purpose. Firstly the persons who were suffering as a result of the policy of racial discrimination would be given moral and symbolic support, secondly the measures would have material effect on South Africa. It was suggested by Mr. Muliro, a Kenyan opposition leader that if other means of ending apartheid did not succeed, the independent African countries should declare war on South Africa. The resolution unanimously passed at the conference expressed "indignation at the death of many African political leaders in prison in South Africa." In that resolution homage was paid to all victims of the shameful policy of apartheid and racial discrimination. Besides the resolution decided "to assist victims of racial discrimination and

furnish them with all the means necessary to attain their political objectives—liberty and democracy". It was expected that the African States which were members of the commonwealth world take all possible steps to secure the exclusion of the Union of South Africa from the Commonwealth. A report states that the United Arab Republic will in the near future sever her diplomatic relations with South Africa. But its suggestion that African countries within the Commonwealth should withdraw from the Commonwealth in the event of Britain's failure to expel South Africa was defeated at the conference. However the resolution ultimately passed called on member States. "To sever diplomatic relations or refrain from establishing diplomatic relations, as the case may be (with South Africa), close African ports to all vessels flying the South African flag, enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports, boycott all South African goods, refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government and companies registered under the laws of South Africa and prohibit all South African aircraft from flying over the air space of independent African States." In other words the condemnation of apartheid in South Africa was the triumph of the conference of independent African States, which took concrete steps to put an end to the terrible situation caused by racial discrimination.

**THE SUBSCRIBERS
OF
THE INDIAN REVIEW
ARE
REQUESTED TO REGISTER
THEIR**

COPY OF THE DIAMOND JUBILEE NUMBER
(of the INDIAN REVIEW Special SOUVENIR VOLUME)

By Sending M. O. Rs. 4 (India) – £ 1 (Foreign) – (U S A) \$ 3.
(when ordering please Quote your Subscriber Number)

For Details See 4th Cover page.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, INDIAN REVIEW, Madras-1. India.

Credit Guarantee Scheme

By

Mr. MAYA DUTT SHARMA, M. COM., F. R. ECON., S. (LOND.)

THE paucity of Institutional credit to small scale industries has been a major impediment to the development of this sector in India. Although, there are, at present several Government sponsored institutions routing State Aid loans to small entrepreneurs, "it has been recognised that a greater flow of credit to these industries can be facilitated only if commercial banks, with their larger resources, wide net work of branches and local knowledge are induced to participate on a large scale in the financing of small-industries."¹

But the consideration of liquidity and the element of risk² associated with loans to small industries have been two major factors-deterrents in bank-financing to this sector.

Although liquidity problem has been deemed to be solved with the establishment of the Re-finance Corporation, yet the element of risk has been a problem, requiring a system of insurance against possible default in respect of loans granted to small scale units operating in the field of industry.

The seminar on financing of small-scale industries, conducted by the Reserve Bank of India in Hyderabad from July 20 to July 23, 1959, considered the problem of commercial bank credit to small industries and was of the opinion that "a system of guarantee of loans to small industries sector would enable the financial institutions to enlarge their activities in this field, and as such, the proposal of formulating a scheme of guarantee³ was made,

the essence of which was a sharing of risks. The proposal has been given the shape of credit guarantee scheme formulated by the Government of India.

The Government of India has sanctioned a scheme under which banks and other financial institutions will be protected against losses, in respect of loans advanced by them to small scale industries in India. The protection shall be in the form of a guarantee, by the guarantee organisation, which is rather an insurance of risk, in joint venture with the lending institution.

The object of the scheme is to enlarge the supply of institutional credit to small scale industrial units in the country.

It will come into force on July 1, 1960, and guarantee shall be given to the credit institutions, in respect of advances repayable on demand or on the expiry of a fixed period not exceeding seven years—given to the industrial units covered under the definition of small-scale industries, sanctioned after July 1, 1960. For advances granted before this date, guarantee can be given for normal and bona-fide renewal or enhancement of the limit after due date, if the past record of the advance has been satisfactory.

Under the scheme, the quantum of guarantee available is on a sliding scale, smaller loans receiving larger guarantee coverage than larger ones. The necessary funds for guarantee will be provided by the Government of India.

The share of the Government of India in the loss will not exceed the maximum limit of Rs. 1 lakh in respect of any single advance.

The scheme has been started on an experimental basis for a period of two years only, hence its field of operation has been restricted. For this purpose 22 districts have been

1. Trend and Progress of Banking in India, during the year 1959-pp 19.

2. The risk element is there, because the prices of the products of these industries are open to wide fluctuations.

3. For details of proposal-see pp. 32-33. Trend and Progress of Banking in India-1959.

selected on the basis of relative importance of outstanding loans to smallscale industrial units and the potentialities for further expansion of such loans.

Since the scheme has been restricted to selected areas, it follows that the normal machinery of loans by the state Governments to small-scale industries will remain intact.

A number of credit institutions have been selected, from among those, operating in the country, which will be entitled for guarantee under the scheme.

Guarantee facilities can also be availed of by the banks and credit institutions, other than those selected for the purpose, in respect of advances granted by them, provided a selected credit institution participates in such an advance to the extent of not less than 25% of the amount thereof. This provision has further enhanced the utility of the scheme for non-selected credit institutions.

Generally an industrial unit having its capital below Rs. 5 lakhs comes in the category of small-scale industries, but for the purpose of this scheme, a small-scale industrial unit is one whose investment of capital nature is not in excess of Rs. 5 lakhs. This investment limit includes the value of rented premises and excludes the amounts spent on housing and amenities for workers. This definition has widened the small-scale sector of industry for the purpose of guarantee.

Guarantee on advances to an industrial unit shall be given if the principal place of manufacture, processing or other operation is located in an approved district.

Advances given for the purpose of acquiring fixed assets or for providing working capital shall be guaranteed under the scheme, but the essential condition for guarantee is that the advance shall be utilised only for the purpose for which it was obtained.

The seminar on financing of small industries recommended that the guaranteeing organisation (authority) should be an organ of a State Government or a Central Govern-

ment institution linked with and operated through the R.B. of India.

As such the Reserve Bank of India (amendment) Bill 1960 has been passed by the Parliament to enable the RB of India to act as an agent of the Central Govt. for the purpose of guaranteeing the obligations of small-scale industries to commercial banks and other financial institutions. The Reserve Bank of India is also empowered under the Act to give loans to the State Financial Corporations and notified lending institutions to augment their resources for granting loans to small and medium scale industries.

Now the RB of India is the guarantee organisation for a period of two years commencing from July 1, 1960, after which the arrangements will be subject to review.

The charges for providing guarantee cover has been kept as low as $\frac{1}{4}$ % per annum on the maximum amount of advance as sanctioned and is payable in advance to the guarantee organisation.

The responsibility for collection of the debt after the innovation of the guarantee will be that of the credit institutions which should take such steps for the recovery as may be required by the guarantee organisation.

The recoveries will be shared between the guarantee organisation and the lending institution in the manner prescribed under the scheme.

The guarantee organisation will try to ensure that claims made under the guarantee are paid within thirty days of the receipt of the required supporting evidence.

We can say that Indian economy is committed to the pattern of planned development which makes it incumbent on banks to enter new lines of business. Term lending to small-scale industries is obviously a new line of activity for Indian Banks, and it is expected that the scheme would impart the necessary stimulus to participating banks in the provision of larger credit facilities to small scale industries.

Youth's Growing Role in British Politics

By

Mr. ORMONDE D. GODFREY

WITH the new Parliamentary session well into its stride, the organisers of Britain's three major political parties are weighing the contributions of their younger elements to Party thought and endeavour.

The United Kingdom to-day has a "youngish" House of Commons. Of the 630 Members, many are under the age of 40 and some are less than 30 years old. The country's young people, therefore, can claim with satisfaction that their views are adequately reflected.

The rising generation itself, of course, is largely responsible for this state of affairs. Many thousands in their early twenties, and even younger, take an active interest in politics by joining the youth organisations affiliated to the Parties.

The Conservative Party claims a membership of the Young Conservative and Unionist Organisation totalling 150,000, with another 5,000 in the University Conservative and Unionist Associations. The branches exist in every constituency throughout the country.

Young Liberal thought is concentrated in the National Association of Young Liberals and the Union of Liberal Students. These have a combined membership of 10,000, nearly one-third of whom are "Liberal Students" in 18 societies.

The Labour Party's youth organisation has been through various phases. The Labour League of Youth was closed down in 1955, being officially described as "both ineffective and costly."

In place of this national organisation youth sections are organised in the local constituencies. The total membership of these sections in 1959 was about 30,000.

A movement called the Young Socialists was started after the last General Election. It now numbers about 5,000 members and may be expected to increase in the future.

Both Conservative and Labour Youth organisations arrange social functions as well as meetings devoted solely to political discussion. Dance, walking tours, gramophone record sessions and similar activities enable party supporters to keep in touch, and create the sense of solidarity which is so important at election times, just as it is for older party members.

Each young Conservative constituency organisation has to pay its own way, controls its own affairs, contributes to the central fund, and is integrated at all levels with the Party. The Labour youth organisations are more closely controlled by their seniors.

Both the Conservative and Liberal Parties have their advanced sections of younger members which make their independent contributions to policy.

The Conservative "Bow Group" was founded nine years ago to implement a resolution at the annual conference of the Federation of Young Conservatives. Its object was to interest young university graduates in the work of the Party and to provide a focus for new ideas and "the fruits of research and enthusiasm".

The Group has taken its name from its original meeting place, the Bow and Bromley Constitutional Club in the East End of London. Its journal, "Crossbow", has printed, from time to time, apparently unorthodox proposals which have startled some of the older Tories.

The Conservative Party's official attitude towards this Group is summarised in a pam-

phlet which stated: "One of the most encouraging signs of health in the Tory Party is the existence of the Bow Group".

It is young, compact and influential, also lively, critical and uninhibited. Its research workers have behind them a formidable record and have produced more than a dozen major reports on matters affecting Britain's role in overseas affairs as well as the Party's attitude to domestic issues.

Some 38 Young Liberals founded the New Orbits Group little more than a year ago. Their first publication last January, "High Time for the Radicals", written on an almost severe moral plane, calls for justice at home and abroad, attacks nationalisation, denounces nuclear weapons, and demands all forms of personal liberty.

The Labour Party has no organised body comparable with the "Bow Group" and the New Orbits Group.

A magazine called the "Universities Left Review" was founded by a group of young Oxford graduates in 1956 and there is now a club of the same for weekly discussions, meetings and study groups. The "Universities Left Review" group is often highly critical of official party policy. A huge proportion of the membership of the Fabian Society is youthful—and two out of every three Fabian pamphlets are written by people under 35.

The Labour Party has, in the House of Commons, some young men and women of note. They are by no means of a pattern. For instance, there is Richard W. Marsh, aged 31, the Member for Greenwich, who has come a long way since he was a colliery fitter in Yorkshire. He is a long-standing member of the National Union of Mineworkers, and keenly interested in housing, education and

industrial relations. He recently sponsored a Bill defining minimum standards for those working in offices.

Mrs. Judith Hart, aged 35, who sits for Lanark, (Scotland), was once the secretary of the Cambridge University Labour Club. She is deeply concerned with matters as divergent as foreign policy, new towns, and mental health.

Anthony Wedgwood Benn, also aged 35, who has tried unsuccessfully to free himself from inheriting his father's peerage, and Reginald Prentice, 37, absorbed in social services and defence affairs, are two young Socialists who are prominent in the House of Commons.

The Liberal Party has only six members in the House at present. Jo Grimond, at 45, one of the youngest political party chiefs in recent history, has made a great name for himself. He is noted for clear thinking and expression, drawing a large audience with a turn of phrase which frequently makes newspaper headlines.

As a strong supporter Grimond has Jeremy Thorpe, 28 years old, who won the agricultural constituency of North Devon from the Conservatives at the last General Election.

The Conservatives have almost a galaxy of bright young men making their mark on their party. Sir Edward Boyle, 37 years of age, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, following a brilliant career at Oxford, where he was President of the Union, is one outstanding figure. Another is the second junior Treasury Minister, the Economic Secretary, Anthony Barber, aged 40. William van Staubenzee, a 34-year-old solicitor, is confidently tipped as a future Law Officer.



Are we getting Richer?

By

Prof. V.G. RAMAKRISHNA AIYAR, M.A.

AT the present time when much interest is being evinced in our social and economic problems, there is too often much loose talk without any attempt at scientific thinking and analysis. There is a general impression that since Independence we are making great strides towards social uplift and higher standards of living. The appalling poverty of the common people in India is a fact, and what is to the point is the question whether it is increasing or decreasing, or whether there is no movement 'either way.' This question has met with divergent answers according to the point of view from which determine the criteria of economic advance. In the pre-Independence era according to many thinkers, the British administration provided broadly the benefits of law and order but it was more or less a period of economic stagnation. On the other hand, some have argued that there was a real, if not very slow amelioration of the condition of the people.

The various estimates of national income that have been made from time to time, in spite of their imperfections, seem to convey an impression of gradual improvement. It is said that, so far as ordinary tests can be applied, the average Indian landholder, trader or ryot is much better off. He consumes more salt, more sugar, more tobacco and far more imported luxuries and convenience, than he did a generation ago. The truth of this picture has been challenged by non-official observers. For example the average villager eats more food is not universally accepted. As a matter of fact the dietary of the average villager has deteriorated and he is worse nourished than before. The average consumption of milk products which occupies an important

position in a predominantly vegetarian diet has distinctly fallen off and no substitute of equal nutritional value has taken its place. In the case of rice, for instance which is the staple food of many people specially in Madras and Bengal it is fundamentally a poor diet and it has become worse. Thus, for example rice mills have multiplied saving housewives the laborious toil but perhaps more healthful exercise, of husking paddy by pounding and also robbing the rice of much of its nutritional value, the vitamins in the outer layer of the grain being removed with the husk by the machinery. An improvement in the economic position of the people would result in their choosing a diet more satisfactory from the nutritional point of view but which is not adopted because it is more expensive than they can afford. Some new methods of consumption which are to be considered as aggravating causes of Indian poverty are thus patent. The deleterious effects of coffee drinking which is particularly widespread in S. India and the increasing use of excessive tea drinking are sapping the vitality particularly of the working classes whose capacity for manual toil is much less than those of a generation back and whatever tends to reduce the productivity of the workers must be regarded as aggravating poverty.

Caution is necessary in drawing inferences about economic welfare from the *per capita* income. Here it is important to consider not only the average income per head but also the composition of the national income. In India for instance what is more pertinent is an inquiry as to how much of the national income is in the form of food stuffs that increases the stamina of the people. For if the supply of

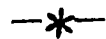
absolutely necessities of life is disclosed to be insufficient, additions to the national income in other forms cannot be regarded as of the same order of importance as food-stuffs.

Further in considering the result of any particular inquiry, we must take into account the spirit and purpose underlying it. Most of the investigations of national income that have been made in India in previous years have been informed by a spirit of political controversy, some being regarded as underestimates or overestimates. The curious thing is that the so-called underestimates almost invariably give us higher figure than the so-called overestimates, because liberal concessions granted to rival disputants for the sake of argument in one direction are more than compensated by quietly taking liberties elsewhere, the effect of which is to swing the pendulum violently in the opposite direction.

Sometimes however the picture of extreme poverty gets overdrawn by people arguing as if the *per capita* income were the income of an average family. We should be making the opposite mistake of supposing that the condition of the masses is better than it really is, if we did not remember that the national income is very unevenly distributed. Some people enjoy very much more than the average income and some very much less. More than a third of the wealth of the country is enjoyed by about 1% of the population; slightly more than a third, about 35% of the annual wealth produced is absorbed by another third of the population. Though there has been a shift in money incomes in favour of the agriculturists and industrial workers, there has been a fall in labour productivity.

We must also avoid making international comparisons as is too often made nowadays without necessary qualifications. Figures of income per head do not tell us as much about the economic well-being of the people of one country as compared to people belonging to another, unless we allow for such factors as differences in standards of living, habits and customs. It is therefore very doubtful whether numerical comparisons can be safely made between two countries: neither housing, clothing nor food are comparable. The importance of that part of income which is not wages varies greatly and many things must be bought in one country which are unnecessary or are home-made, home grown or obtained freely in another. Nor should we compare industrial classes such as workmen engaged in building, engineering or printing in different countries, since methods and conditions of work vary enormously, unless we make very broad allowances for the possible effects of such variation.

In short though the national income in money terms is shown to be increasing in India, it is no sure sign of increasing wealth and prosperity. The increase in money incomes is neutralised by the inflated money values i.e., the great rise in prices due to the imbalance between supply and demand, and the increase in production has been offset by the increase in population. In fact the economic well-being and prosperity that is now claimed as the result of the two Five Year Plans is *money* prosperity due to inflation and not *real* prosperity measured in terms of food, clothing and shelter.



Status of Women in Ancient India

By

MR. SHAMSUDDIN, M.A., B.T.

THE common man in India generally talks about the deplorable low status of women in this country and takes the fancy to quote great poets like Tulsidas in support of his argument. But he is not perhaps aware of the fact that women had enjoyed high status in society in ancient India. It was only due to political and social changes in the country that their status was lowered for the time being in middle ages and the same is being revived again in modern India.

The true picture of the status of women in ancient India can be seen in the 'Suktas' and hymns of Rigveda. They state that women enjoyed equal status with men in society. They were capable of highest learning in any branch of knowledge—even in the knowledge of the "Brahma." The Rigveda also speaks of the rishikas—the women who attained the spiritual attainment equal to great rishis of the time. Among those can be mentioned the names of: Lopamudra, Urvashi, Indrani, Savitri, Devayani etc. Besides there were also brahmavadinis who led the life of strict discipline of Brahmacharya. Rigveda refers to the educational institutions where young girls completed their education as brahmacharinis and then entered grihashthram. It is also pointed out that young learned girls were married to equally learned bridegrooms.

It is, therefore, evident that the women in those days enjoyed highest social status in life. A wife was the full partner of her husband in all spheres of society. She had full religious rights and participated in all religious ceremonies along with her husband. In fact any religious work performed by the husband was not supposed to be complete and valid without the wife joining him. The ideals and traditions laid down in Rigveda were later on followed as laws in the society. References in Upanishads indicate that women were also great

philosophers and thinkers. They used to take part in conferences along with men. Once the great king Janak of Videha had called a conference of philosophers in his court. Eight principal philosophers representing different schools of philosophy, participated in the discussion. Among those there was one woman philosopher-Brahmavadini Gargi who took bold part in the discussion with men philosophers.

Rigveda also refers to monogamy or 'Ek-Patni Vrata' which also helped in the elevation of the status of women in society. The practice of the bridegroom going to the house of the bride and to marry her was prevalent in those days also. The bride was given a venerable place in the house of her father-in-law. She used to act as the mistress of the house taking care of the parents and brothers and sisters of her husband. Marriage was regarded to a life long sacred bond and hence there was no question of divorce or widow-marriage. The wives continued to be faithful, honest and sincere to their husbands throughout the life even if they became sick or invalid. Some of the stories even indicate that women, by their constant service and care, were successful in restoring the health and removing the physical defects of their husbands.

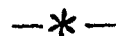
In Upanishads there are references which indicate that parents were proud to have a daughter who became pandita or learned lady afterwards. Capable women sometimes used to go out to pursue higher courses of study. In spite of certain common subjects for both men and women, there was sometimes a bifurcation of studies between them and women were taught fine arts such as dancing, singing etc. In vedic times brahmavadinis or Kumari girls were eligible for Upanayana, veda-study and other religious ceremonies. Women were entitled to 'Savitrivachana' which was the

expression of the highest type of Mantra or knowledge. The Grihya-sutras mention how the wife uttered vedic mantras along with her husband in religious ceremonies. This naturally involved high education on the part of women to prove themselves worthy partners of their husbands. Thus intelligent girls called vidushis were married to equally intelligent husbands called manishis. Learned ladies in those days acted as teachers or adhyapikas. But this was not the only career meant for them. They had other careers too open for them. Mention has been made in ancient epics that women were also very good warriors.

Buddhism, later on, maintained the traditions and ideals of Vedic age and women were accorded an honourable place in social life. They were given all facilities of education and religious rights. Women were eligible to become Bhikshunis or Nuns and lead a life of

devotion and renunciation. Such women also performed great deeds of social service to suffering humanity. Some of them took active part in the work of the early Buddhist Reformation. These women after attaining enlightenment undertook missionary work for their faith. All these facts indicate that women in Buddhist period were given full opportunities of education, social service, and religious works and were treated as equals of men in all spheres of life.

Today though we are the free citizens of Republic of India enjoying equal rights without any distinction of caste, creed and sex, we are lacking in the traditions and ideals which were prevalent in ancient India. Once again we feel the necessity of their revival in the women folk of our country so that their status in society may again be restored to the same high pitch of glory as found in ancient India!



Which is the Earliest Veda?

By

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

I

IN an article entitled "Which is the earliest of the Vedas?" published in the June number of *The Indian Review*, Sri Rabindra Kumar Siddhanta Sastree has argued that the *Atharvaveda* is the earliest of the four Vedas. He has cited various texts and some internal evidence from this classic, as well as the opinions of some Western scholars, to prove his point about the earliest antiquity of the original *Atharvaveda*. He has refuted the popular notion, taught from our boyhood and contained in all the text books from the primary to the highest stage of University education that the *Rigveda* is the earliest of the *Chaturvedas*. His principal reasons are that Atharva being the eldest son of Brahma was the oldest of the sages, that a long gap should

therefore have intervened between the *Atharvanic* hymns and the *Rigveda*, and that a good many of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are also found quite unchanged in the later Vedas.

Without going into the merits of Sri Shastree's arguments, I wish to get a doubt cleared from any of your scholar readers. I have read that all Scriptural wisdom had been derived from God the Almighty Himself as revelations. If so, to begin with, Atharva should have only expounded what the Lord Himself had originally revealed and cannot claim any original authorship of this particular Veda. Sri Shastree has not contended that the other three Vedas too were not given out as revelations simultaneously by God.

Be that as it may, the wisdom (Vedas) as derived from Sri Narayana was perfect in the Krita Yuga, it changed a little in the Treta Yuga and it became wholly altered in the Dwapara Yuga. Further owing to the curse of the sage Gautama, wisdom became converted into false knowledge at the time. The Vedanta Shastras further say that Brahma, Rudra and other gods became alarmed at this development and out of compassion for the mortals approached Sri Narayana to find a solution to restore the Vedas that had been lost (forgotten). Sri Vishnu then incarnated in the form of Sri Vyasa and gave forth again the Vedas which had been lost to the world. *Sri Vyasa divided the Vedas into four*, and these four again into twenty-four, a hundred and one, a thousand, and twelve branches respectively. And for the proper understand-

ing of the import of all this Scripture Sri Vyasa composed also the *Brahma Sutras* or the great aphorisms.

Now my point is this. If originally it was Sri Narayana Himself who gave out the Vedas, did He classify them as *Chaturvedas*, or did the wisdom stand out as merely revelations as an integral whole? On the authority of the *Brahma Sutras*, was it not Sri Vyasa who made the four-fold classification of the Vedas for the first time only in the Dwapara Yuga for the convenient understanding of the mortals? How then could we say that the *Atharvaveda* existed even originally as a distinct entity or treatise and was the earliest?

As I have already said, I have approached this question in all humility, only to seek enlightenment from some of your learned readers to clear my doubts.

II

By Prof. R. K. SIDDHANTA SHASTREE, M.A.P.R.S.

I have much pleasure in going through the letter dated, 11th June, 1960 written by Mr. C. V. Narahari Rao and addressed to the Editor, *Indian Review*, in connection with my article entitled "Which is the Earliest of the Vedas" published in the June number of the *Indian Review*. I congratulate Mr. Rao on his firm faith in our scriptures as well as in the orthodox view that the Vedas are eternal revelations. Firm faith in the scriptures is good no doubt; but unless this faith is based upon strong scientific reasonings it has no value to the sceptic people of the modern world. If a research scholar fails to realise this fact, his findings will not be appreciated by the scholars of this age of science.

Mr. Rao writes, "I have read that all scriptural wisdom has been derived from God, the Almighty Himself as revelations". Does he mean to say that the Almighty like an ordinary man pronounced the vedic senten-

ces? If so, I cannot agree with him. For clarification of my view in this connection I like to add a few lines below from my book "*Savdatattva*" or Science and Philosophy of Word in Sanskrit Literature (in Bengali) published from Calcutta last year. (I am also giving an English translation of the book, which I expect to complete within a few months.)

"In some of the *Srutis* (Vedic sentences), the Vedas are said to be the breath of the *Virat Purusha* (immeasurable Brahma). The intention of the said *Srutis*, so far as I understand is as follows:

The two words *Virat Purusha* in the Vedas mean the entire community of the living beings. Some of these living beings are endowed with wisdom and thoughtfulness. Whenever these wise persons through their deep meditation could realise any basic fact, they used to teach it to their students and successors. Some collections of such truths

are known as the Vedas. Nobody can say, on which date, such a truth was realised for the first time, or on which date will they disappear altogether. So, the Vedas are regarded as eternal, though in a figurative sense. The reason for which the Vedas were compared with the breath is that the wisdom enjoined in the Vedas appeared in the minds of the sages without any effort of the latter; just as breath of a living being takes place without any effort of him. As respiration takes place in a natural way, so the vedic knowledge appeared to the sages..."—*Savdatattva*,—Chapter II; Pages 59-60.

What I meant to say in my article is that the Vedic wisdom first of all appeared in the mind of the sage *Atharva* and he expressed it in his own language. *Atharva* may or may not be regarded as the original author of the *Atharva-vedic* wisdom; but he must be accepted as a giver of language to the said veda. It is a general rule that, one who composes a book in his own language is regarded as the author of the said book. In this sense, authorship of the *Atharva-vedic* hymns may be attributed to *Atharva* and some other sages of his group.

What Mr. Rao has said in the 3rd paragraph of his letter is open to question. The story of the curse of *Gautama* for converting wisdom into false knowledge might be said in the *Puranas* in a figurative sense. If this story be

accepted in the conventional meaning, then it will have no value to the sceptic world, whom also we desire to convince. As regards the incarnation of *Vishnu* in the form of *Vyasa*, we hold that it has been enjoined in the ancient books with a view to pay respect to the great compiler of the vedic texts.

It is a fact that in some of our ancient books authorship of the Vedas has been *Sree Narayana* or Almighty Himself; but this cannot be accepted in ordinary sense. *Sree Narayana* may be admitted as the inspirer of the Vedic wisdom, but He cannot reasonably be regarded as the giver of language to it. *Vyasa*, so far as we understand did not compose the vedic texts; but he merely collected and systematized them and divided them into different volumes. When it is said that the vedic knowledge was lost in the *Dvapara Yuga* it means that due to worldly mindedness of the people, and for want of patronage, the teaching and preaching of the vedic texts came to a standstill. If the entire vedic literature would have really been lost at that time, and if all the vedic hymns and sentences would be newly composed by the sage *Vyasa*, then all the four Vedas from beginning to end would surely have similar language in them. But as in fact it is otherwise, we cannot deny the different antiquities of the different Vedas. I thank Mr. Rao for his valuable enquiries.

(The Controversy is closed—Ed. I. R)

Genius and Madness

By

Mr. P. B. K. MENON, B.A., B.L.

IT is believed by many that genius and madness are closely related and that the two are but different manifestations of the same mental abnormality. The poet Dryden has put it thus :

"Great wits are sure to madness near allied
And thin partitions do their bounds divide."
But whether this is so or not, there have been

many instances of high intellectuals who were afflicted with insanity and some of them are noted below.

Let us begin with a great name in English literature, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). He was the Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and was generally known as the gloomy Dean. Supreme as a satirist, he developed into a

thorough pessimist who hated and despised mankind and regarded life on earth as misery from beginning to end. To such an extent did this feeling overpower him that he refused to celebrate his birthday but invariably observed it as a day of mourning! His was a dark and lonely soul and the only sunshine in his life was the love of a sweet woman whom he called Stella and when that brightness departed by her death, despair and gloom settled on him and made him a torture to himself and to others. He had a premonition of his approaching doom and said "I shall die like that tree; I shall die at the top." And so he did, passing his last days in a lunatic Asylum, abandoned by god and man. Listen to what Thackeray says of him in his *English Humourists* "An immense genius, an awful downfall and ruin! So great a man he seems to me that thinking of him is like thinking of an empire falling."

William Cowper (1731-1800) was a religious poet. Early in life he was attacked by fits of insanity and for about two years was confined in a mental clinic and though released the malady never left him completely. The sympathy and affectionate care of two women, Mrs. Unwin and Lady Austen proved a solace to him in his misfortune and his death was peaceful.

The claim of Mary Lamb to celebrity is feeble. She and her famous brother Charles together produced the *Children's Classic, Tales from Shakespeare*. She was however a Martyr to terrible insanity and while in the throes of an attack actually killed their mother! It is to the credit of brother Charles that Mary was not sent to an asylum; he himself undertook her care and protection and looked after her with affection till death.

This is the age of the short story in literature and the French author Guy de Maupassant (1850-93) is regarded by many as the greatest master of that genre. A realist, he gave in his stories an unforgettable picture of the people, high and low, with all their quali-

ties and defects. After winning fame and fortune by his pen, he led a vicious and immoral life which drained away his vitality; paralysis and venereal disease also played their parts in making him a wreck and finally mad in 1892. The next year he passed away at an age generally considered to be the prime of life. "The wages of sin is death."

Gerard de Nerval (1808-55) was the assumed name of Gerard Labrunie a French writer who belonged to the Romantic group. When he was 28 he fell in love with an actress who rejected him and became the wife of another. This rebuff affected him so much that it awakened the germs of madness that lay dormant in him. He recovered soon but there were fresh outburst of the malady until at last he hanged himself in a fit of suicidal mania.

Auguste Comte (1798-1857) is known as the French philosopher who founded the school of Positivism. In his life, genius and madness were intermittent in their activities. Once he threw himself into the river Seine but was rescued from drowning. At his marriage he signed his name in the official Register as Brutus Bounaparte Comte! His married life, was most unhappy and his wife's escapades added not a little to his frenzy. For some years he was under the treatment of a noted alienist named Esquirol but was released when the cure was only partially accomplished. His religion of humanity had a wide following especially among men of learning and intellect and even now it has many adherents scattered throughout the world. Comte himself led an ascetic and blameless life; there was however one woman in his life, Clotilde de Vaux whom he elevated into the Female Ideal, his divinity from whom he drew light and inspiration. She died of consumption and then he transferred his adoration to her personal articles of wear and use like gloves, stockings, cups, glasses; to him they were sacred relics endowed with mystic power to guide and enlighten the mind of the worship-

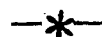
per! He invoked her spirit and the spirit appeared before him and talked with him and gave instruction and advice!

We may end with Frederick Nietzsche (1844-1900) the German Philosopher who invented the Superman and the doctrine of will power. His ideal was the strong, brave and Vital man, "the blonde, beast" the only being fit to rule the world. The meek, the good and, the peace loving were the lesser breeds, the natural slaves and underlings of mastermen. It is not necessary to go into the new theory of morality and conduct that he preached; it created for him enemies all around and practically isolated him from the rest of mankind. His health was always poor; he became half-blind and retired within himself, leading a life of loneliness and gloom. At 45, his mind collapsed and the 10 years that remained him were spent in an asylum for the insane.

The above names are of thinkers and writers who were also lunatics. Are men of act-

ion less prone to madness than men of thought and feeling? Some people, think so but the idea lacks definite legal basis.

There are certain curious beliefs prevalent about insanity. Some sects and communities in India and elsewhere give it a religious colouring; they imagine that it is a special mental disturbance directly caused by super-human agency, that medicine is therefore powerless against it, but that kindly and gentle ways and attitude will soothe the invalid and steady his faculties and thus yield good results in the long run. There is also the old theory that madness is the work of evil spirits who, by getting into the body of man, twist and torture his mind and bring about abnormal activities by him. In such cases the chief remedy consists of treatment by specialists in magic and occult healing for vanquishing and driving away the demoniac side. Other strange beliefs are also current here and there regarding the cause and cure of madness but space forbids their narration in this context.



Labour versus Consumers

By

Mr. J. M. LOBO PRABHU, I.C.S. (Retd.)

THE Labour Minister apparently thinks that if he is dogmatic he need not be reasonable. He is able to get away with this by putting the labour problem as entirely one between employers and employees, when it is essentially one between producers, who include both employers and employees on the one side, and consumers, who form the rest of the population, on the other. Whatever it costs, in a closed market like ours, the consumers who have no alternatives, must pay. It does help labour to demonstrate that its claims are against rich employers, but no socialistic air is served because the employers pass in the prices all the privileges conceded to labour.

The UN committee has disclosed the staggering fact that the cost of labour and management is as much as 53 per cent of the price. Even in backward countries such as Pakistan and the Philippines, it is not higher than 30 per cent.

The correct focus, therefore, on labour problems is labour and management, on the one side and the consumers on the other. In this connection, the respective proportions are relevant; organized labour forms about three millions or with their families 15 millions, which is less than 4 per cent of the population. If it is argued that the whole population does not consume industrialized products, it is forgotten, first, that many items like tea

sugar, matches and vanaspathi are necessities; secondly, that the wage level is integrated, wages in all industries tending to be raised to the level of the highest; and, thirdly, that the price level is also integral since inflation follows from one price boost to another.

It is in this context that the explanations offered by the Labour Minister require to be considered. He sought to explain that the policy of his Ministry was the policy of the entire Government, ignoring what is too well known that all ministries which employ labour, including the administrative, have been contending against the constant increase in wages and other claims of labour. The Government is not only the largest employer but also the largest capitalist with an investment of Rs. 10,290 crores as against private investment of only Rs. 7,750 crores. The crucial fact, which is forgotten is that the common tax-payer has to meet the expenditure imposed on the Government by labour policies in favour of a small section of the population. If the Labour Ministry has on political grounds overcome the opposition of other ministries, it cannot claim that it has their support on economic grounds.

The next claim of the Labour Minister was that the labour policy was in the general interests of the community. It can be conceded that the higher levels of wages set by organized labour tend to pull up other wages. The real question is if this influence can balance the adverse economic consequences which arise at the same time. On the side of production, wages, which erode the return on investment, reduce expansion of industry, which would not only create more capital and employment but also reduce prices and scarcity. On the side of consumption, 95 per cent of the population, the greater part of which has incomes which are a fraction of those of organized labour are called upon to pay prices which support the higher wages. That there is no social justice, not to speak of economic advantage, in sacrificing the whole population

for a small part of it has not been sufficiently realized. Far from reducing the fortuitous advantages accruing to the section which has the luck to be in organized industries, the Government's policy has been to accentuate its differences with the general population. On top of this, the procedure to settle disputes which involves loss of man-days in millions, costing crores of rupees, which are added to the prices, is a waste of labour and industrial capacities, which even Communist countries do not tolerate.

The strike fever which is now reaching Government employees is a note of interrogation on all the reasonable measures the Government has prescribed to settle disputes without childish self-destruction of the assets of the country.

The four specific problems the Labour Minister raised—wage freeze, bonus payments, incentives and rationalization—have economic implications for the consumers which have never been understood. Wage freeze is resisted on the ground that the price line should be first fixed, when the latter is largely the cause of the former. An important mechanism which is ignored is that dearness allowances neutralize the working of the law of supply and demand because, irrespective of prices, they allow the same quantum to be purchased, stabilizing every increased reached. The consequences are that a small section raises the prices for the entire population, even agriculturalists, half of whom have to purchase grain to feed themselves. Among the most serious of inflationary factors are dearness allowances for which reason until wages are frozen, not only industry but the entire economy will suffer dilution from falling values.

Bonus has a meaning as reward to special effort. In our closed market, it is the gift of two factors; first unsatisfied demand arising from the money pumped in by the Government and, second, the differences in efficiency and costs between different units of the same

production. In incurring their vast planned expenditure, the Government so far has been thinking of only State loans to absorb the new purchasing power arising. Against their heavy industries and heavier social projects, there have been no commensurate increases in consumer goods to prevent people from offering more for what little is available. The difference in efficiency between different units, some of which are even 50 years old, in the ordinary course, would have led to the elimination of the latter. Since, however, we have little foreign exchange for import of modern plants, the prices are set by the costs of the oldest ones, with margins of growing profits being thrown to the newer plants. The employees have no right to these profits which should go either to the consumers or to the development of enterprise. As it is, workers tend to measure their emoluments from the profits of the most modern units, which in some industries like textiles may lead to the closing down of older plants. The committee which the Minister has promised must examine, first, how the profit arising from the differing efficiency of plants is to be used in the general interest of the country and, secondly, how

profits could be reduced by expansion of production particularly of grain and consumer goods.

The Minister maintained that incentive bonus is being given without indicating to what extent and how much in supersession of the undeserved flat bonus. If the labourer is worthy of his hire, piecework is the proper basis of payment. If this is not feasible in the circumstances of modern industry, some other relation to the output must be found. It is unfair to the rest of the population that those lucky enough to be in organized industries should not give the best account of their time.

Rationalization can be of the work of men or machines, the result being the same—economy which is reflected in the prices for the consumer and the profits for the enterprise which makes for its expansion. The policy that there should be no rationalization if there is any consequential reduction in employment simply sacrifices the interests of the whole population for those of a few individuals, who may in fact find employment sooner than they think from the expansion of industry arising from lowered prices.

—*—

History of Foreigners from their Epitaphs.

By
Mr. S. K. ASAWA

HISTORY records the events concerning man but the history written down on paper sometimes misses the fact. It is also not the only source which throws light on the things that happened in the past. History of man is in no small measure found inscribed upon the tombstones. The human desire of continuance gave rise to the tradition of epitaphs. The literature of epitaphs can therefore be turned to capital account. Unlike the paper of the record-room these massive slabs with their thick lettering are prac-

tically indestructible, provided of course they succeed in escaping the hidden paw of the natives. Many persons leave behind them more than a name on their tombstones and these statements and accounts of fact inscribed on such tombs are of no mean importance to the historians and the genealogists.

History of all foreigners who came to India cannot be traced in a proper manner from the tombs only, simply because no attempts have been made to preserve the tombs of the early foreigners, consequently noth-

ing is left of many of them. But the history of the foreigners who came to India after 14th century can be traced quite fruitfully from the the inscriptions on their tombs.

Especially interesting are the memorials of the East India Company's servants. They and their families lie buried in every coastal town, and often a ruined cemetery is all that remains of a famous factory. Their Puritan names, such as Ordonicus and Tryphena, are landmarks which bind together successive generations with many names that have won recognition in their native countries as well as in India.

A descendant of Cromwell in the person of John Russel was a president at Fort Williams, in the days of Queen Anne. Another, Nicholas Morse, ruled as Governor in Fort St. George almost at the same time as Milton's grandson, Caleb Clarke, was parish clerk of St. Mary's Madraspatam. In the shadow of the towers of the High Court sleeps little David, the four year old son of Elihu Yale. His father is remembered as the founder of an enlightened university and forgotten as the Governor of a benighted presidency. Every body knows that the father of the famous novelist, Thackeray, was a collector in Bengal; but the tomb at Ootacamund of Sir Henry Davison, the Chief Justice of Madras to whom the novelist dedicated the "Virginians", is as unremembered as the grave of his uncle Webb Thackeray at Cuddapah. Another grave, interesting to the lovers of literature, is that of Charles Reade's civilian brother at Calicut, laid to rest beside Collector Conolly, who was hacked to pieces by Moplas in 1855. This Presidency can also claim a brother-in-law of Sir Walter Scott in Charles Carpenter; and at St. Mark's Church, Bangalore, is a tablet to the poet's son and heir, a Colonel of the Hussars, who perished on his voyage to the Cape, while another son of his sleeps in far-off Teheran. A son-in-law of de Quincey lies buried at Madras in the person of Colonel

Baird Smith of Bengal Engineers. Two of Addison's brothers died at Fort St. George. It was the inheritance of the Governor's fortune that enabled the essayist to bring off his marriage with the Dowager Countess of Warwick, the "Chloe" of Holland House, with whom he had so long been in love. A son of Charles Dickens's, for whom a cadetship had been procured on the Bengal establishment, finds a last resting place in Calcutta. His godfather, Walter Savage Landor, in England, paid tribute in verse to, Rose Aylmer, who came out to her uncle, a judge of the Supreme Court, at Fort William, and died there in her twenty-first year in "the bloom of youth and in the possession of every accomplishment that could gladden or embellish life." Her tomb is still in the South Park cemetery, Calcutta, and the verses written upon her tomb are:—

"What was her fate? Long, long before her hour,
Death called her tender soul, by break of bliss,
From the first blossoms, from the buds of joy.
Those few our noxious unblasted leaves;
In this inclement clime of human life."

Madras itself is not without a poet. In 1811 John Leyden, M. D., of St. Andrew's arrived on the Coromandel Coast as Assistant Surgeon and ended his life at Java in 1811, bewailed by Scott and Malcolm. South India has as many classic memories in her birth-places as her death-places. Those who have read Lawrence Sterne and remember his heroine Eliza of the 'Sentimental Journey', the pure and sprightly Eliza with all her refined tastes and elegant accomplishments, will marvel to call to mind that it was in no more magnificent a city than Anjengo that Elizabeth Draper was born in 1744.

More than one mouldering monuments testifies to the men of the coastal army who fell fighting in the battles of the Carnatic

under Lawrence and Clive and Dalton and Draper. Upon Seringapatam tombstones may be read the foreign names of De Meuron's Regiment and its officers, names which had disappeared so long ago from the army list that few of us know now-a-days that such a corps of Switzers ever formed part of English army during twenty most eventful years of India's Military history.

The most noteworthy feature in the Allahabad graveyard is a broken column over the resting place of Earl of Munster and son of his majesty King William the fourth, named Fitz Clarence. An old Bengal Civil List counts no less than nine baronets and eleven younger sons of peers in its ranks. The annals of the Indian Civil Service have yet to be written: but to their chronicler the "Book of the Dead" is likely to prove a genealogical paper of more than ordinary importance.

As the oldest European presidency, Madras is also exceptionally rich in memorials of other western nations than The English. The Portuguese entered India as far back as 1498 with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; but their inscriptions are very few. If we except the epitaphs at Goa, San-Thome and Cochin, no monuments to the contemporaries of Camoens are traceable. The Cochin slab, dated 1524, disinterred a few years ago near the new port, is apparently the oldest 'memento mori' of this nation in the peninsula. The Luz tablet is older, but it commemorates, not a death, but the foundation of a church to the Lady of Light, perhaps the Madre de Deos, from whom the word Madras is sometimes fancifully derived. At Colombo, in 1898, an even more ancient stone was turned up near the old breakwater, bearing Lusitanian arms and the date 1501. It seems that in India, as in Ceylon, Portuguese monuments were destroyed wholesale by the Dutch. There is the recorded testimony of an early Dutch writer Saar that those at Jaffna were broken into pieces by the sailors with sledge hammers. In the south of the penin-

sula, Mylapore Cathedral and Franciscan Church at Cochin, contain the best collections. For a long time a Cochin slab bearing the name 'Vasco' was regarded as commemorating Vasco da Gama's death, which occurred there in 1524.

Although the relics of the Portuguese race are few, the influence of Portugal upon southern India is very marked; it has contributed to the speech of today words that are in hourly use from Calcutta to Peshawar. The boat call of converted fishermen on the 'cote de la Pecherie' is still "Javier, Javier", though the cry has been less romantically interpreted as a corruption of the Hindi "Jahiye, Jahiye". At one time Portuguese threatened to become the lingua franca of the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, and as late as 1776 we find the epitaph of Danish Maderup at Tranquebar composed in that tongue.

The inscriptions written on tombs also tell us the story of the Armenians. These merchants from Persia are a practically extinct colony now-a-days; but their little cemeteries are a witness to the fact that they once had a share in the settlement of western commerce. They settled down permanently in Madras in the year 1666, and from 1688 are found in the service of the company, who, for reasons of economy, had issued orders that, instead of multiplying European agents in India, Asiatics should be employed. In Madras, the most notable "Armeniorum fautor" is Coja Petrus Uscan, the builder of Marmalong bridge in 1726. He lies buried at Vepery and the superlatives on his epitaph testify to his numerous virtues. The church of his countrymen was erected in 1772 on the site of an old burial ground and replaced a demolished place of worship on the Esplanade which dated back to some sixty years earlier. Several of its pavement graves, such as the family vault of Shamer Sultan, are very remarkable. One slab within its recess bears the name of the Rev. Arraton Shumayon, "by the grace of God a priest from Shiraz" and printer of

the first known Armenian journal. In fort St. George, at Masulipattam and Negapatam, are other slabs with metrical verses in Latin and vernacular. In Calcutta there are also many interesting graves of Armenians in the Armenian Churchyard.

The Armenians have ever been a purely commercial people in India. They built no cities and carved out for them no empire; but to England they have rendered services which deserve remembrance and are fitly chronicled in Mr. Mesroby J. Seth's "History of the Armenians in India". Their most remarkable tombstone is set not in the east but in the west.

Of all the European powers that held sway in India, none felt and observed the 'cult des morts' more than the Dutch. In his famous essay on the tombs in Westminster Abbey, Addison has remarked on this characteristic. Dutch's regal mausoleums at Surat long ago attracted the attention of travellers like Dr. John Fryer (1682) and Ovington (1689). Ovington mentions a very peculiar custom maintained by Dutchmen in his day of celebrating convivial feasts over the tomb of a toper of facetious memory, where "remembering their departed companion, they sometimes forget themselves". Of their disused cemeteries in South India, the Pulicat graveyard, which has a well-preserved lychgate of 1656 flanked by two standing stone skeletons, is the most remarkable.

Over one of its oldest graves may be seen inscribed the letters V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oostendische Comgagnie), the familiar monogram of the Netherland United East India Company. On another slab is a pictorial representation of the Fort of Castle Geldria. The Dutch stones here and elsewhere were elaborately carved by master-learners or masons, who graduated in their profession before coming out to India, and handed down much of their skill to Hindu craftsmen working under them. The only European relic at Cape Comorin is an imposing granite block to the perpetual

honour of a faithful Dutch factor. At Porto Novo, the bas-reliefs over the grave of Matthya Pfeiffer's wife gives a perfect picture of an eighteenth century piper playing on a recorder and dressed in a long-flapped coat with old fashioned stockings and shoes and armed with a rapier. In Wolfendahl's church at Colombo are the state tombs of deceased Governors of that island, ornamented with heraldic emblems of the highest degree of excellence. Pieces of quaintly sounding rhyme are often found on these slabs.

No trace of pioneers of French enterprise in India can now be found on the tombs. However a broken Tamil tablet, in the precinct of St. Mary's, records the name of a native Christian founder of the Pondicherry Company. Several of the English gravestones brought from the Esplanade burial ground bear marks of English cannon balls which helped to keep Lally out of Fort St. George in 1758. But the only extant memorial to a French man of that period is Bussy's little known grave opposite Pondicherry Cathedral. Of the courageous who later sought services in the armies of the native princes, many died in India. Charls Babel dit Zephyr, general to the forces of Basalat Jung, was buried at Guntoor in 1770 and has these letters commendatory over his headstone:

"Cheri de Fortune et favori de Mars, La Victoire suivit partout ses etendards; D'Hercule illegala les travaux et la gloire, Mais une mort trop cruelle a trompe notre espoir."

A still more famous soldier of fortune is Raymond, the eponymus hero of the Nizam's Mysoram Regiment. He sleeps on a lonely eminence outside Hyderabad where the anniversary of his death is still celebrated by Mahomedans. Further south at Udayagiri is the family vault of Eustache De Launoy who drilled the defenders of the lines of Travacore and may well have been a relation of the Governor of Bastille. Here and there are the scattered sepulchres of adventurers who have

left no other memorials of themselves than that they died there.

Cemeteries to-day are the only witness that there ever was a Danish East India Company. Tranquebar has become the city of dead and is famous for its missionaries. No less than seventeen of these Halle magistrates lie buried in its graveyards, and pious hands annually repaint the letters on their tombs. There rests Ziegenbalg, the father of Protestant missions in India. There Swartz began the career which ended at Tanjore in 1798. There it was that Rottler, Gericke and Kiernander laid the foundations of their reputation. At Tranquebar two celebrated laymen found their last home; Colonel Muhldorf, from whose veins the blood-royal of Denmark has flowed in to several Madrassi families; and Sundt.

The Hebrew cemetery in Mint street and Bethaim of the whits Jews at Cochin preserve the epitaphs of another interesting community. America, which gave to India Ochterlony and Alexander Gardner, who lived for many years as a fighting Afgan Chief, is represented in southern districts by a Bellary cotton planter and a commandant of Ganjam pensioners. Greece is represented by a seventeenth century Sindbad, whose monument has found its way to the presidency Museum. Foreigners of every nationality occur in the old East India Company's service. In 1764 its army possessed, as is seen from the inscriptions on the tombs, Polish, Swiss, Dutch, and German officers.

The literature of tombstones may often be turned to capital account. For example, the pulicat inscriptions are first hand contemporary authority towards the yet unwritten history of the Netherland Company. Many an exact merchant inscribed his pedigree on his gravestone; and such statements of fact are important to genealogists. Many times these tombstones tell us more of life and events of

the past than any other source. At Surat the the Latin hexameters over Christopher Oxenden tell us more of the factory life of our predecessors than many pages of history.

"Do you ask, my master, what is your profit and loss? You have gained sorrow, he has lost his life, but 'per contra' let him write 'death to me is gain'."

One example from the St. Paul Cathedral, Calcutta may be quoted which shows how tombstones reveal history:

In the memory of Patrick Alexander Vans Agnew, B.C.S. and Willian Anderson!

"Not near this stone, nor in consecrated ground but on the extreme frontier of the British Indian Empire, lie the remains of Patrick Alexander Vans Agnew of the Bengal civil service and William Anderson, lieutenant first Bombay fusilier regiment, Assistant to the resident at Lahore; who being deputed by the government to relieve, at his own request, Dewan Moolraj, viceroy of Multan, of the fortress and authority which he held, were attacked and wounded by the Garrison on the 19th April 1848, and being treacherously deserted by the Sikh escort, were on the following day, in flagrant breach of national faith and hospitality, barbarously murdered in the Edgah, under the walls of Multan. Thus fell these two young public servants at the age of 25 and 28 years full of high hopes, rare talents, and promise of future usefulness; even in their deaths doing their country honour: wounded and forsaken they could offer no resistance; but hand in hand calmly awaited the onset of their assailants; nobly they refused to yield foretelling the day when thousands of Englishman should come to avenge their deaths, and history records how the prediction was fulfilled. They were buried with Military honours on the summit of the captured citadel on the 26th January 1849."

—*—

The Art of Kathakalakshepam

By

PROF. R. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

KATHAKALAKSHEPAMS and Bhajanas are two of the most important institutions in India meant to keep alive the religious and ethical instinct in the life of the people in general. Till a few decades ago there was practically no village or street in which there were not some regular bhajanas going on, and all the people used to take part in them as well. *Purana-pataranam*, the earlier form of Kathakalakshepam of the present day, was similarly a regular feature of the daily life of the community. Kathakalakshepam in the present form came to the south from the Maharatta countries and was shaped into a distinctive institution by the famous Krishna Bhagavatar of Tanjore and later by Tiruppayanam Panchapagesa Sastriar; in their hands it became a unique art, in which various elements of the other fine arts, such as music, dance, drama were combined to produce a striking effect. This used to be very popular too, in fact more popular than music concerts. Several musicians of repute changed over to Kalakshepams on this account, as for example, Palghat Anantarama Bhagavatar, Muthia Bhagavatar and Vedanta Bhagavatar. Due to this popularity several "Bhagavatais" began to enter this field, whether they were competent to do it or not. As used to be remarked then, these novices converted the Katha into a "standing kachery"—concert of standing musicians!

The chief object of Katha is usually to impart religious instruction, including of course, every kind of moral teaching. But it is not merely that. It is very much more. If I may so put it, it is a didactic Art. In drama also there is this didactic element. But Katha can be Art and may be made an Art. After all, Katha is only monodrama. In it we have all the elements which go to make a good drama. Even without music Katha can be made to assume an artistic value by properly handling the theme and working it out on the basic principles underlying dramatic art. Here again, music is of great value and certainly goes a very long way to make the Katha effective, not only as story telling but also as a great Art. In this aspect of Kathakalakshe-

pam music plays a very important part, and hence one cannot be too careful in fitting music into Kathakalakshepam. Being a monodrama, the Kathakalakshepam worked on the basis of Art presents great difficulties which are easily got over on the stage. On the stage we depend for effect upon not only the capacity of the actor, but on several elements which go to make the complete whole. We have the different characters, dressed and made up to look as nearly as possible the personages they represent, there is the stage setting, the scenery, the colour scheme, all of which tend to produce the dramatic illusion into which the audience fall. This makes the work of the actor easy and helps him to a large extent in producing the required effect. But in the case of Kathakalakshepam the performer has none of these conveniences on hand. He has to depend upon himself and his resourcefulness. Here lies the real difficulty in performing a Kathakalakshepam as a piece of Art. The performer has to be an actor of no mean parts. He has to act not only one part but several parts, and he has to do this without any dress or make-up or background or other stage settings. But still a good performer should be able to produce the necessary dramatic effect if he pays attention to some of the essentials.

Let me here enumerate some of these points which I have found very useful myself.

When we choose a story for the Kathakalakshepam, be it Puranic or not, it has to be carefully worked in different stages as in a drama. I generally work it out in a number of scenes, choosing the essential situation in each scene and working up the part of the story pertaining to that scene to the climax. Shortening or lengthening the performance will only depend upon hurrying through or dropping or elaborating some of these scenes. Of course, there will be some scenes, on which the whole story stands and we cannot afford to touch them. In introducing different parts of the story and presenting them as scenes to the audience great care should be taken to give an effective description of the particular scene, something like a word picture, so that the

audience, though they are not in front of a stage with all the necessary setting feel almost as if they are witnessing that scene.

Except where the description of the kind referred to above is involved, it is desirable to avoid indirect form of narration as far as possible. I have very often seen some effective story telling being spoiled by the indirect narration adopted by the performer. If you act the part of the different persons who are coming in a particular situation properly, you can avoid to a very large extent the need for indirect narration.

Again, as in the case of the drama, the musical element must be very carefully chosen. Being a monodrama, Kathakalakshepam requires that every song introduced into it must be carefully introduced, tunes and *talas* being properly chosen. As Kathakalakshepam is not a musical concert (though several performers are trying to convert it into a concert of an extremely technical nature) care should be taken to avoid unnecessary technical pieces which involve a high degree of musical proficiency and which in a Kathakalakshepam are likely to mar the total effect. Elaborate *Raga-lapana*, singing *swaras*, introducing too many standard *kirtanas* in and out of season, giving too many occasions for the display of the drummer's skill, all these have to be avoided if the Kathakalakshepam is to be a work of Art.

Also every song must be carefully worked into the narration. It should not appear to be an interpolation. It must be so worked that the audience do not feel where the prose ends and the music begins. Very often musical pieces are introduced after a sudden stop and the narration begins again after some interval after the music is over. This takes away much of the effect. Of course, I am not so much of a Puritan as to advocate the total abolition of extraneous music from the Katha. Where there is a natural break in the development of the story, we may certainly have extraneous musical pieces even of a technical nature with *swaras*, *mridangam* display and all that. But it is not an essential part of the Katha. It is only like an interlude in a drama—something like a "curtain raiser."

Another point to note in this connection is to avoid as far as possible having to expound the meaning of the musical pieces sung, except

where the language of the piece is different from the vernacular of the major portion of the audience. By properly intoning the words of the song accompanied by the necessary gestures one can convey easily the meaning of the piece to the audience. As a result, except where the words are abstruse, songs in local vernaculars ought to be left without any commentary or annotation. This again involves care in introducing songs.

The use of proper gestures by the performer is a matter of a very great importance. Katha being a monodrama, it is essential that the performer should carefully choose his gestures in depicting the various personages of the story. The gestures ought to be suggestive, graceful and natural. Necessity for narration, for expounding musical pieces and such other things can be very easily avoided and the effect enhanced considerably by the use of gestures. The Katha performer has perforce to be an actor of great parts.

The accompaniments must be absolutely secondary. I am one of those who think that even in a musical concert the accompaniments should not be allowed to usurp places not meant for them. In a Kathakalakshepam the reasons are all the greater. Music on the whole is only a handmaid to the monodrama. If the accompaniments of the musical part of the Katha are allowed to dominate, the effect will be anything but artistic. In some situations it may be even necessary to disregard the accompaniments altogether. In some pathetic or very quick moving situations the performer may have to get on without any regard to the accompaniments. This is a point which needs very careful consideration at the hands of performers who wish to make the Kathakalakshepam a real art.

To make the Art side of the Katha prominent it is also necessary to see that too many long sermons on ethical principles should be avoided. Even where the story brims with situations convenient for such appeals they must be made very dramatically and not become sermons or lectures. The obvious moral lessons will easily go home to the people even without the performer's sermonizing upon them, if he had worked the story carefully and effectively. At times, a point left unsaid goes home to the audience more effectively than by a long detailed peroration

from the performer. Where it is possible, even this moral may be left to some of the characters to bring out.

One aspect which has to be kept in mind but which is usually forgotten nowadays is that the music of the Katha is of a distinctive character, it has its own "Melam," unique to the institution. The tunes best fitted for a Katha are of the type used in Maharatta countries—Saki, Dindi, Anjanagita, Savai, Ghanakshari and so on. These are simple, crisp and effective tunes. Jalar Kulitalam (with its own sweet tinkling sound) and Chapla are essential to produce the proper atmosphere. It is essential to maintain this Katha "atmosphere" throughout. Also in doing the talam, time is not measured as in a concert by beats and pauses. Generally Desadi and Usitalam are used. Very often 7-beat talams (eladi talam, as they are called) are also employed. The effect of these is tremendous, as anyone who has heard will realize. Of course, it requires some training to use these talas with ease and skill. In my own view, no one can take to Katha performing who is not used to these tala varieties which make the very life of the institution. Also there are some typical *moharas* or *muttayppu* in *mridangam* which are characteristic of the Katha-melam. It is very unfortunate that these are going out of use nowadays. The All India Radio is to some extent responsible for these specialities getting out of use; in their studios there do not seem to be available accompanists who can provide these features distinctive to the Katha music.

The Kathakalakshepam item in the All India Radio is becoming almost a farce; it is not a concert which you can cut short as you like; it is an organic whole, several parts of it are woven into a set pattern. But for this the story telling will become an insipid, flat affair. One

cannot work out the whole without building up the various parts so as to fit them in the general structure. Generally speaking, to perform a Katha in 45 minutes is converting it into a ritual or formality to be gone through just to fill the time. This elementary point seems to have been ignored by the All India Radio.

I have tried to throw out some of the ideas which came to my mind in thinking about this subject. Kathakalakshepam has appealed to me more as an Art than as mere story-telling. Of course devotion has to be given the first place; it can be done through the Art aspect of the Katha. One finds it easier at times to produce a devotional atmosphere through music than by mere story telling, and dramatic presentation proves also very helpful in adding to the devotional aspect. I feel that this aspect of the Katha requires a little more attention at the hands of the performers than it gets at present.

Kathakalakshepam is a glorious institution in the cultural life of India, meant to keep alive the soul of the nation. Once it was a very popular institution. Most unfortunately its popularity has declined of late; this is not a healthy sign. Our greatness lies in our special culture and not in spurious imitations. And this institution was a very powerful factor in our cultural life. True patriotism and reverence for our ancient culture require that this art should not be allowed to decline or degenerate into a mere money-making affair. While our Music Sabhas go in for all kinds of shows of doubtful usefulness, they do not seem to give sufficient encouragement to this art. If there is proper demand there will be adequate supply also. Let me hope that our Sabhas will become more alive to their responsibility in this matter.



A Survey of Indian Shipping

By

SRIMATI SUMATI MORARJEE

Mg. Director, Scindia Steam Navigation Ltd.

WORLD tonnage to-day stands in the neighbourhood of one hundred and thirty million tons gross, the rate of new additions made in the last few years being at the high level of nearly 9 million tons per annum. A point of interest in this connection is that the largest additions to the fleet every year are being made by the leading ship-owning countries of the world. Even the countries which had lost practically all their fleet in the last war now own tonnage higher than ever before. Germany which had 4.49 million tons of shipping in 1939, now has exceeded this figure. Italy which had 3.4 million tons in 1939 now has over 5 million tons, and Japan which had 5.6 million tons in 1939 now has over 6 million tons. A few other countries, which did not suffer much from the war, have almost doubled their pre-war tonnage, though they do not have any substantial overseas trade. A striking example is Norway which had 4.8 million tons in 1939 and now has nearly 10½ million tons. Similarly, Sweden has more than doubled her tonnage from 1.5 million tons in 1939 to 3.6 million tons in 1959.

Another notable post-war phenomenon has been the astonishing growth of tonnage under what are variously described as "flags of convenience" and "flags of necessity." The tonnage under these flags, principally under those of Liberia and Panama, now total some 17 million tons or over 13.5 per cent of the world fleet, most of which is owned by nationals of other countries to avoid the tax burden in their own countries. A point of interest in this connection is that although the leading ship-owning countries strongly objected to the recognition of these as shipowning countries in international councils, the latter succeeded in getting the world court opinion in their favour in their fight for such recognition.

The post-war era has also seen the emergence of new countries in Asia and Africa into freedom from political and economic tutelage of the highly industrialised and developed countries of the west. One of the results of the political and economic freedom has been that the newly freed maritime countries have been valiantly attempting with varied degrees

of success to fulfil their long-cherished desire of building up national merchant fleets to enable them as far as possible to be self-reliant in the matter of sea transport for their exports and imports as well as coastal trade. India has been foremost in this group, having had thanks to the initiative and drive of the Indian shipowners, already a nucleus of not only a national merchant fleet but also of a shipbuilding industry.

India's foreign trade running to over Rs. 1,500 crores in value per annum moves mostly by sea, forming over 1½ per cent of world trade in value. Despite laudable efforts towards expansion, India's tonnage has remained at only a little over one half of one per cent of world tonnage for several years now and does not carry more than about 10 per cent of our sea-borne trade.

At the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, i.e., on 1st April 1951, India had 372,000 g.r.t. of shipping. The target fixed for achievement by the end of the Plan was 600,000 tons which the Indian Shipowners fulfilled. The target set for achievement in the Second Plan period, the end of which is only nine months away, is 900,000 tons but today we have just over 785,000 g.r.t. including the tonnage of the Mogul Line recently acquired by Government. Even after taking into account the tonnage under construction for delivery during the current Plan period, it appears that about 7 to 8 ships of 8000-9000 g. r. t. will still have to be acquired to complete the tonnage target.

We are now on the threshold of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the completion of which should enable the economy of the country to reach the "take-off" stage of development. Shipping, as you are aware, is an integral and essential part of our economy, helping towards greater self-reliance in regard to the transport of our exports and imports and saving and earning for the country a large amount of foreign exchange. This apart, it is also of great value in national emergencies as ready means of transport of supplies. There is thus no question that this industry needs to be developed to the fullest extent, i.e., to an extent which will enable national ships to carry

at least 50% of the trade emanating from and terminating in our country, in addition to its entire coastal trade.

Our economy is making striking progress and this is going to be speeded up by the contemplated investment in development, of nearly 10,000 crores of rupees in the 3rd Plan period which means the investment is being doubled in each of the successive Plans.

As far as shipping is concerned, the provisions made for it in the first two Plans have been fully utilised. In the 3rd Plan, however, although the National Shipping Board recommended only a modest target of 1.4 million tons of shipping and asked for an allocation of only Rs. 104 crores, the provisional allotment made by the Planning Commission in the first instance was only Rs. 55 crores. It is a matter of some satisfaction that after earnest appeals by the shipping industry and the representation of the Chairman of the National Shipping Board, the provisional allotment has, according to reports, been increased to Rs. 80 crores. Even so this allocation is far short of the requirements to enable shipping to march abreast of other industries and other modes of transport to meet national needs.

Even though values of ships have begun to rise, the present is still a favourable time for purchasing a sizable amount of tonnage. It is possible to negotiate for purchase of near-new tonnage at reasonable prices and it is also possible to place orders for a number of ships to be delivered over the next few years. With a view to providing additional foreign exchange adequately the Chairman of the National Shipping Board had suggested that in addition to a specified lump sum allocation of foreign exchange from Government resources into the Shipping Development Fund, earnings of Indian ships recently acquired and those to be acquired in future may be credited into a foreign exchange pool of the Fund to enable the shipping companies to draw upon it whenever required for the purchase of additional tonnage. We were told last year by Shri Raj Bahadurji that the National Shipping Board would go into the different aspects of this matter and make its recommendations to the Government when they would be fully considered. The National Shipping Board has already made its recommendations in this regard supporting the earlier stand of the Chairman of the Board and, we hope

the Government will take early measures to implement these recommendations.

So far as Coastal shipping is concerned, the tonnage has hardly increased since the beginning of the Second Plan Period due to the rating policy of the Railways, which weaned away a considerable portion of the bulk cargoes like coal and salt which by their very nature are best suited for carriage by sea as recommended by the Rail-Sea-Coordination Committee.

This Committee after a careful study of the problem submitted its report to the Government as far back as in April 1957. It has endorsed the target indicated by the Second Five Year Plan for the Coastal trade and has requested the Government to take urgent steps to ensure the attainment of the target. The Committee has recommended that for obtaining the additional tonnage of cargo required for sea route, attention must be given to bulk commodities, particularly coal, presently moving by rail between coastal areas and that a positive policy of diversion to sea or rail-cum-sea route should be adopted to the extent necessary for adequate utilisation of coastal shipping, notwithstanding any apparently higher incidence of freight charges. I am sorry to say that these recommendations have not yet been given effect to. The country's coastal ship is languishing.

Coming to Overseas Trades, it is felt that there should be no differentiation between the public and private sectors of national shipping. I consider all shipping as a National Sector and an Indian Enterprise. When our ships go abroad, they carry our National Flag, i.e. they go to foreign countries as Indian ships and not as ships belonging to the private or public sector. It is very necessary that the Government should treat Indian shipping as a national asset and adopt a consistently dynamic policy towards it so as to enable it to achieve the desired objectives. There should, therefore be no competition among Indian shipping companies, and over-lapping of routes should be carefully avoided. This fundamental principle was accepted by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri when he was Minister of Transport. This policy has served well so far and has encouraged us to go ahead in our fleet development plans. It would be most unfortunate, if the policy were to be reversed at this juncture when Indian shipping companies are still

struggling to get adequate cargo for full utilisation of the space in their vessels. The State Corporations have yet to cover all the routes which have been allotted to them and provide adequate and regular services on those of the routes which they have been operating. There are also many routes which the Indian ships are not serving and which have remained the preserves of foreign shipping. There is thus a vast scope for the State Shipping Corporation to extend their services in these fields. It is in these fruitful fields we would suggest the Corporations should expand and at all events avoid overlapping on the routes which are now being well served by the existing lines in the interest of the overall planned development of Indian Shipping.

Government today is the largest importer and we are conscious of the efforts of the Shipping Co-ordination Committee to channel the trade by Indian Ships wherever practicable. We are grateful to Government for this assistance. We would nonetheless invite the attention of the Government to the need for adopting a freight policy with due regard to the economic operation and maintenance of national shipping. We observe that of late Government cargoes are being offered to Indian ships only at the very low level of ruling tramp rates. Unless immediate steps are taken to remedy this trend and to persuade the Government agencies to give the first preference to Indian shipping to make much progress. It is necessary that freighting policies of Government should be carefully considered at the highest level and a general policy framed which would offer economic rates of freight to Indian ships in the interest of building up a sizeable Indian fleet. Taking a most recent case, for instance, the present foodgrain deal with the U.S.A. offers a golden opportunity for Indian shipping to expand. If economic rates of freight are offered by Government, a number of ships can be specially brought for the purpose and after the expiry of the four-year period, can be employed profitably in the general overseas trades of the country.

An important aspect of the post-war development in shipping has been the large measure of assistance being given by Governments to shipping companies to expand their tonnage. The assistance has taken various

forms in various countries, including subsidy, cargo preference, credits at concessional rates of interest and amortisation terms and tax relief, to mention only a few. Germany, Italy, France, the U.K., Japan and the U.S.A. are some of the leading ship-owning countries in which Government have adopted special measures to promote the growth of their national fleets, while a host of other countries with less developed or undeveloped fleets have also adopted various measures named above. The great interest that the Governments of the above countries are showing in the growth of their national fleets is due to the vital role the national shipping plays in the economy of the country and the earnings or savings of foreign exchange that an adequate fleet makes possible. The extreme dependence of the shipping industry on State assistance for its growth almost everywhere is indicated by the fact that the British shipping industry, with several centuries of sustained growth and support, has had to be granted special tax reliefs to maintain itself and is making repeated pleas to its Government for further assistance.

The achievement of the Indian Shipping industry in the past few years and its growing importance in the economy of the country in the face of heavy odds have, I am happy to observe, impressed our beloved President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as is indicated by the attention he gave to it in his address to Parliament at the opening session this year. I believe this is the first time in the history of our Republic that Presidential attention has been given to the shipping industry in what is rightly considered as the most important official pronouncement of the year. The honours to the shipping industry and I would like to quote to you now, because of the great value we attach to the pronouncement. "Indian shipping, which had suffered many handicaps in the pre-Independence period, will continue to receive all possible assistance in its modernisation and development. My Government is fully aware of the role of the merchant navy in our economy, in the conservation and earning of foreign exchange and in its auxiliary and reserve roles in the defence of our long sea coast."



Current Affairs

U. S. Presidency

ON July 13 Senator John F. Kennedy won the Democratic nomination on the first ballot. Senator Kennedy won more easily and decisively than he himself had predicted. He triumphed before the end of the first ballot after a sharp but short battle with the Party giants. Mr. Kennedy won 845 votes on the first ballot well above the 761 needed for nomination. The Texas Senator, Lyndon Johnson, was second with 409.

The former Presidential candidate, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, obtained 289 votes and the Missouri Senator Stuart Symington was next.

Besides putting youth into the saddle,

years ago in this very same city, the Party had nominated a candidate, who was later elected



RICHARD M. NIXON,
Republican Nominee.

and became the greatest President America had—Abraham Lincoln.

Appearing immediately on television, Mr. Nixon said that he felt a sense of "tremendous challenge.....It is a tremendous responsibility, very difficult to meet".

Mr. Nixon's nomination became assured of smooth passage when he made peace with Governor Rockefeller mostly on the latter's terms. He agreed to incorporate in the Party's platform the Governor's views on foreign, defence and economic affairs and on Negro rights and also not to embarrass the Governor by having his name proposed for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Rockefeller has been a strident critic of the Eisenhower administration and Mr. Nixon's pact with the former would mean that he would not be seeking the electorate's support on the basis of the record of the outgoing administration of which he himself has been an important member.

Administration of the Congo

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, United Nations Secretary-General, who arrived on July 28 at Leopoldville has drafted an ambitious U. N. Congo plan of partnership which envisages U. N. presence there for at least five years, according to diplomatic and U. N. sources.



JOHN F. KENNEDY,
Democratic Nominee for U. S. Presidency.

Senator Kennedy's nomination shows a new alignment of controls of the Democratic Party. Big city organisations headed by fellow-Catholics gave him the ascendancy, coupled with the support of the Mineworkers and Car Workers' Trade Unions.

The handsome Massachusetts Senator, Scion of a wealthy Boston family, is keenly interested in foreign affairs. He has supported the cause of the Algerian rebels and advocated greatly increased aid to India.

The Republican Party convention on July 27 unanimously nominated Vice-President Richard Nixon as its candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Exactly 100

The Secretary-General arrived there from New York to study the economic and social dilemma of the Congo following the abandonment of virtually all key posts in the country by Belgian advisers and technicians.

Unless there is swift U. N. action, the Congo economy is threatened with breakdown shortly when the treasury will be unable to meet the Government wage bill, since practically all taxation has ceased.

According to highly placed diplomatic sources U. N. officials on the spot have abandoned an earlier scheme to recommend a U. N. Trusteeship, for the Congo. This followed strong representations by Congolese leaders who need massive outside technical aid of all kinds and do not wish to sacrifice their sovereignty.

The Hammarskjöld plan, which will assume final shape following talks between the Secretary-General and his on the spot advisers, envisages a U. N. task force in the Congo for "at least five years and probably more."

The plan is also expected to embrace an industrialisation scheme for the Congo, emphasising small-scale domestic production and gradually introducing an African trade pattern in place of a Congo tied to Western Europe.

Freedom for Madagascar

Three days of almost continuous public functions, culminating in a fireworks display on July 31, marked the end of French colonial rule and the transition to independence in Madagascar, the third biggest island in the world.

Representatives from nearly 70 countries attended the celebrations, testifying to the worldwide interest in the emergence of yet another Afro-Asian people to full nationhood.

India was represented by a special envoy, Mr. Bahadur Singh, Commissioner-General in East Africa, as well as by Mr. J. A. Shah, Minister and *Charge d'Affaires* who had been there for some time.

Madagascar remains a member of the French Community and the French presence was very noticeable throughout the proceedings. French officials and experts of all kinds are still participating to a very considerable extent in the administration and the general conduct of affairs but it is by agreement and with the consent of the ruling party. The relations between the French and the Malgaches are manifestly based on mutual good-

will and friendship, and if the public bears any resentment, there was no sign of it during the past few weeks.

There are, however, different trends in Madagascar politics, and they are expected to come more and more to the surface as the country adjusts itself to its newly-acquired independence, beginning with the elections scheduled for next September.

Lying as it does off the coast of Africa and belonging to the Indian Ocean region, the island is not without strategic significance and possible political developments here will be watched carefully by both the East and the West.

The Assam Situation

Assam has just passed through one of her worst—if not the worst—disturbances of recent history. As the Congress President, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, said the State Government were taken unawares as riots broke out in different areas almost at the same time. Otherwise, the situation would have been brought under control much sooner and the State could have been spared the bad name she has earned.

The resolution of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee passed on April 22 stating that Assamese should be declared the official language of Assam and that the *status quo* should be maintained in Cachar, a predominantly Bengali-speaking district, and the hill districts, did not fully satisfy the protagonists of Assamese. This resolution provided adequate constitutional safeguards to the minorities. An influential section of the Calcutta Press started criticising the Assam Congress and the Government. Everything, however, continued in a peaceful way until the first case of rowdiness took place in Shillong in the later part of May. A demonstration was organised there protesting against the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee's resolution at which insulting slogans against the Assamese were raised.

Meanwhile, the agitation for declaring Assamese as the State language gained momentum and the Chief Minister, Mr. Chaliha, came out with a statement that Government proposed to introduce a Bill in the next Assembly session "on the lines of the Assam Pradesh Congress resolution. A section of the Calcutta Press then began a systematic tirade against the movement for the

State language. One newspaper quoted a slogan purported to have been raised by Assamese protagonists which contained such an obscene word that it inflamed all right-thinking persons and students at Gauhati University seized bundles of four Calcutta dailies and made a bonfire of them. That shifted the trouble to Gauhati where some assault cases occurred both linguistic groups joining the affray. The incidents were, however, all of a minor nature. Only on July 2, some looting of shops and houses took place, the miscreants taking advantage of the situation.

The situation improved considerably, the following day. But on July 4 when two small houses were burnt, the police opened fire inside a college hostel killing one student and injuring six others. News of the police firing into which a judicial enquiry was ordered later, spread like wild fire and trouble broke out in rural areas. In Goreswar in north Kamrup and in Nowgong district, disturbances were extensive with looting and arson. The army had to be called in aid of the civil administration and curfew was imposed in many towns including Gauhati.

That Assamese with nearly 60 per cent of the population speaking it should be the State language nobody denies. Prime Minister Nehru, during his post disturbance visit also upheld this claim but did not favour any attempt at imposition. What is surprising to the Assamese people is the demand of a section of Bengali people, as seen in the resolution of the Silchar Bengali Convention of July 2, that their language too should be declared a State language side by side. The hill people, at least the more influential section of them, want English as the official language or Hindi. The hill people are now reported to be more willing for a compromise and may agree to Assamese being declared the State language in the six plains districts of Assam Valley provided the *status quo* is maintained in the rest of the State.

Swatantra Party

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, founder of the Swatantra Party on the occasion of its first anniversary on August 1, stressed the "indisputable requirement" of a real and strong Opposition party for the proper working of the parliamentary system of Government and said: "Our party aims at supplying this felt

want." He added that the task before the party was to educate the people that in a democracy a Government was not a dynasty and could be changed if people felt dissatisfied.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said:

The ruling party has failed in this most important of its duties. The reason is not that persons who manned the administration were not honest or patriotic but the party in power was fixed in its resolve to use every advantage available to strengthen its partisan strength in order to remain in power and allowed its members, throughout the country at various levels to interfere in the administration. The officials became an easy prey to this process and deterioration set in. The party itself rapidly lost its good name and character and mischief naturally advanced with increased pace. There was no party in opposition which exerted moral pressure to stop this process. I raised my voice against this eight years ago and have kept the battle up ever since and the protest has been embodied in the principles of our party. It is not usual to include such an item in the political programme of any party, but that is because every party accepts it in principle. But in our country the disregard of it by the ruling party is so great and causes so much injustice and popular discontent that we have done well in incorporating it in clause 19 of our party's fundamental principles.

The ruling party has committed itself to a policy of regimentation. Regulation including all the forms of control evolved for the purpose was conceived probably in good intention, viz., to protect the weaker elements of our society. But it has ended as it must in the cramping of national energy all round and in the suppression of initiative and enterprise. It has led to the creation of several big monopolies for favoured individuals and the utilisation of public money to help such monopolies. These monopolies or near-monopolies have resulted in unholy alliances between the ruling party at various levels and those who benefit by them in order to supply election funds for the party to keep its power going. This in turn has led to various forms of corruption into which I need not go now.

Congress and corruption

The Congress President Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi on July 28 announced the names of

five members nominated to the Panel for investigating into charges of corruption and misuse of power against Ministers and other Congressmen.

The following are the names: Mr. Jagannath Das, former Judge of the Supreme Court of India and Chairman of the Second Pay Commission; Mr. V. K. Tiruvengkatachari Advocate-General, Madras; Mr. P. N. Sapru, member, Rajya Sabha, Sardar Hukam Singh, Deputy Speaker of Lok Sabha and Mr. G. S. Pathak, Senior advocate, Allahabad High Court.

The panel which has been selected by the Congress President in pursuance of the Working Committee resolution authorising him to do so, was approved by the Working Committee. The Congress President has got the right to select more members, if necessary.

Legality of Ordinance

A Division Bench of the Allahabad High Court on July 28 dismissed a *habeas corpus* petition, challenging the validity of the Maintenance of Essential Services Ordinance.

The petition was moved by a Communist worker of Benaras Mr. Pritish Biswas, who was arrested on July 11 under Section 5 of the Ordinance.

Challenging the validity of the Ordinance, the petitioner had contended that the Ordinance was *ultra vires* of the Constitution in as much as it infringed the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution and in as much as the punishment for strike was less than the punishment for instigation. Thus, he further submitted, the Ordinance differentiated between citizen and citizen and therefore, violated the principles of jurisprudence and the Penal Code of India.

Rejecting the contention of the petitioner, the Bench which consisted of Mr. Justice V. D. Bhargava and Mr. Justice Takru expressed the opinion that the Ordinance could not be challenged on the ground of differentiation. The offence of strike was a peculiar offence where the abettors were the real persons who were responsible for the strike.

"The culprits." Their Lordships said, "who actually go on strike are in the hands of abettors and if the abettors were not instigating there would be no strike. Therefore, the offence of abetting is more serious and has to be dealt with more severely than

the offence of strike itself. Many a time the persons who actually go on strike are innocent people and they are led away by the abettors and therefore, a strong view has to be taken in the case of those who are responsible for abetting and instigating. Thus in our opinion, there is a justifiable and reasonable classification and the offence of abetting has rightly been considered as a more serious offence than strike itself.

The Government of India have decided to take away the right to strike of employees in the essential services, including the Posts and Telegraphs and the Railways.

Legislation to this effect is likely to be introduced in the present session of Parliament. The Union Ministry of Labour is now working, in consultation with the Home Ministry on the draft Bill in this regard.

It is learnt that the new Bill that is being drafted, will provide for the exclusion of outsiders from the executives of trade unions, wherever they are permitted to function. In effect, it means that hereafter, members of political parties and professional trade unionists who are in no way connected with Government employees, will not be allowed to organise and conduct trade union activities on their behalf.

The New Naga State

In deciding to create a Naga State within the Indian Union, New Delhi has shown courage and imagination. Covering a little over 6,200 square miles, the Naga Hills-Tuensang area, as it is now known, has a population of about 3,69,000 people residing in about 700 villages.

This area will now constitute the New Nagaland, a distinct state within the Indian Union, with a Governor, a Council of Ministers, a legislature, representation in the Central Parliament and, in order to ensure its viability, a recurring subsidy from New Delhi. An interesting proposal is the suggestion to set up an interim body of Naga tribal representatives who will advise the Governor on the administration of the area in the transitional period. For some time at least, Nagaland will be placed under the Ministry of External Affairs, and not, like the other States, under the Home Ministry.

The new Nagaland promises to offer an instructive model for tribal self-government.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Indian Currency. By I. M. Kapoor, M.Sc. Price Rs. 6. Publishers, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad 3.

This is specially written by Principal Kapoor for the benefit of those reading Indian Currency for the B.A., B. Com., Bankers' and Accountants' Examinations. Part I is historical and classical and deals with development till 1939. The "alarming export of gold" in 1931 is amusing compared to the present high price of Rs. Eighty-six per tola of gold against Rs. 13 then. The way India turned a "creditor country" by the War of 1939 when her real wealth was replaced with paper and nickel by the "bleeding whites assisted by native members of the Finance Department", as one critic put it, is factually described. The author is on less stable ground in Part II as his appraisal of the Five-year Plans and the Decimal Currency etc. read like class room notes, very excellent in their way, but not yet analysed and synthesised to fit in with Part I. This makes them more valuable to the undergraduate but rather premature to the general reader. Altogether, the book is an excellent and accurate introduction to Indian Currency.

The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle. \$ 1.85. **After life in Roman Paganism.** \$ 1.35. **The System of Thomas Aquinas** \$ 1.25. **An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (Two Vols.)** \$ 2.25. each. **The World and the Individual (Two Vols.)** \$ 2.25. each. Published by Dover Publications Inc. 180, Varic Street, New York. 14. N. Y.

For all who are interested in the history of Western thought and culture, Dover Publications have republished five classic works in religion and philosophy. Reprinted for the first time in handsomely paper bound form and at moderate prices, these books are basic to a proper understanding of our Western heritage.

One of the finest examples of classical scholarship, Sir Ernest Barker's *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle* is a comprehensive study of the genesis and development of Greek political ideas. Treating the Greek political experience as a whole, Sir Ernest examines Plato's *Republic* and the *Politics* of Aristotle as well as the major contributions of other Greek theorists.

Franz Cumont's *Afterlife in Roman Paganism*, was originally a series of lectures given by the author at Yale University. A foremost scholar in the field of comparative religion, Franz Cumont considers Paganism's answer to the question of human immortality during one of the most tumultuous epochs of Roman history—between the end of the Republic and the Roman adoption of Christianity.

Maurice de Wulf, a distinguished Medievalist as well as one of the leaders of the Neo-Thomistic revival, is concerned with the central doctrines formulated by St. Thomas Aquinas in *The System of Thomas Aquinas*. Following the approach used by the Scholastics themselves, this book examines the specifics of Aquinas' thought and its relation to Medieval philosophy as a whole.

Dover Publications have also issued a complete and unabridged edition in two volumes of John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. This is the only edition of its kind currently in print. Taken from the definitive Fraser edition of 1894, it contains the four books comprising the "Essay" as well as Professor Fraser's authoritative 140-page introduction.

Josiah Royce's *The World and the Individual* is one of the major attempts by an American philosopher to interpret the nature of things in a comprehensive manner. The marked revival of interest in Royce as an original and profound thinker has prompted this republication with a new introduction by J. E. Smith, Professor of Philosophy at Yale University. These books must find a place in all libraries.

Our American Government. By Hon. Wright Patman Price 10 cents. Bantam Books, New York.

From question 1 asking what is the purpose of American Government to questions 1001 which asks which is the smallest State Legislature, the questions are intelligently framed and adequately yet concisely answered. For 'General Knowledge' purposes, it will be difficult to get a better compendium. Altogether a most useful and interesting compilation.

Total Empire. By Father Edmund Walsh S. J. *The Roots and Progress of World Communism.* Pyramid Book: Student Edition. Price 10 cents. Pyramid Books, New York.

Though included in Appendix II, the real starting points of this powerful polemic are the prophecies of De Tocqueville (1835) and Cortes (1850) that a hundred years hence the Anglo-Americans will start their Great Conflict for the punishment of the World. Cheiro in 1927 says that, Circe 1960 84, Russia aided by Persia, China, Ethiopia, and Libya will attack Anglo-American Civilization. The difficulty in appreciating this kind of judgemental writing is that even from Edgar Allan Poe's Pit and the Pendulum, one can weave out similar "facts" about physical and psychological pressure brought to bear on helpless humans by the Inquisition. The bother with horror stories is that they invite retorts both courteous and discourteous. Book I setting out the experience of the author from 1917 and exposing with the skill of a celibate dialectician the Seeds of Contradiction in Communist Theory and Practice is a masterpiece of fact-finding research. In Book II which is a subtle yet devastating attack on President F. D. Roosevelt, he shows how The Wasted Years saw Roosevelt gradually weakened by disease and Hubris allowing Communist Russia to overpower Europe and also to get a stranglehold on China. In many respects, F.D. Roosevelt was like our own Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. On the basis that even Christ took up the lash against the money-changers, the Reverend Father recommends Atomic Bombs and also their use after issuing a rush ultimatum. The trouble has been, is, and will ever be, who is the aggressor?"

Technically, the money-changers of the World now are the American Bankers who own the World Bank, and easily one might be tempted to take the lash to them instead of begging them to lend us monies with a promise to give the due pound of flesh like Antonio to Shylock. As our External Affairs Department has now discovered that Chinese Expansionism persists from over the ages though Communism has replaced the Emperor, the author concludes the ambitions of Peter the Great the friend and patron of the Pope are really the inspiration of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Shree Padyaavalee. By Shrilla Roopa Goswami Prabhu. *Raghava Chaitanya Das, Publishers Girdhari Kunj, Gopinath Bugh, Vrundavan (Mathura). Uttar Pradesh.*

This is a devotional collection on the excellence of Shri Krishna's name with a Hindi Teeka by Vanamali Das Sastri. The similes and conceits are extraordinarily felicitous as in the Mahima Sloka which roughly translates as follows: "At whose will the Ocean becomes Land, the Land Ocean, Dust becomes a Mountain and Mountain is reduced to Dust, Grass becomes Indra's Thunderbolt and a Thunderbolt soft Grass, Fire feels Cold, and Snow becomes Burning, Him the Charming Actor, I bow unto." "Sweet to the Ear, Sweet to the Eye, Sweet in the Mouth, Sweetest in the Heart, Sweet Before and Sweet Behind, Mathuraa Mathuraa, Mathuraa, Mathuraa" is another charming Shloka.

Mukthi Lakshmee, Bukthi Lakshmee, and Ananda Lakshmee are easily within the reach of all who memorise and understand this sweet collection. As the Preface says, "fools may laugh at a man who trips on the Great Way; but the wise will run to his assistance and help him forward to the Goal."

Dawn or Darkness. By R.K. Karanjia, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, Rs. 3.

This is an account of Mr. Karanjia's mission to the Middle East and Russia. During the course of this mission the author met Mr. Nasser, Mr. Kasim and Mr. Krushchov. As a consequence of these three interviews granted to Mr. Karanjia, the misunderstandings that had risen between Iraq, U.A.R. and Russia were, it is claimed, cleared up and there prevailed a better atmosphere. Politics in the Middle East is particularly complicated. This is mainly because the cold war between the two great powers enmeshed the Middle East in its grip. The tension arose because the U.A.R. was eager to have Iraq unified with itself and feared that Iraq was more inclined to Communism. This did not suit Mr. Nasser because he is staunchly opposed to Communism. The only hope for peace in the Middle East is for the countries of this region to avoid any entanglement in the cold war while there was hope in the trend of events. So far the recent attempt at Mr. Kassim's life indicates that all is not well in the Middle East.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

Mr. F. D. Bandaranaike, the new Finance Minister said that the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government proposed to solve the problem of Statelessness of Indian-origin estate workers expeditiously by direct negotiations with the Government of India.

"Having regard to the attitude of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru in his previous discussions with the late Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike on this subject, we are confident that this problem will be resolved to the satisfaction of both Governments and with justice to all," he said in an interview shortly before the Cabinet was due to be sworn in.

Also Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon on July 29 has expressed a desire to negotiate with India on the question of Ceylonese of Indian origin.

The Prime Minister has again and again affirmed that minorities have rights which must be respected by any civilised majority. She has declared that the mere fact that a man or woman spoke Tamil and not Sinhalese did not make him or her less of a patriotic national.

S-AFRICA

TREATMENT OF INDIANS

India and Pakistan on July 21 proposed that the forthcoming U. N. General Assembly session again debate the South African treatment of people of Indian and Pakistan origin.

In its memorandum to the U. N., the Indian delegation said that the High Commissioner in London and the Indian resident representative at the U. N. had conveyed to the Union Government India's "sincere desire" to begin negotiations, suggesting that these might conveniently be held in New York.

The South African High Commissioner had formally acknowledged the receipt of the Indian High Commissioner's communication, but the Union Government had not so far taken any steps to implement the wishes of the General Assembly.

The Indian memorandum noted that the Assembly had been urging negotiations between the Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa ever since its ninth session and the Indian Government had repeatedly expressed its readiness to enter into such negotiations.

MALAYA

PLIGHT OF INDIANS

The fate of the Indians on the fragmented estates is a great tragedy. As the President of the Malayan Indian Congress, Dato V. T. Sambanthan observed at the MIC delegates' meeting in Seremban recently, Indians had felled the jungles and planted the rubber on which Malaya's prosperity was based, but while others benefited from the labour of the Indians, they themselves were now "very little removed from the border-line of starvation and poverty." The MIC leader said the Indians had themselves to blame, as they had wasted their money on toddy and did not save. According to him, the Indians consumed more than \$20,000,000 (Rs. 30,000,000) worth of toddy a year. He urged them to stop drinking, save the money and buy up estates, thereby countering the ill-effects of fragmentation and thus ensuring their future.

In this connection, it is worth pointing out that the Malayan Indian Congress President has launched a \$10 million corporation to buy up plantations facing the fragmentation threat. Known as the National Land Finance Co-operative Society Limited, it will have 10,000 shares of \$100 each open to estate workers and "anyone who is interested." Workers may buy shares, paying in instalments of \$10 each a month. V. T. Sambanthan is the President of the Corporation, while Mr. R. Govindasamy, a director of the Bank Negara (the Federation's State Bank) is the Chairman of the Board of Directors. It is believed that the shares are selling well. But in the opinion of the Deputy General Secretary of the 300,000-strong National Union of Plantation Workers, Mr. John Emmannuel, the \$10,000,000 is too small a sum for buying up estates to prevent fragmentation. To some extent I agree with his view because at the average price of \$500 per acre, the share capital of the Corporation can buy up not more than 20,000 acres. The Secretary-General of the Union, Mr. P. Narayanan, said that viewed purely from the angle of co-operative effort, the MIC President's scheme had merits. If the workers could stop drinking toddy, they could save as much as \$20,000,000 a year which means that they could have a fully paid up \$10,000,000 Corporation every six months.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 1. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is sworn in as the first President of the Ghana Republic.
- Cnaw-en-lai expresses extreme regret for China-Nepal border incident.
- Mr. V.V. Giri and Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao are sworn in as Governors of Kerala and Uttar Pradesh respectively.
- July 2. An Anglo-Cypriot agreement is announced: All outstanding issues are settled.
- Trial by Jury system is abolished in Madras.
- July 3. China returns the captured Nepalese personnel.
- July 4. Govt. of Cuba takes over the privately owned Radio Stations.
- July 5. President Rajendra Prasad arrives in New Delhi after a fortnight's tour of Soviet Union.
- July 6. Draft outline of the 3rd Five Year Plan is published.
- Mr. Aneurin Bevan, British Labour Leader is dead.
- July 7. British Government tables in Parliament a bill to set up the new Cyprus Republic.
- July 8. President issues Ordinance banning strikes by Central Government servants.
- July 9. Khrushchev warns America against intervening in Cuba.
- July 10. Eisenhower's rejoinder to Khrushchev accuses Russia of intervening in Western Hemisphere.
- July 11. Strike by some Central Government servants begin at midnight in various places of India.
- Army and Assam Rifles are called out in aid of civil authorities in Jorhat, Sibsagar and Golaghat.
- July 12. France grants complete independence to four West African States namely Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomay and Nigeria.
- July 13. Congo charges Belgium with committing aggression and asks U.N. for urgent dispatch of military assistance.
- July 14. Security Council calls on Belgium to withdraw her troops from Congo.
- Senator J.F. Kennedy wins the Democratic nomination for U.S. Presidency.
- The Japanese Premier Mr. Nobusuku Kishi is stabbed.
- July 15. Guinea breaks off diplomatic relations with Belgium.
- Katanga refuses to allow U.N. forces.
- July 16. Central Government Servants' strike is called off.
- July 17. U.N. Forces take over Control of Congo capital.
- July 18. Mr. Hayato Ikeda is elected Premier of Japan by the Japanese Diet.
- July 19. Belgian troops start pulling out from the Leopoldville area in Congo.
- U.N. Security Council places the Cuba—U.S. dispute before the Organisation of American States.
- July 20. King Mahendra of Nepal arrives in New Delhi.
- Gen. Faud Chehab, the Lebanese President resigns.
- July 21. Election in Ceylon results in clear working majority for Sri Lanka Freedom Party: Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike is sworn in as Prime Minister of Ceylon.
- July 22. Security Council unanimously calls for complete withdrawal of Belgian troops from Congo.
- July 23. Withdrawal of Belgian troops from Leopoldville (Congo) begins.
- July 24. Mr. Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo arrives in New York.
- Dr. Rajendra Prasad arrives in Hyderabad.
- July 25. Punjab Government passes orders extending the detention of the Akali leader Master Tara Singh for one more year.
- July 26. The first series of Sino-Indian talks on Border issue ends at Peking.
- Security Council rejects the Soviet bid to condemn the U.S.A. for the July 1st incident of RB. 47 plane brought down by the Russians.
- July 27. Earl of Home is appointed Britain's new Foreign Secretary: Mr. Selwyn Lloyd is appointed Chancellor of Exchequer.
- July 28. U.S. Republican party choose Vice-President Richard Nixon as its candidate for the Presidency of U.S.A.
- July 29. Bills for giving Independence to Nigeria and Cyprus receive formal Royal assent in the House of Lords.
- July 30. Government of India agrees to give the Nagas a separate state within the Indian Union.
- Ghana announces total boycott of S. African goods.
- July 31. French colonial rule ends in Madagascar: Madagascar becomes a Free State.

READERS' DIGEST

PEACE AND FREEDOM

The basic issues of our time are involved in the debate between Sidney Hook and Bertrand Russell published in *The New Leader*. The problem has been posed as whether it is better to be a live jackal or a dead lion. Hook's premise is that peace without freedom is unbearable and moreover bad politics. "Those who are prepared to live like men, and if necessary, die like men," Hook wrote, "have the best prospect of surviving as free men, and escaping the fate of both jackals and lions." Russell's position is that "Communists and anti-Communists can live together, or die together," and he would not have them die together even if that survival were bought at the price of freedom. Both Hook and Russell are eminent philosophers, teachers and writers whose previous debates in *The New Leader* have caused international comment, stimulated discussion and thrown new light on the issues which divide them and the world today, the issues which divide men everywhere.

Russell contends that the West has less freedom than it boasts and that it is not as impeccably trustworthy as it sometimes thinks it is.

"I believe, however, that the Communists have much more freedom than they had a few years ago.

Communists and anti-Communists can live together, or die together or, just possibly, arrive at the superiority of one of the two groups. For my part, I wish to see them live together, and I wish most earnestly to see them not die together. If this worst possibility is to be prevented, it is not enough for each side to bristle with H-bombs ready to be fired off whenever a flight of starlings is mistaken for enemy missiles. It is necessary that each side should learn to treat the other with common courtesy and with the realization that we all live in glass houses. The calm assumption that of course the other side would cheat, but of course our side would not, is made by both sides. But to hear some champions of the West speaking, one would never guess that the other side can be equally sincere in its suspicions. Let it be granted that there are risks but once this has been granted it should be admitted that our present courses involve a far greater probability of far worse disasters than any that are to be feared from more conciliatory policies.

Hook is much impressed by the fanaticism of Communists, but, for my part, most of the Communists that I have met were less fanatical than Hook. The best answer to fanatical aversions occurs in Act III. Scene I of *The Merchant of Venice*, which, slightly adapted to modern circumstances, says: "Hath not a Communist eyes? hath not a Communist hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Capitalist is?"

INDIAN INTELLECTUALS

In two articles published in the latest issues of *Quest*, Prof. Edward Shils seeks to prove among other things that Indians educated in Western ways are far more deeply rooted than they often realise in their native culture.

"For instance, the religious sense has survived far more vigorously than among Western intellectuals; only 10 per cent of those he interviewed said they were atheists or agnostics. Nevertheless, they exhibit what he calls "xenotropism" to a marked degree. They want India "to be very different from what it is," he says, and in particular they want it to be more like England. As an American, this puzzles him as much as it did Mr. Khrushchev in Calcutta: "The capacity of the Indian attachment to English culture and political institutions to withstand the innumerable affronts which Indians suffered at British hands is not simple to understand."

The evidence he gives for this "xenotropism" and Anglophilia is not, however, entirely convincing says the *Manchester Guardian*.

"That Indian authors would rather have a review of their books in a British periodical than a better review in an Indian one does not necessarily show that "India is not an intellectually independent country." Many a British author is as anxious to get his books noticed in America. In fact, most of the characteristics which Professor Shils discerns in India exist in other countries too, including his own. He himself remarks that "in their populism, in their 'xenotropism' and their national sensitivities, American intellectuals often disclose striking similarities to their Indian fellow-intellectuals."

PRESIDENT'S POWERS

There has been a controversy whether the President of India is obligated to act on the advice of his Council of Ministers. "On this important point Mr. P. Kodanda Rao writes as follows in the *Indian Express*: Art. 53 of the Indian Constitution vests in him the executive power of the Union of India, which "shall be exercised by him directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution." Art. 74 says that there "shall" be a Council of Ministers, with the Prime Minister at its head, "to aid and advice" the President in the exercise of his functions. Art. 56 contemplates the impeachment of the President for violation of the Constitution. Taken together, these articles obligate the President to exercise power according to the Constitution but do not obligate him to act on the advice of his Ministers. If the latter were the case, no occasion can arise for his impeachment, as he would be merely rubber-stamping his Ministers' decisions. It follows, therefore, that in rejecting the advice of his Ministers and acting on his own responsibility, he would be acting in accordance with, and not in violation of, the Constitution and would not be liable to impeachment.

Very eminent authorities, like the late Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer had, however insisted that the President was obligated to act on the advice of his Ministers on the analogy of the British convention of Parliamentary democracy which India had adopted. If that were the intention, it might very well have been put in the Constitution, on the analogy of the Japanese Constitution which, in explicit terms, vested executive power in the Cabinet and required the Emperor to act on its advice. A convention, however well-understood, cannot prevail over the Constitution and can operate only when the latter is silent. The Indian Constituent Assembly did not hesitate to give constitutional status to several British conventions like the Cabinet, Prime Minister, etc. It put in the Indian Constitution the restrictions on Fundamental Rights which the American Supreme Court imposed by its judicial decisions. There was nothing to prevent it from stating in the Constitution that the President shall act on the advice of his Ministers. As things stand, the

Indian Supreme Court is likely to uphold the Constitution as against the convention, if occasion should ever arise."

EARTH AND OTHER PLANETS

A Soviet scientist puts forward a theory that the earth has been visited by space travellers from other planets—and that they may have had a part in the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

The scientist, identified by the *Tass* agency only as a physico-mathematician, M. Agrest says he believes a gigantic space ship approached the earth from space at a speed close to that of light, and went into orbit while its occupants studied the earth.

They landed, he says possibly in the region of the Baalbek terrace, a platform built of huge stone slabs in the Anti-Lebanon mountains which has defied explanation.

He believes that the platform is part of the remains of a launching platform built by space travellers, or something they put up to commemorate their visit.

M. Agrest says that glass-like substances known as tektites found in the Libyan desert and containing radio-active isotopes of aluminium and beryllium may have been the remains of some missile.

He notes that there is evidence that tektites—for which there is no explanation—were formed not less than a million years ago, and under conditions of very high temperatures and powerful radiation.

He also tells that the description of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah given in the Dead Sea Scrolls could not help attracting the attention of modern men familiar with nuclear physics.

"In modern language this legend says that people were advised to leave the area of the future explosion, not to linger in the open, not to watch the blast" he said. "Those of the fugitives who looked back lost their eyesight and perished."

His theory is that the space travellers could have exploded their surplus nuclear fuel before leaving earth, after warning the local population in advance so that they would not perish in the atomic blast.

KHRUSHCHEV POLICY OF CO-EXISTENCE

Writing on the above topic, Mr. Walter Lippmann observes in the *New York Herald Tribune* as follows:

It would be nice to believe, as Senator Wiley asked us to believe recently, that everything has been as good, if not better than it ever was, since the breakdown of the Summit and the cancellation of the President's visits to Moscow and Tokyo. But it is not true that everything is as good as it ever was. And self-deception is as dangerous a habit as a nation can fall into. It becomes doubly dangerous when, having suffered a severe defeat, official spokesmen seek to intimidate opponents by insisting that the true patriot will deny that the defeat is a defeat and will make it a victory by calling it a victory.

Certain things which have happened since the explosion in May have given a certain misleading plausibility to the thesis that everything is as good as it ever was. For one thing, Mr. Khrushchev has taken pains to make it clear that his quarrel is not with the United States but with Mr. Eisenhower, and that the basic policy of the Soviet Union continues to be to avoid war and to negotiate for a detente and a reduction of armaments. Accordingly, he has, on the one hand, broken off relations with the President and is refusing to negotiate with his Administration. On the other hand, he has declared a moratorium about Berlin, and has openly—very openly by Communist standards—differed with the Red Chinese and committed the European satellites to the doctrine of co-existence without war.

Why? In my view because the Khrushchev policy of co-existence without war, as distinct from the more orthodox Chinese doctrine that war is inevitable, stems from the vital national interests of the Soviet Union. The goodwill shown between the Nixon visit to Moscow and May of this year did not come from a realistic calculation of the need of the Soviet Union to develop an economy in peace and with a reduced burden of military expenditure. Our response, however badly conceived and managed, stemmed from our vital national interest. We too cannot afford to drift toward nuclear war, and our allies the world around have demanded a sincere effort to relax the tension.

These basic interests of the USSR and the USA have not been changed, and that is why, in one way or another, the search for a detente will be resumed.

However, it will be a long time, a year at the minimum, before the broken bridge between the worlds can be repaired. I wish I could think that time will be on our side during this year and that in this intermission when genuine diplomatic relations are suspended, our position will grow relatively stronger.

There is, however, no reason whatever to think that the alliance in Europe will disintegrate. The connections between North America and Western Europe are rooted deeply in geography, history, kinship, culture, and religion. These connections have been tested in all the great wars for two centuries. What will change in the future as it has in the past is the relative position of the Powers within the alliance. Our paramountcy, which began with the frustration of Europe in the Second World War, is giving way as Western Europe revives. While we shall remain the key piece in the Western Alliance, our position relative to Britain, France and Germany is declining and our influence and prestige have undoubtedly fallen.

But in Asia the prospects are very different and less favourable. The system of peripheral bases from Turkey around to Japan has been obsolescent since the Soviet Union acquired nuclear weapons. Now the system of bases has been deeply undermined by the U-2 affair and its aftermath. Our position in Asia is crumbling and this will continue unless, conceivably, the Chinese commit some act of folly which, like their aggression against India, frightens the nations of Asia.

The salvage of American interests in Asia will require a reappraisal and a revision of our strategic policy in Asia. If we look at the calendar, we have to say that since the reappraisal and revision will not be made by the outgoing Administration, nothing can be done until there is a new Administration.

But in fact, there is in diplomacy, as there is in finance, such a thing as discounting the future. Thus, if in the campaign it becomes clear that the likely winner moves to reappraise and revise, and knows how to go about it, the crumbling of our Asian position may not become the landslide which Mr. Khrushchev is waiting and hoping for.

HEAD STANDING PRACTISE

The Yoga Association of America Mr. Jim Gibbins says is trying to promote a programme of head-standing in big business: it has an impressive list of tycoons who practise this. It includes Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New York State, and Vice President Richard Nixon.

Head-standing is most popular in the music and recording business, the Association says. Take, for example, Hugo Peretti, 41, and Luigi Creatore, 37, two top recording executives in New York. They report they have cured everything from headaches to hangovers in this position. "Better still," adds Creatore, "We've been able to throw away all our bottles of tranquilisers!"

Carry Grant is one of the most dedicated head-standers in America. He performs the exercise three times a day—before breakfast, lunch and last thing at night. "More than physical jerks more than a diet of steaks and salads, this keeps me healthy," he says. Olivia de Havilland is another member of the cult.

"Every morning," she says, "I put on a black sweater and pants and sit down in the middle of a scarlet carpet to go through a series of exercise that, to the laymen, must appear to be weird. They culminate with me standing on my head for ten minutes."

Her husband, French journalist Pierre Galand, first urged her to take up Yoga. "For a time," she says I took two lessons a week from an expert until I began to feel I could launch out on my own.

"I know nothing about the philosophy of the mind—but I will say that standing on one's head is marvellous exercise. It teaches control of your body and in controlling your body you control your emotions—which is the secret of living successfully."

Multi-millionaire industrialist Cyrus Eaton also refuses to start the day without a head-stand. "But," he adds "I'm getting on a bit now and I'm finding it a little difficult to maintain the posture for too long. However, I've discovered an excellent substitute—that is bringing your knees up to your chin and resting your head on your knees."

Louis (Satchmo) Armstrong says he stands on his head for a few minutes after every concert. "My head's throbbing, my ears are buzzing and I'm sweating all over," he

says. "But after two or three minutes I'm a new man again and ready to get to work on that horn."

Another devotee is Vice-President Richard Nixon. "Sometimes," he says, "I can stand on my head for up to twenty minutes."

BRITISH PRESS ON INDIA'S PLANS

Two leading British newspapers, *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, warned that until the Indian Government found an effective means of controlling the birth rate, the prospects of prosperity in India would appear gloomy.

Commenting on the draft outline of India's third Plan, published recently the independent *Times* said that statistics of "bold industrial advance" include a "forbidding estimate of population increase which inevitably will delay an advance in India's standard of living."

"Any calculations of economic take-off by the end or soon after the third Plan will mean little while this great and growing weight of numbers holds back India's progress," the *Times* said.

"In a society such as India's, it is not only an economic take off that is needed but an educational and social take off as well."

"For this reason, the Planners' forecast of population 20 years hence may yet be falsified if a real drive relying on local initiative for more clinics is pursued and at the same time illiteracy is attacked with equal urgency," the *Times* added.

The *Daily Telegraph* (conservative) argued that in one sense the targets of Plan are relatively modest.

"It is vital for India, and for the West, that this great experiment in development within a democratic framework be made to work."

"If we are going to do everything in our power to see that the success of the Plan is not jeopardised, so must the Indians."

"Finally, there is the central problem of controlling the population explosion."

"The Government had already made some efforts to control the birthrate, but until effective means can be found to limit the number of hungry new mouths, all India's planning may result not in prosperity but in still greater poverty," the *Daily Telegraph* added.

EXPERIENCES OF HUMAN BEINGS

In the series "What Life has taught me," Mr. James Q du Pont contributes an article to the *Sunday Standard* under the heading "I am proud to be a human being." He says:

Ever since one midnight, in nineteen hundred and nine—when I first heard my mother crying—I have been groping for beliefs to help me through the rough going and confusions of life.

My dad's voice was low and troubled as he tried to comfort Mother—and in their anguish they both forget the nearness of my bedroom. I overheard them. I was only seven then, and while their problem of that time has long since been solved and forgotten, the big discovery I made that night is still right with me—life is not all hearts and flowers. It's hard and cruel for most of us much of the time. We all have troubles—they just differ in nature, that's all. And that leads to my first belief.

I believe the human race is very, very tough—almost impossible to discourage. If it wasn't, then why do we have such words as "laugh" and "sing" and "music" and "dance"—in the language of all mankind since the beginning of recorded time? This belief makes me downright proud to be a human being.

Next, I believe there is good and evil in all of us. Thomas Mann comes close to expressing what I'm trying to say with his carefully worded sentence about the "frightfully radical duality" between the brain and the beast in man—in all of us.

This belief helps me because so long as I remember that there are certain forces of evil ever present in me—and never forget that there is also a divine spark of goodness in me, too—then I find that the "score" of my bad mistakes and regrets at the end of each day is greatly reduced. "Forewarned of evil is half the battle against it."

I believed in trying to be charitable, in trying to understand and forgive people, especially in trying to forgive very keen or brilliant people. A man may be a genius but he can still do things that practically break your heart.

I believe most if not all of our very finest thoughts and many of our finest deeds must be kept to ourselves alone—at least until after we die. This used to confuse me. But now I

realise that by their very nature, these finest things we do and cannot talk about are a sort of secret preview of a better life to come.

I believe there is no escape from the rule that we must do many, many little things to accomplish even just one big thing. This gives me patience when I need it most.

And then I believe in having the courage to be myself. Or perhaps I should say, to be honest with myself. Sometimes this is practically impossible, but I'm sure I should always try.

Finally and most important to me, I do believe in God. I'm sure there is a very wise and wonderful Being who designed, constructed and operates this existence as we mortals know it: this universe with its galaxies and spiral nebulae, its stars and moons and planets and beautiful women, its trees and pearls and deep green moss—and its hopes and prayers for peace.

FALL IN OCEAN'S LEVEL

Information gathered by Soviet space rockets has explained why the level of the oceans is falling, according to Dr. Joseph Shklovsky, Soviet astronomer.

A study of data gathered by the rockets shows that the earth is surrounded by a "corona" of ionised hydrogen. Dr. Shklovsky wrote in the Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, quoted by the *Tass*.

Dr. Shklovsky calls this rarefied extension of the atmosphere the "geocorona." "There is reason to believe that the extension of the geocorona is a variable magnitude, depending on solar activity," he wrote.

The geocorona, he said, could be detected up to 22,000 kilometres (about 13,673 miles) from the earth's surface. Beyond that distance, no ionised gas has been detected.

Sometimes, especially in periods of high solar activity, interplanetary space is filled with beams of charged particles moving at tremendous speed. These, according to Dr. Shklovsky, sweep away any ionised gas there may be.

If it were not steadily replenished by evaporation of water from the oceans, all the hydrogen in the earth's atmosphere would vanish into inter-planetary space, Dr. Shklovsky wrote. And that, he concluded, is why the level of the ocean has declined several metres during the earth's geological history.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND DISARMAMENT

The effect of nuclear weapons on the conduct of war has often been discussed. According to Leo Mates in *The Review of International Affairs*, all the efforts and discussions in connection with disarmament—no matter how infinitesimal their results and how slow the steps for a solution may seem—possess historical importance, in the first place because they contribute to the averting and, *ipso facto*, to the minimizing of the danger of war.

"In discussing disarmament today, obviously there is no sense in regarding any reduction of armed forces or of armaments as a substantial success in that direction. Such steps are creative of a better atmosphere in international relations, but are insignificant in the minimizing of the disastrous consequences of an eventual conflict. The efficiency of armaments is growing at such a quick rate that only total elimination of nuclear weapons would mean an essential change in that field. And of course, nuclear armaments could be backed up by any mass-destruction device that exists or will be invented—as the biological mass-destruction devices for example—though so far nuclear weapons seem to be the only generally known and tested method."

If we regard disarmament as a separate problem, which it is not in practice, being as it is an indissoluble part of the general reality of the world today, then the whole problem narrows down to nuclear weapons.

"It is unthinkable that the interested powers should renounce nuclear weapons without solving at the same time all questions of conventional armament too. Actually, renunciation of nuclear weapons will mark the advent of a new era in the history of mankind, an era in which wars will be ghostly memories from a transcended and overcome past.

In all discussions concerning disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the question of control crops up more frequently as one of the worst handicaps. This is not an easy issue, but it is equally obvious that control is necessary. However, from certain sides the question of control is being given a disproportionate degree of importance.

Insistence on 100% control in the preliminary phases is all the more unwarranted in view of the fact that, in any case, real disarmament, *viz.*, destruction of nuclear weapons cannot primarily be based on control or on any police measures and guarantees. Such illusions—if they are really illusions—seem to be founded on an idea that the world can be changed while at the same time remaining unchanged. Renunciation of nuclear weapons in the presence of the capability and the knowledge needed to produce them plus the previous possession of such weapons in unknown quantities, presupposes organs far superior to those which merely control.

Whether we like it or not, the world will have to live for a long time in the presence of the existence of the nuclear potential, *viz.*, in a state in which total or near-total destruction is possible. In the mean time, the main efforts in the disarmament field can be turned most beneficially to thwarting tendencies toward a "limited nuclear war."

ECONOMIC BASES FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

The Central Social Welfare Board's programmes for women in the rural areas are gaining a solid economic base in the sense that the women are enabled to acquire skills in small industries and cottage crafts and other self employment occupations. A writer in the *Economic Weekly* observes that

"After 5 years of experience in running (and assisting) social welfare programmes for women and children, there is now a definite shift in the Board's programmes in the direction of economic rehabilitation of these groups in the urban as well as rural areas. How is this rehabilitation being undertaken? In the 450 rural welfare projects set up by the Board, covering about 12,000 villages and more than 10 million people, basic welfare services for women and children have brought to them the benefits of literacy and craft skills besides amenities like maternity services. With the consciousness, thus generated, of well-being and of competence in using their hands to produce some useful articles, large numbers of women in these project areas are becoming increasingly employment conscious. They are now demanding opportunities for turning their skills to profitable economic use.

The economic programme drawn up by the Central Board in response to this demand include establishment of production units in which women find gainful employment in such projects as ambar charkha spinning, weaving of khadi, handpounding of rice, gur packing, etc. for which grants are available from the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the Handloom Board. The programme also covers handicrafts like toymaking, basket weaving, mat-weaving and production of various other articles for which the All-India Handicrafts Board makes grants."

The industrial co-operatives are set up with grants from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at the rate of Rs. 1,50,000 to Rs. 2,50,000 per unit.

"The other industrial boards under the Ministry also make grants for training women workers in the industries and handicrafts which are looked after by them. For example, two regional institutes have been started by the Handicrafts Board, and another is to be set up, to train handicrafts teachers for imparting instruction to women in selected industries. Similarly the Khadi Commission has allotted six training centres for training women instructors in the mechanics of ambar charkha spinning. These centres are solely for training instructors for the Social Welfare Board's programmes.

ON GROWING OLD

"If to grow old is to learn to be active in contemplation as once we were active in doing" observes Mr. Hugh Fausset in a thoughtful essay in *The Aryan Path*, "it can be as rewarding an experience as growing up."

"For to grow in knowledge of the inner world is no less satisfying than to extend our grasp over the outer. Indeed its rewards are incomparably greater. Nor does contemplation deny the world of action and sensation. But it transforms our relation to that world and our vision of it. Above all it teaches us that we are born into life that we may learn to die into it. As long as we breathe, birth and death are never divided, strive as we do to force them apart. Spiritual death is, in different degrees, the measure of our success in separating them."

"When life is at its physical spring, we are least inclined to do this. Youth with its gaiety and engaging abandon, if not borne on

wings, carries on its back a quiver full of arrows each a glinting possibility. Even the unfavoured of fortune have then a reserve of hope to draw upon and, though this hope may attach itself to object in view, some enterprise of the moment or some good ahead, it is in essence an aura or effulgence of life's belief in itself. In Gabriel Marcel's words, it is the fuel that keeps a life alight from day to day."

A UNIQUE BRAIN OPERATION

Two Georgetown University surgeons have reported a unique operation in which tiny plastic pellets were used to block the blood flow to an unnatural and dangerous tangle of blood vessels in a woman patient's brain. Sealing off the blood flow permitted a step up to normal circulation along the natural blood pathways of the brain.

Drs. Alfred J. Luessenhop and William T. Spence reported the pioneering operation in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. Dr. Luessenhop said the technique offered hope to relatively numerous people with inoperable brain disorders such as aneurysms, enlargements or bubbling out of arterial wall. He noted that the first operation was for a rare defect, technically known as arteriovenous malformation.

Since the operation in September 1959, the 47-year old patient has lived a near-normal life at home, no longer plagued by numbness and weakness of the limbs and a speech defect that had persisted since early childhood.

In the operation, four plastic pellets graduated in size from 2.5 to 4.2 millimeters were inserted 15 minutes apart into the carotid artery of the neck on the left side. The pellets worked their way up to the middle cerebral artery, which is the natural continuation of the carotid, and lodged just short of the faulty area. The pellets were big enough not to branch off into smaller feeder arteries along the carotid and cerebral vessels.

The surgeons said that X-Ray pictures and arteriograms taken since the operation show just a trace of the unnatural tangle remaining and good, brisk blood flow through the brain's normal network.

Aneurysms could be corrected, they said, if pellets introduced on either side to block the blood flow could be removed after the artery wall had time to strengthen and heal itself.

VACCINE AGAINST BLINDNESS

American and Chinese scientists working in Formosa have discovered a vaccine against trachoma, the greatest single cause of blindness. Their success, says Abraham Marcus in the *Observer*, follows the isolation of the trachoma virus for the first time, in Peking in 1957.

"Since then it has been isolated in England, Gambia, Israel and Saudi Arabia, and a tremendous impetus has been given to research into one of the oldest and most widespread diseases, affecting 400 million people throughout the world.

The virus has been grown by taking material from an infected eye and inoculating it into the yolk sac of a developing chick embryo. This technique had failed many times in the past. The Peking discovery was that the addition of a small quantity of the antibiotic streptomycin made growth possible."

Proof that the virus isolated is actually that of trachoma is essential. The World Health Organization has laid down exacting criteria.

"First, the virus must be passed through a sufficient number of chick embryos to eliminate by dilution of original inoculated material. This is to make certain that an entirely new generation of virus is available. Then material from the final culture must be used to infect a human eye.

The ready availability of live trachoma virus in the laboratory has made it possible to test its sensitivity to antibiotics. These have been applied with some success in treatment. By the direct method the Formosa group has confirmed that the virus can be inhibited by penicillin sulphate drugs, terramycin and other antibiotics."

Nevertheless, says the writer, the first results of the Formosa vaccine are encouraging. This may be the beginning of an all-out preventive war against a terrible disease.

DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, a former Premier of Pakistan (who introduced the Constitution of 1956 which was abrogated

before it became operative), in his recent reply to Gen. Ayub Khan's new Constitution Commission, has boldly stated that constitutional cloth should not be cut to the measure of any single man. He has restated the principle that, if democracy is the goal to be attained, the control of civilian power over military should be recognised and that the Armed Services and the Civil Services should keep out of active politics. He has sought to answer the official charge in Pakistan that parliamentary democracy was a failure and has pointed to the danger which lurks in representing politics as a reprehensible activity instead of as the highest duty of a citizen. In a recent issue of the *American Political Science Quarterly*, Prof. K. J. Newman of Dacca University has analysed the failure of democracy in Pakistan and pointed out that the "residual autocracy" of the 1935 Government of India Act which was virtually the Constitution of Pakistan, gave more weight to the powers of the Governor-General and the Civil Service than to the Pakistani politicians who were in any case not a compact band of nationalists, organised democratically, as was the case in India. Once the Muslim League suffered defeat as it did in the elections of 1954, local politics took over and the temptation of the President to rule autocratically became irresistible. The fact is that, in the final analysis, democracy is not just a technical matter of holding elections and organising rival party-organisation—it demands faith in its ideals and those who believe in supreme authority and the rule of one man or a group of superior men, can never work it successfully. It requires a willingness to debate, to local prejudice, which is difficult for proud and ambitious leaders to stomach. Yet there have been periods both in Turkey and in Pakistan when such freedom existed and it should be the aim of the new leaders in those countries to give way to the verdict of the people as expressed in free elections and an uncensored Press.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

STEPS TO REDUCE RISK OF WAR

President Eisenhower on July 22 at Rhode Island announced that the United States would call for an early meeting of the U.N. Disarmament Commission to reduce "the risk of war."

Mr. Eisenhower said in a statement that the Soviet walkout from the ten-nation disarmament talks in Geneva last month "makes it desirable to take further steps so that the vital issue of disarmament can be considered promptly once again."

The President instructed Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, head of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. to seek an early meeting of the 82-nation Commission. A majority must approve any such meeting.

The President said he was taking the action "so that we and other members of the international community can continue to search for ways and means to achieve the universal desire to reduce the risk of war by controlled steps of disarmament."

The President added "Our efforts to get the Soviet Union to return to the conference table through normal diplomatic channels have not met with success. Disarmament in the present world situation is too important to set aside at the present time when deliberate efforts are being made to increase tensions. The United Nations under the Charter has primary responsibility in disarmament. I have, therefore, instructed Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge to request an early meeting of the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations."

Mr. James Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, told reporters that with the filing of the letter by Mr. Lodge, the U.S. representatives would be recalled from Geneva because the whole question of disarmament was going before the U.N. Disarmament Commission.

Mr. Henry said the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Christian Herter, had discussed the plan at a meeting at the Summer White House earlier.

The official announcement confirming the United States' intention to ask for a Commission meeting caught many delegates at the United Nations by surprise.

CHINA'S DESIRE FOR PEACE PACT

The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, said on August 1 at Peking that China would like to conclude a peace pact which would include the United States and the setting up of a zone free of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Western Pacific.

The Premier made the statement during a surprise visit to the Swiss Embassy's National Day garden party.

Arriving 90 minutes late and after many diplomats had left, Mr. Chou delivered an off-the-cuff statement which diplomats said was one of the mildest heard from Chinese leaders in recent years.

"To-day there are in the world military blocs such as Seato which are hostile to China and trying to encircle our country and pose a threat to it. But we stand for peaceful co-existence," he said.

"We have proposed the conclusion of a peace pact for a non-nuclear zone in Asia and the Western Pacific," he said.

Mr. Chou added, "This of course would include the United States. This is a long-standing effort on our part, but we must persist in our efforts."

He said, "Some provocateurs have accused China of having given up the policy of seeking peaceful relations with countries. These are slanders and not at all correct."

PROHIBITION OF RACIALISM

An all-party group of 80 members of Parliament has drafted a new Bill to make racial discrimination illegal in Britain.

The Council of the British Caribbean Association—which comprises 50 Labour M.P.s., 26 Conservatives and four liberals—met at the House of Commons on July 27 to discuss the proposal. They decided to make efforts to introduce the Bill into Parliament during the next session.

The Bill is a simplified version of the one introduced some time ago by Mr. Fenner Brockway, a Labour M.P.—which received a second reading in Parliament but failed to make further progress. It aims to make illegal "discrimination against any person on the grounds of colour race and religion in the United Kingdom."

Utterances of the Day

DR. PRASAD ON DEMOCRACY

President Rajendra Prasad said at Hyderabad on July 27 that when their democracy was in the formative stages, it was absolutely necessary that the functions entrusted to the different organs of the State should be discharged well and impartially.

He was speaking at a luncheon got up in his honour by the Judges of the Andhra Pradesh High Court at the High Court premises. The Chief Justice, Mr. P. Chandra Reddi, welcomed Dr. Prasad.

Dr. Prasad said that he had no doubt that in this country, "our judiciary has maintained the highest traditions" and added that it was in the hands of the judiciary not only to enforce the rights of everyone but also to protect the Constitution itself.

Referring to the role of the judiciary, Dr. Prasad said that while the judiciary was concerned with the meaning of the word of the Constitution, the Legislature was concerned with the wording and naturally, people looked up to them to give a correct interpretation not only of the Constitution, but all other laws, passed by the Legislature. "We have nowadays a large body of legislation and so it has become difficult for even lawyers to keep pace with the growth of legislation, not to speak of laymen," he added.

KHRUSHCHEV'S OPTIMISM

The Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, told the Rumanian Workers' Congress at Bucharest last month that he was confident that in the present-day conditions war was not inevitable.

Reaffirming the faith of the Soviet Union in the principles of peaceful co-existence between States with different social systems he called upon all peoples to compel their Governments also to these principles in order to avoid war, "even a local war."

The Soviet Premier hoped that the frenzy following the failure of the Paris Summit conference was a passing phenomenon which would sooner or later give way to a healthier atmosphere.

West European countries had, he thought, in the political and social spheres "already landed in the backyards of history." The time was not distant when the capitalist countries would be in the backyards economically too, he added.

"The historic hour will soon strike when all the peoples of the world, fully aware that capitalism is doomed, will choose a new social order as the most suitable, as the only reasonable and happy way of the development of society."

EISENHOWER'S CHALLENGE

President Eisenhower challenged the Soviet Union to a world-wide election contest.

Addressing the Republican National Convention at Chicago on July 26 the President suggested a plebiscite, under United Nations control, in which the people would say whether they wanted to live under Communism or a free democracy.

Mr. Eisenhower said: "The Soviet dictator has said that he has, in his recent journeys and speeches, succeeded in damaging the prestige of America. Concerning this matter of comparative national prestige, I challenge him to make this test:

"Will he agree to the holding of free elections under the sponsorship of the United Nations, to permit people everywhere, in every nation and every continent to vote on one single, simple issue?

"That issue is: 'Do you want to live under a Communist regime or under a free system such as found in the United States?'"

"Are the Soviets willing to measure their world prestige by the results of such election? The United States will gladly do so."

The President also struck back at Democratic Party criticisms that his Administration had permitted the Soviet Union to become militarily stronger than the United States.

"In the sum of our capabilities, we have become the strongest military power on earth," he said, "But just as Job and his boils, so we have a cult of professional pessimists who taking counsel of their seers, continually mouth the allegation that America has become a second-rate military power."

"This extraordinary assertion amazes our friends in the world who know better; it even bewilders many of our own people who have examined our 6½ year record of military expansion and who are not used to hearing their gigantic defence efforts so belittled."

NEW GOVERNMENT FOR CEYLON

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, was sworn in as Prime Minister of Ceylon on July 21. She indicated to the Press that the strength of her Cabinet would be probably twelve.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, who is the first woman Prime Minister of the country and the world, took her oath also as Minister of Defence and External Affairs.

To 44-year old Mrs. Sirima Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike falls the unique distinction of being the first woman to fill the role of Prime Minister—an achievement that is singular in the history of the world. She stands doubly distinguished today not only because she has blazed a new trail for womankind, but because of the unparalleled circumstances of a husband and wife serving a nation as Prime Ministers.

Ceylon's first lady has come a long way from those early days when she chose to remain in the political background, somewhat apprehensive of the burden thrust on active politicians.

NEW JAPANESE CABINET

The newly-elected Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Hayato Ikeda, on July 19 announced the names of his Cabinet colleagues which included Mr. Zentaro Asa (Foreign Affairs) and Mr. Mitsujiro Ishi (International Trade and Industry).

Mr. Jikio Mizuta will be the new Finance Minister.

He also announced the appointment of Mr. Hissane Sakomizu as Minister of State and Director-General of the Economic Planning Board.

CHANGES IN BR-CABINET

Mr. Harold Macmillan named the Earl of Home, 57, as Britain's new Foreign Secretary in succession to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd ignoring demands that he should pick an elected House of Commons man.

The Prime Minister named Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the new Chancellor of Exchequer. The Cabinet reshuffle officially announced on July 27 which made ten changes in the ministerial team, followed the resignations of the Chancellor of Exchequer, Mr. Derick Heathcoat Amory.

Immediately after the announcement of Home's appointment, the Opposition Labour

Party tabled a motion of censure against the Government for appointing a Peer as Foreign Secretary.

It was also announced that Mr. Heathcoat Amory is to receive a Viscounty (Peerage).

Under the reshuffle, Mr. Duncan Sandys, 42-year-old son-in-law of Sir Winston Churchill, becomes Minister for Commonwealth Relations, a post till now held by Lord Home.

Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, who resigned as Chancellor of Exchequer in January 1958, comes back to the Cabinet as Minister for Aviation. Mr. John Hare moves from the Agricultural Ministry to become Minister for Labour.

Viscount Hailsham remains Minister for Science and becomes Lord President of the Council, a post occupied by Lord Home.

Mr. R. A. Butler, 57, who is Home Secretary and unofficially deputy to the Prime Minister, will stay in his present posts and continue also as Government Leader in the House of Commons.

The youngest member of the reconstructed Cabinet will be Mr. Soames, who is 39.

FUTURE SHAPE OF COMMONWEALTH
Officials from overseas countries including India return home after weeklong private talks at London on the Commonwealth.

Their meeting were in the nature of a preliminary analysis, and stemmed from a recommendation made by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their conference held in May.

In the Prime Ministers' minds was the thought that while hitherto countries which have become independent and taken their own part in international affairs, this will not be true of some of the smaller countries due for political independence in the Commonwealth in the foreseeable future. The question arises what happens when they reach this point.

SWATANTRA PARTY ON CONGRESS
The General Council of the Swatantra Party, meeting in an open session at the Sunderbai Hall in Bombay on July 31, passed resolutions touching on the recent Central Government employees' strike, "repression" in the Punjab, the situation in Assam, the draft of the Third Five-Year Plan, the next general elections, Tibet and China, and the threat to national unity and democracy.

All the resolutions were approved unanimously.

EDUCATION IN THIRD PLAN

The draft Third Plan of the Planning Commission has a chapter on "Human resources and social services."

Under the Third Plan facilities for free and compulsory education for the entire age-group 6—11 should be fully provided. To give effect to this decision, a comprehensive educational survey was carried out in all States. The object of this survey was to delimit school areas and to determine the location of new schools and the areas to be served by them.

As against the anticipated outlay under the Second Plan of Rs. 273 crores on educational programmes, including those relating to technical education, a provision of Rs. 500 crores has been made in the Third Plan. This includes Rs. 370 crores for general education and Rs. 130 crores for technical education, compared to Rs. 213 crores and Rs. 60 crores respectively in the Second Plan. The distribution of the allocation between elementary, secondary and university education and other general programmes will be worked out on the basis of proposals drawn up by States but, for the time being, it is reckoned that about Rs. 180 crores may be allocated for elementary education, Rs. 90 crores for secondary education, Rs. 75 crores for university education and Rs. 25 crores for other programmes. These may be compared with the outlays anticipated under different heads in the Second Plan, namely, Rs. 92 crores for elementary education, Rs. 45 crores for secondary education, Rs. 44 crores for university education and Rs. 32 crores for other programmes.

DR. V. K. R. V. RAO

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, who has relinquished his office as Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University, took charge of his new post as Director of the Institute of Economic Growth.

The Institute of Economic Growth is an independent and autonomous research institution run by the Delhi School of Economics Society with Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari as Chairman of its governing body.

NATIONAL DISCIPLINE SCHEME

More than three lakhs of children, drawn from 622 educational institutions in the country received training under the National Discipline Scheme during the year 1959-60, according to the annual report on the scheme, released on July 15.

MEDICAL COLLEGE AT TIRUPATI

Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, President of the Indian National Congress, inaugurated the Sri Venkateswara Medical College at Tirupati on July 25 before a large and distinguished gathering. Mr. P. V. G. Raju, Minister for Public Health, Government of Andhra Pradesh, presided over the function.

This Medical College is affiliated to the Sri Venkateswara University. The present college and its adjunct Sri Venkateswara Ramnarain Ruia Hospital with residential quarters are planned to be located on a 200-acre plot generously leased out at a nominal rent by the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams at the foot of the Holy Hills.

RURAL EDUCATION

The seven-day Inter-State seminar on rural higher education Ministry concluded at Bhopal on July 10 with an address of Dr. S. D. Sharma, Education Minister of Madhya Pradesh. In his address Dr. Sharma made a strong plea for equipping the rural institutes with highly trained teaching personnel and modern scientific apparatus.

DR. D. P. SINGAHL

An Indian, Dr. D. P. Singahl, has been appointed Senior Lecturer in the History and Culture of India and Pakistan at the University of Queensland, Australia. He is at present in the University of Malaya and will take up his new appointment in January next, says the Australian Information Service.

DR. VERRIER ELWIN

Dr. Verrier Elwin, Adviser for Tribal Affairs, NEFA, has been awarded the Campbell gold medal for his researches in anthropology and folklores. The medal was presented to him by the Governor of Maharashtra at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bombay last month. This is the sixth medal awarded to Dr. Elwin for his various research works in anthropology by societies in India and outside.

MR. SRIVIRANARAYANARAJA

Mr. P. K. Srivirananarayana, Reader in Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar, has been selected for the award of a Fellowship for Ancient Indian History and Culture at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, under the Commonwealth Scholarships and Fellowships Plan, 1960—61, says a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

CENTRAL EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

The Presidential Ordinance to ban the strike and to declare Central Government services as essential came very late, just two days prior to July 11—when the strike started. In a case in which two million employees were involved and where they had, under the then existing law, exercised their right to vote for a strike and given the necessary forty-five days' notice, forty-eight hours were wholly insufficient to enable them to reflect on the consequences of a strike. The few trade union leaders are educated men and are no doubt versed in law and are aware of all the legal consequences. But not so the Government employees for whom an Ordinance of this kind is wholly a new experience. The Ordinance could have come two or even four weeks earlier and steps might have been taken to prevent all activities for promoting the strike.

Mr. Deven Sen, President of the All-India Hind Mazdoor Sabha, said at Delhi on July 27 that his organisation would appeal to the I. L. O. and the International Transport Workers' Federation to immediately send a commission to study the post-strike situation in India and take steps to safeguard the right of the working class.

Addressing a Press conference Mr. Sen said that such an enquiry was necessary as many fundamental rights of the working class in India were to-day in jeopardy.

The commission, he said, should also enquire into the extent to which the working class was free and to the extent to which it was controlled by the Government.

MARRIED DAUGHTERS' RIGHT TO PROPERTY

The contemplated move of certain State Governments to enact laws taking away from married daughters and remarrying widows the right of inheritance to their father's property in conflict with the Central Act came under discussion at an informal meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

The High Command was intrigued at an order passed by the Madhya Pradesh Government debarring married daughters and remarrying widows from the share of their father's property in conflict with the Hindu Succession Act. The Punjab Government were also reported to be contemplating a similar move.

The High Command felt that even though the Hindu succession issue was a concurrent subject, the State Governments should be advised not to enact laws in conflict with the Central Act.

EICHMANN'S TRIAL IN ISRAEL

Israeli Premier Ben Gurion said that Argentina as well as other foreign countries were welcome to send observers to the trial in Israel of Adolf Eichmann, accused of direct responsibility in the murder of six million Jews during World War II.

Eichmann was brought to Israel from Argentina last month by Israeli agents and is now awaiting trial in an Israeli jail. Mrs. Veronica Eichmann, wife of Mr. Adolf Eichmann who is now in Israel accused of war crimes, asked a Buenos Aires court to take criminal proceedings against the "promoters, authors and abettors" of his abduction.

Mrs. Eichmann—whose whereabouts have not been known since her husband was taken to Israel by Jewish "volunteers" in May—was represented by her lawyer, Senor Carlos Gentile.

Her application to a federal judge said her husband had been "forcibly deprived of his liberty."

ACTION AGAINST SUHRAWARDY

Pakistan's former Prime Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, was disqualified from public life for six years by Pakistan Government.

A press note issued at Ravalpindi on July 15 said that as a result of investigations by police into the conduct of Mr. Suhrawardy it was found that he had been guilty of misconduct of the nature of favouritism, abuse of power and position and wilful misapplication or diversion of public moneys.

These charges, the Press note added, were considered by the Central Public Offices Inquiry Committee and referred to the Central Elective Bodies Disqualification Tribunal.

SUPREME COURT JUDGES

The President has appointed Mr. Justice Raghubar Dayal, a judge of the Allahabad High Court, and Mr. Narasimha Rajagopala Iyengar, a retired judge of the Madras High Court, to be judges of the Supreme Court of India with effect from the date they assume charge of their respective offices.

BRITISH AID FOR INDIA

Mr. Cuthbert Alport, Minister for Commonwealth Relations, said in the British Parliament that Britain had offered a ten million pounds sterling loan to India, which could be used to pay for imports from Britain.

Replying to a question, Mr. Alport said India had asked for early assistance to meet its foreign exchange requirements for 1960-61, the final year of its Second Plan.

In addition to the present loan, Britain would later join in consideration of India's need for assistance during the current year with the consortium of the United States, Canada, West Germany and Japan with which Britain is associated.

This consortium met under the aegis of the International Bank to concert aid to India in 1958 and 1959.

Since 1958, and including the new ten million sterling loan, Britain has now provided loans totalling 75½ million sterling to India.

RESOURCES FOR THIRD PLAN

In raising tax resources for the Third Five-year Plan reliance will mainly be again on customs and central excise. This was indicated by Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, Union Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, while addressing the third meeting of the Customs and Central Excise Advisory Council at New Delhi.

Mr. Gopala Reddi said that the Customs and Central Excise Departments would again be called upon to make "very substantial contributions" to the tax effort of Plan.

The Minister recalled that in the Second Plan period approximately 65 per cent of the total tax revenues of the Centre had come from customs and excise taxation. The actual amount of revenue from the two sources for the Plan period was estimated at Rs. 2,322 crores. Of this amount, the additional taxation of about Rs. 582 crores had been almost entirely raised by way of central excise duties.

WORKING OF THE L.I.C.

Mr. P.A. Gopalakrishnan, Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, addressing a meeting of the Corporation at Bombay on July 25 said that the business of the Corporation in force at the end of 1959 was Rs. 1,964 crores, recording a net increase of Rs. 744 crores. He added that the number of policies in force on December 31, 1959, was nearly seven million, representing an increase of 45 per cent over that at the end of 1955.

Mr. Gopalakrishnan said that in 1959 the Corporation's new business amounted to Rs. 429 crores, an increase of 25 per cent over that of the previous year, which was Rs. 345 crores.

FERTILIZER PLANT IN MADRAS

The Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., announced on July 25th that it has signed an agreement with East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories Ltd., Madras, for a loan of £ 600,000 as part of the financing of a compound ammonium phosphate fertilizer plant, to be erected at Ennore, near Madras.

The plant will have an annual capacity of about 51,000 tons.

It will be the first fertilizer factory in India to manufacture compound ammonium phosphates.

BANK RATE IN U.K.

The Bank of England has raised the bank rate from five to six per cent.

The Bank of England also announced that the rate for special deposits was doubled to two per cent. Special deposits are the proportion of their advances which the big banks have to deposit with the Bank of England.

The step was regarded as a new Government measure to fight inflation which is threatening Britain's trade balance.

The Reserve Bank of India announced that the bank rate remains unchanged at four per cent per annum.

\$ 70 MILLION WORLD BANK LOAN

The World Bank gave another loan to India equivalent to 70 million dollars, for the improvement and expansion of the Indian railways. The loan will cover the greater part of the foreign exchange required for the final year of the railway programme under the Second Five-year Plan.

The Bank's loan is for a term of 20 years and bears interest at 5½ per cent per annum including the one per cent commission which is allowed to the Bank's special reserve.

The World Bank has now made 24 loans to India totalling \$662 million. In addition to the railways, the loans have been made for the expansion of iron and steel production and of electric power facilities, for the purchase of commercial aircraft, for the development of agriculture and ports and for a development bank which would grant loans to the private industry.

MRS. BANDARANAIKE'S CAREER

Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike the Prime Minister of Ceylon is a newcomer to active politics.

As counsellor and constant companion in his political work, she has influenced her late husband, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, in his public life but she had herself chosen to remain in the background.

She did not come into the political arena until the later part of 1959 when the death of her husband rendered his Party leaderless and a house divided against itself.

Before the last election in March, the Party had almost been written off but under her determined leadership the Party rose, phoenix-like, from the depths to which tragedy and inner-strife had lowered it.

Mrs. Bandaranaike was born on April 17, 1916 in an aristocratic Kandyan family settled in Balangoda in the gem-district of Ratnapura known the world over for its star sapphires, rubies and amethysts.

The family had a tradition of service under ancient Sinhalese kings. It was wealthy and influential during the days of the British.

Her father, Mr. Barnes Ratwatte Dissawe, who died three years ago, was a member of the Ceylon Senate, Upper House of Parliament for six years from 1947.

A devout Buddhist, she was educated at the St. Bridegets Convent, the leading Roman Catholic Girls' School in Ceylon.

Before she was married in 1940 to the late Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, then Minister of Local Government, she took an active interest in social work. She was also interested in music (piano) and tennis.

MISS D. SENAPATTY

Death occurred on July 13 of Miss Dolly Senapatty (50), well known social worker at her residence at Bhubaneshwar.

Miss Senapatty was the first (Chairman of the social Welfare Board Orissa, and was also connected with many other institutions. She was prominent in social circles in Bihar and Orissa and is survived by her father, Nilomody Senapatty, formerly of the I. C. S. and two brothers.

WOMEN DETECTIVES

Women will be trained as detectives for the police force in the State of Queensland.

When the Police Commissioner announced

the scheme, he said that the "innate natural curiosity" and "tireless persistence" of women would make them good detectives. He added, "Women have some peculiar personal trait when it comes to finding out the truth. It is a real inborn flair. They know how to get the facts. Women display that admirable characteristic of directness in their approach to a problem. They have a tireless persistence. I think women detectives would be a tremendous help in any police force."

SINGAPORE MUSLIM WOMEN'S DEMANDS

Muslim women in Singapore are demanding that they should be brought under the strict provisions of the woman's Charter which lays down that a man can only have one wife. Chinese, Indians and other races are already included in the legislation but Muslims were excluded because their religion allows a man to have more than one wife.

Muslim women say if they came under the charter it would reduce the appalling number of divorces, ensure that husbands paid maintenance to divorced wives and provide that divorce proceedings could only be entered into with the consent of both parties.

RICHEST WOMEN IN THE WORLD

America which is much addicted to lists (the ten best...the ten most.....) has produced another—the ten richest women in the world.

India's sea Queen Mrs. Sumati Morarjee, Managing Director of a big steamship company, is listed in the category of wealthy women. She shares this distinction of being the richest woman along with the Queen of England, ex Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, Begum Aga Khan, widow of the spiritual leader of the Ismaili community, Countess of Seafeld who is god-mother of Princess Margaret's husband Tony Armstrong Jones, Volterra, French horse-owner, Madame Marcelle Erunschwig of Switzerland, Marika Venizelos, known as Greek's shipping Princess Mrs. Dorothy Killam, Widow of Canadas' timber King, and Spain's Duchess of Alba.

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected Deputy President of the International Union for Child Welfare at a meeting of the Council held in Lisbon early this month.

The Indian Council was represented at the Lisbon meeting by Mrs. Tara Ali Baig.

General

INDUS BASIN SETTLEMENT

Pakistan's Finance Minister, Mr. Shouib in his Budget speech referred to the "impending settlement of prolonged canal waters disputes with India" and said that a final settlement of this conflict was at long last in sight "thanks largely to perseverance and skill which the World Bank has displayed in exercising its good offices."

He said a separate arrangement for financing the works comprising the Indus Basin Settlement Plan had been made. Their cost would be met out of Indus Basin Development Fund which would be administered by the World Bank and to which the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and West Germany and the World Bank would all contribute and to which payments by India would also be credited.

BRIGADIER RIKHY

Brigadier I.J. Rikhy, who has been nominated as the Chief Military adviser to the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, left Delhi on July 22 for New York to take up his new appointment. He is the U.N. Secretary-General's Military Adviser in connection with the United Nations' Emergency Force in the Congo.

Brigadier Rikhy was commanding an infantry brigade in Jammu and Kashmir. The 40-year-old Indian Army officer was functioning till March last as Chief of Staff of the U.N. Emergency Force in Gaza strip. He held that appointment for nearly two years during which period he had on some occasions officiated as the Force Commander. He was also the commander of the Second Indian contingent with the UNEF in Gaza.

KHRUSHCHEV'S FUTURE

Russian-born film producer Boris Morros, a former counter-spy for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, predicts that Mr. Khrushchev would be replaced in the near future as Soviet Premier by Mr. Nikhail Suslov, at present a member of the Soviet Presidium.

Mr. Morros told a Press Conference at Philadelphia: "He (Suslov) is the only one who can justify the overthrow of Khrushchev by the Stalinists. Khrushchev made fun of the Stalinists and this started his downward path."

HON. MEMBERSHIP OF M.C.C.

Seven Indians, two Pakistanis, and two Sinhalese are among the 62 Commonwealth ex-cricketers and administrators recommended for election to honorary life membership of the M.C.C. in a list issued by the Club.

India: Amarnath, A.S. De Mello, V.S. Hazare, V.M. Merchant, Mushtaq Ali, C.K. Naidu and Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram.

Pakistan: Justice Cornelius and Jahangir Khan.

Ceylon: F. C. De Saram and R. Senanayake.

Mr. G. DESHPANDE

Mr. Gangadhararao Deshpande, a veteran Congress leader, died at Belgaum on July 20. He was 90. Mr. Gangadhararao, well known as the lion of Karnatak, was a good orator in Marathi, Kanada and Hindi. He was a noted lawyer and an ardent politician. He was a member of the Congress Working Committee for many years. He was also a President of the Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee for some time.

He took an active part in the freedom struggle with Balagangadhar Tilak, Gandhiji and other stalwarts of the freedom movement.

INDIA IN IAEA BOARD

The Board of Government of the International Atomic Energy Agency, appointed thirteen members of the Board for the year 1960-61, it was announced at Vienna. The members of the new Board are Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, the U.S. Finland, France, India, Japan, Poland, Britain, the Soviet Union and South Africa.

QUEEN'S GOLD MEDAL FOR BETJEMAN

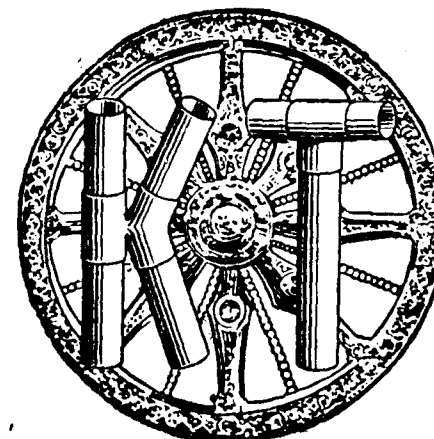
Mr. John Betjeman has been awarded the 1960 Queen's Gold Medal for poetry.

The medal, instituted by King George V in 1933, is given for a book of verse published by a British subject in the English language.

The recommendation for the award is made by a committee under the chairmanship of the Poet-Laureate, Mr. John Masefield.

Mr. G. VENKATACHALAM

Mr. G. Venkatachalam of Bangalore has been appointed by the Finance Ministry, Government of India, under the Estate Duty Act as a valuer of works of art for a further period of three years from August 1960.



KALINGA TUBES

FOR

WATER AND GAS DISTRIBUTION



KALINGA TUBES LTD.,

33, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE,

CALCUTTA-12

Factory: Choudwar, Cuttack (Orissa)

Phone: 23-4088/89

Cables: KALTUBES

THE INDIAN REVIEW

Editor : MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 61]

SEPTEMBER 1960 : DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 9

13-Years of Independence By Dr. Humayun Kabir ...	449	The Official Language of India ...	473
Elections for U. S. Presidency By Mr. K. P. G. Menon ...	451	Current Affairs ...	476
Industrial Development in Third Plan By Shri T. N. Singh ...	454	The Problems of India's North-East Frontier : By Prof. B. Chakravarty ...	481
Ceylon Indians' Future By Sri S. A. Govindarajan ...	457	Recent Disturbances in Assam By Sri Arun Chandra Baruah ...	483
The Climate of Our Earth By Valentin Cherenkov ...	461	Books in Review ...	485
The Centenarian who Moulded Modern Mysore. By Mr. R. Chellapa ...	463	Indians Outside India ...	487
The Arab States and their Activities. By Mr. M. A. K. Hassouna ...	464	Diary of the Month ...	488
Science and Religion By Mr. Jehangir M. Shapoorjee ...	466	Readers' Digest ...	489
Student Indiscipline By Mr. K. Seshadri ...	468	Questions of Importance ...	497
Youth Organisations in Britain By Sylvia Hack ...	471	Utterances of the Day ...	498
Reflections on Rebirth By Sri P. Rajeswara Rao ...	472	Political ...	499
		Educational ...	500
		Legal ...	501
		Trade and Finance ...	502
		Women's Page ...	503
		General ...	504

READ

THOUGHT

(A WEEKLY REVIEW OF POLITICS AND THE ARTS)

TO UNDERSTAND

THE TEMPO, DYNAMICS AND

DIRECTION OF WORLD EVENTS AND

IN THE LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THOUGHT IS KNOWN FOR ITS

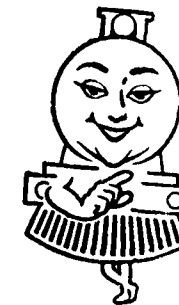
OBJECTIVE APPROACH AND INTEGRITY

THOUGHT, FAIZ BAZAR, DELHI-7.

SEPTEMBER 1960]

THE INDIAN REVIEW

3



The Railways are continuously extending the facilities which they give to the trading public. They are at present running collection services at a number of stations where packages are picked up from the residence or godown and arranged to be booked. Similarly, at destination the packages are delivered at the door of the consignee if the full address is given. With a combination of a collection service at the booking end and the street delivery service at the destination end, railways are practically giving to the trading public a "door to door" service. The trading public are requested to make use of these facilities offered by the Railways.

(Detailed particulars of stations at which such services are provided are given in the Tariffs published by the railways and can also be had by writing to the Chief Commercial Superintendent, Southern Railway).

(ISSUED BY SOUTHERN RAILWAY)

What kind of reading material are you looking for?

Something to entertain you or lull you to sleep? If it is the first, we're sorry we don't sell gags; if it's the second, we regret we don't sell tranquillisers. But if you're looking for something to stimulate you, then choose

the Hyphen

1. The Hyphen reads clearly and lucidly. Its only passionate commitment is to freedom.
2. It doesn't force any doctrine or dogma down your throat. It divorces ideology from thought.
3. The Hyphen does not pretend to know "the truth". Its concern is with facts and their significance to the contemporary scene.

We invite you to join us in our journey of adventure through the realms of thought. Politics, Economics, Philosophy, Literature and the Social Sciences are some of the fields we plough. We relax at the retreats of the fine arts and the fourth estate, and probe the frontiers of science and the matrix of law. And we fly on the wings of fancy and indulge in thankful wishing.

Write to us for a specimen copy

Annual Subscription: India & Asia Rs. 10. UK & Europe £ 1-4s.
USA & Canada \$ 6/-.

Subscription forms available from leading booksellers and from

THE HYPHEN

P. O. BOX No. 6064

BOMBAY 5.

FOR
QUALITY RAYON YARN
&
TRAYONS TRAYOPHANE
(TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM)

*

THE TRAVANCORE RAYONS LIMITED
(INDIA'S PIONEER MANUFACTURERS OF RAYON YARN & TRANSPARENT CELLULOSE FILM)

FACTORY:
RAYONPURAM P. O. KERALA STATE

SALES OFFICE:
2/6, SECOND LINE BEACH
MADRAS-1

MANAGING AGENTS:
EMCETE & SONS (TRAVANCORE) PRIVATE LTD.

A JOURNAL WITH A DIFFERENCE

For the last twelve years "CAREERS AND COURSES" is doing a unique service to the public in general and the students and examinees in particular who appear in various competitive examinations. Every month this magazine offers articles on *Politics, History, Economics, Literature* and other useful subjects in addition to regular features such as *General Knowledge Test, Intelligence Test, Vocabulary Test, Question Box, Science And Invention, Students' Emporium, Teachings Of Mahatma Gandhi, Increase Your Knowledge, Film World, Educational Forum, Parliamentary Affairs, Foreign Events, Home Affairs, People In The News, Games And Sports, Appointments, Awards, etc., News Diary Etc. etc.*

With every mail we receive numerous letters from our readers praising the services and utility of "CAREERS AND COURSES". It presents to the young intellectuals of the country every possible opportunity to acquaint themselves with and to grasp the national and international events, as every month it publishes all the important topics and happenings in the present day world. It is essentially a true guide to the seekers of knowledge.

"CAREERS AND COURSES" has an all-India wide coverage and it has no doubt **The Highest Circulation of all the Monthly English Magazines Published in India.**

BEST MEDIA FOR ADVERTISEMENTS !

In spite of its very large and wide circulation the advertisement rates are kept very low so that industrialists and manufacturers should take advantage of the customer-pulling power of the magazine. For rate-card and other particulars, please write to *The Manager, Careers And Courses.*

Every month the "CAREERS AND COURSES" contains 100 pages packed with solid and useful information. Still the subscription is kept very low to suit the pockets of students. Send your subscription by money order today.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Annual (12 issues)	...	...	Rs. 9.00
Half Yearly (6 issues)	...	...	Rs. 5.00
Price Per copy	...	...	Rs. 1.00

V.P.P. Charges Extra

THE CAREERS AND COURSES

94-Baird Road, P.B. No. 319,

NEW DELHI - 1.

The Economic Weekly

A JOURNAL OF CURRENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS

To understand New India and to follow how its agriculture-based mixed economy is shaping, you can do no better than read *The Economic Weekly* regularly.

Established in 1949, on the eve of India's first Five-year Plan, *The Economic Weekly* reflects the spirit of a nation in the making, while faithfully portraying the changing political and economic scene from week to week. It is independent, analytical and factual—an ideal guide for those who want to keep abreast of developments in this part of the world.

Bright, lovely and compact, the paper manages to give a surprisingly wide coverage within a small compass. Business executives and serious students of India's economic problems are finding this paper increasingly useful.

"*The Economic Weekly*, ever since its inception, has maintained a high standard in the quality of its articles as well as the level of its discussions of economic problems and it is gratifying to note that it has completed a decade of useful service. . . ."—*The Hindu*, February 22, 1959.

"Those of us whose business it is to keep abreast of the latest developments in theoretical economics and understand their applied aspects have learnt to look forward to each and every issue of *The Economic Weekly*. Over the decade of its existence, this journal has risen in prestige and popularity and is today read as much in India as abroad. . . ."—*AICC Economic Review*, March 15, 1959.

"Starting on a shoe-string, Sachin Chaudhuri, the editor, and a small group of devoted collaborators have built *The Economic Weekly* up into one of the most lively and indispensable economic journals being published anywhere in the world today".—*Monthly Review*, New York, December, 1958.

"Over the past three years a remarkable series of articles has been appearing in that enterprising periodical, the Bombay-published *Economic Weekly*. These have given preliminary accounts of no less than fifteen Village Studies by British, American and Indian anthropologists and sociologists"—*New Statesman and Nation*, April 9, 1955.

"*The Economic Weekly*, Bombay. A genuinely liberal, independent journal focussing on current events. Rather like the *Nation*, but weightier. Occasional articles on China indicate Indian slant".—W. W. Rostow in *The Prospects for Communist China*.

Editor : SACHIN CHAUDHURI

Business Manager : A. FERNANDES

Annual Subscription : Rs. 24/- Foreign 40 s or \$ 6

Write for a Specimen copy to :

The Economic Weekly

104, APOLLO STREET,
BOMBAY 1.

A new monthly journal published in London. The only paper of its kind

THE
AFRICAN & COLONIAL WORLD
Incorporating THE INDIAN at Home Overseas

Managing Editor: DR. K. D. KUMRIA

A POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND TRADE REVIEW

AFRICAN AND COLONIAL SECTION

History is in the making in Africa and the colonial world, and the job of the new magazine is to give you the facts.

It will tell you not only what is happening, but the significance of it.

Edited and produced in London—one of the world's keenest news centres, "African and Colonial World" will attempt to reflect the opinions and aspirations of the African and colonial peoples themselves.

There is no more dynamic factor in present day politics than the struggle of these peoples for equality and self-government.

INDIAN SECTION

Promotes the political and cultural welfare of the four million Indians overseas.

Provides means of closer contact, through its news service, between Indians in various parts of the world. Ventilates problems and disabilities of Indians domiciled in other lands and brings them to the attention of metropolitan governments.

Presents Indians in overseas lands to the people of India and presents Indians at home their problems and progress, to their fellow country men in other lands. Publishes regular articles affecting of Indians everywhere with special cultural and trade sections.

Annual Subscription 14 Shillings.

The ideal medium for manufacturers and exporters to reach Colonial and Indian merchants in the overseas territories.

Distribution and Advertising Agents wanted throughout India.

Please address all Communications to:—

70, ST. GEORGE'S ROAD, LONDON, S. E. 1.

Telephone: WATERloo 3 0 0 9

Expected Shortly

THE THIRTEENTH YEAR

This book outlines the progress made by India in Political, Economic and Social spheres during the Thirteenth Year of Independence.

Book your orders now

Price Rs. 1.50 Approx. (Postage extra)

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

Old Secretariat, Delhi-6.

DA 60/306

RAM KRISHAN KULWANT RAI

IRON & STEEL IMPORTERS, CONTROLLED STOCKISTS & RE-ROLLERS

STOCKISTS OF PIPES & PIPE FITTINGS

*

ASSOCIATES.

KULWANT RAI & SON

*

OFFICES AT:

	DELHI	CALCUTTA	MADRAS
	50, G. B. ROAD	33, NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD	33, SEMBUDOSS ST.
GRAMS :	"KULJAS"	"FEROSTOX"	"KULJAS"
PHONE :	26411.	22-6686.	4906.
	DELHI	LUCKNOW	BOMBAY
	HAUZ QAZI	18, A. P. SEN ROAD	Post Box No. 4089
GRAMS :	"KULJAS"	"KULJAS"	"KULJAS"
PHONE :	27895.	5169.	

UPAKHYANAMALA

(A Garland of Stories)

(Selected from the Epics and the Puranas)

Text in Sanskrit Devanagari

Condensed by Pandit A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR

Translated by Mr. V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

With a Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER

RUPEES THREE

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS-1.

LEXIN

If no breath, unconscious,
unable to inhale, Lexin is
dropped into nostrils 5 drops in
each and given artificial respira-
tion. Saved many a hopeless case
of snake bite.

P. BANERJI—MIHIJAM
(S. P.) INDIA

BOOKS ON BUDDHISM

Maha Bodhi Society's Diamond Jubilee Souvenir	
<i>Anagarika Dharmapala</i>	Rs. 6 0 0
Relationship between Hinduism & Buddhism	0 6 0
The Psychology of Progress	0 12 0
What did the Lord Buddha Teach?	0 12 0
World's Debt to Buddha	0 8 0
<i>Kosetsu Nosu & Basil Crump</i>	
Mulagandhakuti Vihara Wall Paintings	7 8 0
The Life of Buddha in Frescoes	2 8 0
<i>Devapriya Valisaha</i>	
Buddhist Shrines in India	5 0 0
Buddhist Way of Life	0 4 0
<i>Bhikkhu Silacara :</i>	
Kamma	0 8 0
<i>Madam A. C. Albers</i>	
Life of Buddha for Children	0 4 0
Jataka Tales for Children	0 8 0
<i>Dr. B. Jayaram : Perfect Health</i>	
<i>Bhikkhu Sangharakshita</i>	1 0 0
Where Buddhism Begins And Why it Begins There	0 2 0
<i>Anagarika Dhammapala (A Biographical Sketch)</i>	
<i>Apply for Complete Catalogue :</i>	1 0 0
MAHA BODHI BOOK AGENCY, 4-A,	
Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.	

"FOR

THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE

THE "CHOWRINGHEE" WEEKLY

OF

CALCUTTA

IS

WINNING NEW READERS AMONG THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE WHO
WANT TO KNOW WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE WORLD, AND
WHAT THEY SHOULD DO ABOUT THEIR PROBLEMS."

Address : No. 1-A, PREYA NATH BANERJEE ST. CALCUTTA-9.

Telegrams :

"SPUNPIPE" Post Box No. 32

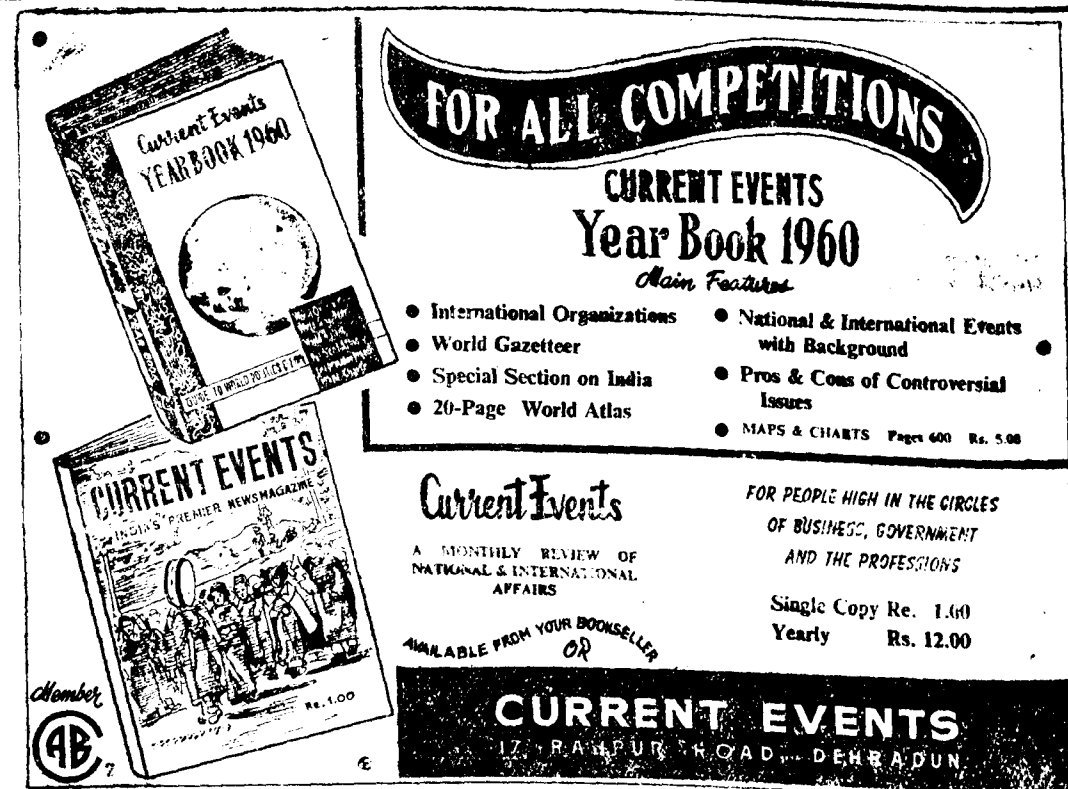
Telephone : 76

THE
SPUNPIPE
COMPANY
NANJIKKOTTA ROAD,
TANJORE

*

Manufacturers of
R. C. SPUNPIPES BY
CENTRIFUGAL PROCESS

On rate Contract with the D. G. S. & D.
NEW DELHI



FOR ALL COMPETITIONS

CURRENT EVENTS Year Book 1960

Main Features

- International Organizations
- World Gazetteer
- Special Section on India
- 20-Page World Atlas
- National & International Events with Background
- Pros & Cons of Controversial Issues
- MAPS & CHARTS Pages 600 Rs. 5.00

Current Events

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOR PEOPLE HIGH IN THE CIRCLES OF BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT AND THE PROFESSIONS

Single Copy Re. 1.00
Yearly Rs. 12.00

AVAILABLE FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER OR

CURRENT EVENTS
17, RAIPUR ROAD, DEHRADUN

FREE INDIA

SOUTH INDIA'S BEST PICTORIAL WEEKLY

PRINCIPAL FEATURES :

Beautiful Front Cover
Film & Fun Pages
World Window
Snappy Leaders

Opinions of the Week
Plan with planets
Cartoons
Up-to-the-Minute Photos
Short Story and Hindi Lessons

SINGLE COPY : 20 nP. 6 MONTHS Rs. 5 ONE YEAR Rs. 10.

Please ask for a Specimen Copy.

Further particulars from

FREE INDIA WEEKLY

77, General Patters Road : : MADRAS-2

K. P. V. SHAIK MOHAMED ROWTHER & CO.

POST BOX NO. 1264

41, Linghi Chetty Street, G. T. Madras.

Branches at

MASULIPATAM, KAKINADA, NEGAPATAM and KARAİKAL

Telegraphic Address :

General : "SHAIK"

Coastal Service : "JALANATH"

U. K. America Service : "SAMUDRAPAR"

Singapore-Australia Service : "EASTSHIPCO"

Agents For :

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., BOMBAY.
THE EASTERN SHIPPING CORPORATION LTD., BOMBAY.
THE UNITED STATES NAVIGATION CO., Inc., NEW YORK.
THE ALEXANDRIA NAVIGATION CO., S. A. E., ALEXANDRIA.
THE STANDARD VACUUM OIL CO., MADRAS.

Steamer Service :

Regular Cargo and Passenger Service to Coastal Ports of India, Burma and Ceylon: India/U.K. and Continent: India/America: India/Australia & Far East: Madras Rangoon: Madras/Singapore.

Telephone No. { 4972 (2 Lines) Office.
3677 (After Office Hours.)

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

	Price Rs. nP.	Postage Rs. nP.
MAHATMA GANDHI: <i>An Album with over 500 photographs</i>	35.00	—
RUSSIAN-HINDI DICTIONARY by W.R. Rishi (Hindi equivalents of 40,000 Russian words)	35.00	—
BASOHLI PAINTING: <i>With 43 plates</i>	35.00	—
THE WAY OF THE BUDDHA: <i>An Album with over 400 photographs</i>	30.00	—
INDIA: <i>A Souvenir Volume with 62 photographs, many in colour</i>	25.00	—
KANGRA VALLEY PAINTING: <i>With 40 colour plates</i>	18.00	1.10
FACE OF NEW INDIA: <i>An Album portraying the New India</i>	16.00	1.10
POWER ATLAS OF INDIA: <i>An Atlas in colour</i>	15.00	1.60
KASHMIR: <i>An Album with over 100 photographs</i>	10.00	0.85
THE INDIAN SARI by Kamala S. Dongerkery	10.00	0.85
HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE by Dr. Sukumar Sen <i>De luxe Edition</i>	10.00	0.85
<i>Ordinary Edition</i>	8.00	0.75
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI <i>Vols. I and II each</i>		
<i>De luxe Edition</i>	8.50	0.75
<i>Standard Edition</i>	5.50	0.60
<i>Popular Edition</i>	3.00	0.45
<i>Vol. III</i> <i>Standard Edition</i>	15.00	1.40
<i>Popular Edition</i>	9.00	0.80
SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD <i>First Series (1950-52)</i>	4.50	0.55
<i>Second Series (1952-56)</i>	4.50	0.55
OCCASIONAL SPEECHES AND WRITINGS by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan <i>First Series (1952-56) De luxe Edition</i>	6.00	0.65
<i>Popular Edition</i>	3.75	0.50
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S SPEECHES		
<i>Vol. I (1946-49)</i>	6.50	0.65
<i>Vol. II (1949-53)</i>	5.50	0.60
<i>Vol. III (1953-57) De luxe Edition</i>	9.50	0.80
<i>Popular Edition</i>	6.50	0.65
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS & THEIR EFFECTS <i>Second Enlarged Edition</i>	7.50	0.70
WOMEN OF INDIA <i>Popular Edition</i>	6.50	0.65
2500 YEARS OF BUDDHISM <i>Edited by Prof. P. V. Bapat</i>	6.00	0.65
CONTEMPORARY INDIAN PAINTERS	5.50	0.60
EIGHTEEN FIFTY-SEVEN by Dr. S. N. Sen	5.50	0.60
BINODINI: <i>A Novel by Rabindranath Tagore</i>		
<i>De luxe Edition</i>	5.50	0.60
<i>Popular Edition</i>	3.50	0.50
MUSEUMS AND ART GALLERIES	5.00	0.60

(Registration Charges Extra)

Export Prices on Enquiry
BOOKS WORTH Rs. 25.00 OR OVER ARE SENT POST FREE

DELHI
BOMBAY
CALCUTTA
MADRAS

Old Secretariate, Delhi-6
3, Prospect Chambers, Dadabhai Naoroji Rd., Bombay-1
A.I.R. Buildings, South Wing, Eden Gardens, Calcutta-1
Ananda Sagar, 8 Santhome High Road, Madras-4

DA 60/337

SEPTEMBER 1960]

THE INDIAN REVIEW

15

You are a wise man and a wiser father. You are making sure that the new shirt will fit your son next year too when he will have grown bigger. You have an eye on his future.

Along with his physical growth, however, the boy will grow mentally. And you have to plan for his larger future. He will of course have to have the best in education—with possibly a few years of higher training abroad. All that will need a capital sum.

Be as wise as you are now and make sure you will have the necessary funds at the proper time. Life Insurance is the easiest and surest way to do so. Put by a little in an Education Policy now and guarantee the best education for your son and the finest of future careers.



make it a little bigger



There is no substitute for LIFE INSURANCE

ASP/LIC-59

NATESAN'S PUBLICATIONS

NATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

Price Rs. 5 each

Indian Judges. Sketches of 21 famous Judges.

Indian Christians. Sketches of famous Indian Christians.

POLITICS

Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule. By Mahatma Gandhi. As. Eight.

Fellowship of Faiths and Unity of Religions. By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by Prof. Abdul Majid Khan. Re. One.

INDIAN TALES

The Guardianship of India: A Mock Trial. By R. Javanthinathan. Rupee One.

Select Tales from the Sanskrit Dramatists. Contents: Sakunthala, Malavikagnimitra, Uttararama-charita, Nagananda and Mudrarakshasa. Re. One.

Works of Dr. Radhakrishnan

Freedom and Culture Rs. 2.

The Heart of Hindustan Re. 1-8.

WORLD TEACHERS

Re. One each.

Sri Rama: His Life and Teachings. By M. R. Sampatkumaran, M. A.

Jesus Christ. By Mr. S. K. George.

Sankaracharya. By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.

Sri Krishna: His Life and Teachings. By Mr. M. R. Sampatkumaran, 2nd Edn.

Life and Teachings of Zoroaster. By Prof. A. R. Wadia.

Buddha. By D. Dharmapala 4th Edn.

Prophet Muhammad. By Ahmed Shafi and Yakub Hasan.

NATIONAL CLASSICS

(Abridged editions)

Price Rupees Three each.

Valmiki Ramayana. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H.

The Mahabharata. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

Upakhyanamala. Text in Devanagari. Foreword by Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

The Upanishads. Selections from the 108 Upanishads. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. With a Foreword by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.

Prayers, Praises and Psalms. Text in Devanagari and English Translation. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A Handbook of Saiva Religion. By S. Katiressu. Rs. 2-8.

Aspects of the Vedanta: A Symposium. Rs. 2.

Hindu Ethics. By Babu Govinda Das. Rs. 2.

The First Four Califs. By Ahmed Shafi. Re. 1.

North Indian Saints. (Ramanand to Ram Tirath) Rs. 2.

Chaitanya to Vivekananda: Lives of the Saints of Bengal. Rs. 2.

GENERAL

50 Years in the Service of the Nation. A Golden Jubilee Souvenir recording the nation's progress through fifty years of G. A. Natesan and Co's publications. By B. Natesan. With Foreword by C. Rajagopalachariar, Rs. Two.

Sixty Years of Publishing. (1897-1957) Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of G. A. Natesan & Co. Tributes & Appreciations and articles of interest with illustrations, etc. on Art Paper. Rs. 5

Books That Have Influenced Me. A Symposium by the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Sir C. V. Raman. Dr. C. Jinarajadasa, Justice M. C. Chagla, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others. Price Re. 1-8.

Famous Battles in Indian History. By T. G. Subrahmanyam, M.A., L.T. Re. 1.

Shakespeare's Tragedies: King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet and Othello. By Dr. W. Miller, Re. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS and BOOKSELLERS, MADRAS-1.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 61]

SEPTEMBER 1960

[No. 9]

13 Years of Independence

By

DR. HUMAYUN KABIR

ON August 15, 1960 we completed 13 years of Independence. This was, therefore, a good occasion to survey some of our achievements and failings and try to strike a balance sheet for future guidance.

On the side of achievements there are many things for which India can rightly be proud. The progress and prosperity of a country is very largely measured by the spread of education and literacy, the development of industries and specially the production of iron and steel, and the improvement in living conditions measured by vital statistics and food supply.

In the field of education and literacy, the achievement of India since independence is little short of phenomenal. In place of about 15 million children in elementary schools the number now is almost 35 millions. An increase of 20 million places in less than 15 years is an achievement of which any country can be proud. The Secondary School population has trebled and the number in the Universities has increased almost fourfold. In Technical and Engineering education, the progress is even more striking, and it is expected that the 1961 Census will show a great leap forward in literacy for the country as a whole.

In the field of industry, many new and basic industries are being built in India for first time. Production of steel is an almost infallible index of industrial growth. Indian production of steel has trebled in 13 years and by 1962 is expected to be 5 times of what it was in 1947. Perhaps no other country

except Japan between 1920 and 1940 can show a comparable rate of expansion in the production of steel.

In the field of vital statistics, the improvement in health services has sharply brought down the death rate. The draft outline of the Third Five Year Plan indicates that almost all our calculations have been upset as the growth in the population has outrun all expectations.

Even the increase in prices of food and consumer goods is an indication that there is more purchasing power available in the community. Food production has increased by almost 50% in the last 15 years. Production of sugar has doubled. The growth of population is less than 20% during the same period. Import of food grains has not been materially reduced. It is thus clear that there is more food per capita of the population available today than there was in 1947. If prices of food grains and sugar are still maintained at high levels, the only possible conclusion is that more people than before are willing and able to consume the increased supply.

These are all on the credit side and there are many things more but we must not forget that there is also a debit side. The first thing that strikes one is a loss in national integration and integrity. Before freedom, the struggle against the British united the people. The goal of independence was itself a great unifying factor. Today with independence achieved and the British gone, one major binding force

Elections for U. S. Presidency

By

Mr. K. P. G. MENON

is no longer there. The English language was also a factor that united people in different areas. Today the position of English has weakened but Hindi has not yet been able to become an equally effective bond of unity.

Social justice and creative service of the nation would have supplied a new binding force. Unfortunately, there has been a fall in integrity and idealism at almost all levels. People who have in the past suffered for a cause today seek to cash their sacrifice for personal gain. In fact, selfishness seems to be on the increase. Students begin to think of soft jobs before they have completed their studies. Everyone seeks his own ends with little care how others fare. Independence should have liberated the energies for creative work, but unfortunately very often they are dissipated in internecine struggles.

Growth of fissiparous tendencies is a danger we can minimise only at our peril. Because we do not identify ourselves with the nation, we find national property attacked and destroyed at the slightest provocation. Because we disapprove of an individual act by an individual, we burn trams or damage telephones without realising that we are impoverishing ourselves and endangering national life. There seems to be a narrowing of loyalties all along the line. Instead of thinking in terms of larger ideals or even of nationalism, many people seem to be content to think in terms of caste, language or group. This is partly due to the feeling that things are not always decided on merit, but for other consideration which happens to suit needs.

There is also a widespread impression that almost anything can be done provided one approaches the right people. Favour, not desert is regarded by many people as the key to success. The vague charges of corruption that are bandied about are another symptom of this general atmosphere of lack of faith in public and private integrity. There is no doubt that many of the charges are unfounded and most of them exaggerated but the very fact that the charges are made and so easily believed prove that there is something wrong with the body politic. The saying that a judge must not only be fair but must also be believed to be fair applies to every sphere of public and private life.

Another disturbing feature is the tendency to acquiesce with evil. This has been one of our national failings throughout the ages. In

the Mahabharata, Bhishma and Drona disapprove of the action of the Kauravas, but even in the court scene, where they seek to dishonour Draupadi, neither intervenes to stop the outrage. It is a matter of almost everyday experience that when we see evil, we sometimes shut our eyes or even if we condemn it, we are not generally prepared to take action for removing the evil. In the unfortunate disturbances which have occurred in different parts of India in the last 20 years, the miscreants have hardly ever been more than a small fraction, perhaps at most one or two per cent of the entire population. The vast majority have disliked their action and disapproved of it, but taken no action to stop them.

Independence was achieved because we partially overcame this national trait. We stood up against the mightiest empire in history and refused to compromise. Sometimes, our voice was strident, but exuberant protest is better than silent submission. Gandhiji used to say, non-violent opposition of evil is best, but even violence is better than cowardly submission. Today, there is too often a tendency to adopt the safe line. Advisers do not advise but try to anticipate what advice will be palatable. Even people who resisted the power of the British empire seem reluctant today to speak out their minds on many issues of public concern.

This is the more surprising as we have as our national leader today one who has exalted courage over all other virtues. Jawaharlal Nehru has again and again said that fear is the root of almost all evil. Nations behave truculently out of fear. Individuals do things of which they are ashamed in their saner moments because they are afraid. We become free by casting out fear, and yet today fear in many forms is seeking to re-enter national life and corrupt it.

Independence demands constant vigilance. Greatness of a people depends upon courage and magnanimity. India's remarkable achievements on the physical plane since 1947 prove that Indians lack neither ability nor fibre is however a disturbing factor, and yet rise to the greatest heights of self-sacrifice. Independence has brought almost unlimited opportunities to every Indian and with the opportunities have come new responsibilities that cannot be refused.

THERE is a constitutional taboo on President Eisenhower from seeking the re-election for a second time. The Republican mantle for Presidency has fallen on Mr. Richard Nixon, at present the Vice-President. The democrats have nominated Mr. John Kennedy of Massachusetts for the ensuing Presidential Elections in November. The elections are to take place more than two months from now and much depends upon the amount of propaganda that each of the contesting parties is able to make and, of course, in the way it is done. The characteristic feature of this year's election is the time of elections. They have come at a time when the prestige of the United States is dimmed to an extent by the U-2 plane incident and the Soviet Union is trying to exploit the situation to discredit the Americans in the eyes of the world by gearing her propaganda machinery to the full extent possible. The allegations are very often out of proportion with the facts and she is out to accomplish her end by means fair or foul. In these circumstances victory will bless him who can hold out a convincing promise to do away with the "loss of prestige", if any, and can enunciate sound proposals to counteract the Soviet challenge successfully in the fields of defence and prosperity. The deep anxiety and concern with which the entire population of this planet of ours watches this election becomes all the deeper when we remember that it is for what is probably the highest office in the Free World. The future of the Free World is directly dependent on the policies and pronouncements of the U. S. President. There are not so much of striking differences in the policies of the Democrats and the Republicans. It is all a matter of tactics rather than fundamentals.

The Democrats contend that the present "Sad plight" of the Americans is a direct

cause of the failure of the Republican foreign policy. As was said of former President Harry Truman's administration during the elections of 1952, the Republican administration is accused of lacking in the initiative to shape world events, but framing policies only as reactions to the Soviet policies. Senator Kennedy says that the Republican party is ill-suited to the times and it is high time that new men with new ideals took over the reins of administration. He undertakes to pursue a thoroughly different foreign policy.

The ability to meet the Russian challenge successfully is dependent on the economic prosperity of the United States. The Democrats are highly critical of the Eisenhower administration in this field and say that by their many acts of commission and omission the Republicans have allowed themselves to be overtaken by Russia. The present administration, with its overemphasis on balancing the budgets, has failed in providing the necessary incentive to maintain a higher rate of economic growth to keep pace with the U. S. S. R. Accordingly the Democratic platform declares "We Democrats believe that our economy can and must grow at an average rate of five per cent annually, almost twice as fast as our average rate since 1953." The United States is the richest country in the history of the world and its economy is twice as large as its nearest rival, the Soviet Union. The Democrats are afraid that this pride of place will be lost if they remain complacent over the present percentage which is less than three, when the corresponding figure for Russia is five percent. They also want more allotments to defence, development and welfare activities.

On the other hand the Republicans maintain that the economic and military strength of the country is at its climax to-day. President Eisenhower has already fired his first

shot in defending his administration. Addressing the Republican National Convention at Chicago he has remarked "In the sum of our capabilities, we have become the strongest military power on earth. But just as Job and his boils, so we have a cult of professional pessimists who, taking Counsel of their seers, continually mouth the allegation America that has become a second-rate military power." He added that the nation's fleet of heavy bombers had nearly doubled since 1953, that new supersonic bombers were entering operational service and that a third of the forces of the Strategic Air Command was maintained on a continuous ground alert, able to take off within minutes from airfields around the world, and carrying "unimaginable destructive power." Further he has dwelt at length about how the previous Democratic administration neglected the nation's air defences, made no real effort to producing ballistic missiles and did not produce a single modern-first-line ship for the Navy and also how his administration in a rather short period of less than eight years has managed to attain supremacy in these fields. This will surely have a disarming effect on the Democrats. As for the "growthmanship" controversy, that too does not stand in the face of Mr. Nixon accepting the principles and programme of Mr. Rockefeller. The powerful New York Governor created a mild uproar on the eve of the Republican Nominating Convention by his speeches sharply critical of the present administration. But Mr. Nixon, the artful tactician that he is, made an alliance with him and discussed with him the programme to be put before the Convention. The major proposals of Mr. Rockefeller's programme are (1) an annual economic growth of five or even six percent (2) a higher level of defence spending (3) a foreign policy that would go beyond the nation-state to the idea of regional confederations in Europe, Africa and Latin America (4) a scheme for medical relief to the aged. The Governor has also said that the future Presi-

dent should have two special assistants, one to advise him on foreign affairs and the other on internal matters. Mr. Nixon has also accepted a fairly strong civil right plank which would please the Negro population, but may displease the white Southerners who had voted for the Republicans in the elections of 1952 and 1956. The triumph of the liberal elements has caused some indignation to the conservative leaders. But in any case Mr. Nixon is on a stronger base to compete for the Presidency more than at any time before.

Thus we see that the honours are even as regards party policies. Much depends upon the persons concerned themselves. With Mr. Eisenhower, if he was allowed a third time to stand for election, it is almost a sure victory because of his immense popularity not only with the people of U.S., but also with people abroad. To this Mr. Nixon has already referred "whether it be Senator Kennedy or I, it will be very difficult to follow in the steps of so great a man." But it is very difficult to prophecy of success for one or the other in the present case. Mr. Nixon, though he refuses to seek the verdict of the electorate on the record of the Administration of which he was a very important member, can count the eight years of his Vice-Presidency to his advantage. Moreover President Eisenhower has pledged his full support to him. His concave with the millionaire New York Governor has made his position secure. Mr. Rockefeller has a very wide popularity in U.S.A. and he can help Mr. Nixon getting a very good number of electoral votes. Mr. Nixon could have won an almost sure victory if he had been able to persuade Mr. Rockefeller to be his running mate. But, in any case his choice of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge to that place is a wise and judicious one. He was the U.S. delegate at the United Nations for the last so many years and still holds the post. His Capacity "to stand up to the Russians" goes unquestioned and his masterly handling of the RB-47 incident has endeared him to the electorate. Coming as he

does from an old Boston family Mr. Lodge is likely to attract votes from the Republican Northern States like Massachusetts, Vermont and Maine. But there is a serious defect with Mr. Nixon. He is an adept in election stunts. He would not hesitate to take any step whatever, without considerations for morality and decency, if that would lead him to realize his end. The tactics of slandering the opponents adopted by him in the previous elections are still green in the memory of the voters. He had gone even further to call the Democratic Party as the "Party of War" and the "Party of Treason" and to doubt the loyalty of former Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. He will surely find this to his disadvantage. Of late he has been exhibiting a welcome change from his old ways, but still many voters are highly sceptical of this new Nixon and consider his new mode of behaviour as a calculated step to hoodwink them, until the game is won. He has to 'wash off' the epithet "white-collar Macarthy" imposed on him by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, by his words and deeds, if he is to become popular. Again the Republican party is a minority party in the U.S. as seen from the Registered members of each party. So to get elected Mr. Nixon has to poll not only the votes of all his party members, but also those of a good number of independents and Democrats. The election very much depends upon how much support he is able to get from the intellectuals and liberals.

As for Mr. Kennedy he too has his advantages and disadvantages. Though a young man of forty-three (Mr. Nixon is also young at forty-eight), he has like Mr. Nixon, fourteen years of experience at the American Congress and is well-versed in the arts of politics and administration. The Democrats, as well as the Republicans, are unanimous in their opinion that never since the time of President Roosevelt were the Democrats able to present

such a popular candidate. Senator Kennedy has the support of the entire Democratic Party, the intellectuals, the liberals, the labour the Roman Catholics and a large majority of women voters. With Mr. Lyndon Johnson as his associate for the Vice-Presidency, he is assured of the Southern votes, which at one time seemed lost to him because of the Democratic Plank on Negro right. The Kennedy-Johnson combination has thus undone Mr. Nixon's hopes of 'carrying' the Southern States as his predecessor did in the previous elections. But there is the delicate question of Mr. Kennedy's religion. He is a Roman Catholic. So far the Americans have not allowed a Roman Catholic to preside over their destinies. Traditions are traditions. It is very difficult to outgrow them and as such Mr. Kennedy will, no doubt, find his religion to his disadvantage at the elections.

Now a word or two about the American system of Presidential Election. Under this system the Candidate who gets the majority of Electoral votes is declared elected and not the one who gets a majority of popular votes. Each state has as many electoral votes as it has representatives in the Senate and the House of Representatives together. Altogether there are five hundred and thirty-seven Electoral Votes and the Candidate who gets two hundred and sixty-nine or more of them will be declared elected. So on an ultimate analysis success depends on how many States one is able to 'carry.'

These observations are valid only for the time being. Anything can happen between now and November 8, the date of polling. An important event at home or abroad and the policy pursued by the two parties in relation to that may heavily load the balance against one or another. Predictions in politics have no more value than their counterpart sports or games.

—*—

Industrial Development in Third Plan

By

Shri T. N. SINGH

Member, Planning Commission

THE last 10 years have witnessed a remarkable progress in the industrial sector in India. The total financial investments during the Second Five Year Plan in industries have far exceeded the anticipated outlay of Rs. 1,094 crores and the latest estimates indicate that the investments in industries, in the public and private sectors taken together, will amount to Rs. 1,450 crores—an increase of nearly 32 per cent over the estimates of the Second Plan.

The larger investments are no doubt partly due to the rising costs, but this alone cannot account for an investment larger than expected. I am aware of the shortfalls in certain sectors and also of the fact that the physical targets of production have not been achieved in many items of importance both in the public and private sectors. But considering the difficulties of foreign exchange, the low level of national savings and capital formation and the inadequacies of technological know-how and experience, the progress made during these years does indicate the dynamic nature of recent industrial growth.

The manner in which all kinds of industrial production activity have sprung up during the short space of five years even in the remote corners of the country, run and organised by a new class of entrepreneurs, mostly small people, is indicative of the great forces that are at work today. I personally believe that there is hardly any country in the world where the atmosphere for industrial growth is better than in India.

Much has yet to be done to achieve the self-sustaining stage of economy but that stage is not far off. It is in this context that the basic ideas and the programmes outlined in the draft of the Third Five Year Plan have been conceived.

The economic and social problems of the country are many and extremely complex. An already large population growing at the rate of nearly 2 per cent per annum, centuries of subsistence economy, years of neglect in the fields of education and social services and the prevailing technological backwardness as compared to the highly industrialised nations of today emphasise the difficulties of the task ahead. At the same time, they also underline the urgent need for an early solution of the country's economic problems with boldness and determination.

A hesitant and weak programme of economic developments cannot meet the needs of the situation. If even the modest objectives set out in the Second Plan, namely, doubling of the national income by 1970-71 and that of the per capita income by 1975-76 and taking the national economy to the stage of self-sustaining growth are to be achieved, nothing short of the investments envisaged in the Third Plan can meet the situation. It may even be legitimately argued that a bigger industrial plan programme than the one set out in the Draft Third Plan is necessary.

In preparing the Draft Plan one has to strike a balance between the needs of various sectors of the national economy. Our resources, internal and external, are none too plentiful. The stresses which are inherent in any rapid pace of economic and industrial development are factors which cannot be ignored in a system of democratic planning.

If the long-term objectives in regard to national income and employment are to be achieved and if the self-sustaining stage has to be reached in the near future, it is essential to press forward with larger investments in the basic and capital goods industries, with special emphasis on machine-building prog-

SEPTEMBER 1960]

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THIRD PLAN

455

ammes. Simultaneously efforts have to be made to acquire the related skills, techniques, know-how, designing capacity etc. In any great effort for a rapid development of capital goods and producer goods industries, some stresses are bound to develop. To mitigate such stresses and to meet the consumption demands of the people following a rise in the national income, the Plan provides for industries producing a wide range of consumer and other essential goods.

It has, however, to be recognised that it will be difficult to meet all these demands to the full and to some extent restraint of consumption will become unavoidable, specially in the case of luxury or semi-luxury goods.

There will also be difficulties in creating the necessary skill and know-how related to the pace of industrial development. Then there are the related problems of increased output of power, fuel and minerals. All these not only entail very detailed planning and phasing of various industrial projects both in the private and the public sectors, they also require great skill in implementation and a co-ordinated growth of the various projects under industries, power, fuel, process of industrial raw-materials and provision of necessary skill and know-how. The progress in the implementation of the plan projects will, therefore, have to be watched with great vigilance and understanding.

The Plan gives first priority to agriculture in the scheme of development. At the same time it is recognised that beyond a stage the growth of agriculture and development of human resources alike hinge upon the advance made industry. The large provision of Rs. 1,500 crores for industry and minerals has been made in this context.

One of the important items of the project in the industry sector is the fertiliser industry. It is proposed to increase the production capacity of fertilisers in 1965-66 by about 500 per cent as compared to the present level of indigenous production. Without an adequate

supply of fertilisers a large step up of agricultural production will not be possible. The total investment on fertilisers alone is expected to be of the order of Rs. 200 crores.

The fertiliser industry again is a part of the chemical industry which must also be developed simultaneously. The dependence on imports of machinery and equipment for setting up factories is a limiting factor to the expansion of the fertiliser industry. Therefore, arrangements have to be made for the manufacture of such plants and machinery in the country.

Not only for the fertiliser industry but for the growth of various other industries in the country it is essential that India should develop machine-building capacity. Just as steel had the pride of place in the industrial projects of the Second Plan, I think the various projects for the manufacture of heavy machineries and equipment occupy the key position among the industrial projects of the Third Five Year Plan.

It is fortunate that external credits have already been assured for the heavy machinery, mining machinery, heavy electricals, foundry forge, plate and vessel, machine tools and precision instruments projects etc. The Planning commission also attaches great importance to the alloy and tool steel production. The private sector is expected to take up production of cement, paper and sugar manufacturing machinery. Then there are all kinds of medium and small tools and machines which have to be manufactured and which will be largely the responsibility of the private sector. It is expected that the completion of these projects listed in the Third Plan will take India towards the self-generating stage.

Steel is the base for the development of machinery industry as well as various other industries. Foundations for a sizeable steel industry were laid in the Second Plan. The production capacity of steel will be stepped up to 10 million tons. While a much larger steel production target may have been desira-

ble, resources have limited the programme to 10 million tons only. That there will be an ever-growing demand for steel, no one can doubt.

At the end of the Third Plan period one may find oneself faced with a much greater demand for steel. However, in the meantime it is hoped that the heavy machinery, heavy structural and heavy engineering projects will make it possible to depend on indigenous product of machinery and plant for the construction of future steel projects in the fourth and fifth plans. It is hoped that even during the Third Plan it will be possible to draw upon the production of the heavy machinery and heavy structurals and heavy forge and foundry plants for the construction of parts of our steel plants.

It is my firm conviction that the developments in the machine building and chemical industries envisaged in the Third Plan will have firmly laid the foundations of a self-generating economy, and when that happens, I am sure, the pace of development in India will be something which can only be described as stupendous and breath-taking.

I am fully conscious that there are many more things yet to be done. I am conscious of the various gaps in the scheme of industrial development in the Third Plan, yet when the various projects of the Third Plan are implemented and go into production India will be well set on the path of rapid development. The position of power and exploitation of some of our minerals has been causing the Planning Commission and the Government of India much concern. We are all aware of the shortcomings in these respects. The projects planned will no doubt mean a considerable step up in these fields

but the economy will continue to work under strain for some time to come.

It should be evident to anybody that in the next five to ten years the nation will have to work under great stress and strain. Some of these stresses are inevitable. The people will be required to put up with a number of inconveniences and strains but such strains are inherent in any scheme of rapid economic development. All great nations have made sacrifices, and put up with inconveniences in the hope of a bright future.

The present generation, I am sure, is willing to make sacrifices and desirous of sharing the burdens of planned development so that the future generation may have brighter prospects and so that a just and egalitarian society may be built up. The Constitution aims at securing equality of status and opportunity for all. The directive principles of the Constitution enjoin opportunities for useful employment for all. They lay down that "the State shall direct its policy towards securing that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment." Equitable opportunities for all and elimination of economic disparities are objectives which must be steadfastly pursued.

It is such ideals which enthuse a people and it is these which will secure their whole-hearted cooperation in the implementation of our plans.

The nation has made great sacrifices in the struggle for freedom. Swadeshism was the pivot of our great national movement. When we talk of a self-generating economy it is in some respects a re-interpretation of "Swadeshism" in the context of today.

Ceylon Indians' Future

By

SRI S. A. GOVINDARAJAN

"Assistant Editor, *The Hindu*"

THE nomination of Mr. S. Thondiman to the House of Representatives is satisfying as far as it goes in recognition of the public services of an eminent Ceylon Indian. But it can have no more than a symbolic value as a reparation for the hardships suffered by a whole community. The new Government of Ceylon, particularly the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, however, deserve praise for thus opening ever so little, the door to representation in Parliament of the nearly nine lakhs of Ceylonese of Indian origin.

The Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act passed by the first Government of independent Ceylon that was formed by the United National Party, appears to have been the product of the unreasoning fear among the ruling Sinhalese classes that the political allegiance of these Ceylon Indians could not be relied on and that in any event, they would compete, and successfully, with the Sinhalese in all walks of life. The Act, therefore, seemed to be designed to keep citizenship away from as many Indians as possible. Earlier, at one stroke the names of all Ceylonese of Indian descent had been removed from the electoral register and the new Act prescribed an elaborate procedure for them if they wanted to acquire citizenship (which carried with it, the right of franchise). The Ceylon Indian leaders first decided to keep aloof from what they considered an elaborate farce but when this looked like turning into tragedy, they decided to take all steps laid down by the Act to get citizenship for the members of their community.

Soon it was proved that some of the requirements of the Act were well-nigh impossible. In order to get citizenship by descent the applicant had to produce the birth certificates of both his father and his grandfather. Till

late in the Eighteen-nineties, the Registrar of Births and Deaths did not function in Ceylon. And even when he began to do so, the records were not complete. Nor were they preserved carefully, many being almost indecipherable and the paper on which they were written giving way to time or getting lost. Again, the applicant had to prove that he was continually resident in Ceylon before 1942, none of his absences from Ceylon being for a period of more than a year at a time. If he, by chance or out of kindness, had sent any remittance to a friend in India, it was pounded upon as evidence that he was a citizen not of Ceylon but of India. However, within the prescribed period of two years, the Ceylon Democratic Congress, got together about 237,000 applications and submitted them to the Citizenship Commissioner. And over 10,000 applications were submitted through other channels. All in all, these applications covered nearly 8,25,000 Ceylonese of Indian descent.

But these applications were getting rejected with a monotonous regularity in spite of the rulings adverse to authority given by the Supreme Court of Ceylon and the Privy Council in the several cases that were taken up to them. Not everybody could afford to go up to the judiciary on appeal. The position became more and more desperate and two conferences were held in New Delhi at short intervals between the Indian and Ceylonese Prime Ministers. But the Ceylonese assurance that the Citizenship Act would be administered in a humane and liberal way remained only on paper. The present position can be summed up thus. Nearly seven lakhs of Ceylon Indians have been denied citizenship in Ceylon, only 1,45,000 having been registered as citizens. The Ceylon Government are agreeable to giving them monetary and other

inducements to leave for India after a prescribed period. They hope thus to reduce the number of those to whom they should grant citizenship and four seats in the House of Representatives would be allotted to them to fill by election from suitably arranged constituencies. But not many are prepared to leave Ceylon, for they all feel that their interests are bound up with hers. Most of them have not been to India. For their part, the Government of India are willing to direct their High Commission in Ceylon to register as Indian nationals all those who opt for Indian citizenship voluntarily and not as the result of any pressure from the Government of Ceylon. It must not be forgotten that nearly 1,85,000, Indians temporarily resident in Ceylon have been repatriated to India in the last five or six years.

It is now obvious that well over six lakhs of Ceylon Indians would come into what is known as the "Stateless" category. Since India's stand is firm and clear (she can be expected to do no more than lend her good offices in the solution of what she holds to be Ceylon's domestic problem), they will constitute a great and continuing responsibility for Ceylon and add to her economic and social problems. Already the tea estates on which most of these people are at work from generation to generation have reached a stage of full employment. They and those who would grow up into manhood in future must be found suitable berths—possibly in the new areas which it is proposed to develop and colonise. Ceylon must find a way of recognising them as citizens of her country and of absorbing them in her economy gradually from now on. Otherwise their numbers would multiply and the problem of their future would get more and more difficult to solve.

There are two simple ways by which this can be done. I have discussed them with the Ceylon Indian leaders, Mr. A. Aziz, Mr. S. Thondiman, Mrs. Kokilam Subbiah and others. I suggested these to Ceylon's new

Prime Minister when she received me recently. One way of settling this problem would be to fix a brief time-limit, say five years, for these Ceylon Indians to accept any inducement offered by the Ceylon Government to return to India; and to grant citizenship to those who choose to remain. This would be in conformity with international conventions. A second way would be to make use of Clause 4 of the Ceylon Citizenship Act, 1948 and concede citizenship to any one who proves that he and his father were both born in Ceylon. This means accepting as proof a duly sworn affidavit in place of the birth certificate which is so often impossible to obtain and thus ignoring the more restrictive Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act under which no one of these "Stateless" persons born after the so-called "appointed date" (August 5, 1949) would be eligible for citizenship. The Ceylon Citizenship Act is all-embracing and, as even some prominent Sinhalese leaders readily conceded in the course of their talks with me, must be deemed to supersede any other Act, which would discriminate between Ceylonese of Indian (or Pakistan) descent and Ceylonese of other descent. Any Government of Ceylon with claims to a liberal outlook should not fight shy of accepting either of these proposals. And the large mass of people thus enfranchised would certainly merit very much larger representation in Parliament than the one seat now offered. Earlier, with a smaller Legislature (about 100 seats as against over 150 now), the Ceylon Indians held seven seats.

Everywhere I go friends greet me with the question. "Do you think the new Government of Ceylon will deal justly with the Tamils and solve the language problem peacefully?" My answer has hitherto been an unequivocal "Yes". When, however, I read the report that the ruling party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, has decided to amend Parliamentary Standing Orders in order to permit

proceedings to be transacted in Sinhalese, I begin to have some doubts. I can only hope that this is to be purely a permissive act and not a compulsive one and that the Tamils in the House of Representatives will be allowed to carry on in English as now, if not in Tamil. I find it difficult to believe that the new Prime Minister, who has again and again expressed her concern for the welfare of the minorities, will tolerate any discrimination against them.

The Tamils in Ceylon number now about two million out of a total population of about ten million. They live mostly in the Northern and Eastern regions and would like to enjoy regional autonomy if the Sinhalese leaders persist in making Sinhalese the sole official Ceylonese language and the test of pucca Ceylonese patriotism. They would like to transact their business in Tamil and would be satisfied with a formal recognition of their language as a National language of Ceylon. They are as proud of their lineage and of their ancient (Tamil) culture as the Sinhalese are of their own. In fact, their pride made them keep aloof for long from the struggle which the recent immigrants into Ceylon, mostly the estate-workers of Indian origin, have been waging for a recognition of their just rights. But when Sinhalese nationalists proceeded to treat the Ceylon Tamils as they did the Ceylon Indians, the Federal Party leaders woke to the realisation of the justice of the demands put forward by the Ceylonese of Indian descent. It is one of history's ironies that the Tamils, by and large, did not so long ago favour Federal autonomy for the regions where they live in such large numbers. They were quite satisfied with their share of the unitary Government of Ceylon. Two of their leaders, Mr. Ponnambalam and Mr. Suntharalingam, were members of the first Government formed by the United National Party under the leadership of the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake. The Tamil Congress led by Mr. Ponnambalam was favourably

disposed towards "balanced representation" (on a fifty-fifty basis) of Tamils and Sinhalese in the Ceylon Government though the Federal Party led by Mr. Chelvanayakam argued for a Federal Constitution with regional autonomy for the Tamils as the best possible protection for their own interests. It was only when, in 1956, the U.N.P., under extremist Sinhalese pressure, came out for Sinhalese as the only State language, that the Tamils rallied more and more to the support of the Federal Party. The recent elections have shown that they consider it as their only true spokesman. They say that while they ardently desire friendly and co-operative relations with the Sinhalese, they are not prepared to let their culture be swallowed by Sinhalese culture in the name of national unity.

I had the privilege of long and intimate conversations with the Federal Party leaders: Mr. Chelvanayakam, their accepted Parliamentary leader, known for his boundless self-sacrifice as the Gandhi of Ceylon, frail and weak owing to age but commanding respect and attention from friend and stranger alike for his crisp, clear-cut utterances: Mr. Naganathan, the acknowledged master-theoretician of the Party and its most gifted speaker and debater; Mr. Thiruchelvam, who has resigned high legal office under the Crown in order to have independence in his work and whose advice is in constant demand from the Party; and others. They did not conceal their pleasure at the return to power of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party under the leadership of Mrs. Bandaranaike: for it was with her husband when he was Prime Minister that they were able to work out an agreement known as the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact which promised them a large measure of regional autonomy and facilities for a reasonable use of Tamil. The late Prime Minister, who had been elected as the champion of the Sinhalese masses, had put on the Statute book the "Sinhala Only", Act but he was democratic and

generous enough to sponsor legislation for the reasonable use of Tamil in order to prevent grave injustice to the Tamil masses. But the Sinhalese extremists did not relish this Pact and were eager to grasp an opportunity to kill it. The Tamil leaders also played into their hands by starting an agitation against the Sinhalese number-plates in their motorcars. Mr. Bandaranaike, who had labour troubles to tackle, soon had the mortifying experience of civil rioting and commotion between the Sinhalese and the Tamils; and the Governor-General and the Army had to step in and restore order. The Pact became dead before it could be legislated for, and Mr. Bandaranaike himself met his end at the hands of an assassin.

The Federal Party hopes that true to her declared objective, namely the carrying out of her husband's policies, Mrs. Bandaranaike would revive the Pact or concede its substance to the Tamils. They point out that there is too much centralisation of power in the hands of the Chief Executive at Colombo and that Ceylon would be all the better for a measure of decentralisation. And what better basis for this could be thought of than the present regional grouping which sees the Tamils established in the north and the east? Such an autonomous region could, if necessary, team up with another on certain specified issues. To those who argue that a solid Tamil belt lying along the north and east coasts of Ceylon might delay the Central Government at Colombo and enter into relations with other countries, the obvious answer is that the Government of Ceylon would continue in any Federal setup to have complete responsibility for Defence and External Affairs. The critics of this regional Federalism are particularly concerned about the future of Trincomalee, the great naval base on the northeast; but the Tamils are equally anxious about the Sinhalese attempts to plant Sinhalese colonies all the way to Trincomalee and around it by starting developmental works for them. The

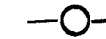
Tamil leaders say that there are thousands of acres of land in other parts of Ceylon waiting to be developed by the Sinhalese without the latter being allowed to encroach, obviously for political reasons, on the traditionally Tamil areas. Some of them foresee a possibility of Ceylon Indians, who acquire citizenship and who can speak Tamil, being settled in the Tamil areas when there is no more work to be had for them at the up-country plantations. But that is all in the future and it is doubtful if North and East Ceylon could take in all the Ceylon Indians who might want to go there.

The Federal Party leans again and again assured me that Federation did not mean partition but practicable and effective union of different cultural and social elements. And recognition of Tamil as well as Sinhalese as National language was not so unusual; Switzerland, for example, had four National languages. But they were determined not to be made secondclass citizens under a unitary government; and they would go to any length rather than meekly submit. The "Sinhala Only" Act is to come into force on January 1, 1961 when all State business must be transacted in Sinhalese. The Federal leaders want this to be postponed *sine die* by suitable rule-making that would ensure continuing use of Tamil for official purposes indefinitely. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party is committed to fair play for the minorities and its leaders should find no difficulty in promulgating the necessary rules even if they hesitate to bring in comprehensive amending legislation now and give an opportunity to the Sinhalese extremists to raise a hue and cry and start agitating. As it is, the S.L.F.P. has been given a clear mandate to carry out its proclaimed policies and it need not fear to act at once. It is only temporising and delay that would give a handle to its enemies and the enemies of moderation to re-start the conflict and plunge the country into disorder.

How much Ceylon stands to lose by continuing strife will be evident from the following report in the (June number of) *New Commonwealth* on her financial position: "While there was a net cash operating surplus of Rs. 127 million in 1955, just before the United National Party was defeated, there were large deficits in the years from 1956 to 1959 and in the present financial year the deficit is estimated to be Rs. 373m. Ceylon's external assets, which stood at Rs. 1,175m in 1955, have now dropped by almost half to Rs. 675m. Budget deficits have been financed from domestic loans, advances from the Central bank, running down of cash balances and the issue of Treasury bills. There have been no significant attempts to increase production, and not a single large-scale development project, has been undertaken since the U.N.P.'s defeat in 1956." The same report recalls that Ceylon suffered from an average of 500 strikes a year in the period from 1956 to 1959. Ceylon will have to find the money for the plans so necessary to her industrial development. The Prime Minister has hinted that the ten year plan of economic development, which was formulated by her husband and which would require an outlay of Rs. 13,600m. would be

changed "in the direction of acceleration and not retardation of development!" The Pay Commission is expected to submit its report soon and that would mean an increased demand on her exchequer to keep the Government employees contented and efficient Mr. C. Logonathan, head of the Bank of Ceylon, has blue-prints for a plan to mobilise the savings of the common man and at the same time attract money from abroad to under-write this. In any event, Ceylon must take care to see that she does not scare away investors by presenting a picture of internal strife.

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has, fortunately enough, won a majority on its own account and need not be pulled this way and that (as the late Mr. Bandaranaike's Cabinet was) by extremists of the right and the left. Its spokesmen have told us that they would not go in for wholesale nationalisation and that its policy would be centre-democratic-socialist. If they maintain business on an even non-Marxist keel and if they keep out the winds of language fanaticism Ceylon seems to be well set for progress towards her goal of peace and prosperity. The Federal Party may be relied on to pull its weight if it is not denied justice.



The Climate of our Earth

By

VALENTIN CHERENKOV

THE established order of things is that spring is followed by summer, autumn by winter and so on. And we are accustomed to thinking that this has been eternally so. But studies of the remote past of the Earth show that millions of years ago it lived a different life. Summer was the one and only season. Even the Arctic seas were warm and their shores were covered by lush vegetation that has come down to us in the form of coal.

Then it became cold. Some scientists attribute this to changes in the Sun's radiation. The climate of the Earth became different, and at first glance there seems nothing that man can do about it. But people have dreamed of altering it and have put forward all manner of projects. Some envisage local jobs, others big-scale projects. And the bigger the scale the greater the quantities of energy required. Here is where the Sun comes in. We can borrow energy from the Sun. In

endless streams the energy passes by the Earth into outer space. What is needed is a "reflector" to "turn" the Sun's rays to our planet. This would give us all the heat we wanted.

Naturally, ordinary reflectors cannot be used. The problem is to set up round the Earth a ring, something in the nature of the rings of Saturn. White opaque particles would be just the right material. Being in the path of solar radiation, they would scatter the rays in all directions, sending some to man here on Earth.

The energy of this thermal flux will be enormous. Calculations show that every ton of particles of diameter 0.3 micron and of unity specific weight will take from the Sun more energy than the largest power stations in the world generate. A 300-mile-wide ring 600 to 900 miles distant from the Earth's surface is capable of deflecting earthwards 1,300,000 million kilowatts of power in the form of heat!

Part of the energy will be reflected back into space by the atmosphere and the Earth's surface. But even what is left will be sufficient to make a radical change in the global climate, which will sort or level out to something in the nature of the spring-summer season in the middle latitudes.

The energy deflected by the ring will affect mainly the polar regions of the globe, the Arctic and Antarctic. The equatorial areas will also get warmer, not as a result of the direct effects of radiation, but rather due to alterations in the climate of the high latitudes.

In addition to heat, the ring will give light. Night will practically disappear from the face of our planet. The average illumination along a belt on the Earth embraced by a ring only 60 miles would come to 540 luxes. Recall that jewellers work with 200 luxes, and only 30 to 50 are required for reading.

Of course, no one will undertake to build this ring without previous detailed studies of

its possible positive and negative effects on all forms of life. Two important questions arise: Won't this eternal day be harmful to animals and plants? Won't the melting of polar ice lead to inundation of large tracts of land?

In my opinion, these questions can be resolved as follows:—

Yes, life has become adapted to the existing order of things. But we should not forget that organisms always retain their ability to adapt themselves to new conditions. Don't humans and animals fare quite well during the half-year polar day? Some interesting experiments have been carried out by the Agrophysical Research Institute of the Academy of Agricultural Science of the USSR. It was demonstrated, for example, that beans "get used" to continuous light in seven days, and they grow much better, too. Under "eternal-day" conditions, cotton reaches maturity (from shoots to open bolls) in 80 days instead of the usual 110 to 140. Tomatoes bear fruit six times a year!

A more difficult problem is the melting of polar ice. To many, this seems to open up a very real danger of the inundations of vast areas of land. But then we could attempt to make the ring elliptical, thus reducing the radiation over the poles. Another thing to bear in mind is that the rise in temperature would increase the humidity of the atmosphere and the soil, particularly in arid regions, and that this would eat up a considerable portion of the surplus water.

And, finally, the most important problem. Only highly developed rocket techniques can make the construction of a ring a practical undertaking. It would weigh hundreds of thousands, even millions of tons. Tens of thousands of rockets would be needed to ferry out such loads to a pre-calculated orbit. Where is one to raise the necessary money? From a global pool! Yes, the expenses could be shouldered if all countries stopped their arms spending. Just remember that the annual military budget of this planet is roughly equal to 100,000 million dollars. Universal disarmament would, in only a few years, make a practical proposition out of the boldest project for changing the climate of our Earth.

The Centenarian who Moulded Modern Mysore

By

Mr. R. CHELLAPPA, M.A., B.L.

THE immortal poet has rightly said:

"Lives of great men, all remind us
That we can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave,
Footprints on the Sands of time."

Any discerning student of national biography may well note the striking fact that the spectacular life of the two illustrious *alumni* of the Central College, Bangalore, Dr. M. Visvesvaraya, the engineering wizard of Mysore and Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, the elder statesman, casts a halo of lustre around their *alma mater*. Both these eminent personalities have been honoured by the conferment of the highest title, 'Bharat Ratna.'

Sir Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya is a great engineer, administrator, statesman and educationist with an immense record of national service to his credit. What is popularly said of the old, 'Grand old man' is not true in the case of Dr. Visvesvaraya, who is a grand man, active and energetic in his nineties, but never grows old. He holds today an exalted position in our national life, very much akin to the position of eminence occupied not long ago, by the late George Bernard Shaw in the world of letters and Dadhaboy Naoroji, the great Indian Patriot in the realm of Politics. It is in the fitness of things that the Centenary of this inspiring personality is celebrated in an appropriate manner.

Mysore, rightly called the 'Model State' of India owes her pre-eminence in several spheres of activity to the invaluable contributions of Dr. Visvesvaraya and his enlightened predecessor, Sir Seshadri Iyer, the two notable individuals, who in every sense moulded the history of Modern Mysore. The value of their varied achievements is highly enhanced by the obvious fact that they had to put through their several far-sighted schemes of

nation-building within the political limitations of an alien Government—not speak of various other stumbling blocks. It would be no exaggeration to say that the progress of Mysore State during the past four decades is primarily due to the monumental work of reconstruction accomplished by Dr. Visvesvaraya in diverse capacities as engineer and particularly, as Dewan between 1912 and 1918, which have earned for him the well-deserved name 'Architect of Modern Mysore.' The Krishnarajasagar project, the Bhadravati Steel Works, the Hindustan Aircraft Factory and a host of institutions bear the imprint of his superb genius for planning and high administrative talents, which very rarely combine in one person. He accomplished with signal success the fruits of planning in his own State of Mysore, long before the 'planning' idea came to be recognised in our country as the keynote of economic development. Besides being an active engineer and a master-designer on the practical side, he has also devoted much of his time and energy to problems of educational reconstruction and scientific approach to industrialisation which have assumed special importance since Independence. He was largely responsible for the establishment of the Mysore University and a number of engineering and technical institutions in the country which are making rapid strides in imparting scientific education that is so essential for our rising generations of technicians now. His inspiring book 'Memoirs of My Working Life' speaks volumes about the man and his greatness, whose philosophy of life can be epitomised thus: "Work is worship; and service to the nation is the goal and purpose of all education and knowledge."

He is not a mere idealist seeking Utopian goals but a skilled engineer-statesman with an

uncanny insight into the practical possibilities of every plan and programme.

An incessant advocate of rapid industrialisation of the Country, he is not content with the plans undertaken at Governmental level. He is himself the author of the famous "Rural Reconstruction Scheme" for Mysore which has been widely acclaimed as a model for the other States as well. Madras has already experimented upon it with a view to adopting it in the long run.

As life-President of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation, Bombay, and an unofficial Adviser to the Mysore Government on all important schemes affecting public welfare, Dr. Visvesvaraya is even to-day rendering yeoman service to the cause of national prosperity. Though the wisdom of his life-long

advocacy of Decentralisation for a vast country like ours, has not yet been fully realised, it is certain that ultimately all our successive Five-year Plans and Community Development Projects will lead us only in that direction. The approaches to Planning enunciated and acted upon by Dr. Visvesvaraya will be valid and sound for all time and may rightly constitute the solid foundation of our country's progress towards industrialisation. The Third Five-year Plan will, it is hoped, draw much from his wise counsels, coming from rich and varied experience. In short he stands as a typical example of statesmanship of South India. Verily, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer has said of him, "Dr. Visvesvaraya is one of the notable Indians of our times. He has been one of the truly creative and formative forces of India."

—*—

The Arab States and its Activities

By

MR. MOHAMED ABDEL KHALEK HASSOUNA
Secretary General of the Arab League

THE Arab World extends from the Atlantic Ocean in the West to the Arab Gulf in the East. Its area is about 3,240,000 square miles. Its present population is nearly 75 million. It witnessed the rise of ancient civilisations; the Egyptian, the Assyrian and the Babylonian. It was the birthplace of the principal religions of the world. From the rise of Islam in the seventh century to the advent of the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth, this Arab World played a great part in the world history. Its peoples were welded together by a common language (Arabic), by common traditions, common interests, common culture and a common way of life. It developed a civilisation and a culture which inspired the world at the time. Arab scholars and scientists distinguished themselves in mathematics, philosophy, literature, astronomy, medicine,

and other branches of knowledge. "It was chiefly from Moslem Spain," says Philip Hitti, the historian, "that Arab Culture advanced to interpenetrate the Christian Culture of the early Middle Ages to produce the civilisation which the West inherited." "Arab Culture" says George Sarton in his Introduction to the History of Sciences, was and, to some extent, still is a bridge; the main bridge between East and West.

From this immense body of cultural achievement a considerable measure of the Arab incentive for unity derives today. It was, no doubt, this Arab civilisation and culture which triggered the renaissance of Europe.

This golden age of the Arabs was brought to an end in the sixteenth century under the blows of the Seljuk and later the Ottoman Turks.

With the decay of the Ottoman Empire in the XIX Century, Western Imperialistic Powers sought their share in the legacy of the "Sick-Man of Europe." North Africa (including Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) was snatched by the French; Egypt and the Sudan were occupied by the British in 1882; Lybia was taken by Italy, the Arabian peninsula, Greater Syria and Iraq, however, remained under Ottoman rule.

Despite the domination of Imperialists, the peoples of the Arab World never forgot they were united at one time and that they had great civilisation and culture. Arab Nationalism lay deep in every Arab heart. Several Arab nationalist movements against Imperialists erupted at various times. But it was World War I which offered the national movement in Syria, Iraq, the Peninsula and Egypt an opportunity for expressing itself in concrete efficacious action. The Arab Revolt was declared in 1916. The military significance of the Revolt for the Allied cause in its successful diversion of German and Turkish troops from the European to the Middle Eastern Theatres of War and the Arabs' participation in this war on the side of the Allies have been authoritatively attested to by those who were in position to know. But apart from its significant contributions to the cause of the Allies, the Arab movement had its national objectives. These objectives—as communicated to and supported by the Allies, through the British Government, were emancipation from Ottoman Rule and the establishment of an Independent United Arab State.

But the war settlement fell far short of satisfying Arab aspirations. The Arabs were denied both independence and unity. Independence was denied by the Mandate System and unity was denied by the arbitrary dismemberment of the area a mosaic of separate political and economic fragments under British and French Rule. France held Syria and Lebanon and continued to dominate Moroc-

59

co, Tunisia and Algeria. Italy remained in Lybia. Britain continued its occupation of Egypt and the Sudan. It held Iraq and established itself as a Mandatory Power in Palestine. In 1917 it issued the Balfour Declaration which promised the Jews a national home in Palestine provided that such home did not prejudice the civic and religious rights of the Arabs. The Palestine Mandate was devised under the influence of the Zionists as an appropriate means to give effect to the Balfour Declaration.

During the thirty years that ensued, with the British supervising immigration, about 600,000 Jews entered the country so that by 1948 Jews comprised one third of the population. Thus began the Palestine Problem, which came to be the main preoccupation of Arab World from that time until now.

The history of the Arab World in the ensuing twenty-five years is a story of struggle of independence. Some Arab countries like Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Saudi-Arabia achieved some form of independence but they remained occupied by and tied to Imperialistic Powers by political Treaties. During the Second World War the Arabs again sided with the Allies against Hitler in order to achieve full independence but their hopes were once more dashed to pieces. In these circumstances the Arabs realised that without unity and cooperation they could not be fully free or independent.

In March 1945 seven Arab States, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Yemen, Saudi-Arabia and Lebanon decided to establish a regional organisation to realise their common objectives in unity, freedom and independence. This Organisation is the present League of Arab States.

The Founder-members of the League were the states which signed the League Pact on March 22nd 1945. The objects of the League, as set out in the Pact, are :

(1) to strengthen the ties between Arab States and coordinate their political activities in such a way as to effect real collaboration between them, to protect their integrity and safeguard their independence and to consider, in general, the affairs and the interests of Arab countries.

(2) to ensure that closer cooperation and greater collaboration exist in political, cultural, health, economic, legal and social fields.

In the political field the League has been from the outset most active. Its object was to liberate Arab countries from foreign rule.

It helped Syria and Lebanon in 1946 to get rid of the French Forces and sponsored the cause of Lybian independence. In March 1953 Lybia became independent and joined the League. In 1956 the Sudan won its independence and became a member of the League. As a result of the activities of the League in support of their heroic national movements, Tunisia and Morocco attained their sovereignty and joined the League in 1958. With the mergence of Syria and Egypt and their formation of the United Arab Republic, the number of member-states of the League has now become Ten.



Science and Religion

By

Mr. JEHANGIR M. SHAPOORJEE

SCIENCE is the passion of the day. So dazzled are we by its accomplishments, that we are ever ready to accept whatever it says, and do whatever it dictates. We harness science to invent the most horrible weapons of destruction. While shuddering at the thought that this jeopardizes the very existence of our species, we continue helplessly to spend unlimited energy and resources on inventing deadlier and deadlier weapons. We also invest fabulous wealth on making experiments into space. No one cares to pause for a moment and think of how much is being spent in this direction, what is the benefit that humanity expects to derive from it, when such benefit can be expected, or even what degree of certainty there is of deriving any benefit at all.

Religion, on the other hand, tends to become more and more obscure. The popular belief is that religion is antagonistic to material matters, and therefore must be relegated to

the background. This is a wrong conception. Human life is obviously an inseparable combination of the spiritual and the material. Wisdom lies in paying due heed to both aspects. The purpose of religion is to lead us to God along the glorious path of mysticism. Religions exult in talking about ancient Mystics, but instead of showing us how to enjoy the fullness of life that the Mystics indicated, they try to keep the knowledge of mysticism secret, and foster the belief that is beyond the reach of common individuals. They adopt this attitude because they are afraid that undesirable persons might misuse the spiritual powers that can be acquired through mysticism.

It seems worth while pondering over the reasons why science flourishes in spite of its menacing propensities, while the natural flowering of religion is stemmed by the fear of a comparatively minor danger. One valid reason is apparent. Science depends for its

progress on sifting facts from hypotheses, and therefore, appeals to the rational honest human mind. Whether a particular fact was discovered recently or a thousand years ago, science does not accept it without verification. This is so no matter how great may be the person who enunciated it. Beliefs held universally are thrown overboard without compunction the moment they are proved to be baseless. If we were to stick to the primitive beliefs that the earth is flat and the sun revolves round the earth, what would be the position of science to day?

Religion, alas, revels in trying to compel us to believe things that were supposed to have been said or done thousands of years ago—no matter how palpably absurd they may be. In fact, religion wants to rely exclusively on ancient history and even on prehistoric legends. It refuses to take cognisance of the simple fact that anything that is reported is liable to suffer from inaccuracies, and when things are reported down the ages, they are bound to get entangled with a plethora of inexactitudes and untruths. Loss of ancient literature and forgetting of ancient languages makes the position worse; but theologians refuse to be shaken by such weighty considerations. They seem to think that it was only in the olden days that man could commune with his Infinite Source. We must, therefore, piece together whatever fragments of the knowledge of those times that we can find either oral or written, and believe blindly whatever interpretation is placed on them by renowned scholars or established authority. It is not at all surprising that the analytical mind refuses to be coerced in this way, and the popularity of religion begins to wane. Indeed, the wonder is that in spite of this attitude, religion continues to survive and attracts large numbers of people.

To return to normal health and thrive, religion must shift from this false position and allow such truths to shine out as are acceptable to common sense. This does not mean that all ancient scriptures should be jettisoned.

Science has not done that. It still rests on a number of facts that were expounded ages ago. Similarly, in all the ancient religions we can find solid incontrovertible facts that hold as good today as they ever did. That is as it should be, for religion is a subject that deals with changeless Eternity, and bristles with universal facts that are logical, practical and of course, real. These need to be retained and stressed; but the outgrowth has to be cut out.

As a matter of fact, this is what all the Prophets have been doing. Jesus Christ said he had not come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. Gautama lived a Divine life and preached the Eternal Truths. Because some of these naturally went counter to the orthodox beliefs held in his time, a new religion was started in his name. Shankaracharya repeated the performance. Because he decried some beliefs and practices of the Buddhists, people thought he was opposed to Buddhism, and that religion was driven out of India.

As we look into the pages of the scriptures, we find that they tell us of the lives of human beings who attained divinity and taught others how to do so. The way, they said, is by selflessness, by detachment from passions and emotions, by meditation and by the guidance of a Preceptor who has traversed the Path. These simple truths have been declared by the Saints and Sages in all times and at all places.

The proof of the pudding, we all know, is in the eating. My great Master, Pujya Baba Sai Mirchandani says that the way of proving that divinity is within the reach of all human beings—in fact, it is their birthright—is to achieve it one's self and then guide others to it. This would automatically confine one to facts and eliminate all untruths, exaggerations and hypotheses. It would open out vistas of individual, social, national and international happiness simultaneously with those of Eternal Bliss. — Subhan Allah!

Student Indiscipline

By
MR. K. SESHADRI

THE minds of educationists all over India are agitated over the thorny question of student indiscipline and suggestions and counter suggestions are being offered at various levels to check this malady that has entered into the student body-politic. The importance of this problem is due to the fact that it is the students who are going to be the future architects of our country's destiny. The U.G.C. and the Vice-chancellors, conference have come out with various recommendations to improve the fast deteriorating standards of education.

The primary question is whether this indiscipline among students is an isolated factor unconnected with the happenings round about the student world or is it intimately related to the surrounding conditions and affected by the socio-political and economic changes that are taking place in the country. It cannot be denied that no section of the Community today is satisfied with the existing conditions and there is unrest among the working classes, the non-gazetted staff and other white collared professions while a student in the college is subject to these fits of indiscipline, his parent or guardian, who is a petty clerk or a small businessman is himself not contented with the conditions obtaining in his field. Quite rightly therefore has the Committee of the University Grants Commission observed: "In some of the instances of indiscipline we examined it was quite clear that parents had been unable to exercise any controlling influence on their sons and daughters." The student community after all is a part and parcel of the society and the most impressionable one at that. Any examination of this problem without taking the environmental conditions into serious consideration will only prove superficial and all the conferences at various levels will not have the value of the paper on which they write their recommendations.

One thing cannot be gain-said. Ever since India gained independence, ugly heads that lay dormant began to rise. Strikes and protests, lathi-charges, and firings have become the order of the day. Barring the heartening and solitary exception of our armed forces discipline has had a bad shakeup in every

field. Disobedience to authority, laxity in normal duties, corruption and favouritism and finally a wishful speculation for some sort of military dictatorship—these are what we witness everywhere. Certainly these factors have a great influence indirectly upon the psychological make-up of the student community. Looking back at the past, during the course of India's struggle for national liberty it was the student community that stood in the forefront. A look at the present leadership will bear out the fact that mostly it was drawn from them. Gandhiji in his non-cooperation campaign exhorted the students to boycott the schools and colleges. There are many among the older generation now who responded to his call and sacrificed all the comforts higher education would have offered them to join the struggle. Student organisations with a definite political programme were formed and men like Pandit Nehru inaugurated them and patronised them. There was not a single college or school wherein the congress leaders did not address exhorting the students to play their noble part in the struggle. Old liberals who were opposed to students being involved in politics were scoffed at. After having sown such political seeds it is but natural now that bitter fruits are being borne. "As you sow, so you reap" is the old adage. Shri V. V. Giri complains against the tendency among the political parties to exploit the teachers and students by holding out promise of cheap popularity and leadership. May we humbly remind that once the present popular and valuable leadership itself was not free from this tendency. Even now when Chinese incursions were made student community was encouraged, if not actively but by silent acquiescence, to demonstrate against it. Now every political party blames the other political parties for interfering with the student World. "Students should not be made pawns in the political chess-board," is the oft-repeated remark.

Should the students have anything to do with politics or should they run away from it and 'shun it totally'? In the foreign universities like Oxford, Cambridge and London students do not shun politics totally.

SEPTEMBER 1960]

STUDENT INDISCIPLINE

469

Even professors and lecturers have political affiliations and own them openly. To give a few examples, Prof. Lakski was the philosopher of the Labour Party, Prof. J. D. Bernal, Prof. Haldane, Maurice Dobb, G. D. H. Cole and various others of great eminence were not non-political. Students discuss politics freely. During the pre-war time in 1933 the Students' Union of Oxford under the inspiration of Prof. C. E. M. Joad passed a resolution that 'this House will in no circumstances fight for its king and country.' Should the student community close their eyes to the tremendous changes that are taking place in our country and the World?

On their own college platforms let them discuss any thing on earth without fear and with openness of mind—communism or capitalism, sputniks or disarmament, Japan or Tibet without descending themselves to the soap box. Let our political leaders come to a gentlemen's agreement that they will not interfere in the student forum. But any politician be he a congressman a Swatantrite, a Socialist or a Communist who is otherwise acclaimed for his academic bearing be allowed to address them and put forth his views. As Gandhiji said, "students cannot afford to have party politics. They may hear all parties as they read all sorts of books, but their business is to assimilate the truth of all and reject the balance. This is the only worthy attitude that they can take." At present this privilege is being monopolised by our congress leaders. Student unions are addressed by congress ministers whatever be their pretensions to academic bearing while eminent educationists are rarely invited. The students must be trusted to discuss and discriminate for themselves. Let them be non-partisan but not a-political. Otherwise their energies are bound to explode violently in perverse directions if they are not given a free out-let for self-expression. Any day a lively awareness to the political situation is better than rowdism. To quote Gandhiji again "All the world over students are playing a most important and effective part in shaping and strengthening national movements. It would be monstrous if students of India did less. In India where political consciousness has till recently been unfortunately confined in large measure to the English educated classes, their duty is, indeed, greater."

The part played by the lecturers and professors and finally the Vice-Chancellors (The

powers that be of the universities) is none the less important. The selection of lecturers, the promotions to professorships and last but not least the appointment of Vice-Chancellors must be made purely on the basis of academic merits and high moral integrity and none other. A good administrator may not necessarily be a good educationist. Instances in our country are not lacking wherein these highly responsible posts are being offered to foggy gentlemen of doubtful virtues. The rot having thus started from the top works downwards. As Dr. Shrimali observed, "It was common knowledge that a great deal of pressure was exercised by the influential members on the governing bodies of the colleges and universities in selecting the teaching staff".

While every one laments over the plight of poor pedagogue it is notorious fact that practically nothing is being done to put them in a position of respectability in the present-day society which is unfortunately different from what it is was during the palmy days of Nalanda and Takshasila. To pay the teacher a scandalously low amount and expect him to live simply and think highly is just a pious wish. The committee of U. G. C. rightly observes "the loss of authority and prestige by teachers is also a very crucial factor in the present situation in universities and colleges. While the economic conditions of many other classes of educated workers have improved the teachers' position has not correspondingly improved. This relative deterioration of the economic position of the teacher has affected his attitude to his work and his general outlook on life". As it is, the disparity between the pay-scales of the various universities and worse still, between the university colleges and the so-called private colleges of the same universities, for the same amount of work done (if not for more) requiring the same academic qualifications causes any amount of discontent and indifference among the teachers. "The motives of the lecturers therefore has become mercenary". Though the U. G. C. has made sweeping recommendations but when the question of implementation comes, there opens out a yawning gulf between recommendations and implementations. What Mark Twain said of the weather that though every body talks about it none does anything about it, is true of the conditions of the teacher. Commissions, Conferences and Committees, the latest being the Vice-Chancellors' confer-

ence at Khadak-Vasala so far have not been able to achieve much.

The lecturers have to handle huge classes sometimes running upto 100 and the resultant lack of discipline, and in-efficiency need not be mentioned. One feels as to why a lecturer should be present there at all to repeat the same stuff year after year while a tape record could do the job more efficiently. The class becomes a Pandemonium with an indifferent and impecunious teacher presiding over it. Personal contact, there is none. This is generally due to the measures of economy pursued by the administration in not appointing adequate staff.

The examination system has become an anachronism. "The student confines his study to those portions of the course which are likely to be included in the questions, memorises stock material and makes little attempt to acquire a deeper understanding of his subject. Colleges in their turn become agencies for the supply of stereotyped information". This fact is too well-known to be further elaborated. Therefore the U. G. C. has rightly pointed out the importance of internal assessment and lessening of the dominance of the final examination. The sooner some thing is done in this direction the better it is. Getting a few answers by rote from some cheap printed notes (or dictated or cyclostyled) and reproducing them not to speak of blaring out answers from loud-speakers and man-handling of invigilators and various other such bad practices can be put an end to.

Unless, the classes become wieldy and the moral and intellectual calibre of the teaching staff toned up, a move in this direction will be fraught with many pit-falls. Students should not become victims of the whimsical moods of characterless teachers nor should they become the undeserving beneficiaries of his bounties by indirect bribery and flattery.

In addition to these factors the U.G.C. feels that one of the reasons for this indiscipline among students is a desire for publicity. "A considerable part of the material the newspapers print consists of speeches and statements made by ministers and other public men and there seems to be a tendency amongst certain sections of both senior and junior members of the university to emulate the

example of such persons and wish to be mentioned in the press frequently." This desire for publicity or lime-light is a natural one though it should not be excessive. Ample publicity may be given to students for their academic distinctions and other extra-curricular activities, like debating, dramatics and sports and of proper encouragement is given by the papers in this direction, this craving for publicity may be satisfied. The part played by Cinemas especially the ones from Hollywood depicting sometimes the lives in Universities there is not in-considerable "Hi, Prof!" may be alright in America but certainly not in India. Co-education is a factor that has to be seriously considered though a discussion on it is superfluous.

Among the various Universities in India there is absolutely no uniformity in standards, in classification of results and many other things. This works great deal of hard-ship on students appearing for competitive examinations. To cite a few examples: In some universities M.Sc. is a research degree while in some others it is only a post-graduate degree. In some universities classification of results is done for each part while in others it is done on the aggregate. Some Universities have introduced Pre-University course while some have not yet done so. Thus many such inconveniencing diversities can be mentioned not to speak of the confusion of the languages that has crept in now. If each state were to change over to instruction in its regional language, we can have a veritable Babel in our country. Participation in inter-university activities will come to a stand-still.

The first step towards solving all these problems has to be taken and that is in the form of least interference from the Govt. in the affairs of the University. Interference of Govt. naturally means interference of one ruling party and this affords the justification for other parties to throw their own spanners into the works. Let it be left to experienced non-political educationists. Compelling students to put in a year of "national service" and various other such measures will only help deteriorate the situation and complicate the already confused situation. Most cases of indiscipline can be eliminated if there is a general rise in the standard since it is the backward students who are frustrated that resort to acts of indiscipline.

Youth Organizations in Britain

By

SYLVIA HACK

EVERY evening thousands of boys and girls in the United Kingdom go to their "club." It may be in a well-equipped hall, or just a couple of rooms in an old house, or a simple hut which members themselves have helped to build, but wherever it is they can play games like table-tennis, darts or billiards, listen to gramophone records, hold dances, take part in discussions or drama classes, and learn handicrafts.

There have been youth clubs in Britain for more than 100 years. As far back as 1844, the Young Men's Christian Association, of which there are now hundreds of branches all over the world, was the first kind of youth club for boys to be opened.

Some 30 years later, in 1875, the first girls' club was formed chiefly to help those living away from their own homes, and so clubs for boys and girls came into being in Britain.

Over the past century, youth clubs and organisations have grown enormously, and there are now about 6,000 in Britain, with a membership of nearly 3,000,000. These clubs include uniformed ones, such as Boy Scout or Girl Guide groups, and non-uniformed boys' and girls' social and youth clubs, including many mixed ones.

Who goes to the clubs? Mostly the members are between the ages of 14 and 21, although many clubs have junior sections for those aged from 10 to 12 years. So some members may still be at school, while others work in offices, factories, workshops, on farms or in coal mines.

They join because they need a community of their own outside their own homes, where

they can meet and make friends and enjoy sensible and cultural leisure-time occupations.

The number of weekly meetings vary, depending on the location of the club, whether it is in the town or country. In a large city like London, for instance, a particular club may be open every night of the week and there are different activities each evening.

The members have considerable say in the working of their club and they are invited to make suggestions to their club leaders for improvements.

Activities of a club in the country differ only slightly from town clubs. There are more outdoor sports events because facilities are greater, although people meet less often because transport in the country is not as convenient as in the town.

Most clubs have canteens where members can buy light refreshments.

Common to all clubs is the keen spirit of competition which is highly encouraged in sports and the arts. Friendly exchange visits between clubs take place often, and group outings, such as swimming parties or bus trips to places of interest, are popular features. Many clubs organise camping and other types of holidays.

Nowadays local education authorities take an interest in the youth club movement, and nearly all the clubs are linked to a central organisation which holds conferences and discusses problems common to all.

But despite their many different names, British youth clubs work together for a common aim, and that is: To help young people to full maturity as individuals and members of society; to understand themselves, to be tolerant and to help others.

—*—

Reflections on Rebirth

By

SRI P. RAJESWARA RAO

THE doctrine of rebirth has had a long and chequered history. Human being entity or personality as it is variously called does not perish with the body. There is something immanent and yet apart entitled the soul which is immortal and has close affinity and relationship with the supreme. Man is not merely mind and body. He has in addition the spiritual dimension. India has had from the beginning of history the intention that the soul of man is eternal and one with the supreme Lord and source of all universe.

One of the subdivisions of the early Jews believed in transmigration of souls. It is a cardinal belief of the orphic religion of Greece that the wheel of birth revolves inexorably. Plato, Empedocles and the Roman Poet Virgil regard rebirth as almost axiomatic. For them Preexistence and survival stand or fall together. It persists down the later classical thinkers, Plotinus and Neo-Platonists. If we turn to the Hebrews there are traces of it in Philo and it was definitely adopted in the Kabbalah.

This theory is hinted though not developed in the hymns of Rig Veda. But from and after the days of Manu, through the period of Epics and the Puranas, down to this day, it has reigned with unquestioned sway over the heart and soul of India. Besides the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains ardently believe in rebirth. Whether the travels of Pythagoras in India be true or not he preached it and the belief in rebirth was shared by some of the foremost amongst the Greek thinkers who succeeded this great Philosopher. About the beginning of the Christian Era, it was current in Palestine. Herod for instance thinks that Jesus may be John the Baptist risen from the dead. Jesus' disciples tell him of the rumours that he is John the Baptist or Eliah or Jeremiah.

When he treats a man born blind his followers ask whether the blindness was in consequence

of his sins in a previous life. Even Julius Caesar found the belief in rebirth among the ancestors of the British, for in the "History of the Gallic Wars," he writes that the Druids included this as one of their leading tenants."

In the Gospel of St. John, we find Jesus seeing a blind man saying "Neither this man sinned nor his parents, but the work of God it is obvious that Jesus like Buddha did not encourage academic speculation, yet it is clear that the importance of heredity and of accumulated sins and virtue of good deeds was part and parcel of the common beliefs of Israel.

Within the Christian church belief in rebirth was held during the first centuries by isolated Gnostic sects and the Manichelens in the fourth centuries. In the middle ages the tradition was continued by the numerous sects known as Cuthari. At the renaissance Bruno upheld it and Von Helmount in the 17th century adopted it. Swedenberg states it in modified form. Goethe, the German Poet and Philosopher played with it, while Lessing and Herder believed in it very seriously. Hume and Schopenhaur mentioned it with respect. Among contemporary European Philosophers there are at least half a dozen who believe in it inspite of inadequate evidence and proof.

The emergent view of the self makes the hypothesis of rebirth a reasonable one. Life is a perpetual going on while at the Zoological level Perpetuation of the species is the end, at the human level development of personality is the goal. The scope and content of the theory of rebirth is consistent with religion and science. In truth, it may be asserted that the theory of the conservation of cosmic energy and the law of compensation both demand adherence to this creed which affords only equalities and imbalances of life.

—*—

The Official Language of India

IN the Lok Sabha on Aug. 1 the Home Minister, Mr. G. B. Pant declared categorically that it was not the desire of the Government to depart from the assurance given by the Prime Minister that English would continue even after 1965, and a Bill would be brought before Parliament in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. Pant said that the Government had rejected the suggestion that Hindi should be compulsory for recruitment to Central Service.

He refuted the suggestions that the President's Directive on the Language Committee report was different from the assurance given by the Prime Minister. On the contrary, he pointed out that the notification issued by the President stated clearly that the Prime Minister's statement indicated the approach of the Government.

The Home Minister was replying to an adjournment motion sought to be moved by Mr. Frank Anthony (Opposition), an ardent champion of the cause of retention of English language. It related to the agitation proposed to be launched in South India by the DMK. He wanted to know whether, in the recruitment to Central Services, non-Hindi speaking people would be compelled to pass Hindi tests.

The Home Minister said that so far as the anti-Hindi agitation in the South was concerned, an organisation opposed to the very fundamental unity of India was raising this issue. The Madras Government was satisfied that there was no ground for this agitation.

Mr. Pant said that it had been decided that English would continue after 1965 and a Bill would be brought before the House in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Constitution. The Bill would give all the details. Certainly, it would be brought forward before 1965, he said.

Prime Minister Nehru in his reply to the letter sent to him, signed by 19 members of

the Opposition in Parliament, has reiterated that what he had said in the Lok Sabha in regard to the official language represented the policy of the Government and there can be no doubt about it. Mr. Nehru had given the assurance that English would also be an associate language with Hindi as the official language till such time that non-Hindi speaking people wanted it.

In the letter, Mr. Nehru says that the President of India had also made this clear in his Hyderabad speech.

The letter which was released to the Press by Mr. N. Shivaraj, Member of Parliament and one of the signatories says:

"Dear friends,—I have received your letter of August 3 about the President's order on the official language. Only two days ago the Home Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha making it perfectly clear that what I have said in the Lok Sabha in regard to this matter represented Government's policy and they would pursue it. Even the President has been pleased to make it clear in his speech at Hyderabad. There can therefore be no doubt on the subject. Government is completely bound by the policy we have laid-down and there need be no misunderstanding on the subject."—Jawaharlal Nehru.

At his monthly Press conference at New Delhi on August 11, Prime Minister Nehru referred to apprehensions in the South over the official language question and the President's order, and reiterated, "There is going to be no imposition of Hindi and English will continue as an additional or an associate language for all-India purposes".

"English will continue almost indefinitely till such time as I have said, as the non-Hindi people want to change it" Mr. Nehru added.

Mr. Nehru said there was no difference between the Government's mind and the President's mind. The President himself had said this. He did not think the President's order

was vague. On the other hand, it was perfectly clear.

Mr. Nehru's attention was drawn by a correspondent to the fears and doubts entertained by many people in the South about the President's order on the Language Committee report being vague in regard to the assurances given by Mr. Nehru to the non-Hindi speaking people.

The Prime Minister said, "I have not got the President's order before me. But I had the privilege of seeing it before it was issued. I saw no contradiction in it to the attitude that I had taken up in Parliament."

President Rajendra Prasad reiterated at Madras on August 15 that English would continue as the official language of India as long as the people of South India wished it to and appealed to them not to entertain the feeling that Hindi was being imposed on them.

The President, who was addressing a huge Independence Day rally of citizens wanted the people of North India to realise that on the language question they could not do anything according to their wish and without acquiring the consent of the people of the South.

"You (in the South) expect us to respect your feelings and we do," Dr. Prasad said and added "Just as we are respecting your feelings, I am sure that you will also respect the feelings of others and not impose English on us."

Gandhiji thought of a language for the whole country and naturally, he thought of Hindi. "I say, naturally, because he saw that Hindi was spoken by a very large number of people—larger than any other language. When people talk of Hindi Imperialism, I sometimes wonder what they mean. The idea of introducing Hindi as an all-India language has not emanated from any Hindi-speaking person. There had been two persons in North India who had been responsible for the spread of Hindi as an all-India language. Hindi was not the language of any of these two. In the seventies of the

last century, Swami Dayanand felt that if he wanted to spread his own form of Hinduism, he should resort to Hindi. You may not know that he had not come from any Hindi-speaking province. But he came from Kathiawad.

Dr. Prasad added: "But may I put one thing to you? You expect us to respect your feelings and we do. We do not want to impose anything on you—not even an Indian language. Please do not wish to impose on us a foreign language. I have, therefore, no fear that the time will come when any one will have reason to complain that anything has been forced on him. I am sure that just as we are respecting your feelings you will respect the feelings of others also and as we are determined not to impose Hindi on you, you will also relax and not impose English on us."

The President said that Hindi was already spreading very fast in these parts. He believed that more people had learnt Hindi in the South than who had learnt English. The Hindi Prachar Sabha had contacted at least 70 lakhs of men and women. Some 15 lakhs had sat at its examinations. He did not know how many people had passed the English examinations, said Dr. Prasad adding "I do not wish to embarrass you by asking how many of you know English and now many of you know Hindi."

He said: "I wish the people of the North also to realise their responsibility in this matter. I have a feeling that if they had left the question of Hindi to be solved by South Indians, Hindi would have made greater progress by now. The way in which Hindi has been adopted and accepted as a matter of study, encourages me to hope that you will adopt it also for other purposes. I want the people of the North to realise that they cannot do anything according to their own wishes without consulting and without acquiring the assent of the people of the South. After all, it is one of the fundamentals of the Constitu-

tion that the wishes of the minority should be respected."

He added: "More than that, it is necessary that people should travel through the country. I do not want them to travel and talk in English. So long as you cannot speak in Hindi you better talk in your own language when you come to us. It should be our lookout to get translators to interpret you to our general public. Although I could have got many persons amongst you who could have translated into Tamil if I had spoken in Hindi, I have not done so. That is out of respect for you. I was really afraid that you might charge me of imperialism if I did so. All our lives we have fought imperialism. Please do not imagine that at this fag end of my life I would be guilty of imperialism of any kind."

Stating that he was straying from the subject he wanted to discuss, Dr. Prasad emphasised that the real point was that they wanted unity in the country. Provincial feeling, caste feeling and linguistic feeling should all be made subsequent to the feeling of the country. "I am quite sure that the feeling of patriotism will dictate to you the adoption of Hindi in due course and I can tell my North Indian friends that when you take to Hindi, they will be defeated in examinations in Hindi. Even those who are thinking of services in the Centre should not despair. You have defeated the Englishman in English and I have no doubt you will defeat the Hindi-speaking man also in Hindi. Therefore, there is no fear for anyone, who wants to go in for service. But so long as that fear subsists, however unfounded it may be we have to respect it. I would ask you, in all seriousness, to think of the country and wherever you see any fissiparous tendency let us try to plug it there, Dr. Prasad concluded.

Soon after the President's elaborate speech at Madras on this language question Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has issued the following statement:—

"The President of India speaking at Madras on Independence Day gave an assurance that Hindi will not be imposed and that it will not be made the official language to replace English at the Centre until the non-Hindi people wanted it themselves. This and what the Prime Minister of India had said before are good and embody a sound principle of federal and democratic Government. I have been asking that it should find an unambiguous legislative shape and I repeat that request now. We cannot be content with unofficial statements where there is so much fanaticism and political power behind the opposing ranks.

The President added a rider that as against this assurance that he gave to the non-Hindi people, he would ask for a corresponding admission on the other side that English should not be imposed on the Hindi speaking people. This looks plausible and fair. But if it was intended in effect to nullify the assurance given to the non-Hindi people and to create a deadlock, it would not be fair. It should be remembered that to continue English and maintain the conditions regarding the official language as prevailed all these many decades and specially through the last 13 years of Independence cannot with reason be called any kind of imposition. And it is only this that we want to be continued. We have not to impose anything new on any one.

The non-Hindi people are threatened with an absolutely new medium. The Hindi people have only to continue as they were before. There is no reason or fairness in the counter-claim which the President thought fit to add to and neutralise his assurance to the non-Hindi people."

Steps to implement directions on the President's order on language are being taken.

Detailing the steps already taken to implement the directives, Pandit Pant told Dr. Raghur Singh in the Rajya Sabha on Aug.

17 that the work of translation of statutory rules and of non-statutory manuals had been started by the Ministries of Law and Education. Ministry had formulated proposals for constituting a standing commission for the evolution of scientific and technical terminology as suggested by the Parliamentary Committee. Training in Hindi medium had been made obligatory for Central Government employees in Class III and above (excluding industrial establishments and work-charged staff) who were below 45 years. It had, however, been made clear in the Home Ministry's order on the subject that no penalty should be imposed for failure to obtain the prescribed standard by the due date. Training centres had been started at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras for training in Hindi typing and stenography. A standard keyboard had been evolved with the help of an expert committee by the Education Ministry.

On August 20, the Home Minister Mr. Pant stated in the Lok Sabha that a Bill will be introduced under Article 343 of the Constitution extending the use of English beyond 1965. This will be one of the concrete steps to be taken under the President's Order on official language.

In regard to the examination for recruit-

ment to the All-India Services, the Home Minister said that there would be an optional paper in Hindi. If the candidate passed in that paper, he would not be required to pass the departmental examination. But if he did not appear for that paper, even then it would not prejudice his case in so far as the examination was concerned.

The Home Member laid on the table of the House a statement showing the action taken so far to implement the Presidential Order. It said that the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs had prepared an outline scheme for establishing an academy for the development of Hindi and encouragement of study and research in linguistics. The scheme was under examination.

Training in the Hindi medium has been made obligatory for Central Government employees in Class III and above (excluding industrial establishments and work-charged staff), who were less than 45 years. It had been made clear in the order that no penalty should be imposed for failure to obtain the prescribed standard by the due date. Facilities for Hindi training had been expanded in the current year so as to provide for the enrolment of 40,000 employees in Hindi teaching class against 20,000 last year.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Cuba

Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, proclaimed at Havana on Aug. 24, the revolutionary Government's friendship for the Soviet Union and Communist China. He also attacked "North American imperialism" and accused it of domination in Latin America.

Dr. Castro, who spoke at an assembly of the National Women's Federation, said, "We will be friends of the Soviets and of the popular Republic of China because they have shown us they are our friends."

Dr. Castro said that Cuba would never again be an "appendix" in the U.S. economy and would never again vote on the advice of the U.S. in the United Nations.

For the second time last month he warned the Organisation of American States that "with or without you (the OAS) we will triumph."

The achievements of the Castro Regime within the short 18 months of its life are indeed striking. Its greatest achievement is, of course, that it has given Cuba back to the Cubans. It is undeniable that American eco-

nomic domination had reduced Cuba to a position of vassalage to the United States. By cutting the American umbilical, even though it has imposed a severe strain on Cuba's economy Castro has put the country on the path to true independence.

If the Castro Government is sincerely interested in reducing tension and patching up its troubles with the United States it should recognise that United States has legitimate strategic and economic interests in the Western Hemisphere and it should stop undermining them. It should recognise that the security of the United States, and therefore of much of the democratic world, is intimately connected with what happens at her doorstep in the Western Hemisphere, and it should desist from actions which would endanger that security.

Congo

Congo is drifting fast towards civil war! Despite all United Nations' efforts it is hard to see how the blue helmeted soldiers of "peace force" now 17,000 strong can avoid becoming involved. To complicate matters further, there are signs that Belgian commanders in the breakaway Katanga province are ready to ignore their Government's promise to evacuate their troops from Congo.

Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Congolese Prime Minister, who has called for a march against the rebel State of Katanga, has told a political rally that he intended to recruit 8,000 soldiers from Ruandi-Urundi, Belgian trust territory.

Addressing more than 2,000 supporters in Stanleyville on Aug. 28, Mr. Lumumba said the 8,000 troops formerly served with the Belgians in the territory but had ended their military service and were now in the eastern province.

When Mr. Lumumba arrived at Stanleyville airport at the start of a political tour there he asked the crowd at the airport: "Are you ready to go against Katanga?"

The crowd threw their hands into the air to signal assent and roared "uhuru"—freedom.

Mr. Lumumba also appealed to his fellow Congolese to co-operate with and aid Europeans who had remained behind in the Congo.

Jordan

The Jordan Government proclaimed a state of siege in Amman following the blowing up of the Foreign Ministry on Aug. 29.

Premier Hazza Majali and more than 12 other officials lost their lives in the explosion. A curfew was clamped down in the capital.

All traffic was banned in the city, King Hussein personally took over command of security operations. The army moved rapidly to occupy and seal off the ministerial district of the town and to occupy streets and squares.

The Arab City which was placed under curfew reported to be quiet. The young King Hussein summoned an emergency Cabinet meeting at the Royal Palace and appointed Mr. Bahjat Talhouni, chief of the Royal Cabinet, as Mr. Majali's successor, a Royal Palace spokesman announced.

Laos

Prince Souvanna Phouma outlined in the Laotian National Assembly at Vientiane on Aug. 16 his Government's programme characterised by a home policy of "national reconciliation" and a foreign policy of "wise neutrality."

The main points of the programme were "home policy to achieve peace at home, by national reconciliation, to pursue a policy of general reform, of combating corruption, and strict authority and to improve the living standards."

In foreign policy, the Government would "practise a policy of real and wise neutrality, conforming to the aspirations of the people and the geographic position of the kingdom, to honour all undertakings, including the Geneva agreements, to accept all aid from

abroad which did not impose political or military conditions, to pursue a policy of good neighbourliness, international, co-operation by the strengthening of existing friendships and ultimately by friendly contacts with other peace loving countries."

On 31st August Laotian Paratroop Captain Khong Lae sent Premier Souvanna Phouma, an ultimatum announcing that he and his troops would fight to the death unless General Phoumi Nosavan, and another right-wing Minister were excluded from the new Laotian Government.

It remains to be seen what Prince Souvanna will do. It is hoped that he will meet with an amicable settlement.

N. Korea

North Korea may become the next "battlefield" in the ideological row between the Soviet Union and China.

Mr. Khrushchev, Soviet Premier, is due to visit North Korea in October. His trip is being reassessed in the light of the belief, reported last month, that he had asked China to agree to hold a Communist summit meeting in Moscow in November or December.

North Korea, a neighbour of China, was viewed as "neutral" Communist territory on which Mr. Khrushchev and M. Mao Tsetung, the Chinese leader, could meet to discuss their dispute and the Communist summit proposal.

The dispute concerns the Chinese Communist view, as outlined in the Peking Press, that nuclear war is not to be feared in the attempt to impose Communism on the world.

Moscow is reported to have distributed a so-called "anti-Peking manifesto" (published elsewhere in this issue) to world Communist parties to enlist support for Mr. Khrushchev's policy of peaceful co-existence with the West.

The American diplomatic reports have not been confirmed beyond all doubt, but the State Department places credence in them.

Tibet

The Report to the International Commission of Jurists published last month, by its Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet proves that "the Chinese in Tibet intended to destroy as such a religious group, namely Buddhists, in Tibet." From unimpeachable evidence which the Committee could gather, even though it could not enter Tibet itself, it is clear that "a Tibetan who would not give up his religion was killed or ran the risk of being killed." Tibet has enjoyed the reputation of being a nation peculiarly closely bound up with a religious way of life. It has by now been proved beyond doubt that Tibet has always enjoyed *de facto* independence though the Chinese have persisted in making unproven and shadowy claims of suzerainty over Tibet. It was only when the Peking regime of Communists came into existence that the ruthless conquest of Tibet was undertaken. The Legal Inquiry Committee has expressed the view "that throughout the period 1912-1950 the Government of Tibet exercised exclusive authority in domestic affairs within its territory, that it successfully defended its territory against attack under colour of a claim to sovereignty and that *vis-a-vis* the Republic of China no act was committed or, declaration made that compromised its internal independence."

Independent Cyprus

Cyprus became an independent Republic on Aug. 16 the flag of the Cyprus Republic— independent for the first time in the islands 3,000 years' history—was hoisted before a cheering crowd. The 85 years of British rule ended on the stroke of midnight. The Archbishop Makarios invested as the Republic's first President was cheered by the vast public.

After years of gloomy foreboding, a process of reconciliation was set afoot at the Zurich Conference. But all the time there was some crisis or the other standing in the way of reaching a workable agreement bet-

ween the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus and the British authorities. In all these processes the Governments in Ankara and Athens as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, had an intense interest. Finally an agreement was hammered out, full of checks, and balances; but at one stage it seemed as if all these patient labours would be wasted because the problem of the area of British bases in the new Republic could not be solved. This, as well as what was to happen to the bases if Britain should at any time quit them, seemed to outsiders comparatively less important problem; and they have been wisely settled. The date of the independence of Cyprus has had to be postponed more than once. Now, however, the Republic has at long last come into being.

Pan-African Conference

Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Congo's Prime Minister, told the Conference of African States which met at Leopoldville on Aug. 26 that the Congo had preferred to pay the price of immediate independence—"part of which is the demonstrations you have just seen outside, and which were prepared by the imperialists."

Mr. Lumumba outlined eight aims for the Conference:

1. To show total support for those African countries working towards independence and unity;
2. To support the policy of neutralism needed for full independence;
3. To work towards the suppression of barriers between African countries set up by colonial powers;
4. To discuss trade agreements between African countries;
5. To work out an African position towards the European Common Market.
6. To discuss African military co-operation;
7. To consider the creation of an African broadcasting station at Leopoldville owned jointly by participating and other African countries; and
8. To set up a scientific research centre at Leopoldville common to all African states.

Mr. Lumumba said "We have chosen independence without the intermediary period. We have not chosen the easy way. But between freedom and slavery there is no compromise."

America and India

Mr. V. Henry Cabot Lodge, the United States permanent representative in the United Nations, declared at New York on August 24 that "understanding of India, admiration for Prime Minister Nehru and comprehension of India's foreign policy have grown greatly" in the United States in recent years.

Mr. Lodge, who was speaking at a farewell luncheon given in his honour by the United Nations Correspondents' Association, said that personally he never had anything but good relations with Mr. Krishna Menon, India's Defence Minister.

Mr. Lodge, who is the Republican Party's nominee for Vice-Presidency, also submitted it was "very hard" to generalise about the American Press. "I should imagine," he said "there are a number of very distinguished papers that are quite friendly to Mr. Nehru. I know I personally never had anything but good relations with Mr. Krishna Menon. I am sorry I have not seen him for such a long time."

Punjabi Suba

The demonstrations staged by the Akalis on the Independence Day in Delhi and in some towns in Punjab, in public places as well as inside the jails in which the agitators are lodged, showed that the moderate section of the community had ceased to exercise any influence on those who are engaged in the Punjabi Suba agitation, which has now entered the fifth month of its turbulent course. The movement which, on all accounts, showed signs of collapse during the earlier part of the last month has again gained momentum. The large number of volunteers who daily court arrest in Amritsar as well as at some other centres in the State, notably Patiala and Ludhiana—indicates that the promoters of the movement have, to a degree succeeded in penetrating into the villages.

Gurdwaras all over the State are being used as recruiting centres and some volunteers are arriving from other parts of the country also. In the utterances of the founder of the movement, Sant Fateh Singh, from his hide-out in the Golden Temple, Amritsar, are any indication, the recent major decisions of the Punjab Government, calculated to appease the advocates of Punjabi language, namely, the appointment of a Commission for a Punjabi University, creation of a separate Punjabi Department in the State Secretariat

for years together. Never did the Chinese or the Tibetan Government exercise any authority whatsoever South of the Himalayas; as for Tibet, by the 1914 convention, she, as at Sovereign power, expressly agreed to the McMahon Line. The Government of India, on the other hand, has been administering this now-disputed territory for over a century. The argument, often advanced, that international frontiers should follow ethnic lines has not been applied to many of the existing international frontiers and this can hardly be applied to our Himalayan border also, parts of which are inhabited by people of mixed Aryan-Mongoloid stock. Anthropologists cannot claim that our frontier tribes like the Akas, Mishmis, or Abors are exclusively akin either to the Chinese or to the Tibetans, and not to Indian races. There are scores of similar tribes all over India, for example, the Nagas of Assam, the Gonds of Gondwana, and the Bhils of Rajasthan.

It seems that China is not amenable to these arguments. But somehow a solution to this dispute must be found out if a war is to be avoided. And that solution lies in bilateral negotiations or perhaps in jointly referring the matter to the arbitration of an international body, e.g. the International Court of Justice. Once the dispute is settled, the boundary should at once be demarcated on the ground, whatever may be the hazards.

As for tribal unrest in this frontier region, especially in the Naga Hills, the Government of India had acted cautiously by creating the New Naga state within the Indian Union.

Then again, the political demands of the centrally administered territories like Manipur and Tripura, also situated on the north-east frontier, can be lost sight of only at the peril of the whole country. The central territories in this part of India, which do not enjoy parliamentary government as flourishing in the different States of the Indian Union, are (1) Manipur, (2) Tripura, (3) Tuensung and (4) The NEFA. As Manipur and Tripura are averse to merge with Assam, all these centrally administered territories may be united together and reorganised as a new State of the Indian Union under the

name of "North-Eastern Frontier State," governed by a governor, a popular ministry and an elected legislature. The NEFA, or more clearly, the North-Eastern Frontier Agency, comprising five zones or districts namely, the Kameng Frontier Agency, the Subansiri Frontier Agency, the Siang Frontier Agency, the Lohit Frontier Agency, and the Tirap Frontier Agency—have an area of about 30,000 square miles. The Kameng Agency is inhabited by the Akas, the Subansiri Agency by the Daflas and Hill Miris, the Siang Agency by the Abors, the Lohit Agency by the Mishmis and Khamptis, and the Tirap Agency by the Singhphos.

But over and above all these, the military strength of a country is the better part of her frontier treaties. However perfect and scientific the frontier of a state may be, it can easily be disputed or violated by a designing neighbour if the former's defence is weak. Though the Indian frontier system has been acclaimed as "the most highly organised in the world," considering its defence arrangement we cannot call it perfect. Not only India's military machine should be modernised in the light of the most up-to-date scientific inventions, but her technological know-how should be proportionately expanded both extensively and intensively, so that India's fighting forces can always bank on our own scientists and technicians for an even supply of the latest types of arms and ammunition, instead of depending on imports. Vast improvements should also be made on the frontier communication systems which include all-weather roads, establishment of air bases along the whole frontier, and linking up the border outposts with the wireless. A number of frontier battalions should be specially trained in mountaineering and other techniques necessary to make them combatfit in mountain warfare.

In disputes with her frontier aggressors India must speak from a position of strength and not from the five pinnacles of the 'Panchasil' alone, otherwise the story of the wolf and the lamb drinking water at the same stream will be repeated time and again in our frontier history.

Recent Disturbances in Assam

By

Sri ARUN CHANDRA BARUAH

RECENTLY there had been disturbances throughout the State of Assam over the State-Language issue. There were acts of violence and mob-frenzy which the saner section of the people condemned with all vehemence. It is observed that an attempt has been made from certain quarters to put the entire blame on the Assamese people for the unhappy occurrences. The main purpose of this article is to examine as to why and how the troubles originated.

Before entering into the details of the occurrences, it is required to know the background of the Assam's State-Language issue.

Assam is the the easternmost State of the Republic of India with a total area of about 50,040 sq. miles (excluding N.E.F.A.) and a population of about 92 lakhs. Out of these 92 lakhs, 54 lakhs are Assamese and the rest are Khasis, Garos, Mizos, Bengalees, Manipurians, Hindustanis etc.

Assamese is one of the fourteen major languages recognised by our Constitution. As such it is the legitimate demand of the people of Assam to have Assamese as their State-Language. In fact the people have been agitating for introduction of Assamese as the official language since the dawn of her independence. But this question has long been kept pending by the Government, on the ground of their preoccupation with some other problems. The delay in declaration of Assamese as the State-Language of Assam has naturally brought in certain misgivings in the minds of the public. However, the resolution adopted in the month of April, 1960 by the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee in this regard helped the people in getting their doubts cleared. The resolutions fundamentally wanted Assamese to be immediately declared as the State-Language of Assam and same introduced in the six Districts of Brahmaputra

Valley in no time. As regards Cachar and four other Hills Districts, the introduction was proposed to be done by phases and meanwhile, all facilities for learning Assamese be extended to those whose mother tongue is other than Assamese. The resolutions further made provisions for proper safeguard of the minority groups—their language and culture. All right-thinking people have hailed the A.P.C.C. resolution as it has suggested a way out of the language tangle.

The Bengalees in Assam—especially those living in Cachar have vehemently opposed the A.P.C.C. resolution in the All Assam Bengalee Language Conference held at Silchar in July, 1960. Not only that, they have taken a stand to see that Assamese is never made the State Language of Assam. In Shillong, the Bengalee people with the help of some misguided Khasi youngmen brought out a procession, shouting slogans, such as, "Assamese language is Donkey's language," "Assamese Bhasako jota maro" and etc. At Mariani and Lumding, Assamese people including students were assaulted. Shri Surya Bora, an Assamese officer of the Railway Dept. was butchered at Siliguri. At the same place, Shri H. Goswami, the leader of the Opposition in the Assam Legislative Assembly was assaulted and seriously injured by the hooligans.

In Cachar, the Assamese officers were slighted and abused in filthy languages. These Assamese were stabbed in Cachar and many more assaulted. Assamese people still restrained themselves in the face of all these provocations. But the situation flared up after the killing of an innocent College student in the Police firing at Gauhati.

The Assamese people are peace-loving by nature. But there is a limit to everything. They expressed their resentment at the stand taken by their Bengalee brethren over the

Immortal India (Vol. 2). By J. H. Dave. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 2.*

Thirtha cult is a peculiarly Indian one. Year after year millions of men flock the shrines to worship and exchange their culture. In dealing with about 25 more shrines the author has enabled us to have a peep into ancient India or "Immortal India." Freely quoting from Sanskrit verses the writer is able to emphasise the importance of these shrines. There are also plates in arts and a map showing the location of Thirthas.

The Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo. By Rishabhchandra. Price Rs. Nine. Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry.

This is a reprint of a work already published in 1953. It meets a pressing demand for a reprint of the authentic teaching of Aurobindo with its divine dynamism, destructive of all dross and decay and developing in integration and illumination. Yoga, its Nature, Its Integral Liberation, Its Integral Transformation, and Its Integral Perfection are lucidly elaborated.

Satyagraha And The State. By K. Santhanam. Asia Publishing House, Bombay Rs. 6.

This well informing concise book of sixteen chapters deals with the techniques of Satyagraha as initiated by the Father of the Nation—Mahatma Gandhi. The present day mania among people is to offer satyagraha for any purpose to redress grievances. The true essentials of Satyagraha are those propounded by Gandhiji and the author a tried congressman makes his pertinent observations and views on the topics dealt with. The Chief Justice of India in his foreword to the book truly remarks "Unless he (satyagrahi) has cultivated these basic virtues, he will not have qualified himself for being a true Satyagrahi."

Trail Of The Restless Gun. By Will Hickok. Price. 25 cents. Signet Book. New York.

It is a sign of the times that just as they used to say, a man takes a drink, the drink takes a drink, and drink takes the man, this story started as a NBC Television melodrama has now become a "novel", and will finally end up as a classic of characterisation film. The Paxtons are most interesting types of Wild Western Ranch Life. The shrewish Stella, the undisciplined trigger-happy Cole, "experimental mood" Jane live and impress the imagination in the fast-moving furious writing.

The Philosophy of the Beautiful. By P. N. Srinivasachari. Second Edition Price Rs. Three. Sri Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras 4.

Melancholy interest attaches to this reprint of the original edition 1942 (which itself was a redaction of Madras University Lectures delivered in 1933), as the versatile, venerable, author, who was affability and erudition mixed in an alchemy of rare spiritual insight, has passed to the beyond to instruct and amuse the immortals recently. Keats's thesis that "Truth is Beauty and Beauty Truth," is expanded and expounded with a facility and finesse which none can hope to approach, let alone excel or imitate. Compressed writing shines like polished diamonds and precious stones on every page like "Rasa Lila is really the Eternal Dance of Divine Lore in Human Hearts." Only a P.N.S. would have dared and successfully and joyously to say "Divine Lore" instead of "Divine Love."

19. Origin And Development Of Caste. By G. K. Pillai. Price Rs. Five. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad 3.

This is a more substantial work than the Hindu Gods and Hidden Mysteries of the author who is Director of the Centre of Indology, Allahabad. The blurb says the author proves that Caste is based on Totemism and ancestor-worship which curtails the liberty of inter-dining and inter-marriage. A medley of curious information has been patiently collected and makes most interesting reading. Thus it would seem the Brahmana son's share was goats and the Sudra son's share was sheep and so the law was first in favour of the Sudra. Justice Ramesam used to say that Clive's sepoys gave the soft rice lacking in minerals and vitamins to the whites and drank off the nutritious congee themselves. Suddenly, the author at page 217 says Caste is a national asset and the decay of arts and crafts is due to the disintegration of caste. The author very properly concludes that the Non-Brahman classes should not fall into the error of trying to become "Imitation twice-borns" but study their traditions and inheritance and be ambitious to become efficient. But it is a pretty long and tortuous path he takes to lead the patient reader to reach this unquestionable conclusion.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

TIBET

PROTEST AGAINST DETENTION

Representations had been made by the Government of India both at Peking and Delhi (Chinese Embassy), regarding the reported detention of Indian nationals in Tibet in concentration camps for 'brain washing,' but no satisfactory reply has so far been received from the Chinese Government nor was here reported amelioration of their difficulties, Mr. Sadat Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the External Affairs Minister, informed Mr. P. G. Debband and two others in a written answer in the Lok Sabha last month.

MALAYA

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA ENDS

Indian immigration to Malaya, which in the peak year of 1926, flowed at the rate of more than 149,000 has now virtually ended according to the annual report of the South Indian Labour Fund Board.

Since 1938 there has been no assistance given by the Indian Immigration Fund to those who wished to come to Malaya from India.

The report said that before 1941, Indian labourers did not come with the intention of settling permanently in Malaya but only of working a few years and then returning to their villages in India.

UGANDA

PREPARATION FOR MASS EXODUS

It is reported that Uganda's 80,000 Asians are getting ready for a mass exodus to India in fear of a repetition at Kampala of the Congo troubles.

Shipping firms have closed their books for booking accommodation, including deck passages, on all India-bound ships until next April. Hundreds of Asians are reported to be still besieging shipping offices for berths.

Passport agencies confirm an all-time rush. One agency said that many Asians, illiterate and born in Uganda, who have never held passports, were now wanting them.

CEYLON

1,482 INDIANS ASKED TO QUIT

Two thousand two hundred and fifty-five Indian nationals left Ceylon from the middle of February, 1960, to the end of May, 1960—1,023 of them on being served with quit notices by the Government of Ceylon and 1,232 voluntarily.

The number of Indians who left Ceylon during January, 1960, and up to the middle of February 1960, was 973—459 on quit notices and the rest voluntarily.

These details were given to the Lok Sabha last month in a written reply to Mr. D. C. Sharma.

PAKISTAN

INDIAN BUSINESSMEN

The Finance Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Mahomed Shoaib, was quoted by a Pakistan news agency recently as having declared that the Government of Pakistan was giving Indian industrialists in Pakistan the same treatment as investors from any other country.

The news agency said Mr. Shoaib denied Indian Press reports that the Government of Pakistan was discriminating against Indian businessmen or industrialists and creating hurdles in the way of their business in Pakistan.

He said Indian industrialists were given "all facilities such as foreign exchange needed for the import of raw materials for their factories."

BURMA

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIANS

Prime Minister Nehru said in the Lok Sabha on Aug. 26, that the Burmese land legislation did not discriminate against Indians.

Replying to a series of questions, he said that the legislation was equally applicable to Burmese and non-Burmese. It was possible that in its implementation certain hardships might be caused to Indians. Individual cases of hardship were taken up on their merits by the Indian Embassy with the Burmese Government for relief.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Aug. 1. Lok Sabha meets in New Delhi.
—India and Switzerland sign a Credit Agreement.
- Aug. 2. Major-General Yadunath Singh former military Secretary to the President of India is dead.
—China withdraws her troops from the 20 kilometer demilitarised Zone in Nepal's border.
- Aug. 3. U. N. Forces' entry into Katanga is suspended.
- Aug. 4. Madras D. M. K. Party decides not to hold demonstrations during President's visit.
- Aug. 6. Mr. R. S. Pelpola is unanimously elected Speaker of the House of Representatives of Ceylon.
—President Prasad arrives in Madras.
- Aug. 7. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit arrives in Bombay on her way to Delhi.
- Aug. 8. Lumumba and Nkrumah decide to set up a joint High Command of their forces.
- Aug. 9. U. N. Security Council asks Belgians to quit Katanga.
—Lok Sabha approves action taken by government in regard to the recent strike of the Central Government employees.
—Army Coup in Laos overthrows government and seizes power.
- Aug. 10. Riots in Congo :
- Aug. 11. Mr. Nehru announces at a Press Conference in New Delhi that Hindi will not be imposed and that English will continue indefinitely.
- Aug. 12. U. N. Forces enter Katanga under the personal command of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld.
- Aug. 13. Belgians withdraw from Katanga.
- Aug. 14. Mr. Arun Kumar Roy is sworn in as Comptroller and Auditor-General of India.
- Aug. 15. Independence Day celebrations throughout India : President Prasad participates in Madras.
- Aug. 16. Cypress becomes Republic : 82 years of British Rule ends.
- Aug. 17. Premier Patrice Lumumba announces his cabinet's decision to place Congo Republic under martial Law for six months.
- Aug. 18. Nehru announces intense safeguarding of Himalayan border in the Lok Sabha.
- Aug. 19. U. N. Disarmament Commission calls unanimously for the earliest possible continuation of international negotiations to end the arms race.
—Francis Gary Powers, the American U-2 Pilot is sentenced to 10 year's imprisonment by the Soviet Military Court.
- Aug. 20. Lord Casey, former Governor of Bengal and Australian Minister of Foreign affairs arrives in New Delhi and calls on Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan.
- Aug. 21. Premier Bakshighulam Mohammad is elected unopposed as President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference for 3 years.
- Aug. 22. Security Council endorses Hammarskjöld's stand and averts a crisis in Congo.
- Aug. 23. Mr. V. Molotov ex-Soviet Foreign Minister is appointed Russia's permanent Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.
- Aug. 24. India lodges strong protest with Peking against continued violations in Indian air space by China.
- Aug. 25. 17th Olympic games open in Rome.
- Aug. 26. Lumumba wants U. N. forces to quit after the Belgians leave.
- Aug. 2. China and Afghanistan sign a treaty of friendship.
- Aug. 28. Mr. Rajeswar Dayal India's High Commissioner in Karachi and Special Envoy Designate to U. N. Secretary-General leaves India for New York.
- Aug. 29. Tanganyika goes to polls.
—Premier Hazza Majali of Jordan and other officials are killed in an explosion.
—Congolese and Katanga troops clash but with no casualties.
- Aug. 30. Withdrawal of Belgian army from Congo is completed.
- Aug. 31. Lumumba's forces are driven out of Bakwanga capital of Diamond Republic.

READERS' DIGEST

INDISCIPLINE IN ACADEMIC LIFE

Commenting on the rowdy scenes enacted by the I.Sc. students this year at several examination centres in Calcutta and elsewhere, the *Radical Humanist* observes that students thought it more convenient to be violent and walk out of the examination hall than to grapple with the so-called stiff questions.

"They started the unsavoury drama by raising slogans and ended by showing clenched fists to their Principals and Professors so that the chaos might be complete. The spectacle of students man-handling their teachers has become a heinous reality for sometime past. It is no use merely bemoaning the fact that far removed are to-day's students in character and conduct from their brethren two decades ago. The way they dress themselves, the manner they talk, their general behaviour—everything about them proclaims a profanation of the sacred ideals of a learner's pursuit. Devotion, reverence, honesty seems to have ceased to be the guiding principles of our academic life. The objective of somehow getting stamped with an academic qualification has long since impaired the true ideals of a learner's life. A student to-day is everything else but a true learner. He is a football-fan, an aspirant for political leadership, a prospective film-star, a future speculator in land and houses, a potential income-tax practitioner all rolled into one. In his future life he may be any of these with an ill-formed character, a shallow and often an unwholesome attitude to life and a morality not very clean. In one word the student has gone off the right track. To restore him back to the track is, therefore, the core of the problem. The guardians may find it easy, for reasons very understandable, to hold the Government responsible for the problem. This is patently denying their own share in the sad fall of the student community."

Misconduct amongst students is to be traced to the passing of a sense of profundity and a feeling of sacredness about life not only from the student community but also from their betters and superiors.

"This is an inevitable result of succumbing, body and soul, to the very many trying and discomfiting circumstances of our life. Everybody to-day seems to have realised the great

lesson that life is some job that has either to be endured unto death or to be made a success of. Neither of these two attitudes to life conduces to the kind of a wholesome, joyous, fruitful life that should be one's ideal. In the absence of such an ideal of life none can think very highly of life. How can one trust the task of growing and forming the learner's mind to a man who has no ideal of life whatsoever and who has surrendered to the lures of an easy life which is his reaction to a troubled and trying life? All this seemingly beating about the bush is to be able to see rightly the Government's role in the sphere of education.

C. R. ON INDIA'S DEFENCE

Active defence against Chinese aggression need not imply a general abandonment of India's policy of neutralism and non-alignment in the cold war, says, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in a letter published in London on Aug. 18 in the current issue of the weekly *Peace News*.

The letter seeks to correct the impression given by an earlier statement, also quoted in the *Peace News*, in which Mr. Rajagopalachari had appeared to argue that the only legitimate and wise course for India in the present circumstances was to drop the isolationist policy and "get into closer bonds of alliance with the world Powers that are ranged against Communism."

Admitting that India's non-alignment policy "has been badly mauled by the logic of Chinese aggression," Mr. Rajagopalachari writes: "Dedication to the cause of peace and objection to the enlargement of the field of the cold war do not mean that India should surrender to aggression on her borders or not seek moral power from the support of friends. Neither do I want that our outlook on the wider issue of peace should be deemed as having lapsed on account of my plea for active defence against the aggression of China."

"Ideals sometimes get us into logical difficulties." Mr. Rajagopalachari adds, "I feel that self-defence against local aggression as well as neutralism in the cold war between East and West can both stand. My convictions on neutralism and unilateralism are too deep to be shattered by these disturbing factors, arising out of aggression."

TERCENTENARY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

On November 28, 1660 the Royal Society of London—the oldest and most distinguished scientific society in the world—was founded. Today it acts as a kind of nerve-centre for science in Britain, says the *Unesco*. Celebrations to mark its 300th anniversary were held in London recently.

Scientists from all over the Commonwealth and from many other countries gathered in London shortly for the tercentenary celebrations of the Royal Society. Special honorary degree ceremonies, receptions and lectures were arranged. Among places of scientific and historic interest visited are the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; the Greenwich Royal Observatory (with which the Society has been closely associated since 1675); the Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell; and Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The opening ceremony took place in the Royal Albert Hall on July 19. Her Majesty The Queen (the Society's Patron) and the Duke of Edinburgh (himself a Fellow of the Society) were present. The Queen made the formal opening address.

The Royal Society of London can claim a longer continuous existence than any other Academy of Sciences in the world. In its Royal Charter, granted by Charles II in 1662, its purpose is stated as being 'the promotion of natural knowledge.' Its Fellows are free and independent agents, but the Society provides them with the means of publication and offers a sensitive mechanism for consultation and the exchange of views on every kind of scientific matter.

The total fellowship is about 660 (including some 60 foreign members), and there are about 300 candidates every year. 25 are elected annually from countries in the Commonwealth, and four from foreign countries. A few distinguished non-scientists, one being Sir Winston Churchill, are also elected. All the great names in British science are to be found in the annals of the Society, and many of the world's most famous men of science are in the roll of foreign members.

In the field of natural sciences, the Society is recognised as the National Academy of Sciences, and is responsible for Britain's international scientific relations. Unlike some European scientific academies, its activities do

not include literature, history and philosophy, which are the provinces of the British Academy. At weekly meetings, the Society—whose affairs are managed by a Council of 21 members—discusses new papers, and sometimes has special gatherings to which leading scientists from all over the world are invited.

Although it has always been independent of State control, the Society has always been in close contact with the State. Its advice has been sought by statesmen and Government departments, and it has often brought to the notice of the Government scientific matters on which action is required in the national interest. The Society administers on behalf of the Government annual grants voted by Parliament in aid of scientific research and publications, international research in Britain and for international research organisations and scientific congresses. It is responsible, too, for the national space research programme.

The Society's National Committee for the International Geophysical Year played a leading part in planning that vast enterprise, and supervised the Society's Antarctic Expedition, which occupied a base at Halley Bay (in the Falkland Islands Dependencies) from 1956 to 1959. In 1946, 114 delegates from all parts of the Commonwealth attended the Royal Society Empire Scientific Conference, at which the subjects for discussion included nutrition, medical science in general, scientific information services and the mineral resources of the Commonwealth. Friendly contact is maintained with all the world's national scientific societies. Delegations and lecturers have been exchanged with Russia and the Society has done much to organise the tracking of Russian artificial satellites (sputniks). It also advises the Government on the natural sciences programme for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Though the vast development of physical and biological research during the 19th century led to the creation of many specialist societies, the Royal Society remains at their head as the one great institution concerned with the whole wide realm of nature, and elects into its ranks the most prominent representatives of every department of science.

In a famous phrase Sir Isaac Newton, discoverer of the law of gravity, confessed: "If I have seen further, it is by standing on the

shoulders of giants". The Society of which he was the glory and the President enables its Fellows today to stand on the commanding, shoulders of its long experience and ample facilities. It aims to further the co-operation of men of science without boundaries of race or creed. Its principles are still the same as those expressed nearly 300 years ago by its Secretary, Henry Oldenburg, in a letter to the great Dutch Jewish philosopher Spinoza: "Come then, excellent Sir, and banish all fear of stirring up the pigmies of our time; long enough have sacrifices been made to ignorance and absurdity; let us spread the sails of true knowledge, and search more deeply into the innermost parts of nature than has been done hitherto".

THE CRISIS OF CULTURE IN UNIVERSITIES

The humanities as they are studied in our Universities are partly indigenous and partly accidental, says Prof. A. M. Ghose in the course of an article in the *Aryan Path*. But what is indigenous has been considerably accidentalized and what is occidental has often been dyed in the Indian hue.

"We have on the one hand tried to explain many of our ancient beliefs and superstitions in the light of modern scientific truths; on the other hand, many modern ideas, e.g., democracy, secularism, etc., are said to be echoes of our ancient though lost ideals. We realize the true nature of the crisis when we take into account the fact that modern Indian scientists have been rarely inspired by ancient scientists like, say, Kapila or Kanada, Aryabhatta or Varahamihira, or, for that matter, by the Arab scientists like Al Khwarizmi and Ibn Hayyan, Al Razi and Ibn Sina. In the humanities the Upanishads, the *Gita* and the *Koran* are frequently invoked, although, as a matter of fact, the names of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes and Locke, or Hume, Mill and Adam Smith or Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe, for example, are perhaps more familiar to us than the great philosophers and poets of China, Persia and India."

We look to the universities for guidance and inspiration, for, as Whitehead said, "The cultural histories of Italy, of France, of Germany, of Holland, of Scotland, of England of the United States, bear witness to the influence of universities."

"In this country, unfortunately, the universities have not been successful, at least in recent times, in making any substantial contribution to what has been called its "cultural history." I confess that universities form a part of the larger life of the society and when the society has no recognizable "form of life" it is idle to expect the universities to be creative."

The crisis we face has to be grasped in a comprehensive way. To be sure, what we require today is not only a deeper understanding of the wisdom of this country but also an equally profound acquaintance with the wisdom, of Europe, China, Persia and Africa.

"We face the grave danger of removing ourselves away from others in the name of cultural emancipation. We require scholars with imagination who could communicate to us the spirit of those civilizations. We also want men who could show how and where the scientific wisdom can fertilize and enrich the literary and philosophical tendencies. The chasm between the two great traditions, the scientific and the literary, nourished by two different world-views, is responsible for the crisis which, if neglected, may be disastrous."

THEOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

Discussing where Theosophy and Science, meet, Mr. Herbert Peron says in an article in *The Theosophist* that there is a minority of scientists, a very small minority, who go beyond the confines of the visible world for the solutions of the inexplicable, when the solution appears impossible otherwise. Their attitude is well represented by men like Dr. Robert Broom of South Africa, who talks about "the spiritual agencies behind the phenomenal world."

Man on this earth should claim no uniqueness because he lives on a planet. There are billions of planets, some of them, no doubt, peopled.

"But when the measure of man is taken within the animal framework, he appears unique. Darwinists assert that man is merely an extension of the animal, therefore not unique. On the form side, man may not be unique; functionally, however, he is. His achievements attest to that. Theosophy stresses man's uniqueness; and what has made him unique is the very special impulse, millions of years ago, that separated him sharply and completely, from the lower animals.

INDIAN ALPHABETS

India's alphabets are all of a single piece, writes Ram Manohar Lohia in *Mankind*. Except Urdu they are nearly 99 per cent alike in sound and over 80 per cent alike in shape. That all other alphabets of India are variants of Nagri would perhaps be wrong historically but it would be more correct to say that all alphabets of India, including Nagri, are variants of one another.

"Bengali, Uria, Asamia, and Mythil are all variants of a single language, which was perhaps at one time Eastern Prakrit or Magadhi. Their sounds, syntax, words and pronunciation are so similar. In recentmost past, Bengali has been somewhat ahead of the other three variants, and one is likely to make the mistake of regarding Bengali as the source from which the other three are derived. In reality, all four are derived from the single source of Eastern Prakrit. In similar manner all the alphabets of India are derived from a single source."

In this connection Dr. Lohia pays a tribute to poets like Niranjan Bhagat who writes Gujarati but does not allow his publisher to use a script other than Nagri. In fact, he says:

"One of my grouses against Mahatma Gandhi is that he allowed the Gujarati script for his Gujarati publications and also against Poet Tagore that he similarly allowed the Bengali script, while both could and should have obliged their publishers to use the Nagri script. I do not understand why Bengalis and Gujaratis should want to preserve their separate scripts, even if the Tamil desire is a little more firmly grounded though as unreasonable. These separate scripts are against the national interest, even against the narrow and selfish interests of those who use them. And yet, this great unreason continues."

BUDDHISM IS ONE

In its long course Buddhism found itself confronted with the processes of history. It had at times to change its form of presentation to suit the needs of people of different countries and different times. But it has always retained its essential features. In this way, according to Dr. R. L. Soni in the *Maha Bodhi* Buddhism attracted to itself a universal following. Also, Buddhism in itself is universal in appeal. The operation of the different conditions in different times and climes made

its values wear differing garb in different countries. At heart, however, it remained one notwithstanding such differences.

The greatest beauty of Buddhism is that it is not bound by the narrow confines of conformity:

"Within the four walls of its *Four Universal Truths* there is enough elasticity and suppleness for individual self-expression. This occasioned its varied shapes in different countries to suit the local national and racial requirements."

There are two aspects of Buddhism, the outer and the inner. The former deals with the ethical life and the spiritual foundations.

"While the former gives form, the latter gives life to Buddhism: in fact the latter reflects the real spirit of the *Dhamma*. While the form of Buddhism may vary from time to time and from clime to clime, the spirit of it remains eternal. The spirit endures. While we have sometimes known even the denial of Buddhism in its various forms, denial of the spirit of the *Dhamma* we never have known. It is this spirit which is the root of all the forms of Buddhism. It is in it that Buddhism unites and becomes one. We must look for it and adore it, for, in it is the key for the world-wide Buddhist unity."

BOOKS FOR GROWING MINDS

Very few people in our country write original stories for children. Most of the stories in the books reaching our children are as old as the hills, reproduced, may be in different languages, says C. G. Thyagaraju in *Book News*. They are no doubt fascinating, yet they are old, and are likely to lose the grip of the readers.

"Aesop's Fables, Grimm's Fairy Tales and Arabian Nights seldom fail to catch the imagination of the child, yet how much more realistic will it be if our boys and girls have the pleasure of reading stories in an Indian setting—our countryside, our familiar animals and birds and our own people, men and women and boys and girls, dressed in our own costumes. It is a well-known fact that it is easier to rouse the imagination of the child if the descriptions of the country and the men, women, children and animals described in the story belong to its native land."

The new unexplored field can well be exploited by story-writers, especially in the different Indian languages.

"This will save the 'tedium of translating stories from one language into another and the energies of the author can well be utilised and diverted to something creative and original, more in keeping with the life and surroundings of the readers for whom the stories are intended. It may also be mentioned that stories translated from one language into another, especially from a foreign language into an Indian language, lose much of their vigour and colour during the process of translation, since it is difficult to translate some of the idioms and expressions used in English into many of the Indian languages. All these can be overcome if storywriters in our country take upon themselves the task of enriching the literature for our boys and girls by writing original stories."

PASTERNAK'S NEW POEM

The Soviet poet and writer, Boris Pasternak, who was forced by Moscow to reject the world's greatest award in literature, the Nobel Prize, for his story of the Russian Revolution, "Doctor Zhivago" wrote a new poem called "The Nobel Prize", writes Anthony Brown, Correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, London.

Mr. Pasternak gave the poem to me for publication at the end of a three-hour interview at his country mansion, 15 miles southwest of Moscow, during my visit to Russia to report the 21st. Party Congress.

Written in pencil in Russian Mr. Pasternak continued his struggle with individual members of the Soviet Government and the whole of the powerful Soviet Writers Union for the right of free expression in the U.S.S.R. of religious and political beliefs.

This is the poem, as interpreted literally by one of the best poetry translators available in London:

I am lost like a beast in an enclosure,
Somewhere are people, freedom and light
Behind me is the noise of pursuit,
And there is no way out.
Dark forest by the shore of the lake,
Stump of fallen fir tree,
Here I am cut off from everything,
Whatever shall be is the same to me.

But what wicked thing have I done.
I, the "murderer" and "villain"?
I, who force the whole world to cry
Over the beauty of land.
But, in any case, I am near my grave,
And I believe the time will come,
When the spirit of good will conquer
Wickedness and infamy.

Following the publication of "Doctor Zhivago," Mr. Pasternak—one of the greatest poets and almost the only survivor of the Stalinist era purges of writers and poets—was nearly expelled from the Soviet Union.

"The Nobel Prize" reflects Pasternak's great agony of mind and concern for the future as sections of the Government and the Soviet Writers' Union press for his ejection from his home, forfeiture of all royalties on his poems and translations in the Soviet Union—which made him penniless—and possible imprisonment for "literary deviationism."

The Writer's Union also accused the 68-year-old poet of "selling his nation for 30 pieces of silver" by writing and publishing "Doctor Zhivago."

In the interview, Mr. Pasternak told me that he realised fully that publication in the West of "The Nobel Prize" might further gravely endanger his personal safety. But in permitting publication of this most moving defence of the moral stand he was taking, it is unlikely that serious legal action would be taken against him without the personal assent of Mr. Khrushchev.

The best-informed sources in Moscow told me that the Soviet leader is emerging not as a defender of Mr. Pasternak but as a mediator in the fight which is, at least in part, the outcome of personal jealousy of Pasternak's international literary stardom.

COMMUNISM THROUGH CONGRESS

If the present violent socialism is to be persisted in, we must take it that it is the Communist Party that rules India, observes C. R. in *Current* by laying down policies for the Congress to follow, without themselves undertaking the risk or the blame.

INDIAN CHEMICAL RESEARCH

The products manufactured from Caustic-chlorine are many and vital to our comforts. Caustic soda, says a writer in *The American Reporter*, finds wide application in the manufacture of soap, textiles, vegetable oils, pulp and paper, rayon, chemicals and petroleum refining. Insecticides, plastics, dyestuff intermediates and solvents are some of the products fathered by chlorine, which is also used for bleaching and water purification.

"In India, where the raw materials for the production of caustic soda, such as salt, power, water and limestone, are in adequate supply, industry has still a long way to go toward self-sufficiency inasmuch as 55,000 tons of the chemicals were imported in 1957 as against 42,480 tons produced indigenously."

"One of the main reasons for this lag is that in the electrolytic process, predominantly employed in this country, for every ton of caustic soda produced, 0.8 to 0.85 ton of chlorine is also simultaneously produced. As the demand for chlorine is not commensurate with this rate of output, the Indian industrialists find caustic soda production costly."

Winning a competitive scholarship offered under the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration programme, Mr. Neelakantan Kalyanam, who has been with the Mettur chemical firm for over 15 years, proceeded to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in September 1957.

"On his return recently, Mr. Kalyanam told the writer how he was enabled to observe during his visit the U.S. practices in regard to caustic-chlorine production, and, in particular, the maximum utilization of chlorine."

"In the U. S. A.," Mr. Kalyanam said, "chlorine is considered as one of the dynamic chemicals of the caustic-chlorine industry. Most of the producers in the U.S. use their chlorine production themselves for selling as chlorine-based chemicals for use in synthetic rubbers, plastics, solvents, and insecticides, such as DDT and gammexane."

Impressed by the giant strides made in the U.S. through applied research on this and other facets of chemical industry, the Indian visitor advocates an organized programme of research in this country, laying emphasis on development of products and processes built around caustic and chlorine.

RURAL SCHOOLS IN MEXICO

This year Mexico is observing the 150th anniversary of the beginning of its struggle for independence. To mark the occasion and the importance of education in economic and social development, the Mexican authorities are launching an ambitious programme of school construction, to be carried out in several stages," says Mr. Antonio De Gamarra in the pages of UNESCO.

The first, already in progress, is the rapid construction—in 100 days—of 2,000 rural schools to be put into use in September, at the beginning of the autumn term. This operation was launched in early March when the President of the Republic, Senor Adolfo Lopez Mateos, and the Minister of Education, Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet attended the "send-off" of the first 200 "model rural classrooms." Thereafter pre-fabricated elements for 20 rural schools were despatched every day to various parts of the country.

Planning construction of these schools—pre-fabrication plus local materials and manpower—called for careful research and the study of resources available. "Our model rural school," said architect Pedro Ramirez Vasquez, administrator of the Federal School Construction Plan, "combines the most modern industrial and architectural techniques, on the one hand, with traditional methods of village craftsmanship using local materials, on the other."

Village builders, it was found, can put up walls and lay foundations and floors easily enough, but they often lack materials and techniques needed for cheap doors, windows and sanitary equipment. "Knowing this," said Mr. Vasquez, "and after having studied the resources available in each area, we drew up the blue-prints of the model rural school, which includes a 4-room lodging for the teacher."

Under this plan the villagers contribute local materials for the floors, walls and roofing; while the Government provides the metal framework, windows and doors, the furnishings and teaching equipment, and the electrical and sanitary installations. The construction of these 2,000 schools will cost the Mexican treasury 70,000,000 pesos—36,000 per school (about \$2,800), a very low figure, considering the present building costs and the quality of the design and materials used.

STUDY OF ENGLISH

Commenting on the editorial on "study of English in *The Hindu Weekly Review* and also Mr. K. Santhanam's article on English teaching in Secondary schools" Mr. K. N. Parameswaran of Brandeis University, Massachusetts writes:

"Since this problem of medium or instruction in colleges is one of the most vital issues which should be discussed freely and objectively, I consider it worthwhile to bring forth some points for serious consideration. Everybody will approve that a hasty, fanatical approach is no solution. The first question which arises is, 'Can we afford to replace English without an adequate alternative?' It is essential that each people should have their own language as the medium of instruction so that education reaches all people in all the various branches of studies. Before bringing forth any change in the studies, before bringing forth any change in the system of education one should consider if an immediate change-over will not jeopardise the quality of education in at least the most important fields of science and technology, for our progress depends upon scientific and technological advancement. Two factors are worth considering at this point. (1) the availability of adequate books and special treatises in the respective regional languages on all the various branches of science and technology; (2) an active research programme in editing and publishing current research journals (and also the old ones) and the translation of research publications from at least English to the respective regional languages. In such a research programme one should include a separate plan for revising text-books for elementary and higher school education so as to include all the modern developments in all the branches of the subjects taught comprehensively. I have seen that in most of our schools and colleges the same old things are taught without enlightening the students on the modern developments. This requires an active research action to study, investigate and translate all the possible treatises into the respective regional languages. I wish the Government of Madras would initiate such a scheme and show the way to others. If we want that the standards of our intellectual progress do not suffer deterioration in future years, the above mentioned research programmes should be given priority before any experimentation on replacing English."

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

In the *Orient Review* Sri Basanta Chatterje points out the tolerance is the distinguishing characteristic of Hinduism through the ages. Take the instance of Jesus and the Jews.

Although Jesus did not challenge the authority of the Old Testament the Jews were angry that Jesus preached some new doctrines which were not found in the Old Testament.

"They took him to Pilate, the Governor. Pilate did not find anything criminal in Jesus. But the crowd shouted that Jesus must be crucified. At last Pilate reluctantly made him over to the crowd who mocked him as the King of the Jews. Putting a crown of thorn on his head they spat on him and ultimately crucified him. They did not spare him even when he was in agony on the cross. 'I thou be the son of God come down from the cross,' they said."

Contrast with this the treatment accorded by the Hindus to the Buddha. Buddha directly challenged the authority of the Vedas.

"He condemned as sinful Vedic sacrifices because animals were sacrificed therein. He preached his new religion at Benaras and Gaya considered most sacred by the Hindus. But the Hindus did not persecute him. They even declared that the Buddha was an incarnation of God! Thus in spite of the revolt against the traditional religion of the Hindus they did not treat the Buddha as an enemy. On the other hand they properly appreciated the great renunciation made by the Buddha. This is an instance which shows that in practical life the Hindus followed the precept of Sri Krishna who said in the Gita "In whatever way men may worship me, in that way I shower my favour on them." (Gita IV—II). No other religion contains such a liberal teaching.

"THE MALABAR HERALD"

The "Malabar Herald Weekly" now in its 56th year of publication in its shipping supplement recently issued has many topical articles on the the Achievements of Indian Shipping after India attained Independence. "A Survey of Indian Shipping" by Smt. S. Morarjee gives a brief survey of the Industry and its needs. There are over a dozen articles of great interest on the above topic.

THE PROBLEM OF PROSTITUTION

A United Nations report published some time ago says that professional prostitutes particularly in Europe and North America, now faced competition from promiscuous "good time girls" seeking luxury or comradeship.

Other points made in the report are that prostitution should not be "regulated" or allowed to exist in licensed houses, and that detention does not deter offenders.

The report said making the trade a criminal offence would in fact hamper rehabilitation, and that in many countries the blaming of prostitutes for the spread of venereal diseases had become somewhat outmoded.

The report, prepared by the U.N. Secretariat, was discussed by the Social Commission on April 27.

Warning that the problem of prostitution could not be solved by "mere enactments" of Governments, the report said there was no standard preventive policy that could be transplanted from one country to another.

Effective prevention required a national survey of prostitution's characteristics and extent, and, its concentration in certain areas.

The report continued: "It has been observed that there have come into being particularly in certain parts of Europe and North America, what are generally known as good-time girls.

"To many of them, promiscuity becomes part of their mode of living because it enables them to obtain the luxuries they crave or the companionship they lack."

".....The trend is apparently towards a decreasing demand for prostitution."

On the question of venereal diseases, it added: "In many places the venereal peril appears now to be threatening young people more through free 'sexual intercourse than through prostitution itself'."

On the question of trafficking in persons and the exploitation of prostitutes, the report said the majority of Governments had said no cases of international trafficking had been discovered. Others reported only a few cases committed or attempted.

The Report points out, however that this information was based on Government figures of offences recorded, and did not reflect the number of offences actually committed.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN JAPAN

According to basic law on Education of 1955, equal opportunities should be provided to all in Japan, irrespective of caste, creed, and sex. Principle of co-education was also established which proved to be an epoch of reforms, says Shri Shamsuddin in *Prema*. In spite of all endeavours, women education still suffers for various reasons. The main reason is poverty, which imposes a burden on women. In society women have a lower status than that of a man. The field of professions for women is also limited.

In Japan, family women are not given equal treatment. Parents think more of giving household training to their daughters than to give them higher education. Up to Secondary Education only, co-education and equality to certain extent has been realised. As regards higher education, the ratio is 1 woman to 5 men."

SANKARA AND RAMANUJA

In a study of Sankara and Ramanuja Dr. Rama Chaudury says in a paper published in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture* that in a sense Sankara does not supplant but only supplement Ramanuja.

"In fact, monotheism and monism—these two stages—represent two fundamental hankerings of men, viz. intellectual and emotional. To some, the sublime intellectual realization that 'I am Brahman' affords the highest possible bliss and peace. To others, on the other hand, the lovable, emotional upsurge that 'I am the devoted slave, or beloved friend of God' produces a much greater sense of fulfilment than anything else on earth. To suit such devotees of different inclinations and capacities, different *sadhanas* or spiritual paths have been recommended by Indian philosophers who from time immemorial have held fast to that great and good doctrine, namely, 'Truth is one, indeed, but many are the ways through which it can be attained.'"

From this standpoint, there is, indeed, no question whatsoever of any conflict between Sankara and Ramanuja. "After all, the serene and sublime truth preached by the Vedanta is one and the same, namely, the essential divinity of man, nay, of the entire universe; and once this is realized, all other questions of details simply melt away."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

DISARMAMENT TALKS

The U. N. Disarmament Commission called for "the earliest possible continuation of international negotiations" to end the arms race on Aug. 18.

In the absence of any objection to the slightly revised draft resolution introduced by India on behalf of the six Powers, the Chairman Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico, declared the resolution adopted by acclamation.

The resolution proposed that the General Assembly which will meet this month "give earnest consideration to the question of disarmament" and that the Disarmament Commission continue in being and be convened whenever deemed necessary."

In the main operative paragraph, the resolution said the Commission considered it "necessary and recommends that in view of the urgency of the problem continued efforts be made for the earliest possible continuation of international negotiations to achieve a constructive solution of the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control."

The original draft was revised to the above effect on the suggestion of Canada.

The Soviet Union, which at one time had privately indicated it would boycott the session, endorsed the resolution which took account of Soviet objections to the revival of the Geneva ten-nation Committee talks which broke up last June consequent on Communist members' walk-out, objecting that the Western side was "not serious" about the negotiations.

Addressing the Commission before the revision of the original draft resolution, Mr. C. S. Jha of India said that, "if in this commission, we are prompted by considerations of any technical, dialectical or cold war advantage, the future integrity, even the future existence of this forum, might be compromised or made difficult."

Climaxing three days of debate, the 82-member organ adopted unanimously a resolution to this effect which was tabled by a group of six Powers—India, the U.A.R., Sweden, Yugoslavia, Mexico and Ecuador.

63

ANTI-PEKING 'MANIFESTO'

The Kremlin is circulating among world Communist parties an anti-Peking "manifesto" seeking to enlist mass support against China's challenge to its leadership of the Communist world, the *New York Herald Tribune* reported on Aug. 25.

A Washington dispatch to the newspaper said that existence of the document had been established "through information from behind the Iron Curtain and elsewhere and a summary of the manifesto's general line is available in high Government circles."

"The anti-Peking manifesto" (as it has been dubbed by Western diplomats) condemns those "dogmatists" who mechanically interpret what Lenin said 40 years ago to mean that nuclear war is inevitable and that war is the only means by which the Revolution can be made to triumph.

"The paper goes into detail as to why, in the nuclear age, the resort to war would be madness, especially since the triumph of Communism is inevitable anyway..."

"Premier Khrushchev's decision to get into all-out ideological battle with the Red Chinese, it is reported, came in mid-summer after it became evident that Peking would not keep its ideological differences quiet... Officials believe Mr. Khrushchev is deadly serious in his ideological bout with the Red Chinese because he cannot tolerate such a challenge to his leadership that has now openly occurred."

DE GAULLE'S LETTER TO KHRUSHCHEV

President de Gaulle has told Mr. Khrushchev that control of the different means of launching atomic bombs offers the best hope of practical progress towards disarmament.

In a letter to the Soviet Prime Minister, dated August 12, the text of which was released in Paris on Aug. 24 President de Gaulle said: "It is a question of preventing rockets, satellites, aircraft and ships from being specially constructed and equipped to launch such bombs, and it is naturally also a question of destroying those which are already constructed and equipped for this."

Utterances of the Day

PRESIDENT PRASAD'S MESSAGE

President Rajendra Prasad, in the course of his message to the people on the occasion of the Independence Day has called for strengthening and reinforcing the unity of the country. "Occasional happenings, howsoever casual, serve to remind us that there is something wanting in our picture of unity and that the integration of the various parts and regions is not complete as yet. I feel that it is as necessary to emphasise and reinvigorate those social moral concepts which had kept the feeling of oneness alive in the midst of adverse circumstances as to strengthen and reinforce the concrete achievement of political unity under one Constitution and one Republic, if we are keen on giving permanency and unsailable stability to our Republic," Dr. Prasad said.

MR. NEHRU ON WORLD SITUATION

The preservation of national unity and solidarity was the main theme of Prime Minister Nehru's address from the ramparts of the historic Red Fort at Delhi on the occasion of the Independence Day celebrations on 15th August.

Mr. Nehru asked the people to remember the "delicate world situation" where the atmosphere was being poisoned because of this "rattling of swords by the big and mighty" and their preparations for war. "This is a dangerous world we live in and any complacency on our part will be ruinous. We have to remember that if our unity weakens, then the reins of freedom that came into our hands through years and years of hard work and sacrifice can slip out of our hands."

PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN'S HOPE

Broadcasting on the Independence day, President Ayub Khan said that the future of South East Asia depended to a large extent on the relationship between India and Pakistan. President Ayub asked, "If there is real peace between the two, what is there to prevent an integrated development and economic policy between Iran, Pakistan, India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and even Indonesia and other countries of that region?"

President Ayub said that this could only happen if India could inspire confidence in her peaceful intentions and was prepared to resolve her quarrels with her neighbours in a spirit of large-heartedness.

"For the future of the teeming millions of these countries I pray that such light and statesmanship may dawn on India", he said.

Highlighting the Indo-Pakistan relations in his broadcast, President Ayub said, "Because of geographical and other factors the relationship with India is of major importance not only to us but, I believe, to India as well. We have made every conceivable effort to go out of our way to resolve our problems with that country even though the response from the Indian leadership has been very, very tardy indeed. In some matters, however, we have met with a measure of success but our major dispute with India, that is Kashmir, does not look like getting anywhere near its solution."

PANDIT PANT ON UNITY OF INDIA

Addressing the Central Zonal Council at New Delhi on Aug 28 Pandit Pant said that it was most unfortunate that even at this critical period of our national existence, linguistic fanaticism, provincialism and communalism should dissipate the energies and impede the progress of the emotional integration of the Indian people.

"While we are engaged in the great task of economic reconstruction", he said "we are faced with a challenge to the integrity of our country and the freedom of our people. This challenge should have fully awakened us to the imperative need for placing national solidarity above all interests and of mobilising fully our resources to build up the industrial and economic strength of the country".

SRI PRAKASA ON DEMOCRACY

Delivering the convocation address of the Bombay University on August 17, Sri Prakasa said: "I find four great ingredients of democracy which all of us must understand and appreciate, and according to which all of us should act if we are to make ourselves a truly democratic people. The first ingredient which is very patent and which curiously enough, we all seem inclined to forget all the time, is that we are all mortal; that nature will levy its toll on all of us, high and humble alike; and that no one can be depended upon to be our guide and mentor for all the time to come. Since no one is immortal, democracy dare not regard anyone as indispensable, and must be ready to fill up everyone's place as need should arise."

BORDER DEFENCE

Prime Minister Nehru in his reply to the foreign affairs debate in the Rajya Sabha on Aug. 18 gave a broad indication that India's defence policy had now undergone a radical change. Hitherto the Himalayas were considered impregnable and the question of defence on the northern border had never entered the Government's calculations.

Mr. Nehru said, after the Chinese incursions on the border, the question was being seriously considered whether there should be a change in the defence strategy of the country. The shift in the defence strategy involved enormous expenditure which would have a vital effect on the country's economy and development plans. The House finally approved Mr. Nehru's foreign policy.

Mr. Nehru declared "the active steps taken by the Government have reached a certain definite stage which give us confidence to meet any danger from the north." He stated that besides these active defence measures, an expensive programme of road-building had also been decided upon. He said it was not an easy matter for him to decide on the construction of roads in the mountainous areas in view of the pressure it would exercise on the country's economy. "Nevertheless, we have decided in favour and we have also given the programme top priority." He also revealed that the procedures laid down for the implementation of the programme were such that the new roads would be built in about one-third or even one-fourth of the normal time it would take if the Public Works Department undertook the work.

THE NAGALAND

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, announced in the Lok Sabha on August 1 that a new State to be called 'Nagaland' would be established within the Indian Union comprising the territory of the existing Naga Hills and the Tuensang area.

Mr. Nehru said the same person will be appointed as Governor of Assam and Nagaland and the existing jurisdiction of the Assam High Court over the area comprising the new State would continue.

There would be a transitional period during which an interim body would be constituted with representatives from every Naga tribe to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland. The Governor would have special responsibility for law and

order during this transitional period and for so long as the law and order situation continued to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities, Mr. Nehru said.

Prime Minister Nehru once again justified the decision of the Government to concede the demand for a separate Nagaland within the Indian Union. Replying to a two-hour debate on the question in the Lok Sabha on Aug. 18 Mr. Nehru emphasised that the new Nagaland was not being set up like other States by reorganisation in the form of adding or reducing territories, but only giving recognition to what had existed as a separate homogenous entity. Above all he stressed the need for considering it as a human problem and not raising political issues out of it.

No new point emerged from the debate and the Prime Minister devoted the best part of his 40 minutes reply to dealing with the circumstances that led to the formation of the Nagaland, the peculiar conditions that prevailed there and the reasons which prompted the Government to accept the demand. He indicated that it might take some time before necessary legislation was brought for ushering in the new State.

SECURITY STEPS IN ASSAM

In a 1,500-word policy statement simultaneously released in Shillong and New Delhi on Aug. 30, on the action they propose to take to deal with the law and order situation in Assam, the Assam Government enunciated a four-fold plan to ensure a sense of security and rehabilitation of refugees in the riot-stricken State.

The plan is: (1) Rehabilitation of the victims of the riots who have left their homes, and creation of an atmosphere of confidence and security among them; (2) Toning up of the administrative apparatus of the State, offending individual officers of Government who show partisanship to be dealt with firmly and to be suspended immediately; (3) Prompt and firm action against those who committed crimes including imposition of collective fines; and (4) Formulation of a code of academic discipline for students, a section of whom had played an "aggressive role" and indulged in lawlessness acts like organising strikes, demonstrations, hartals and demand days will be penalised by cancellation of scholarships, stipends and expulsion from educational institutions and barred from entering Government service.

PALAI CENTRAL BANK

Mr. Morarji Desai, Union Finance Minister, told the Lok Sabha on August 23 that small depositors in the Palai Central Bank which crashed last month would be paid in full upto Rs. 250. The balance of the available money would be paid on a *pro rata* basis. Mr. Desai said Government proposed to amend the Banking Companies Act to enable the above reliefs to be granted.

Mr. Desai assured the House that Government would take all steps to see that such closures did not occur in future, though he could not give any guarantee. As far as Kerala was concerned, there were as many as 100 small banks. He would like to have an amalgamation of some of the banks. Many of them were doing well.

Mr. Desai gave irrefutable facts and figures regarding the financial affairs of the Palai Bank to justify the action taken by the Reserve Bank.

The Finance Minister said that apart from the irrecoverable and sticky advances leading to a deterioration of the Bank's financial position, it was the run on the Bank which ultimately decided the issue. He said that within a period of one month, a sum of Rs. 35 lakhs had been withdrawn as a result of the run. He refuted the suggestion that the run which was started on June 24 had ceased before August 4 when the preliminary action was taken by the Reserve Bank.

INSURANCE OF BANK DEPOSITS

Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank, said that the Reserve Bank, in consultation with commercial banking community, was examining a proposal for a system of deposit insurance in the country.

Mr. Iengar, who was presiding over the annual general meeting of the Indian Institute of Bankers at Bombay on August 18 noted with satisfaction that despite difficulties, political and economic, the process of economic development of the country had gone on with sustained momentum during the last nine years. India's national income had shown an increase of about four per cent per year and per capita income nearly two per cent.

A detailed scheme for the Corporation, on the lines of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation in the United States prepared by a member of the Shroff Committee on Finance

for the private sector in 1954, was studied by the Committee which felt that it merited further examination by the banks.

Under the scheme, the Reserve Bank of India would have to start the Corporation with an initial capital of Rs. 5 crores, and the Corporation would have to insure the deposits of all banks admitted, upto a maximum of Rs. 5,000 for each depositor.

Banks admitted to the insurance scheme would have to pay a premium assessed at the rate of 1/16th of one per cent on their total deposits, the corresponding rate in the United States being 1/12th of one per cent subject to refund. When the Corporation works successfully a part of the premium would be refunded to the banks, as in the United States.

SOVIET HELP FOR 3RD PLAN

The Soviet Government have expressed their readiness to grant India an additional credit of 500 million roubles (about Rs. 60 crores) for the Third Five-year Plan. The Government of India have gratefully accepted this welcome assistance. The Soviet Government have already offered 1,500 million roubles (Rs. 180 crores) for the Third Plan.

The information is contained in a statement laid on the table of the Lok Sabha on 30th August by the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, in reply to a short notice question by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh.

NEW U. S. LOAN TO INDIA

An additional loan of 50 million dollars (about Rs. 23½ crores) for the Indian Railways has been approved by the United States Development Loan Fund authorities.

The loan was negotiated in Washington by a two-member Indian railway delegation consisting of Mr. Karnail Singh, Chairman and Mr. S. Jaganathan, Financial Commissioner of the Railway Board.

With the receipt of this fresh loan, the Indian Railways will have received 115 million dollars of loan assistance from the Development Fund. The two-man team had spent nearly four weeks in the United States and had negotiated earlier a 70 million dollar loan from the World Bank.

The entire foreign exchange requirements of the Indian Railways for the implementation of the Second Five-year Plan have been fully covered by these loans.

CONGRESS WOMEN'S CONGRESS

The first All-India Congress Women's Convention met at Trivandrum on 21st of this month, under the presidency of Smt. Indira Gandhi. Mr. Morarji Desai inaugurated the Convention by asking the women to shed what he called the fear of man. He asked women to end man's exploitation of women at the source by asserting themselves and not submit themselves to men.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi who presided fully endorsed Mr. Desai's views when she said he had put before the audience "our point of view" and it was better for a man to have done it than for a woman. Over three thousand delegates from all over the country participated in the proceedings. Observers from non-Congress Women's Organisations also attended.

VISIT OF CEYLON WOMEN'S TEAM

A Ceylon women's hockey team will pay a fortnight's visit to India during November to play a series of matches.

The All-India Women's Hockey Association has announced the following itinerary of the visiting team:

November 3: Test at Trivandrum; Nov. 4: Test or Exhibition match at Bangalore; Nov. 6: Exhibition match at Poona; Nov. 8: Test or Exhibition match at Ahmedabad; Nov. 10: Exhibition match at Jaipur; Nov. 11: Exhibition match at Delhi; Nov. 12: Test in Delhi; Nov. 13: Test at Lucknow; Nov. 14: Exhibition match at Bhopal; Nov. 15: Test at Nagpur.

The National hockey championship for women will be held at Trivandrum from October 23.

MISS UNIVERSE CONTEST

Miss Colombia won the International beauty contest at Los Angeles on Aug. 12.

Miss India (Miss Iona Pinto) gained second place; Miss Iceland third; Miss England fourth and Miss U. S. fifth.

The finalists were selected after they had appeared in three different divisions. These were playsuits, evening gowns and native costumes.

Miss India, who was the first representative of India to appear in any of the beauty contests in the United States, works as a stenographer in Bombay. She said her ambition is to be a fashion model.

U. K. WOMEN ATHLETES

British athletic chiefs are outraged at the Rome report that two European countries have challenged the sex of a British woman olympic competitor.

Angry denials were issued as 16 British girl entrants prepared to fly to Rome and face the embarrassing question: "Is one of you a male?"

Britain's athletics chiefs are ready to take legal action against the originators of what they are calling a "malicious and wicked rumour."

Mr. J. Crump, Amateur Athletic Board Secretary declared: "I am going to try to find the country and the people responsible for the rumour and take appropriate action."

The story that one of the British girls was "changing her sex" was put out by officials of two continental countries. Mr. Crump said "This year we have competed against two countries, France and Italy. I am drawing own conclusions. The disgusting allegation is entirely untrue. Every British girl competitor has produced a certificate of sex, according to rules."

Mrs. Mary Amies, Secretary of the Women's Amateur Athletic Association, denounced the rumour as the most "disgusting and most slanderous thing I have heard in my life. I shall demand a full investigation when I reach Rome. The whole thing is preposterous."

A certificate of sex became compulsory after incidents in international events where competitors entered as women were found later to have changed sex or to have been male at the time of the contest. A German girl was banned because it was felt she was not fully a female.

INDIRA DEVI CHOUDHRANI

Mrs. Indra Devi Choudharani, the well known Bengali litterateur, died at her residence at Santiniketan on August 12. She was 87.

Indira Devi was the daughter of the late Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, elder brother of Poet Rabinranath. Her husband, the late Mr. Pramatha Nath Choudhuri, was also a wellknown writer and an educationist.

Besides being connected with various cultural organisations in the State Indira Devi was the interim Vice-Chancellor of the Visva Bharati University in 1956.

THE 17th OLYMPIC GAMES

In a remarkable scene of colour and drama, Mr. G. Gronchi, President of the Italian Republic inaugurated the 17th Olympic Games in the Foro Italico Stadium at Rome on Aug. 25. Over the wide oval of the Stadium a thin layer of cloud passed across the sun and the eyes of the 100,000 people were turned towards the first athlete, an Italian, as he marched into the arena carrying the Olympic Torch and lit the fire. Soon the march-past of athletes of many nations brought the enormous crowd, which was sweltering under the hot sun, to its feet in a burst of applause that the big stadium had yet to hear. A fanfare of trumpets, the shaking roar of the gun salute, the clash of marching music the brilliant colours of many flags made for a memorable start to the 17-day festival during which athletes will strive to run faster, jump higher and throw farther in keen and friendly rivalry.

DR. C. P. R. AIYAR

A tribute to the scholastic attainments, legal acumen, dialectical talents and services to the nation of Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar was paid by His Highness Jayachamaraja Wadiyar, Governor of Mysore.

In Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar, His Highness said, the marvellous endowments of nature had been so well supplemented by thought and study that he was equal to any task to which he might be called, while the unceasing activity of a highly original mind made him a pioneer in many fields.

The Governor was unveiling a portrait of Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar at the Gokhale Hall, Madras on Aug. 29, under the auspices of the Young Men's Indian Association.

SIR JOSEPH BHOORE

Sir Joseph William Bhoore, a former senior Indian administrator, died on August 15 in Guerusey (Channel Islands), where he was living in retirement. He was 82.

Sir Joseph was born in an Indian Christian family in Nasik in Maharashtra. He entered the I.C.S. in 1901 and after a series of appointments in Madras Presidency became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and was the first Indian to hold the Industry and Labour portfolio.

During the war, he served again in India till 1946, his last achievement being a voluminous report on health services, which formed the basis of the present health insurance in India.

MR. M. V. NAIDU

We record with regret the death of M. Venkataramanjulu Naidu, the well-known former Madras cricketer and all-round sportsman, at his residence, in Mylapore, Madras on Aug. 17, following a stroke.

Bhatt, as Venkataramanjulu was popularly known, may be said to have died with "boots on," for while playing golf he complained of giddiness and after reaching home, passed away. He was a born player of games but it was as a cricketer that he won undying fame. To the present generation his name may mean nothing, but to an older generation, the mere mention of Bhatt would conjure up memories of untold pleasure one derived by watching him on the cricket field. He batted in an age in which the bat was looked upon as an instrument of aggression to be applied to the ball with all force and with every grace.

MR. M. B. RANA

Mr. Mansinhji Bhasaheb Rana of Kherwada, also known as the Thakoresalib of Kherwada (Broach district) was elected unopposed as the Speaker of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly on Aug. 19.

Mr. Mansinhji, who is 56 years old, is a Barrister-at-Law and a keen sportsman. Besides being a wrestler, he is a life member of the Farmers' Forum of India. Mr. Mansinhji was on the panel of chairmen of the erstwhile Bombay Legislative Assembly.

MAJ.-GEN. YADUNATH

Maj.-General Yadunath Singh, former Military Secretary to the President of India and Chairman of the Public Service Commission, Jammu and Kashmir Government died of heart-attack at Srinagar on Aug. 2. He was 54.

General Yadunath Singh took a leading part recently in Acharya Vinoba Bhave's peace mission in the dacoit-infested Chambal forest calling upon the dacoits to surrender to the police.

Condoling the death of General Yadunath Singh, the Kashmir Premier, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad said, "In his death the country has lost a great patriot. His death was a great loss to the State in particular."

MR. ARUN KUMAR ROY

The Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, administered the oath of office to Mr. Arun Kumar Roy as Comptroller and Auditor-General of India at a ceremony held at Rashtrapathi Bhawan New Delhi on Aug. 14.