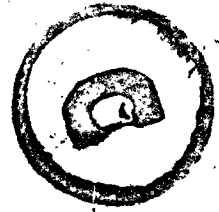


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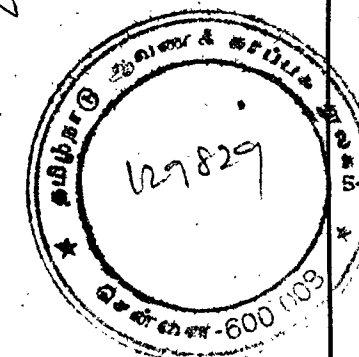
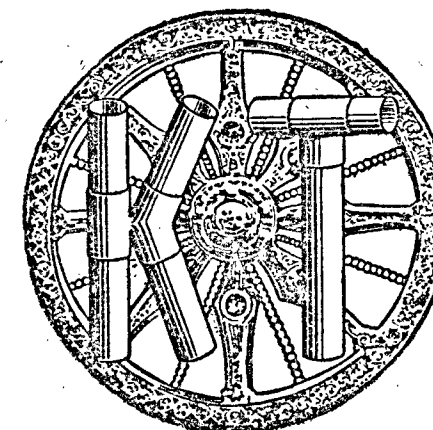
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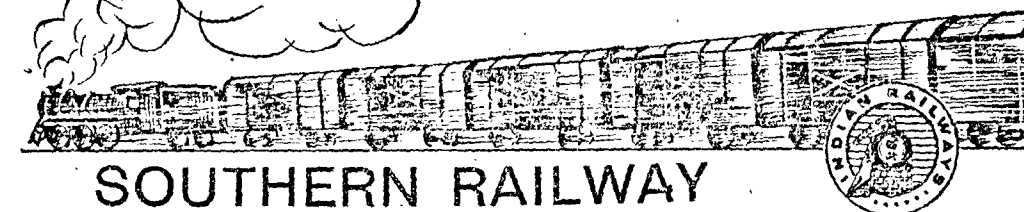
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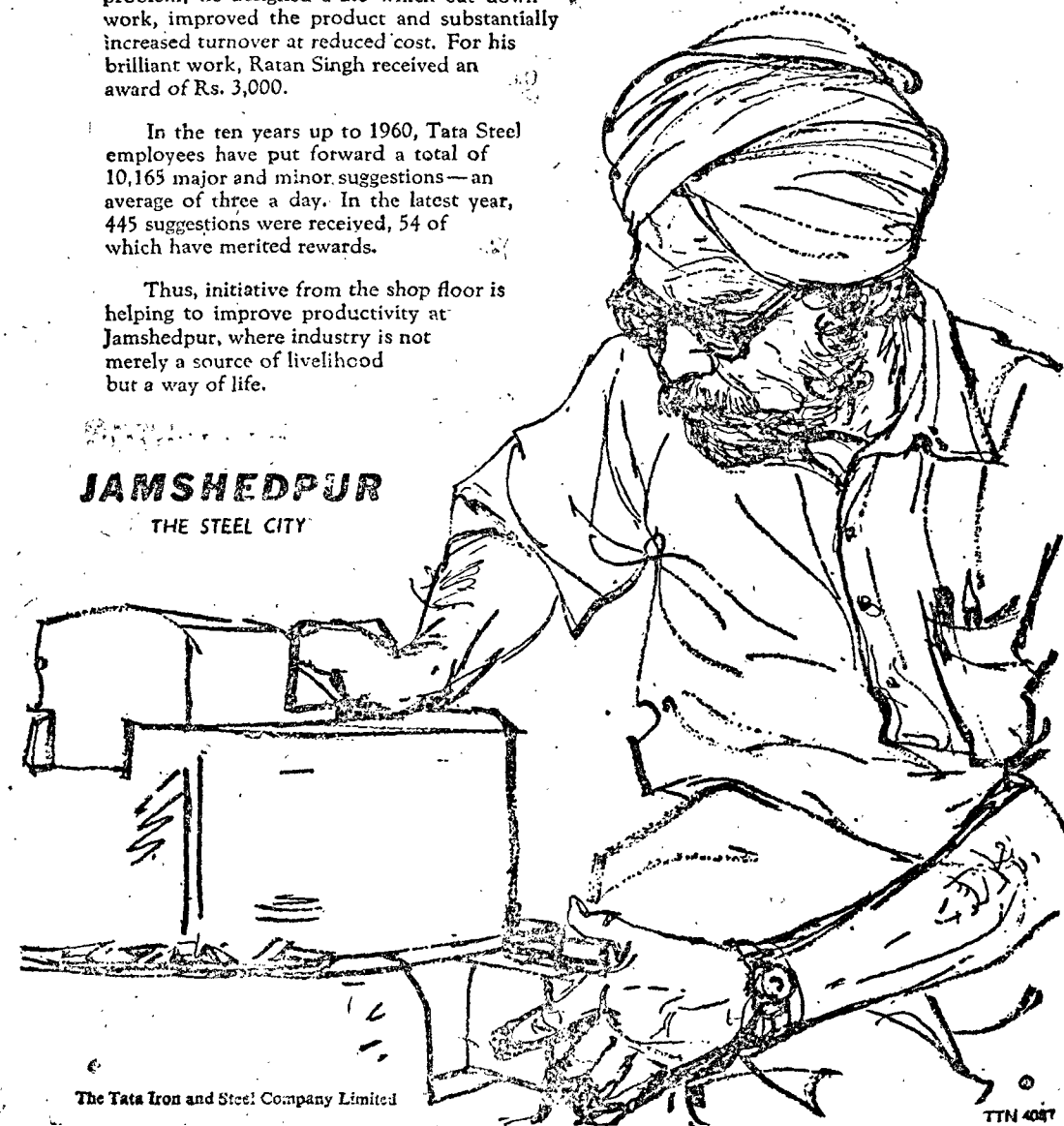
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Vol. 61]

NOVEMBER 1960

[No. 11]

Survey of Saving of Urban Households in India

By

Dr. P. S. LOKANATHAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

community as a whole, which is our main objective.

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

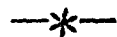
The above mentioned non-substitutability of a selected household by another is a very important aspect of the survey and it is sincerely hoped that when the Council's investigators come to a household for collection of data, that household would not ask them to go to its neighbour's house but co-operate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

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

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

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



Community Development and Sarvodaya

By

SRI JAYAPRAKASH NARAIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

enough. Yet, a significant beginning has been made.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Democratic Experiments in Ancient South India

By

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

according to changing conditions the same was changed and modified.

The actual method of election is highly controverted. The record in question¹ speaks of thirty tickets being collected from the kudumbas (clans or families) of which the first twelve selected would form the annual committee, one representing each of the 12 series, the next 12 would form the garden-committee and the remaining 6, the tank-committee. Possibly the same method was adopted for the constitution of the other committees as well. But it is not clear as to what exactly is meant by the term 'kudumbu'; nor is it clear as to how the one ticket was collected from each kudumbu and how the 12 selected would represent the 12 streets or series.

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

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

Has Gandhism Failed?

By

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

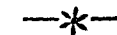
of the teachings of the great master. From such an angle it becomes obvious to feel that Gandhism has either failed or facing a serious trial.

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

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

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

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



"Inexplicable" Incidents in Valmiki Ramayana

By

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

(I)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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India, Tibet and China

By

Mr. P. M. MENON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1955

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Women in Medieval India

By
Kum. S. ROY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

South Indian Labourers In Malaya

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Operating on the Heart

By

Mr. ERIK OLAF-HANSEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At a word from the surgeon, the machine

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

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

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

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

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

Iqbal's Philosophy of Revolution

By

Mr. ABDUR REHMAN FIGAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Translation by Kiernan)

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

"All life is voyaging,
All things in motion
Moon, stars, and planets
Of air and earth and sea"

(Ibid.)

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

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

(*Secrets of the Self*)

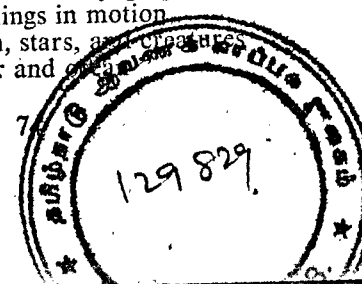
Thus the 'Self' (Khudi) is self-consciousness. It is the zenith coveted by life since the day of creation and now realised in the personality of man. "In man the centre of life becomes an 'Ego' or 'Person'. Personality is a state of tension and can continue only if that state is maintained". Hence 'Self',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

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

(*Bal-e-Jibreel*)

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

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



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

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

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

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

(Kiernan's Translation)

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

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

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

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

(Zarb-e-Kalim)

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

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

(Zarb-e-Kalim)

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

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

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

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

Desire keeps Self in perpetual uproar,

It is a restless wave of the Self's sea."

(Secrets of the Self, translated by Nicholson)

This point has been asserted by Iqbal time and again.

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

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

(Message of the East, Kiernan's Translation)

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

"Away from old beauties and decayed desires.

Abandon the trivial legacy: nourish a fresh desire."

(Zaboor-e-Ajam)

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

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

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

A blazing fire to all that is other than God,

An ideal higher than heaven—

Winning, captivating, enchanting men's hearts,

A destroyer of ancient falsehood,

Fraught with turmoil, an embodiment of the Last Day.

We live by forming ideals,

We glow with the sunbeams of desire.

(Nicholson's Translation)

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

"Life is a forward assimilative movement.

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

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

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

(Zaboor-e-Ajam)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Their sunless minds the burial vaults of nations;

In their idolatrous halls Death's portrait hangs,

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

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

Their gift is drowsy spirit and itching flesh".
(Kiernan's Translation)

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

(Reconstruction, P. 148)

Such a cultural movement, or in Iqbal's own terminology 'revolution,' is the essential characteristic of a nation by which it strives to attain its ideals and combats the colossal obstacles put in its way by the blind forces of nature. Cultural movement, or revolution, is the law for the self-preservation, and maintenance of the individual existence of a nation: "Death, not life, is the life no revolutions stir;

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

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

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

Iqbal.

Art and its Evaluation

By

Sri C. L. JHA, M.A.

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

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

Before Victorian era there was no difference between the fine and useful arts. In India too arts were classified to sixty-four kinds and they are still followed but according to European scholars Music, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture and Architecture are supposed only fine arts and the rest are included in useful arts. The fine art has less utility and more aestheticism.

In view of the fact that the object of fine art will have less utility and more aesthetics, naturally it will be an object of cultural world to purchase. Things of utility are purchased commonly by all therefore production in large number is essential. It is the craftsman who will prepare these models for general use. These objects satisfy only the material wants. It has been seen that the prosperity of country does not lie in economic development only but its cultural advancement is equally essential.

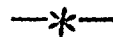
So far as the fine arts are concerned the artists require more skill to prepare an article of beauty than the useful art. All the great Hindu temples of architectural beauty and Mughal architecture when are visited engross the visitor in deep meditation and one is asto-

nished to see the grandeur and magnificence. He cannot do anything but to admire them. By this his hunger of belly is not satisfied but there arose a great sense of aestheticism in him and he feels that he has gained something. The value of aesthetic art cannot be estimated. No hard and fast rule can be laid down to evaluate any such art object. It is because in the olden days the artist was respected for his dexterity. The artist was always awarded prizes for his work. He was never paid for the labour and skill but was always honoured only by giving awards, gifts or titles.

The object of fine arts has more permanance than the useful art objects. It has the didactic quality. It stimulates and inspires towards cultural advancement. Thus fine art is dynamics and the artist is its source. It has the power to move. If we see a picture, it takes us right into the mind of the artist. We forget to see all about the room or place where we actually are, thus the art object reminds us of one of the nine "RASAS" (feeling.)

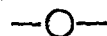
The artist has the power to make our existence beautiful and cultural on the earth. The architect tries to build magnificent buildings which broaden our minds and allow us spiritual uplift. The sculptor creates forms out of earth, stone and metal etc., budding forth various human moods. In all these the artist influences life and they are made to speak all what is in his mind.

The artist has his own likings. He has a great quality of patience, perseverance, and devotion. He deeply engrosses in what he paints or makes. That becomes his state of forgetfulness. Such a grand piece of art if sold must fetch the endless treasure and immense wealth, but those days have gone when art was so valued. Today it is supposed as useless work. The artist starves even after producing a grand piece of art. It is because



no body values it. No country can value Art where there is no prosperity and aesthetic sense. It is not the part of a starving country. In the History of India, Gupta period is called the Golden Age. It is because in those days Art and literature of the country reached its zenith. The value of art and its object lies in honouring the artist and not in purchasing

his articles for few coins. Every artist has a world of his own and his work should primarily be measured by the standard of that world. The world of the artist is not the world as we see move and feel with our material senses it is quite above it. Therefore the scale by which his art should be weighed is not the scale of ordinary morals.



Illiteracy - An Acute Problem for India

By

Shri B. B. MOHANTY, M.Sc., Grad. Brit. I.R.E.

THE 1961 Census in India will help us to examine whether the illiterate population in India is increasing inspite of the progress we have had in the field of Education during the last few years. According to the 1951 Census there were 5,92,51,000 literate persons including 1, 36, 49, 817 females and the percentage of literacy was 16.61. On further analysis it is found that the percentages of literacy in India for males and females were 20.87 and 7.17 respectively. According to a ten percent sample tabulation of the Census returns the percentage of literacy among the population fifteen years old and over was 19.3. The figure for the percentage of literacy as computed from the 1941 Census is 14.6%-22.2% among men and 6% among women. The magnitude of the problem is evident from the above and it imposes severe and serious restrictions in the process of India becoming a Welfare State. The problem of illiteracy does not refer to India alone but the world at large. In a recent study undertaken by the UNESCO 'the number of adult illiterates (people over 15 years of age who cannot both read and write in any language) in the world around 1950 has been estimated at about 700 million—slightly over two fifths of the world's population at that age level. 'From the above study it is also found that 88 percent and two percent of the world's illiterates are concentrated in 43 and 54 small countries, respectively having medium to high

rates of illiteracy, which are situated in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and some territories of the Oceania. Another 9 percent of the world's illiterate population are found in 20 countries with low to medium rates of illiteracy including, for example Japan, France and U. S. A. and the rest 1 percent of illiterate mass numbering about 8 to 9 million are widely scattered in 81 countries each having low to medium rates of illiteracy.

It is a common feature to find high illiteracy rates among the rural population as compared with the urban population of a country. Further the male population has generally a higher percentage of literacy than the female population. This has a particular reference to those countries having medium to high rates of illiteracy. These countries include Malaya, Thailand, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The percentages of literacy are strikingly different for different regions, different age groups and different ethnic groups within the same country. It is quite common to find high rates of illiteracy in the older age groups of the population than the younger groups, particularly in those countries where the schemes of universal, free and compulsory primary education have recently been introduced. It is possible to deduce a direct relationship between the growth of primary education and reduction in the number of adult illiterates in a given period of time. If

all the children of the school going age of a country attend the schools for a sufficient length of time, there would be a considerable reduction in the number of adult illiterates and in course of time the number is likely to be reduced to nil. Here are a few glaring examples. In France free primary education was introduced in 1881 which eventually became compulsory in 1882 and the illiteracy rate had a sharp fall from 15.5 percent in 1901 to 3.3 percent in 1946. In 1859 compulsory education began in Italy which came into full operation only in 1904, and consequently the rate of illiteracy was reduced from 50% in 1901 to 14% in 1951. As long as a considerable proportion of the children of school going age are left out of the school due to some reason or other, illiteracy can never be completely wiped out both in its magnitude and direction. Here lies the crux of the problem in India. It is estimated that out of every 100 pupils who join the 1st class scarcely fifty complete four years of schooling, which is considered as the minimum period for securing and maintaining literacy.

Number of Pupils as Percentage of Number of Children in the Corresponding Age Groups

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61
Elementary (6-14)	32%	40%	49%
Boys- 46%	Boys - 57%	Boys - 70%	
Girls- 17%	Girls- 23%	Girls- 21%	

From the above data it is seen that in 1950-51 only 32% of the children belonging 6-14 age group were in the elementary schools. The other 61% of the children were added to the illiterate population. In 1955-56 the situation was slightly improved and in 1960-61 it is expected that only 49% of our children will be in the schools. The data clearly indicates the condition of girl's education in the country as it is seen that only 28% of our girls belonging to the age group of 6-14 will be in the schools, and the rest 72% will remain in the illiterate mass. So India has to adopt both emergency and long term measures to fight with illiteracy. The opening of the Adult Literacy Centres,

Community Centres, Libraries and Reading Rooms are quite efficient as emergency measures, provided the different activities are properly organised, but to eradicate illiteracy from India within a next few decades the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for all the children below the age group of 14 appears to be the only solution.

In a recent UNESCO Study entitled 'Public Expenditure on Education' it is seen that in or about 1950 the total expenditure on education varied from less than 1% to more than 5% of the national income of each country. On further examination it is seen that there is a distinct correlation between the adult literacy rates and the percentage of total national income spent on education. Countries having low rates of literacy seem to be spending a small proportion of their national income on Education. As far as India is concerned she has spent 1.95% of her national income on Education in 1955-56, 1.7% in 1954-55, 1.4%, in 1953-54, 1.4% in 1952-53 and 1.24% in 1951-52, as seen from the following table.

Year	National Income in crores of rupees	Total Expenditure on Education in crores of rupees	Percentage of (3) in respect of (2)
1	2	3	4
1951-52	9,970	124.56	1.24
1952-53	9,820	137.97	1.4
1953-54	10,490	147.74	1.4
1954-55	9,620	164.97	1.7
1955-56	9,650	189.00	1.95

This figure is taken from a 'Graph' and so is shown in round figure.

The total expenditure on Primary Education in the different years can be seen from the following table

Year	Total Expenditure on Primary Education in crores of rupees
1	2
1951-52	40.62
1952-53	44.375
1953-54	46.25
1954-55	51.875
1955-56	53.75
1956-57	57.5

Dr. David McClelland of the Harvard University is of opinion that the all round success of the Community Development programme in a country depends to a large extent on the education of her children. Besides being properly educated, he says, they must be made to grow as active citizens with a higher n-achievement motivation, so that in future they will be useful, and educated citizens of a country. The n-achievement motivation, according to him, has very little or no correlation with the I. Q. or Intelligence Quotient of a child, but a high n-achievement motivation factor in a child indicates that he or she can do very well in a competitive nature of work and in odd situations that he will be comforted within society. He has gone to the extent of suggesting that nations interested in their 'real development' should make primary education interesting and meaningful to all children. This suggestion has a practical bearing on India, since there are instances of very poor attendance in many, primary schools. If primary education has to be meaningful and interesting and if it is our responsibility to see that all children below the age of 14 are to receive free and compulsory education as set forth in the Directive Principles of our constitution, then India cannot, but substantially increase her expenditure on Primary Education.

At present the Literary Campaign is launched by the Departments of Education and Community Development of all the states in India. Every state follows its own pattern, but the general pattern is that the organisation of Adult Literacy Centres, Community Centres and Libraries is done by the Social Education Organisers and the Gram Sevaks of the different Community Development Blocks and the organisation of the Janatha Colleges and School-cum-Community Centres rests on the Education Department. Due to inadequate follow-up programme many neo-literates are relapsing into illiteracy. This makes our problem still worse and the relapsed illiterate sets a bad example in society. So organisation of follow-up activities should be given equal importance as the organisation of new adult literacy Centres. The Sixth Evaluation Report on the working of the C. D. & N. E. S. Blocks published in June, 1959 brings into light some interesting points relating to the

study of the Adult Literary Programme. The report states that the contribution to literacy made by the Adult Literacy Centres would rise to about 3% of the total population in the blocks which is not very encouraging. The proportion for the non-block areas is as low as 2%. Further it is suggested in the Report that either the social education programme should concentrate much more on literacy and or it must discover more efficient techniques of enlightening large mass of the rural illiterate. The findings of the Report in respect of Adult Literacy Programme contradicts the estimates made by the Registrar General's Office and National Sample Survey stating the percentage of literacy to be 40.7% in India today. During a period of eight years i.e. from 1951 to 1959, the increase in percentage of literacy in India cannot be as high as 23.09% (40.7%-16.61%). This raises an important question regarding the validity of the estimate made by the National Sample Survey, for the whole of India, and it is presumed that the Survey has used some "samples which cannot represent India as a whole. In 1941 the percentage of literacy in India was 14.6% and the same in 1951 was 16.61. Since 1951 we are having many development schemes operated in our country through the First and Second Five Year Plans and the mental horizon of our people has been widened to a considerable extent. We shall be branded as pessimists if we say that all these development programmes have not influenced the rate of literacy in India and so an increase in the same is expected in the 1961 Census. It gives no grounds for complacency on our part since we have assessed the magnitude of the problem of illiteracy in India. We are to make a constant effort in assuring for every man, woman and child the right to education guaranteed to him or her in the Constitution.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

India's record at U.N.

President Rajendra Prasad, said at New Delhi on Oct. 24 that India had given a good account of herself at the United Nations "which in the ultimate analysis is the vindication of our foreign policy and the stand of our Prime Minister."

Dr. Prasad said, "whether on account of our pursuing a course in keeping with our policy of non-alignment or may be because on certain crucial matters we have been able to put our weight on the side of smaller and comparatively backward nations of Asia and Africa, our counsels in the United Nations have generally attracted world attention and also some respect that was gratifying", he added.

The President was speaking at a meeting organised jointly by the External Affairs Ministry and the Indian Council of World Affairs.

Dr. Prasad said that from the time India became a member of the United Nations she had lent unstinted support to the organisation. India's support to the United Nations, he said, flowed not only from the formal obligation of membership "but also from our traditional thinking and well-settled convictions."

Referring to the divergence of views, expressed on international issues in the world body Dr. Prasad said that in a forum like the U.N. where about 100 nations were represented and to which all manner of complicated matters were referred, it was not unnatural that there should be divergence of views.

"What is desired is that this divergence, whether it stems from self-interest or from ideological differences, should be adjusted through negotiations with the larger interests of the Family of Nations", he added.

The Kashmir Problem

Prime Minister Nehru declared at New York on Oct. 8 that any attempt to upset the *status quo* in Kashmir would result in opening "the Pandora's Box" with all its undesirable consequences.

Mr. Nehru was replying to an American correspondent who asked during a television interview whether, now that Indus water issue had been settled, efforts would be made to settle Kashmir question.

Mr. Nehru said he was glad that the Canal waters issue had been settled. But so far as Kashmir was concerned, "It stands on a completely different footing." According to us,

the trouble is that Pakistan has invaded part of our territory and is sitting there. According to them, it is different.

Mr. Nehru said that in the 12 years since the cease-fire in Kashmir, many important things had happened "on our side in Kashmir. Two general elections have been held which is very important. An Assembly with very considerable powers functions there. It makes laws and does everything that Parliament does except with regard to some all-India subjects which only Central Parliament can deal with."

Mr. Nehru said: "It is part of our Constitution that we cannot touch Kashmir 'without the consent of Kashmir's elected Assembly.'"

"It is comparatively difficult to live in unrealistic atmosphere and talk about things which have no relation to the present situation. The moment you touch it is like reopening 'Pandora's Box.' Things will come out all over, upset things everywhere and lead to migrations and so on."

The questioner then said that he had just wanted to know whether "the new friendliness between Pakistan and India seems to be felt in your countries cannot in some way change the rigid position with regard to Kashmir."

Mr. Nehru said the kind of development the questioner had mentioned always softened a situation.

So far as the public on both sides were concerned, they had forgotten the question, at least they did not shout about it. "It is only on political level the question comes up."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani

Mr. J. B. Kripalani has issued on Oct. 27 the following statement to the Press:

"It has been highly amusing to read in the Press speculations about my political future. Ever since I sent my letter of resignation from the party, the Press and some politicians have been throwing out hints and giving currency to a rumour about my joining one or the other of the existing political parties. This is done in spite of what I wrote in my resignation letter. I said there: 'I believe one cannot function effectively in politics in a democracy, as it had developed in modern times, outside a party or a group. Yet in the present circumstances in our country I find place in no party. I must therefore, for the time being at least, remain unaffiliated to any party or group.'

"I thought after this clear enunciation of my position there will be no speculation about my joining any of the existing parties. But

perhaps, politicians these days are not supposed to say what they mean or mean what they say. There is no remedy for this. Hence forward I shall, therefore, issue no contradiction of any speculation or rumour about my political future in a group or party.

"I take this opportunity to add that if I could not be satisfied with my position in the PSP, I shall be more of a misfit elsewhere. The party gave me full freedom to express my views in Parliament and outside even when these were against its decisions. As the public know I fully exercised this freedom. But as I have pointed out in my letter of resignation this created an awkward situation both for the party and for myself, which was exploited by the treasury benches. The Press also often wrote that the PSP spoke in two voices even when I said I was not speaking on behalf of the party. This, I felt, was injurious to an Opposition party, which must be more united and disciplined than the party in power. If I had, therefore, any intention of joining a party, I would not have sought freedom from the PSP."

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party after prolonged discussions on Oct. 30 about the resignation of Acharya Kripalani decided to accept his resignation.

As a consequence of his resignation from the party the PSP would have to choose its leader in the Lok Sabha. Mr. Asoka Mehta, Chairman of the Party and Deputy Leader of the PSP Group in the Lok Sabha, is likely to be the leader.

Future of Congo

In view of the mounting crisis in the Congo efforts are being speeded up to appoint a United Nations Conciliation Committee as envisaged in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its emergency session last month.

Negotiations are proceeding on the composition of the Committee, which probably will be finalised by the advisory Committee on the Congo.

Sources close to the Indian delegation said India had left to African members of the Advisory Committee to decide whether the conciliation body should consist of all countries contributing contingents to the United Nations force, in which case some European countries would be associated with it, or only African or both African and Asian members.

There appeared to be strong lobby feeling among some African countries that India should be on the Committee, but, as usual, in such cases, the Indian delegation is reported to have intimated to them that this being primarily an African matter it was for them to guide the Advisory Committee.

The General Assembly resolution appeals to all Congolese within the Republic of Congo to seek speedy solution by peaceful means of all their internal conflicts for unity and integrity in the Congo with the assistance, as appropriate of Asian and African representatives appointed by them in consultation with the Secretary General for the purpose of conciliation.

General lobby opinion among some important delegations seemed to be veering round to the idea that any solution of the Congo problem would have to be acceptable not to the Mobutu regime, but to the Congolese Parliament as urged by Mr. Nehru.

It is further learnt that Col. Mobutu, Congo Army's "strong man, virtually recognising that he no longer could continue in power through military strength, is seeking political reconciliation including with the deposed Premier Mr. Patrice Lumumba.

Mr. Justin Bomboko, Col. Mobutu's Commissioner-General, has addressed communications to several political leaders including Mr. Lumumba and Katanga Premier Moise Tshombe.

The Monckton Report

The publication of the Monckton report on Oct. 11 has raised the possibility of a frontal clash between the British Government and the European settlers in the Central African Federation represented by the Premier, Sir Roy Welensky.

Already, there is a complete divergence of view between them as to whether or not the right of secession should be discussed at the constitutional conference to be held later on. While the Government had said that the conference should be "free to discuss this and other relevant issue," Sir Roy Welensky is strongly opposed to it and insists that the maintenance of the federal structure should not be called in question at all.

In view of Sir Roy's attitude, doubt is being expressed whether the constitutional conference will meet as planned and whether if it did, Sir Roy Welensky and European settlers will agree to attend it.

While the future is coloured in this respect the Monckton report has had a mixed reception in political circles. Its importance is acknowledged by everyone, and Liberals and Labourites warmly support the recommendations, but opinion among the Tories is deeply divided. Some of them are urging the Government to accept the report, others are hesitant, and some others—the settlers lobby, consisting of Right-wing Tories—are loudly clamouring for its rejection.

African Summit Talks

African leaders of the French Community and Cameroun ended a three-day "Summit" conference at Abidjan on Oct. 25 with a communique announcing unanimous agreement on a common attitude to the Algerian problem, the former Belgian Congo, and Moroccan claims on Mauritania.

The communique gave no details of the nature of its decisions on these subjects except on Mauritania. Mr. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, Ivory Coast, Head of State and Chairman of the Conference, refused to allow question on the communique.

He said only that a second conference would be held in Brazzaville, former French Congo, on December 3.

The conference held its final session in closest secrecy.

The conference to Mauritania in the communique said that all countries at the Conference would support Mauritania's candidature to the United Nations. The country is to become independent on November 28.

The communique said that participants at the Conference reached agreement on adopting from now a common attitude on all international problems—and African problems in particular.

Language Issue in Ceylon

The Ilankai Tamil Arasu Katchi (Federal Party) which held a two day session in Colombo recently to take stock of the present political situation and to decide their future course of action especially in view of the Government's threat to implement the "Sinhala Only Act" rigorously in all Government departments from January 1 next year, issued a call to all Tamil-speaking people throughout Ceylon not to abandon or relax any of the steps which they adopted since 1955 to resist the Act until a satisfactory solution was arrived at and that solution was implemented.

The Committee also made an appeal to all Tamil-speaking municipal councils, town coun-

cils, village committees, public and co-operative bodies in Tamil areas to transact all business in future with the Government only in Tamil language.

In a statement issued to the Press, a spokesman of the Federal Party said the Working Committee met and considered further the situation arising out of the Government's pursuit of its policy of implementing the Official Language Act. The statement added: Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam made a statement outlining the present position and the various representations he had received in this connection. He gave an account of the steps already taken to safeguard the position of Tamil language and the interests of the Tamil-speaking public servants. After an extensive discussion of the issues involved, the Working Committee came to the decision on the stand the Party should take in this regard and authorised a group of Tamil M.Ps to apprise the Government of the Party's decision and to report back to the Committee.

In this connection The Minister of Finance Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, said in Jaffna in the Tamil speaking Northern Province on Oct. 21 that in the Government's language policy, the Tamil people would be assured of fairplay and justice.

He said the Government had not yet worked out the details of the switch-over to Sinhalese as the official language to be made in January.

Republic of S. Africa

The South African Government has officially notified Queen Elizabeth that South Africa intends to become a republic, the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported.

The article quoted Buckingham Palace sources for its information.

The official notification of the Government's intentions would be the first constitutional step in setting up a republic of South Africa and would be a pure formality, it was pointed out.

South Africa voted to become a republic in a referendum held last month.

Nigeria

Nigeria's accession to independence has been greeted in London with special satisfaction as it comes at a time when the colonial policy of the Western Powers is under fire at the U. N. from Mr. Khrushchev and others.

Practically all commentators stress the peaceful nature of the transition, pointing out that it is the result of a gradual process and

has been brought about through discussions and negotiations rather than a violent conflict between the rulers and the ruled.

While this has naturally given cause for self-congratulation on the British side, it is recognised that the orderly transfer of power has been made possible by the attitude of the Nigerian leaders themselves who have, at successive stages of the colony's constitutional development been willing to accept compromise solutions rather than insist on their own at times, conflicting claims.

Sino-Burmese Agreement

Addressing a mass rally at the Worker's Stadium at Peking on October 12 in support of the Sino-Burmese Boundary Agreement signed in Peking, Premier Chou En-lai stated that the treaty was a "brilliant model for Asian people to live together on friendly terms, and also a good example for the settlement of boundary questions and other disputes between Asian countries."

Mr. Chou was addressing over a lakh of people at the rally which was attended by Burmese Premier U Nu and Gen. Ne Win.

Mr. Chou added that the Chinese Government "wishes to live in friendship with its neighbours and wishes to co-exist peacefully with all countries which cherish the same desire on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence."

N. Viet Nam and India

North Viet Nam Premier Pham Van Dong stated at Hanoi on October 24 that India as Chairman of the International Control and Supervisory Commission for Viet Nam had failed to "take active steps in the implementation of the Geneva Agreement" and his country was "extremely displeased with the ICSC."

The Premier stated in an interview that North Viet Nam was "an outsider" to the Sino-Indian border dispute and expressed the hope that the two countries would find a "good solution" to the dispute because "there cannot be any other attitude for the two great countries whose policies are one of peace."

Mr. Pham's reference to India's role in the ICSC is in connection with the two recent decisions of the ICSC which ignored North Viet Nam's protests. The first concerns the Internal Security Law passed by the South Viet Nam Government giving it powers to deal with subversives while the second pertains to

the entry of United States military advisers into the country. The Hanoi Government claimed that both these things violated the Geneva Agreement but India agreed with the Canadian member of the Commission in ruling that they did not.

Mr. Pham said while his country welcomed India as the ICSC Chairman because of its policy of peace, in its above decisions, the ICSC (and by implication India) had not respected the clauses of the Geneva Agreement and implemented them correctly. He said he was fully aware that "it is not a simple question", but even so because there were difficulties "we have to maintain and respect all clauses of the Geneva Agreement". He reiterated that it was the "duty of the ICSC to bring about the correct implementation of these clauses" and "that is what we expect."

Freedom to Colonies

India told the 99-members Trusteeship Committee that the "right to independence of the remaining non-self-government territories must inevitably be recognised now and without delay".

The Indian delegate Mr. J. N. Sahni said the earliest independence of all dependent territories was a "matter of vital concern to us, and is very dear to our hearts."

"In view of the fact, however that the subject of colonialism will very soon come up for full discussion and deliberation before the plenary session of the Assembly, we have no wish to prejudge in any way the Assembly's deliberations and decisions on this most vital subject," he added.

Mr. Sahni described Goa as "an absurd anomaly which its people, their kin in the rest of the sub-continent of India and my Government continue to tolerate with our proverbial patience in the hope that wiser counsels will prevail."

Mr. Sahni insisted on the right of the Committee to obtain from administering countries information on political and constitutional development and expressed "disappointment that the United Kingdom continued to withhold such information despite the Assembly's renewed appeal last year that it should be transmitted to better enable the Assembly to assess the advance of these territories towards the goal of self-Government or independence as laid down in chapter 11 of the U.N. Charter."

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Madame Bovary. By *Gustave Flaubert* Rs. 2.50.

Ladies' Delight. By *Emile Zola* Rs. 3.00

One Virginity. By *Hilton Brown* Rs. 3.00.

The Private Life of Helen of Troy. By *John Erskine*, Rs. 2.00.

Jaico Publishing House, Bombay.

Madame Bovary has attained the status of a classic—but unlike other classics its appeal to the general reader is still irresistible. Flaubert took six years to complete the work and he poured forth all his richest and most subtle harmonies in building up this mosaic of a beautiful and heart rendering tale of a provincial doctor's wife in revolt against her conventional surroundings. Emma is lovely and lovable, enmeshed in the toils, of fate, child of romance and Flaubert almost seems to have fallen in love with her; and his passion in her seems to have taken shape in the music of his words and phrases which are faithfully conveyed in English Version.

Zola, as is well known, is at home with the working classes and their trials and tribulations. Denise, faced with poverty and starvation, drifts to the great city of Paris in search of livelihood—Paris the city of temptations. Only through the strength and nobility of her character she could adhere to her principles. Incidentally we have an insight into the business world of Paris, the incurable mania of the ladies to go on shopping whirls and the sufferings of the poorer shop keepers in the struggle for survival. Here is a piece of vivid realism presenting the upper middle class society in France with all its snobbery.

It is not for nothing that Hilton Brown has chosen to spend seven and forty years of the best part of his life in India. It is evidence of his attachment to this country and its people which he has attempted to portray in this book with real sympathy and understanding. "One Virginity" a phrase taken from Kipling tells the story of David Fergus who had to quit this country as a child with his father and whose one ambition in life was to get back to this country which he does—at a price. The story revolves on those two riddles and throws source side light on the scandals of the then Anglo-Indian society. Hilton Brown's attraction for certain spots in South India is apparent, and his familiarity with particular areas is no less apparent; but is there any need to

firing in that vulgar innuendo about Kumbakonam? Tastes may differ. Altogether "One Virginity" is a fast moving novel told with power and understanding.

Readers who have enjoyed the late Dr. Erskine's rendering of legendary tales into modern novels will find in this book something equally stimulating and entertaining. Though the story is not new the life of Helen after her return from Troy has been the theme of considerable controversy. Erskine has attempted a new interpretation of Helen's life after the Trojan episode. Her character takes on a new dimension in Erskine's treatment which is as amusing as it is fascinating.

Glimpses of Reality. By *A. R. L. Shaikh Biyani*. Price Rs. Two. Author, 827, Bootee Street, Poona, 1.

The author, a Deputy Superintendent of Police, as the erudite writer of the Foreword Retired Principal Dandekar of Poona S. P. College has pointed out, deals with a variety of topics on education and religion with knowledge and discrimination, and deals with great delicacy and insight on the difficult subject of how the understanding of the harmony in all different religions can be understood. Dealing with Public Service, Morality, Destiny, and the apparent Injustice of God in slaying innocent babes, he explains away the Higher Morality of God on the analogy of the State and Justice which punished a killer by themselves repeating the deed of Killing by hanging him. "A fiddle or musical instrument can play any number of tunes but no musical instrument can compete with the human fiddle, says he. His poems at the time may not satisfy the exacting standards of a Professor of English Literature but are full of sound sense and etheric emotion.

Selections from Gandhi. By *Nirmal Kumar Bose*. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, Price Rupees Two.

Mr. Nirmal Bose in his "Selections from Gandhi" very properly emphasizes Gandhiji's warning that the Gandhi Seva Sangh should not deteriorate into a sect. In one sense, Gandhiji was a ebonist who believed that wealth beyond a certain limit was a crime. The reconciliation of high ideals with everyday life has been tackled with a directness and force which only Mahatma Gandhi can show.

Humour Everywhere. Edited by R. N. Lakhotia, M.Com., Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 5 nP. 50.

Those who complain that the old school of Literary Flaneurs among bureaucrats has passed away may take heart from this "prized and privileged possession and reference book for Children, College Students, Professors, Businessmen, Lawyers, Doctors, Sportsmen, Politicians, Journalists, Officers, Judges, Prisoners, and the Public, as it contains Humour about them also. The last claim reminds me of the Ayurvedic Remedy, Siddha Kalpa Makara Dhawa, which "cures all ills human flesh is heir to, besides a *Few others*." Some of the pickings are new to the reviewer like, "My Mother-in-Law sits round all day, grieving because she has not got a fortune with which to disinherit me." Altogether a priceless and tickling phantasmagoria guaranteed to banish the Anatomy of Melancholy.

The Green Hills of Earth. By Robert A. Heinlein. Signet Book. New York 35 cents.

This series in the best traditions of Verne and Wells, speaks confidently of children lost on the Moon, a space pilot short of fuel worrying about his wife's sexual faithfulness, people sold into slavery into other planets, and a woman hired into an all-male space station. The pessimistic note on which it ends "to make yourself heard, you have to be a dangerous or a rabble-rousing preacher." We are going merrily to Hell and Things are bound to get a whole lot worse before they can get any better," clearly date this anticipation of the 21st. century as written during the worst days of the Blitzkrieg and the Atom Bomb. But this does not detract from the racy narrative of scientific imaginative fiction of the highest order in its class.

Some Like It Hot. By Billy Wilder and I.A.L. Diamond. Signet Book. New American Library. Price 35c.

This is the rollicking book of words of the film starring Marilyn Monroe, Tony Curtis, and Jack Lemmon. A couple of male musicians get into female company and one finally concludes his regrets that he has a terrible past, and can never have "children" with the final Revelation "I'm a Man." There is sparkling dialogue with unashamed double entendre, characteristic of modern "Merican melodrama."

The Divine Awakener. By Swami Rajeswarananda, Sevassram, Thiruvannamalai—Re. 1-50.

This is the revised edition of Swami Rajeswaranandaji's Vade Mecum of Adhyatmic Wisdom which contains a reprint of Editorials from the CALL DIVINE!

Having, been already reviewed in this magazine, the book may seem to call for only a passing notice. But it is as was already said in the *Indian Review*, "a volume to be dipped into again and again." What can surpass the pithiness of the instruction "Make the littleness in you grow less and the greatness increase." "The sound of words and the ideas back of words both count." "Torture not the body in the name of tapas, renunciation, asceticism." Having enjoyed the glories of motion in a Motorette like the Swamiji, one can well appreciate the injunction against "Pseudo-Asceticism" which mocks the physical body forgetting it is the frame which houses the Atman. Meditation is no vacuum or state of negation. "Cripple the limbs of life, and they cripple you morally, mentally, and physically, and spiritually." Muscular Christianity is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as Ideal of Religious Character exhibited in the writings of Charles Kingsley. May we say Motorette Hinduism is the ideal of Sanatana Dharma exhibited in the writings of Vedanta Pithamaha His Holiness Rajeswaranandaji Maharaj of Kailas Hills near Kalahasti, who is wise as Old Kala sarpa, majestic as Hasti Gajendra, and spins silken threads which entwine us to the supreme Thread of Life like the Spider who is a symbol in all Yoga of weaving the Web of Life without being caught in the snares which abound in it.

Bhoodan Yajna. by Vinoba Bhave, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

This collection of Vinobaji's speeches explains the spiritual basis of his Movement. From Kammi Kaushal Mukti, Vinobaji has plunged into the Bhoodan work. It is so difficult to be certain what to do in the mass of directions given by Vinobaji. He asks some people to leave college not merely to devote themselves to Bhoodan Movement but also as an end in itself. The Panchayat principle is rather shaky as everyone knows people in a mass are both more kindly and more cruel than individuals. As Gandhiji said the hypnotic influence of capital and wealth can only be overcome by God's own grace.

The President, Dato V.T. Sambanthan, frankly told the 14th annual Delegates conference of over 160 delegates gathered from all over the Federation of Malaya and the State of Singapore that toddy drained away nearly twenty million Malayan dollars (rupees three crores) of the Indians' income every year, particularly that of the poor working class Indians, who could ill-afford to waste such a colossal amount. If this went on unchecked, he said with great feeling the community would be bled white and they would become extinct in this country. He, therefore, reiterated the MIC's stand on total abolition of toddy and declared it would continue its vigorous anti toddy propaganda, as a result of which some of the States were already free of this evil. A resolution passed to this effect—one of 36 that came up before the conference—also requested the Prime Minister of the Federation, Tunku Abdul Rahman, to sympathetically consider this demand of the community.

FUTURE OF TAMILS

Thousands of Tamil-speaking people, who form the bulk of Singapore City Council's labour force, will not be dismissed on the ground that they have not taken up local citizenship.

This assurance was given by Government in the Legislative Assembly during question-hour on Oct. 21.

CEYLON

SETTLEMENT OF CITIZENSHIP

Mr. Nehru was asked at his Press conference about the prospects of exploring a settlement of the problem of people of Indian origin in Ceylon with the advent of the new regime there.

The Prime Minister said that he could not say anything except that both the Governments concerned had to approach this question in a friendly way and with a desire to settle it. "But sometimes, in spite of such a desire on the part of both the governments, there are inherent difficulties in doing things quickly."

CEYLON

IMMIGRATION FROM INDIA

A three-man Ministerial Committee has been set up by the Ceylon Government to examine and report on the problem of illegal immigration into Ceylon from South India, it was reported.

BURMA

INDIAN LAND OWNERS

The Central Board of Revenue have decided that the loss claimed by Indian nationals on account of the nationalisation of land in Burma, should be allowed for the purposes of income-tax.

Indian nationals had taken over agricultural lands in Burma in the course of their money-lending business and these lands had been shown as the assets of the money-lending business. It is stated that these assesseees have suffered a loss as a result of the passing of the Land Nationalisation Act by the Government of Burma in 1953 and they have adopted three different methods of claiming the loss.

Some have claimed the entire loss in 1954-55 itself on the ground that the loss accrued as soon as the Land Nationalisation Act was passed with effect from August 28, 1953. Some others have claimed the entire loss in 1958-59 either on the ground that the procedure for compensation was settled only in 1957 or that the first instalment of acquisition of land took place in that year. Certain others have claimed the loss as and when each holding was taken over by the Government of Burma.

S. AFRICA

FUTURE OF INDIANS

When to-day the wind of change is blowing over the whole of Africa, one is liable to forget that the year 1960 marks the centenary of the landing of the first batch of Indians in South Africa. During the course of these hundred years many disabilities have been heaped upon the Indian community of that country, and their story is worth recounting to-day.

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

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Oct. 1. Free Nigeria is born: Celebrations in Lagos last for 2 days.
- Oct. 2. President Ayub Khan extends Martial Law in Pakistan.
—Final agreement reached between China and Burma re. their border.
—Panchayat Raj scheme is inaugurated in Madras State.
- Oct. 3. U.N. General Assembly agrees without dissent to take up the five nation resolution for renewing contacts between Eisenhower and Khrushchev.
—Panchan Lama meets U Nu Premier of Burma at Peking.
- Oct. 4. Mr. Morarji Desai is elected Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors of the World Bank.
—Mr. C.B. Gupta is elected President of Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.
- Oct. 5. The British Labour Party rejects defence policy of its leader Mr. Hugh Gaitskell and votes for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons.
—Afghanistan and People's China sign a non-aggression pact.
—Referendum in S. Africa, Republicans lead.
—Nehru announces in U.N. withdrawal of five-power resolution calling for renewal of contacts between Eisenhower and Khrushchev.
- Oct. 6. Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha (U.P. Assembly) adjourns *sine die*.
- Oct. 7. Chinese troops in Ladakh border withdrawn upto 10 miles inside.
- Oct. 8. United Nations General Assembly admits unanimously the new independent state of Nigeria as the 99th member of U.N.
- Oct. 9. United States succeed in blocking the the General Assembly of U.N. from discussing as to who should represent China Peking Govt. or Chiang's regime in Formosa.
- Oct. 10. Morarji Desai returns to India.
- Oct. 11. Prime Minister returns to India after attending the U.N. Session.
- Oct. 12. The U.N. General Assembly rejects the Soviet proposal to have a disarmament debate in the plenary sessions instead of in the Political Committee.
- Oct. 13. President adjourns General Assembly amidst uproar and heated debate on colonialism.
- Col. Mobutu of Congo is dissuaded from forming a cabinet without Parliamentary sanction.
- Oct. 14. Khrushchev leaves New York and reaches Moscow.
- Trial of leaders of former Menderes regime in Turkey begins in Yarsida Island.
- Oct. 15. Kerala Assembly passes the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill.
—Indo-Polish Trade Pact is signed.
- Oct. 16. The Japanese Diet is dissolved.
- Oct. 17. Mr. V.K.K. Menon moves a 20-nation resolution in U.N. Assembly for the taking immediate steps concerning peace of world.
- Oct. 18. Congress High Command permits Dr. Sampurnanand, U.P., Chief Minister to resign.
- Oct. 19. U.N. warns Col. Joseph Mobutu that military dictatorship will not be tolerated.
- Oct. 20. India's plea in U.N.'s 99-member trusteeship Committee that Colonies should immediately be granted freedom.
- Oct. 21. Indo-Swiss trade agreement is ratified.
- Oct. 22. Mrs. Indira Gandhi leaves for Mexico.
- Oct. 23. Cyclone in East Pakistan results in the death of over 4,000 people.
- Oct. 24. Assam State Assembly passes Official Language Bill.
—U.N. celebrates 15th anniversary.
- Oct. 25. Russia rejects a disarmament resolution proposed by Britain, U.S.A. and Italy.
- Oct. 26. Fighting in Laos between Govt. forces and pro-Communist guerillas.
- Oct. 27. Mr. Sanjeva Reddi arrives at Raipur for the AICC Session.
—Mr. Nehru inaugurates at Bhilai the nail and structural Mill. (the third rolling unit).
- Oct. 28. World Bank approves \$ 20 million loan to Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India.
- Oct. 29. U.S. complaint to Organisations of American States (O.A.S.) about the arms build-up in Cuba.
- Oct. 30. The A.I.C.C. at Raipur unanimously adopts the resolution endorsing the objectives and targets laid down in 3rd Plan.
- Oct. 31. Vice-Admiral R.D. Katari returns to Bombay after a 17-day visit to United Kingdom and France.

READERS' DIGEST

CEASE-FIRE LINE IN KASHMIR

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said that if the two leaders of India and Pakistan—Prime Minister Nehru and Pakistan President Ayub Khan—should withdraw both the troops away from the Cease-fire line (in Kashmir) depending on a gentleman's agreement, the world would hail it as "a double triumph of the doctrine of mutual trust accepted without guarantees of security against treachery."

Mr. Rajagopalachari made these observations in a Press statement commenting on the signing of the canal waters agreement between India and Pakistan.

The statement said:

"Barring certain people whose importance and calling deepened on fanaticism, the people of India and the people of Pakistan, there is no doubt, are immensely pleased that Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Field Marshal Ayub Khan met in Karachi, planning together to forge friendship. There is not one pious man in either country who is not earnestly praying for their success in this adventure."

"The world has already congratulated and tendered its genuine tribute of praise over the Canal Waters Treaty. The Presidential candidates in U.S.A. have risen in their status by the greetings they have sent".

"The canal waters issue was far more of a real problem than Kashmir. Kashmir has become a problem although it did not inherently deserve that status."

"If the two leaders should come to an agreement to withdraw both the troops away from the cease-fire line, depending on a gentleman's agreement, the world would hail it as a double triumph of the doctrine of mutual trust accepted without guarantees of security against treachery. We would become the moral leaders of the world, however indebted and weak we may be today, in terms of finance."

"If the two armies should withdraw from the cease-fire line and the line be yet preserved as the firm boundary until we come to a treaty later on, and the two armies thus spared, are utilised to be deployed against aggression from China, we may be sure aggression will march back as noiselessly as it had tres-

passed. And the quarrel with China will become a forgotten episode".

"Friendship between Pakistan and India is the key to the preservation and furtherance of democracy in the Eastern hemisphere. The triumph of the doctrine of trust will be a lesson to the whole world. The gains in power as well as prestige are well worth all the courage and the risks involved or appearing to be involved. May God bless the effort now undertaken in Karachi."

"U. N. HAS DEVIATED FROM ITS IDEALS"

The Soviet Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda* said in an article on "United Nations Day" that the world organisation "has deviated from the principles and ideals laid down" at its birth 15 years ago.

The article, by I Aleksandrov, said capitalist States had used their "mechanical majority" to try and place the U.N. at their service.

It said the disarmament issue was still deadlocked after 10 years in the hands of the U.N. and went on: "The Soviet Government deems that the U. N. can be improved as an international instrument set up to avert a new world war."

The article urged that disarmament be regarded as the main problem of the U.N. and that the "principle of equal conditions for all States" be observed.

"International public opinion warmly supports the just proposals of the Soviet Government on total and universal disarmament, on the liquidation of the last vestiges of the colonial system and on the necessity of the changing the structure of the U.N. These proposals represent the only way out of the stale mate."

A 17,000-YEAR-OLD LAMP

How did man light his home 17,000 years ago? A recent discovery in the famed Lascaux caves of the Dordogne in France offers an answer to this question. Beneath a prehistoric painting of a wounded bison charging a man, researchers discovered a lamp of pink sandstone containing coal. An analysis of the coal in a Danish laboratory by the "carbon 14" method has enabled scientists to establish the age of the lamp as it was used 170 centuries ago.

SOCIALISM IN PEOPLE'S CHINA

The Chinese Communist Party's theoretical magazine, the *Red Flag*, in an article commenting on the just-published fourth volume of the works of the Party President, Mao Tse-tung, says that revolution cannot be exported by war or by armed force.

The article reproduced on 1st November by all Peking daily newspapers, said: "Marxist-Leninists have always considered that revolution cannot be imported or exported. To think the opposite is totally erroneous. No Marxist-Leninist party favours Socialist countries spreading revolution by starting a war."

The article said the Yugoslav revisionist clique calumniate the Socialist countries by saying that the latter want to have recourse to war. These are simply absurdities destined to serve imperialism."

It said the development of the revolutionary forces in various countries, including the creation of the Republic of People's China, was the basic factor which prevented imperialism from unleashing a new war and safeguarded world peace "by increasing the strength of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union."

The *Red Flag* said the "socialist revolution cannot triumph simultaneously in all countries." It added: "The people of the different countries will gain victory progressively and separately according to their own efforts and revolutionary preparations."

It said there were two distinct and successive stages in a revolution: (1) When the proletariat seized the state machinery by force by destroying the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie as in the Chinese revolution.

(2) When after having assumed power, the proletariat engaged in building socialism through peaceful means. Quoting Lenin and Mao, the article insisted repeatedly on the fact that revolutions in various countries must base support on the political aspirations peculiar to these countries in relation with the specific conditions existing in them.

The article emphasised that the Chinese revolution constituted "the continuation of the (Soviet) October revolution" and would likewise be victorious as a result of the destru-

ction of the military and bureaucratic machinery of the bourgeois State.

The article said that strengthening of the socialist camp and development of the world people's revolutionary movement provide "a greater safeguard for world peace." "It is absurd to say that world peace and world revolution are incompatible."

The *Red Flag* was due on Chinese newstands after the mid-October issue failed to appear. Inquirers were told at the magazine's office earlier, that a "combined issue" incorporating the mid-October and November editions was being prepared.

Foreign diplomatic observers said the cancellation of the last issue may have been due to a Communist Party decision to change some articles in the light of conversations reportedly taking place then in Moscow between Soviet and Chinese theoreticians on ideological differences between the two parties.

Two men thought to have been Peking's envoys at the talks, Mr. Teng Hsiao-Ping, the Party Secretary-General, and Mr. Peng Chen, the Peking Mayor and a member of the Politbureau, have both returned to Peking.

Both appeared with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other party leaders at a gala performance given by a visiting Korean army song and dance group.

Most of the 19-member Politbureau are now in Peking and observers say it is likely that they are hearing a report by the Moscow envoys before announcing who will represent China at the coming October Revolution celebrations in Moscow.

The *Red Flag* article is signed by the magazine's "Editorial Department"—generally considered as under the close direction of the Central Committee.

The article, which occupies the bottom half of the newspaper's front page and most of the second page, is headed "Basic conclusions on the experience of victory in the Chinese people's revolution."

The first half of the article deals with the Chinese revolution culminating in the proclamation of the People's Republic, and reviews the recently published fourth volume of the works of Mao Tse-tung.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

The conflict between Science and Religion was brought to a head a hundred years ago in the clash about Darwin's theories between T. H. Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce. The argument is restaged in the recent controversy and the same issue between Huxley's grandson Sir Julian and Rev. Mascall of Christ Church, Oxford. Sir Julian upholds the cause of science with the same vigour and trenchancy as his redoubtable grandfather.

"Between science and Christian theology there is a very real conflict. This is an important part of larger conflict between two vast systems of thought that are competing for the mind of man—dualistic supernaturalism and unitary naturalism.

These two radically different systems of thought are competitive; one is destined to replace the other.

In the first system the phenomenon universe and its evolution are secondary to a central and eternal god, and are assumed to be products of or dependent on divine operation. In the second gods are peripheral phenomena produced by evolution. In modern god-centred systems, human beings are supposed to possess a unitary and immortal spiritual entity or soul, capable of existence apart from the body; in the evolutionary system, man's spiritual capacities are taken to be part of the mental aspect or inner face of the human organism."

Christian theology has a highly organized theoretical structure, based on a combination of an elaborate god-theory with a subsidiary but equally elaborate soul-theory.

"It can develop only within certain limits; the fixed postulates of its basic god-theory set limits to its range of applicability, while its reliance on the authority of divine intervention and revelation limits its powers of self-correction. Humanism, on the other hand, is acquiring a well-organized theoretical basis in the form of a comprehensive theory of evolution as a whole. It is an open system, capable of unlimited development; its only postulate is a thoroughgoing naturalism, so that all phenomenon are gist to its mill. Its reliance on scientific method makes it automatically self-correction."

The Huxley-Wilberforce duel a century ago symbolized the defeat of the idea of special creation by that of biological transformation.

"Today the entire god-theory is in competition with the extended evolution theory, and its picture of the world and man's destiny is in process of being superseded by the evolutionary vision.

THE HUMAN BODY

Family Health in its interesting notes on our human system observes:

"The body has three main divisions namely, the head, the trunk, the upper and lower limbs. In the trunk there is a large cavity wherein are almost all the important organs. This cavity is divided into an upper and a lower portion by a thin wall called diaphragm. The upper portion is called the thorax or the chest. Within it are the heart and the lungs, and in the back part of it are the trachea and the gullet or oesophagus. The cavity below the diaphragm is called the abdominal cavity. Within it are the liver, the stomach, the spleen, the pancreas, the small and the large intestines. The kidneys are situated just outside it, at the back. Each member of the body has its own use and is called an organ. Several organs may work together. For example, the mouth, teeth, gullet, stomach, small and large intestines and pancreas all work together in the digestion of the food: these are collectively called the digestive organs. The nose, pharynx, trachea and lungs work together in getting fresh air into the body and getting rid of the carbon dioxide; and for this reason they are called respiratory organs. The heart and all the large and small blood vessels work together in causing the blood to circulate through the body, so they are called circulatory organs. The kidneys, skin, lungs, liver and large intestines all work together in getting the waste matters out of the body; for this reason they are called the excretory organs. The brain, the spinal cord and all the large and small nerves work together in directing and controlling all the other organs of the body; these comprise the nervous system. In addition to the above mentioned organs there are the bones, which serve as the framework and give shape to the body, and the muscles which move all the parts of the body."

"PAKISTAN PERSPECTIVE"

In an article under this title, in *Foreign Affairs* President Ayub Khan of Pakistan has outlined what he thinks was wrong with Pakistan in the past and the correctives that he hopes to introduce in the future. The President has done this often before in his speeches but since the article is written for readers accustomed to democratic politics, it soft-pedals the alleged failures of the politicians and lays more stress on other factors. According to the writer, Pakistan suffered at the beginning of freedom from three main difficulties. First, there was the problem of Islamic ideology which was the *raison d'être* for partition. After freedom, there was endless debate about what an Islamic State should be. The President quotes from Sir Muhammed Iqbal to show that what this founding father really meant was that basic principles of equality and fraternity should be realised in practice—he was not proposing a theocratic medieval State. The second difficulty was economic: refugees, water-logging, smuggling, black-marketing, etc. The third was the distance between East and West Pakistan as well as the diversity of languages, script and social customs. Yet this could be bridged by a common ideology. After referring to the loss of Kashmir, because Mr. Radcliffe made a mistake in the map, the President goes on to describe the failure of leadership in Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah was a sick man who died within a year of his triumph. Liaquat Ali Khan fell to an assassin in 1952. This created a vacuum which led to a struggle for power by minor party politicians. There were six cabinets in five years. Gen. Ayub Khan at this point, however, describes the politicians as more sinned against than sinning. The parliamentary system of Britain was unsuited to Pakistan where the bulk of the people are illiterate. How could the people know whom they were electing when there were a million voters for each parliamentary seat? In West Pakistan, a small group of families held the monopoly of power because they were landed magnates.

Gen. Ayub says, however, that he is not opposed to democracy—but it must be suited to the people. Hence Pakistan has been divided into 40,000 constituencies of one thousand persons each to elect representatives to local councils. At this point, Ayub Khan reveals that "I would personally like this body of

80,000 elected representatives to serve as the electoral college for Parliament and possibly the President. This is only my personal view for I do not wish to prejudge the recommendations of the Constitution Commission." The article goes on to mention the land reform, the Five-Year Plan and need to "make the grade" in the next 15-20 years if "the tidal wave of Communism" is not to submerge Pakistan.

It is a persuasive piece of writing but so many American political scientists have studied the history of Pakistan that it is not likely to be taken at face value. They know that after Liaquat Ali, his successor Ghulam Mohammed governed even more autocratically, setting up cabinets and dismissing them as he wished. He was followed by Iskander Mirza who did not permit the new Constitution of 1956 to operate at all. General elections were never held and in fact Mirza abolished Parliament on the eve of the elections. Provincial elections were no doubt corrupt, because the tenants of West Pakistan had to vote for their landlords. But Ayub Khan misses a vital point here: when the constituencies are big, as they were for the Central Parliament, the corruption of the electorate was not possible. This was why such elections were never held. The most striking paragraph in the article is, however, the one quoted above relating to the President's plans for the future. The "Basic Democracies" are only partly elected. Yet this unrepresentative body is the President's choice for the election of Parliament and President. No further proof is necessary that what is contemplated is not democracy. If equality and fraternity are the accepted ideological principles they will certainly not be put into practice by the Constitution that the President has in mind.

SOVIET ROCKET

The Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* says that the Soviet Union had failed in three unprecedented new rocket tests. The paper said the tests were made in the "Atomic zone" of Southern Siberia, and that Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, delayed his departure from New York to await the results.

To support its claim, the paper "quoted the text of a broadcast by Moscow Radio to the United States on Sept. 27 in which it was stated that Soviet scientists would launch a space vessel carrying a Soviet Air Force Officer during the first week of Oct.

The paper went on: "It can be said that three attempts have been made—the first on the opening day of the U.N. General Assembly, the second four days later, the third a few days after the anniversary of the launchings of Sputnik I and Lunik III (Oct. 4, 1957 and 1959). Three attempts and three failures.

It added: "Mr. Khrushchev, being no longer able to hope for the spectacular success on which he counted, left New York three days after the third attempt and in the state of nerves which is known.

U. S. BASES IN W. EUROPE

Bertrand Russell (Earl Russell), the philosopher, claimed that American bases in Western Europe increase, rather than diminish, the danger to the countries in whose territories they are situated and do nothing to diminish the risk of a general war.

"I hold that any country in Western Europe increases the risk of its own nuclear obliteration by membership in NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)." Bertrand Russell wrote in a letter published in the Sunday newspaper, *Observer* on Oct. 16.

In the opinion of eminent and orthodox Americans, Russia could exterminate the population of any European member of NATO without bringing on a general nuclear war.

"The Soviet Government might consider this advantageous, but they would be very unlikely to see any advantage in such an attack upon a neutral power.

"As for a nuclear war between the United States and the U.S.S.R., I do not think that either side is likely to bring this on deliberately; but I do think, in common with almost all who have studied the matter, that the risk of an unintended war is very great.

"This risk does not depend upon any supposed equality of power between East and West but upon the risk of accident in the technical measures taken by both sides in the hope of preventing a surprise attack.

"For these reasons, I think that American bases in Britain or Western Europe increase, rather than diminish, the danger to the countries in whose territories they are situated and do nothing to diminish the risk of a general war.

"Neutrals are in a position to suggest and to press, as no other powers are, possibly acceptable measures designed to lessen East-West tension, and Britain, as a neutral, would be in a greatly improved situation in promoting such measures," Bertrand Russell added in his letter to the *Observer*.

RECIPE FOR LONGEVITY

A United States doctor claims to have learnt the secret of a "germ resistant" people living in a remote Himalayan "Shangri La," whose food growing methods are said to promote longevity and virility, and might help the civilisation to resist the radioactivity peril to health.

Dr. Allen E. Bannik says he made his discoveries on a mountain trek into the fabulous Hunza country using aircraft and jeep transport.

On return home, he says, he has started to grow his own food in the way the Hunzas taught him in a soil with organic properties, "which our over-fertilised agriculture has destroyed. The key to the whole Hunza diet is this mineral strength in their food which makes them germ-resistant."

Dr. Bannik is planning a world tour to lecture on the Hunzas' "incredible secrets of youth."

He tells of finding men living to be 120 years old, some of them fathering children at the age of 90.

A woman journalist, Rence Taylor, who has collaborated with Dr. Bannik on the book "The Hunza Land," published in the United States, says: "His new found dietary methods may be a way to fight the growing threat of radiation pollution in our atmosphere."

CHILD-BIRTH

An instrument in child-birth which works on the same principles as a vacuum-cleaner, may replace the use of forceps in most deliveries, and presents no danger either for mother or child, says an article in the *British Medical Journal*.

The equipment is brought into contact with the baby's head at the moment of birth, which is thus hastened.

Doctors said the most current fear expressed by some doctors was that the suction could possibly rupture the blood vessels in the head and might affect the brain, but this, they said, was not so.

"It is considered that the instrument is safe for mother and child and can effectively replace the obstetric forces in most instances," they said.

VISION AND COLOUR

Dr. C.V. Raman delivering the Mysore University Extension lecture on Oct. 8 at the new University campus on "Light, colour and vision" disclosed that he had made great many new discoveries about human vision and colour and his monograph on that subject would soon be published by him.

His new discoveries, he said, had completely thrown overboard the old photo-chemical theory of vision and colour. Dr. Raman explained the intricates of how the human eye perceives light and colour.

Dr. Raman declared open the post-graduate science departments of Mysore University at the new University campus "Manasa Gangothri." He congratulated the Mysore University authorities on choosing the right place for developing their place of learning. Bangalore, he felt, had now become a great business centre and there had been a remarkable transformation there. He felt that Mysore City was the best place for developing the University centre of learning and for doing real research work. He hoped that Mysore City would grow as an ideal centre of learning and occupy a foremost place among the centre of learning in the world.

"If you wish to develop a centre of learning compared to others abroad," Dr. Raman said, "you have to choose the right place" and Mysore University should have its development in Mysore City, he added.

Proceeding, Dr. Raman referred to the phenomenal achievements in the field of science and the tremendous impetus that the world wars had on science. He felt depressed at conditions in India and the non-availability of equipment for development of scientific researches and discoveries.

Dr. Raman criticised the tendency on the part of students to quit their own universities and rush to foreign countries for further study and researches and return in search of jobs. He advised them to develop a "fanatic" loyalty and pride to one's own centre of learning and rely on self-help. He advised them not to live on the past glory and work to realise all those great qualities their ancestors had.

Dr. Raman felt they were not putting their weight in the field of science in India and advised university men to try to be leaders and avoid being followers always. There was vast

scope of research in their own country. The world was full of problems and it was for them to open out. "India will raise her status if educated men relied on self-help, patriotism and loyalty to their seats of learning and devoted themselves to understand the working of nature."

NIXON AND KENNEDY ON SUMMIT

Presidential candidates Senator John Kennedy and Vice-President Richard Nixon clashed in their television debate at Washington on Oct. 7 over the U-2 spy flight incident.

But they agreed that the next President should meet Mr. Khrushchev at a Summit meeting—if there were through diplomatic preparations in advance.

On the U-2 incident, Senator Kennedy was asked about a statement he made soon after the Paris Summit collapse and he replied: "I said that I felt that rather than tell the lie which he told rather than indicate that the (spy) flights would continue.....it would have been far better if we had expressed regrets if that would have saved the (Paris) Summit."

Mr. Nixon retorted sharply: "I think Senator Kennedy is wrong....." "I don't intend ever to express regret to Mr. Khrushchev or anybody else if I am doing something that has the support of Congress and that is right for the purpose of protecting the security of the United States."

Television officials estimated that 75 million people saw the debate on all networks.

Each candidate had two and a half minutes to answer each question put to him by the panel of four newspapermen and his opponent had one and a half minutes for rebuttal.

Mr. Nixon several times described Senator Kennedy "as wrong" and the Senator once retorted that the Vice-President was "wholly inaccurate" in his remarks.

On the question of a Summit, Mr. Nixon said: "I will be willing to meet Mr. Khrushchev or any other world leader if it serves the cause of peace—but not unless there have been preparations which give us some reasonable certainty that it would have success....."

"Mr. Khrushchev went to Paris to break up that Summit.....another conference must be preceded by negotiations on the diplomatic level which will delineate and prepare the way for the heads of State.

"Otherwise we may find that the cause of peace may be hurt, not helped."

REMEDY FOR HEART ATTACKS

The People has an interesting article on heart disease. The writer shares the view that it is not necessary that all heart patients should die early. Giving detailed accounts on heart attacks the writer says:

"As public health standards rise and the life expectancy of people throughout the world increase, people hear more and more about one of the most common effects of the aging process—heart attack. A heart attack generally means that a clot or some sort of block has formed in one of the "coronary" arteries—that is, one of the arteries which encircle the heart and bring blood to it. Because a blood vessel is blocked nourishing block fails to reach part of the heart or "coronary" attack results from the fact that cells in this part are literally starving.

One of the world's leading authorities on the heart and its ailments, Doctor Paul D. White of Boston, former president of the American Heart Association has taken an active part in trying to bring the facts about such attacks to the general public. Equally important, he and many of his colleagues are trying to dispel a host of "heart myths," mistaken notions about the heart and the effects of heart attacks. He points out that perhaps the biggest heart myth of all is the entirely erroneous belief that a heart attack automatically means an early death.

Dr. White tells the story of one of his patients, who operated a silver fox farm on Prince Edward Island off the coast of Canada. Early one morning he felt a pressing, slowly mounting pain in his chest, just behind the breastbone. The pain disappeared after about half a minute, and the fox farmer forgot around it. But a few weeks later he had two further attacks, which were enough to send him to a doctor. The diagnosis: a heart attack due to blockage of a coronary artery. The patient was referred to Doctor White who recalls: "He fully expected to die within a year or two."

What actually happened was something of a miracle, but one of these miracles which nature regularly performs during healing processes. The farmer was confined to bed in a Boston hospital while his heart repaired itself. His blood did what traffic does when

there is a road block. It found another way around, a kind of detour. In this case, the detour involves using other blood vessels, of the heart's network of vessels. Within two weeks blood flow was re-established to the ailing part of the heart along route, in a process which doctors know as "collateral circulation."

"Before the patient left the hospital," Dr. White reported, "he shook hands with me and said, 'I'm going to send you thanks giving turkey every year as long as live.' That man was 53 years old at the time of his attack and I received turkeys from him for 24 consecutive years."

This case illustrates an important fact about the average heart attack, whenever it strikes. It is not the prelude to an early death. Most such attacks occur among the people on their 50's and 60's and records of people living on into their late 70's and 80's are not uncommon. Furthermore and more experience with available treatments, they are finding increased evidence of the effectiveness of modern methods.

For example doctor reported on an important 9 year study at a recent Philadelphia meeting of the American College of Cardiology. The study involved 100 heart patients who were advised to rest in bed and take regular doses of drugs which tend to reduce the clotting tendencies of blood. These drugs, administered during the period after attack reduce the chance of another clot forming in coronary artery. Of the group 85 patients followed the advice, and after nine years only nine of them had died. But among the 15 other patients, who for one reason or another did not follow the advice, 11 had died.

Such results confirm what Dr. White and other specialists have been saying for a long time. Test and the proper medicines are required for a period following a heart attack. But after recovery, normal work and exercise and recreation are definitely recommended. In fact reasonably active patients outlive heart patients who stop work and spend most of their time in easy chairs.

The notion that heart patients must lead an active life, says the writer, has no foundation in fact.

ORIGIN OF PENCIL

The next time you pick up a pencil you may care to think about how the very first pencils came to be made. You will have to go back more than 400 years to the mountains of Cumberland in the North-West of England says Mr. D. Macon in the *Hindu*.

One night in about the year 1550, there was a violent storm. The next morning, where local shepherds went to look after their sheep on the hillsides, they found that several trees had been blown down. The torn-out roots had broken the soil, exposing a strange, black material.

At first, the shepherds thought it was coal. They tried to make a fire with it, but the black stuff would not burn. Then they found that very black marks had been left on their hands, and later they used the new material to mark the wool of their sheep to show who was the owner.

For some years, the shepherds dug out as much of the black material as they needed but no-one else was very interested. Then the Government got to hear about it and, though they had no idea what the black stuff was, they thought it might be valuable. Some was sent to London—and it was carried in an armed stage coach.

The material came to be known as graphite, and the Government took over the deposits in Cumberland because graphite was found to be useful in the casting of cannon balls.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the fame of Cumberland graphite spread to many countries. It was used by artists who found it excellent for black and white drawings. Those early "pencils" were just pieces of graphite wrapped in sheepskin.

Soon it was found that long thin strips of graphite could be fitted between two grooved pieces of wood, which could then be bound together to keep the "lead" firm. And so the first pencils as we know them were made.

U. S. PRESS TRIBUTE TO NEHRU

Judging by the first reports of American Press reaction the point in Prime Minister Nehru's speech in the world forum on Oct. 3 that caught most of the attention at New York is his reference to the importance of the United Nations in the troubled world.

On his suggestion to resolve some of the tense problems, for example, to try to resolve the Congolese crisis through the Congolese Parliament, reaction appeared negative. The

chief reason for this was an expectation that the Congolese Parliament would continue to back Mr. Lumumba.

Mr. Nehru's speech was published in full in the *New York Times* side by side, with a warm biographical sketch. The sketch carried a change in his self-portrait published some years ago. Mr. Nehru had said of himself: "I have become a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere and at home nowhere."

The paper wrote: "Most of the United Nations delegates in the General Assembly, who heard him speak would probably have thought it truer for Mr. Nehru to have said: 'I have become a unique mixture of East and West, out of place nowhere and at home everywhere.'"

Some Indian observers thought that Mr. Nehru's position at the world body was similar to what he had complained about in India. Everyone expresses enthusiasms, admiration and respect for him, but when it comes to following the principles he lays down, there is resistance by entrenched and vested interests."

RISE IN INDIA'S OUTPUT

India is among the 14 countries of the world where increase in food production equalled population growth or exceeded it by up to 0.9 per cent per annum between the years 1952-53 to 1957-58.

According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation annual report released recently said India's population during this period rose by 1.3 per cent, while food production increased by 1.9 per cent.

The increase in food production did not keep pace with the growth in the population of India's immediate neighbours, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan.

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN TIBET

Title deeds to land holdings are to be issued soon to "emancipated peasants in Tibet," the *New China News Agency* reported on a Peking transmission, quoting a despatch from Lhasa.

A directive from the Preparatory Committee for Tibet said that under the Chinese Constitution, which "protects the rights of peasants to own land and other means of production according to law," deeds are to be issued to those given land in districts where checks on the "democratic reform" of Tibet have been completed, the agency said.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE A. I. C. C. MEETING

The A. I. C. C. met at Raipur (Ravi Shankar Shukla Nagar) from the 27th to 30th of last month: Mr. N. Sanjeva Reddi presided. Almost all leaders including Nehru, Pant, Katju, Patil, C. Subramanyam & others attended the session which was a momentous one as it passed several important and epoch-making resolutions on the International situation, Assam Language Bill, situation in Congo, India's Third five Year Plan etc.

In his review of international affairs at the meeting, Prime Minister Nehru acquainted his colleagues with the happenings in the United Nations General Assembly during his recent participation in its deliberations.

He is reported to have explained at length how the five-Power resolution came to be presented to the Assembly and the various pressures by which it was sought to be neutralised.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have said that he had received hundreds of telegrams from Americans expressing appreciation of and thanks for his first speech at the General Assembly. Whatever the reactions it had produced in official quarters might be, the American public seemed to have liked it, Mr. Nehru said.

Mr. Nehru also referred with anxiety to the failure of the great powers to come nearer to agreement on disarmament. He was appreciative of the Soviet Prime Minister's proposals on disarmament and did not agree with the suggestion that controls should precede disarmament.

On the Congo situation, Mr. Nehru is reported to have said that the United Nations' representative, Mr. Rajeswar Dayal, seemed to have come to firm grips with the problems there.

The All-India Congress Committee unanimously reversed its earlier decision taken at Poona in regard to the introduction of an elected element in the composition of its Working Committee.

The 3,000-word resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the Third Five-Year Plan, says that the resources envisaged in the draft outline of the Plan (Rs. 10,200 crores) "are well within the capacity of the nation."

"But", it adds, "a certain amount of restraint on consumption is inevitable so that the ratio of savings to the national income may be raised from eight per cent to eleven percent."

The various programmes of development in the Third Plan call for an investment of Rs. 10,200 crores, of which Rs. 6,200 crores will be in the public sector and Rs. 4,000 crores in the private sector.

The resolution expresses the view that the demands for investment on this scale should not prove burdensome because they will absorb only a fraction of the added incomes. The available resources can be made to go much further in terms of achievement by making economies in the costs of construction and operation and by eliminating avoidable non-developmental expenditure.

The Committee unanimously adopted the resolution endorsing the objectives and targets laid down in the draft Third Five-Year Plan.

Prime Minister Nehru, who intervened in the debate on the resolution, called for a change in the mental attitude of the people to industrialisation. He said that planning was essential for industrialisation and all-round development. The private sector, he added, had neither the capacity nor the mental approach to undertake industrialisation of India—a task that could be achieved only by planned activity in the public sector.

The A.I.C.C. also expressed its unanimous approval of the policy of non-involvement in military alliances and of friendship with all nations. The resolution on the international situation moved by the Union Home Minister, Mr. G. B. Pant, dwelt largely on the disarmament question and the problem of the newly emerging independent countries of Africa.

Pandit Pant said that if the basic principle of India's foreign policy were to be accepted by all countries, peace between nations would be guaranteed. Unfortunately, however, the world to-day lived in an atmosphere of hatred and conflict and suspicion. This found reflection in the United Nations General Assembly. Otherwise the five-Power resolution put forward among others by Prime Minister Nehru would not have created the complex of pressures that it did although it was a simple statement urging renewal of contacts between the leaders of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

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Utterances of the Day

AYUB KHAN ON INDO-PAK AMITY

President Ayub Khan said that the Kashmir issue was like a time-bomb "never very far removed from flashpoint."

He added that "unless the intention is to make it explode through lack of foresight and statesmanship, the answer is to defuse it as quickly as possible and that cannot be done without touching it."

President Ayub Khan who was making a countrywide broadcast on the eve of the second anniversary of the "revolution," on October 26 was apparently referring to Mr. Nehru's remarks on Kashmir in a television interview in New York recently.

The President said he did not agree that the Kashmir problem was like a "Pandora's Box" and if it was touched and the status quo changed all sorts of weird consequences would follow.

"It will be more correct," President Ayub Khan said, "to call it a time-bomb, never very far removed from flash-point and unless the intention is to make it explode through lack of foresight and statesmanship, the answer is to defuse it as quickly as possible and that cannot be done without touching it."

Mr. Ayub Khan said that the Kashmir problem, apart from vitiating the relations between India and Pakistan, was also sapping the vitals of India first and then Pakistan.

"If it goes on like this," he added "it will inevitably aggravate the problems of India which are already not too inconsiderable. A weak India will be no solace or strength to Pakistan. And how strong can India be when it has taken upon itself to have twice the army it needs despite the threat from the north incurring about Rs. 150 crores of additional expenditure per year. I leave you to decide. So when I talk about solving this problem, I mean just as well by India as by Pakistan and the people of Kashmir. It is my faith that this problem shall be solved one day, 'insha allaha' (god willing). My prayer and effort is that it should be solved peacefully."

BAKSHI GHULAM'S CALL

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed asserted that all the peace-loving people wanted Pakistan to vacate the aggression committed by her in Kashmir in 1947.

Presiding over the 22nd annual session of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference on October 18 at Baramulla, the Kashmir Premier

said India's peaceful relations with all countries including those in "our neighbourhood" had recently brought about a welcome change in the attitude of the present rulers of Pakistan. "The recent visit of our Prime Minister and the signing of the Canal Waters Treaty is a happy development in cementing the friendly relations between the two countries. It is, however, our earnest hope that the magnificent gesture of our country will be reciprocated by Pakistan adequately."

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed said: "The accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India is the logical sequence to people's advance towards secularism and democracy." All the vital decisions pertaining to the future share and affiliations of the State, he said, "were taken after careful thought. In arriving at these decisions, there was complete unanimity of opinion in the National Conference leadership. Likewise the historic decision to convene the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of securing the verdict of the representatives of people on the fundamental issues facing the State was the result of a common desire to frustrate the attempts of interested quarters to perpetuate the State of uncertainty and instability in Jammu and Kashmir."

MR. NEHRU ON EAST—WEST RELATIONS

Mr. Nehru predicted the concept of nation State will become outmoded.

Mr. Nehru said during a television interview that because of developments in technology and space travel, "if we survive and there are no wars, the nation State will go out of date."

Mr. Nehru, who left for India on October 9 after attending the United Nations General Assembly, said the atmosphere at the U.N. session has been "good" in one sense, and affected by "anger and suspicion" in another.

Referring to the defeat of a neutralist-proposed resolution calling for renewed contacts between President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Nehru said: "Even after the resolution had been buried, some people realised it was very simple and a good resolution."

Mr. Nehru called for steps to be taken now to remove the "rigid conditions and huge barriers" in East-West relations in order to pave the way for a resumption of top-level talks between the two blocs. "It is not really difficult to go further if the mental approach is good," he added.

Political

(Continued from page 609)

It was also strange, Pandit Pant said at the A.I.C.C. meeting that to hear voices speaking of the "inevitability of war." If this was valid, all talk of peace and peaceful co-existence would be empty. It was not surprising that those who propounded this theory had no qualms about committing aggression against other countries' frontiers. India, however, would be steadfast in its adherence to the policy of non-alignment and peace. But let those who might be looking at India with evil eyes know that nothing could suppress India's freedom and integrity.

Pandit Pant also referred to the fight for freedom being waged in Algeria and spoke of the great sacrifices being made by the Algerians for their independence. He hoped victory would be theirs before long.

The A.I.C.C. ratified after discussion the working committee's proposal to change the method of election of the central election committee.

Under the proposal, which was placed before the A.I.C.C. by Maharashtra's Chief Minister, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, candidates must get a two-thirds majority of the A.I.C.C. voting in order to get elected to the Election Committee.

It also provides that if in the first round of voting all the five members of the Election Committee (apart from the six members of the Central Parliamentary Board, who automatically become members of the Committee) are not elected by this majority, candidates securing less than 15 percent of the total votes shall be eliminated. Then there will be a second ballot for the remaining seats from among the remaining candidates: the process is to continue till all the five members of the Election Committee are elected by a two-thirds majority.

In his opening remarks, the President, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, briefly reviewed some of the important developments in the country during the last five months after the Poona session of the A.I.C.C. He referred to controversies regarding languages and State boundaries and said that all efforts should be made to keep under control situations arising out of them. He was glad that the unfortunate situation that had developed in Assam had now been brought under control. He was sure complete peace would soon be restored.

The Committee then adopted a condolence resolution on the death of Mr. Feroz Gandhi and some other leading public figures in recent weeks.

Other official amendments to the Congress Constitution accepted laid down that co-opted and nominated members of the AICC, the PCC and lower levels shall not exercise any voting right in any organisational election. An amendment of Mr. Mahavir Tyagi that such members should also be debarred from contesting any elective post was also accepted.

Another official amendment passed was that the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party and leaders of the Congress Legislature Party in the States should be *ex-officio* members of the Central Election Committee and State Election Committees respectively. The co-operation of the leader of the Congress Party in Parliament to the Central Election Committee had not been included in the original official amendment circulated in the agenda. Mr. Sadiq Ali, Congress General Secretary, moved an amendment to that effect which was accepted.

Another amendment passed at the meeting provided for inclusion in each Pradesh Congress Committee such member or members of the respective Congress Legislature parties as the Working Committee may fix.

Similarly provision has been made in the Constitution for inclusion in the All-India Congress Committee such number of members of the Congress Parliamentary Party as the Working Committee may determine.

Thus the two-day session of the A.I.C.C. which met at Shukla Nagar, named after the former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, came to a close after passing several important resolutions.

Thus to the outside observer the Raipur Session may appear to be a sane and routine affair—with the long resolutions on the world situation and the Third Plan being passed with no serious discussion at all. But the proposals for changes in the method of constituting certain vital bodies in the Congress organisation and the resolution relating to the machinery for the selection of candidates for the next general elections, approved by the Committee, are an indication of the internal crisis through which the Congress organisation is passing.

THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The urgent need for raising the status of the teaching profession and ensuring living wages for teachers, so that the right and qualified people could be attracted to it was stressed by Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of Education, while inaugurating the National seminar on training of primary teachers at New Delhi on Oct. 3.

Dr. Shrimali drew attention to the magnitude of the task they had to face in tackling the problem of compulsory primary education, and said the most important thing was the salary of teachers and they had to go a long way before they could assure the teachers the basic minimum requirements. It should be admitted that the profession was in such a state that nobody with self-respect wanted to join it. In fact, many people joined the profession not by choice, but by compulsion of circumstances. By their persistent efforts, and with the co-operation of the State Governments, some increase in salaries of teachers had been effected. But they were not satisfied with what had been done.

CEYLON SCHOOLS

The Roman Catholic Church of Ceylon has decided to challenge the schools take-over bill which was passed in the House of Representatives on 28th Oct. in the Supreme Court of Ceylon.

Action is being filed under the provisions of the Ceylon Constitution of February 1943 which states that no law shall be enacted "prohibiting or restricting the free exercise of any religion or making persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable."

Meanwhile the Government which secured the passage of the schools take-over bill in its third reading by 63 votes to 17, is contemplating a curb on meetings against the take-over. It is also considering partial legislation of the Press as far as reports of meetings against the take-over are concerned.

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF KASHMIR
'VARSITY

The appointment of Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, former Judge of the Madras High Court, as Vice-Chancellor, has been approved by the Syndicate of the Jammu and Kashmir University. The present Vice-Chancellor, Mr. A. Fyze, has relinquished office on October 31.

UNIVERSITY IN NEPAL

India will give an aid of Rs. 26,50,000 to Nepal for the construction of buildings of the Tribhuvana University and for setting up a national archives in Kathmandu under two agreements signed last month.

The agreements were signed by Mr. D.K. Kohli, Director of the Indian Aid Mission in Nepal on behalf of the Government of India and Mr. Ram Prasad Joshi, Finance Secretary to the Government of Nepal.

The Nepalese will use Rs. 20 lakhs for the construction of a science college building and library and Rs. 6,50,000 for setting up the national archives.

LIBRARIES CONFERENCE

About fifty experts in library science from eight South Asian countries and international organisations like UNESCO gathered at New Delhi last month to discuss problems organisation and development of libraries at a South Asian regional seminar.

The regional seminar on library development, which is the second one to be held in Delhi and lasted for 12 days, has been organised jointly by UNESCO and the Government of India.

Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister for Education, who inaugurated the seminar, underlined the importance of the selection of books for libraries. He said there was a tendency to place in libraries books of temporary and ephemeral value and not classics and other great works which taught eternal truths.

Explaining the steps taken by the Government of India for the establishment and expansion of libraries in India, Dr. Shrimali said: "Government was instituting model legislation for the establishment of an universal public library system. By the end of the Third Plan, it was proposed to have a public library in every one of the 320 districts of the country. These district libraries would be linked up with State libraries with the National Library."

Dr. Shrimali said there were 32,000 libraries in India at present, but not all of them were good. Establishment of public libraries, he said, helped in two ways. It prevented people from engaging themselves in reading undesirable literature and helped children and neo-literates, who had gone through compulsory education to sustain their interest in books.

ARREARS IN HIGH COURTS

The Union Law Ministry has suggested to the States several steps that they may place before the Justices of the High Courts to clear the arrears.

As far as possible, no civil suit should remain pending for more than two years and no criminal suit for more than six months. It has been noted that in nine High Courts the number of cases pending for more than two years increased during 1959 as compared with the cases the year before.

The minimum number of working days in a High Court, it is suggested, should be 210 per year. Most of the High Courts have done so and it is hoped that others would do likewise.

The Chief Justices are requested to review every six months the work done by every Judge of the High Court.

The Judges are requested to scrutinise second appeals for admission outside the working hours. Fit cases may be admitted without putting them down for hearing.

A single Judge should hear first appeals below Rs. 15,000, second appeals, civil revision petitions, criminal matters in which the sentence imposed is less than ten years and writ petitions. No second appeals should lie in suits for recovery of immovable property below Rs. 1,000 except by special leave.

Provision should be made in the States in which it is not already made that first appeals may lie to the District Judge in original suits upto Rs. 10,000.

Printing of paper books and translation of documents should be avoided in all but serious cases with a view to reducing costs and the duration of cases.

APPOINTMENT OF GOVT. PLEADER
IN MADRAS

A resolution expressing want of confidence in the Advocate-General for the reason "that by sponsoring the appointment of a member of the Madras State Higher Judicial Service" as Government Pleader, he had "failed to uphold the rights and privileges of the Bar" was adopted by the Madras Advocates' Association at its meeting on October 17, Mr. T. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar presiding.

One hundred and thirty-eight voted for the resolution and 78 against, while 28 were for dropping it without expressing any opinion. The voting was by secret ballot.

It is understood that on October 12, the Advocate-General sent in a letter of resignation of his post as Advocate-General to the Home Minister, who on October 18 wrote to him in reply saying that there was no necessity for the resignation and they wanted him to continue as Advocate-General.

PROHIBITION ACT IN BOMBAY

Mr. Justice Tarkunde and Mr. Justice Patwardhan of the Bombay High Court held Section 129-A of the Bombay Prohibition Act which provides for compulsion to be exercised for the medical examination of a person suspected to have consumed an intoxicant and for the extraction of his blood for chemical analysis to be *intra vires* Article 20 (3) of the Constitution.

Article 20 (3) of the Constitution guarantees against compulsory self-incrimination or testimonial compulsion.

Their Lordships were delivering judgement on two references and a revision application which related to offences under the Prohibition Act.

In the references, Balwant G. Mulye and Maruti Sadu were charged with being in possession of liquor and for being found drunk under Sections 66 (1) (b) and 85, while the revision application arose out of the conviction of D. G. Borste under Section 129-A (5) of the Act for offering resistance to the collection of blood.

Section 129-A is an amendment made in 1959 to the Prohibition Act and Clause 5 provides that resistance to production before a registered medical practitioner or to the examination of the body or collection of blood is deemed to be an offence under Section 186 I. P.C. that is, obstructing a public servant in the discharge of his duty.

BOMBAY HIGH COURT

The President has appointed Mr. Narayan Laxman Abhyankar, Advocate, to be an Additional Judge of the High Court at Bombay for a period of two years with effect from the date he assumes charge of his office, says a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, SUPREME COURT

Mr. Justice Janardan Ranganatha Mudholkar, of the Bombay High Court, has been appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, it was officially announced.

Mr. Justice Mudholkar has been Judge of the Bombay High Court since the re-organisation of States prior to that, he was a Judge of the Nagpur High Court.

FIVE-YEAR PLANS

External assistance to India from the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan to date amounts to Rs. 1,658.06 crores, according to official figures released.

Of these Rs. 1,315.94 crores were in the form of loans and Rs. 342.13 crores in grants.

Of the loans, Rs. 126.42 crores were utilised during the First Plan period and Rs. 557.97 during the Second Plan period, upto 1959-60.

Of the loans, a total of Rs. 444.33 crores is repayable in rupees, to U.S. loans—three U.S. Development Assistance Loans and nineteen U.S. Development Loan Fund.

Loans repayable in foreign currencies total Rs. 871.61 crores. These include Rs. 281.94 crores from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Rs. 186.11 crores are for projects in the public sector and Rs. 96.82 crores for projects in the private sector); Rs. 167.64 crores from the USA; Rs. 144.03 crores, including the Bhilai credit, etc., from the USSR; Rs. 115.99 crores from the United Kingdom; Rs. 107.7 crores from West Germany; Rs. 15.72 crores from Canada; Rs. 27.62 crores from Japan and Rs. 10.90 crores from Switzerland.

CUT IN BRITISH BANK RATE

The Bank of England lowered the discount rate from six per cent to five and a half per cent.

The discount rate had been set at six per cent last June.

The measure was considered primarily as a goodwill gesture towards the United States. Its significance on a practical level will be very limited. Government circles said it should in no case be considered as a sign of renewal of economic expansion in Britain.

It is stated that the change (27th October) was the third this year, as on January 21, it was raised from four to five per cent.

During the past nine years, there have been 17 changes in the rate. The highest was in 1957 when it went up to seven per cent.

Calls for special deposits are unchanged.

A Bank of England spokesman said of the change that it did not imply "any change in the policy of credit restriction" in Britain.

INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK

The Government of India have granted a moratorium to the Indo-Commercial Bank. The circumstances in which the decision to grant it was taken, were explained in a Press note issued on Oct. 24 together with an assurance that the decision did not imply any abnormal situation in the South Indian banking.

The Central Government, on the recommendation of the Reserve Bank, has granted to the Indo-Commercial Bank, Mayavaram, a moratorium from October 25, 1960 to December 24, 1960 both days inclusive under the provision of Section 45 of the Banking Companies Act as recently amended, said the Press note issued by the Ministry of Finance Department of Economic Affairs.

The Press note adds: "The grant of this moratorium does not indicate any sudden or recent change in the position of this or any other bank operating in the Madras area. The question of reconstructing the Indo-Commercial Bank and amalgamating it with some other major bank has been under consideration for some time past and the moratorium has been declared in the general interest of the depositors of the bank and with a view to facilitating the contemplated reconstruction and amalgamation."

L.I.C.'S NEW OFFICE IN LONDON

Mr. P. A. Gopalakrishnan, Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation said that the Corporation's new office in London has started functioning from November 1. He was talking to Pressmen at the Santa Cruz Airport just before his departure for Madras to attend the meeting of the Investment Committee of the Corporation.

When asked whether he expected good business in the U.K., the Chairman of the Corporation said that the Corporation's record in overseas territories was good and the same should apply regarding U.K. also.

MERGER OF U.K. BANKS IN INDIA

Business carried by Lloyds Bank Limited and the National and Grindlays Bank Limited in India, Pakistan and Burma is to be amalgamated as from January 1, it was announced on Oct. 28.

Business and assets of Lloyd's eastern branches will be transferred to the National.

As a consideration for this transfer the bank will issue to Lloyds 1,520,700 fifteen shillings shares and will assume responsibility of the loans.

MISS IONA PINTO

Miss Iona Pinto (Miss India) from Bombay, who was the runner-up winner at the recent international Beauty Congress, was honoured at the annual Foreign Trade Association luncheon held in the Coconut Grove, Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles.

Terming "Miss India" of 1960 the most beautiful of all imports from her country, Lloyd Menveg, president of the Port of Los Angeles Board of Harbour Commissioners expressed confidence in an ever-expanding trade between India and the rich Southern California market.

Miss Pinto and contestants from nine other nations (Colombia, Brazil, Philippines, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Holland and Germany) were guests of honour at the high-level luncheon.

Their hosts included leading Los Angeles figures international trade, ranging from importers and exporters to manufacturers, shippers and port officials. To a man, they agreed that the contestants in the 1960 International Beauty Congress were uncommonly lovely and possessed a high degree of intelligence, charm and personality. (*Globe Press Service*)

GIRLS AT OXFORD

A great liberal leap forward at Oxford has been announced by the university proctors.

The most important item, in a list of proctorial concessions which will otherwise leave undergraduates as cold as a college breakfast, is the heartening news that girl students living in lodgings may in future entertain their men friends until 10 p.m. instead of 7 p.m. as at present.

As love has found a way through university regulations, so has crusading zeal. Undergraduates are now to be permitted to take part in processions, speak at public meetings, and participate in public ceremonies without first obtaining proctorial permission.

The rest is anticlimax. Undergraduates who have smoked furiously while wearing academic dress will be surprised to learn that until now there has been a rule forbidding this and that the rule is now abolished.

Students who have danced with gay abandon at functions beyond the control of the university will also be interested to know that they are now permitted by the proctors to do so.

NO SCHOOL FEES FOR GIRLS

Girls studying in Government schools in Pondicherry State from Form III to VI will in future, have to pay no fees.

The Union Government has given its approval to the proposal which came into effect from Aug. 1, 1960.

At present, both boys and girls studying in Government Schools are exempted from the payment of school fees only upto Form III.

WARM WELCOME TO QUEEN

The Indian High Commissioner Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, on her return to London last month from India, said her country would give the Queen a warm welcome when she tours India next January.

Mrs. Pandit was commenting on reports that the All-India Committee of the "Banish the English Language Association," was planning a nation-wide agitation against the royal tour, unless Mr. Nehru reverses his policy of keeping English as the official language of the country.

Mrs. Pandit said, "There are cranks in every country and there is nothing you can do about them. Don't let it disturb any British people about how your royal visitors will be treated. We will enjoy their visit and give them a warm welcome."

BANNING OF NYLON

The Principal of a college in Karachi has banned the use of nylon clothes by girl students and the reason given is: These clothes are too revealing and distract men students. The nylon-loving girls have already opened a campaign against this order, and they appear to have the full support of their men colleagues.

MISS EDITH PICTON-TURBERVILL

Miss Edith Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., Labour Member of Parliament for the Wrekin division between 1929 and 1931, died last month in her 89th year.

Miss Picton-Turbervill was for 10 years National Vice-President of the Y.W.C.A. and spent six years in India on social work.

INDIRA GANDHI

Mrs. Indira Gandhi conferred for more than half an hour on 28th Oct. with Mexican President, Mr. Adolf Lopez Mateos, on world issue.

Mrs. Gandhi, who informed the Press about her talks with the President, said education problems were discussed at length.

General

Mr. M. A. CHIDAMBARAM

The annual meeting of Board of Control for Cricket in India held at the Barabati Stadium at Cuttack on Oct. 30 unanimously elected Mr. M. A. Chidambaram, President of Madras Cricket Association, as its new President, in succession to Mr. P. K. Patel.

The meeting unanimously elected the following as Vice-Presidents: 1. Mr. V. J. Divecha. 2. H. H. Maharaja of Baroda. 3. Mr. A. N. Ghosh, 4. Lt. Col. Godavarma Raja, 5. Major General Gurbux Singh.

Mr. M. Chinnaswamy, Mysore, was unanimously elected Honorary Secretary of the Board.

RADHAKRISHNAN ON PATEL

Dr. Radhakrishnan spoke at a function to commemorate the birth anniversary of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel held at the Sardar Patel Vidyalaya at New Delhi on Oct. 31.

Praising the work of Sardar Patel in abolishing the "Yellow Patches" (former Princely States) and effecting the consolidation of India, and said that the "quiet persuasive way" in which he did it was something they had to remember to-day "because we are finding fissiparous and disintegrating tendencies whichever side we look."

Mr. MALCOLM MACDONALD

After five years' stay in India as Britain's High Commissioner, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald left Delhi on Oct. 17. The presence of a large and distinguished gathering of Indian officials and non-officials at the airport to bid him farewell was eloquent testimony not only to the wide circle of friends he has made in this country, but to the sincere regret they felt at his departure. The highest tribute one can pay to him, as one senior politician said it that he served Britain well and is also a friend of India.

DEATH OF SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR

The Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Sir Khalifa bin Harub, died in Zanzibar on Oct. 9. He was over 80 years of age.

His Highness was born in Muscat (Arabia) in 1879 and went to Zanzibar in 1893.

He succeeded to the Sultanate on the abdication of his brother-in-law in December 1911. Zanzibar was a British Protectorate by a formal proclamation in 1890 at the request of the Sultan of that time.

Mr. R. KRISHNAN

From the third place he occupied among the world's tennis amateurs last year, R. Krishnan has slid down to tenth place in the world rankings for 1960 compiled by that well-known tennis statistician, Potter, for *World Tennis*.

Fraser (Australia), who won both the Wimbledon and United States titles, has emerged as the world's best amateur to-day.

Potter has ranked the world's ten top amateurs (based on their tournament performances during the current year) as follows Fraser (Australia), Laver (Australia) Mackay (U.S.), Pietrangeli (Italy), Buechholz (U.S.) Emersor (Australia), Ayala (Chile), Mark (Australia), Bartzen (U.S.) and Krishnan (India).

"MOST MUSCULAR MAN"

Shanti Chakravarty of Bengal was declared the world's most muscular man among the short men who participated in Mr. Universe contest in Montreal on October 2.

Bikash Dutta, another Bengali, won the third place, the first place going to America and the second to France. This result was for all heights—tall, medium and short.

Among the participants were nationals of America, Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Denmark, Iran, Spain, Argentina, Mexico and others.

1960 FREEDOM AWARD

Alan Paton, South African novelist and humanitarian, praised the five-point plan for Africa presented by President Eisenhower in his address to the United Nations General Assembly. Paton spoke at a dinner held in his honour at Freedom House in New York, at which he received the 1960 "Freedom Award."

"I welcome his (Eisenhower's) suggestion that Africa should be spared the ravages which 'chauvinism has elsewhere inflicted in the past.' Paton said, "That means to me plainly and bluntly that no attempt must be made to draw Africa into the power conflicts."

GANDHI PEACE PRIZE

India's permanent representative at the United Nations, Mr. C. S. Jha, presented the Gandhi Peace Award to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at a luncheon at the New York University.

The award is shared by Mrs. Roosevelt with Dr. Edwin T. Dahiberg, 68-year-old author-clergyman.

This is the first year of the award instituted by an American organisation called "Promoting Enduring Peace Incorporated."

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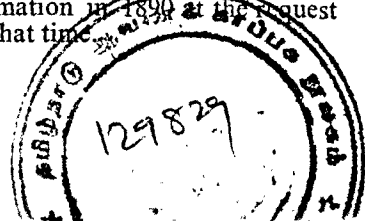
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