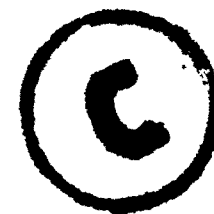


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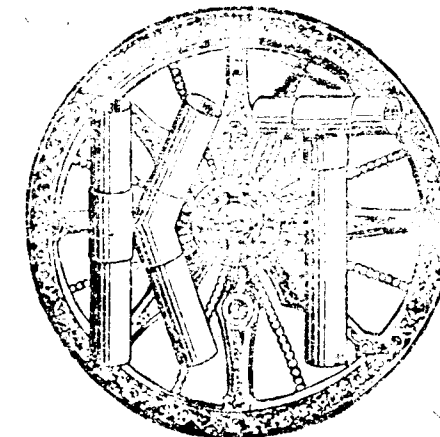
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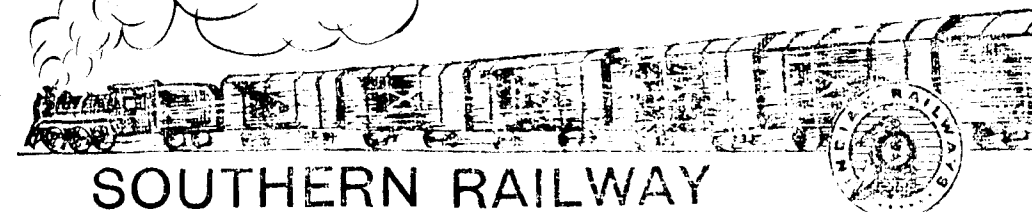
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Book Selection for the Public Library of the Underdeveloped Countries, by A. C. Ray, Indian Central Jute Committee, Calcutta.

The Book Classification, by H. K. Majumdar, Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar.

Social Role of Libraries in India Today, by Hakim Singh, Punjab University Library, Chandigarh.

Planning Literature and Documentation, by P. N. Kaula, Librarian, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.

The Interamerican Library School, by Dr. Luis Floren, Director.

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JANUARY 1961

[No. 1

Revolt of The Hill Tribes in Assam

By

Shri K. C. CHAKRAVARTI

THE Asamiyas of the Brahmaputra Valley are determined to have Assamese, their language, to be the sole official language for the whole of Assam by law. On this issue all Asamiyas — Congressmen or Communists, Hindus or Muslims, Students or Teachers, land-owners or labourers are united. They do not bother about the cost or consequence. The Congress High Command may get annoyed the Hill Tribes may agitate for separation but they are determined to have Assamese and Assamese alone for the official language. In no case they will agree to have Bengali to be the second official language. No argument, no threat, can persuade them. Their apprehension against Bengali is genuine and firm.

rated so long as they do not stand in their way. They do not like to go to other areas nor do they like others to come to their homeland. They have in this sense developed a peculiar sort of narrowness and parochialism. The intensity with which they love their homeland, Assam, can only be compared with the patriotism of the Nagas for their Nagaland.

Of all outsiders, the Assamese dislike the Bengalees most and this dislike is not without any reason. It is not true that the Bengalees have monopolised all trade and industry in Assam. Whatever industries Assam has, have been practically monopolised by Europeans and Marwaris. The share of the Bengalees in State Government services is also not out of proportion. The allegation that the Bengalees living in Assam do not learn Assamese, do not mix in Assamese Society and do not adopt their manners and customs is not true. Nor is it true that the Bengalees are proud, haughty or over-bearing. Other Indians in Assam, Marwaris, Madrasis, Punjabis, Gujratis etc. do and behave exactly as the Bengalees do. They do not talk in Assamese amongst themselves, they do not mix in Assamese society, they do not eat Assamese food, their women do not put on a mekhala instead of the saree. The Assamese anger against the Bengalees is for another reason.

The Assamese bear no grudge against the Bengalees of West Bengal. In Assam the Assamese are some forty lakhs only. In the non-Assamiya districts of Assam almost an equal

number of Bengalees live. They are as much Assamese in a wider sense and many of them, as employees of the State government more often as employees of the Central Government and some as small shop-keepers, cultivators, artisans, clerks and teachers, go to the Assam Valley districts and live there. They have their Bengali schools and clubs. They read Bengali dailies from Calcutta. They see Bengali cinemas which are appreciated by all. Many of them have shone and are still shining as lawyers, doctors, engineers or professors. Half of the population in all the important towns of the Assam Valley, Gauhati, Tezpur, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Tinsukia, Dibrugarh etc. consists of Bengalees to-day.

If in the whole State the Bengalees are almost as numerous as the Asamiyas, if in all the important towns like Gauhati, the Bengalees are more numerous, if the Bengalees have a more developed language and a superior literature and a better culture the uneducated common people of the Assam Valley feel a strong tendency to imitate the Bengalees and not the Assamese. If two groups of people live together, and if one of them is a little less numerous but superior in education, and culture, the smaller group easily supplants the other. This is a universal tendency and Assam is no exception.

Is not the apprehension of the Assamese that if left to themselves, and without State patronisation, their language and culture will some day be ousted, genuine and real? The difference between Bengali and Assamese is negligible. One easily merges into the other. The script is the same. One easily merges into the other. If both the languages remain side by side, the more developed language ultimately triumphs. In every country, the dialect, dress, food, manners and customs of the people of an area, become fashionable to others, if that area grows in political and industrial importance. Once Calcutta was the capital of India. It was the centre of British trade and commerce. The Bengalees of Calcutta, mastered earlier the

language of their masters, the British, and soon Calcutta rose in political and commercial importance. Calcutta attracted all sorts of talents from all parts of India and with co-operation from them, the prosperity of Calcutta was built up. Soon the language, dress, food, manners and customs of the people living in that city became fashionable to others who began to imitate them.

In 1912, the three Bengali districts of Goalpara, Sylhet and Cachar were attached to the newly created province of Assam in order to make Assam viable. The Bengalees of these districts, part of the larger Bengali society in the adjoining province, had a political, educational and commercial importance and when they go to the Brahmaputra Valley, the uneducated common Assamese people of the Brahmaputra Valley regard them in the heart of their hearts as superior and attractive, and imitate them and adopt their language and culture. This has been going on for the last two or three generations. Today the educated Assamese, particularly their poets and men of letters, notice that Asamiya is being disregarded and Bengali is being worshipped even in their own home districts. Is the Assamese anger without any foundation? If not counteracted in time and in the absence of official patronisation, will not Assamese language and culture some day yield to those of the Bengalees? Is not the language issue to the Assamese a question of life and death for them?

In this culture conflict, the sympathy of all other Indians is naturally with the Assamese. An outsider usually feels sympathy for the weaker party. But the dilemma of the Congress High Command is that while they feel that the hopes and aspirations of the Assamese are being frustrated by Bengali competition, the Bengalees of Assam are Indians, and they are also legally Assamese and, therefore, any legal and formal discrimination against them cannot be justified. The Accountant-General's Office at Shillong is 90 per cent Bengali. In the Railways, in the Posts and Telegraphs Dept., in Central Excise

etc., the employees are 90 per cent Bengalees. Appointment is made strictly on merits and usually through open competitive examinations. The Nagas are not the only Hill Tribe in and the Union Government cannot prevent Bengalees from joining these services. Honours graduates are few and far between among the Assamese and an Honours graduate, or even an ordinary graduate, is sure to get post-graduate scholarships etc. and is likely to become a Deputy Magistrate. So, he will not seek a clerical post in the Account-General's office at Shillong.

The second difficulty is that just as in a conflict between the Bengalees and the Assamese, Assamese are the weaker party, in the culture conflict between the Assamese and the Nagas, the Nagas are the weaker party and all the allegations against the Bengalees *vis-a-vis* the Assamese are equally applicable against the Assamese *vis-a-vis* the Nagas. Amongst the Nagas the Assamese are as proud, haughty and over-bearing. While living amongst the Nagas the Assamese never learn their language, never use their dress or food. The Nagas apprehend that if Assamese and the Nagas live together under the same administration, the language and culture of the Nagas would some day disappear. The Nagas are poor and small. They are less than five lakhs but the Assamese are also poor and small. They are less than fifty lakhs. The Congress High Command once

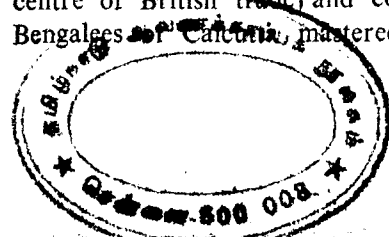
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The Army as a Career

By

Gen. K. S. THIMAYYA

ON 15th August last our country completed its thirteenth year of independence. During this period, and despite various internal and external adverse influences, vast economical and industrial feats have been accomplished, all designed to increase the prosperity of the nation. To protect what we have accomplished, it is necessary to maintain a standing army. An army needs leaders, and India's army of today needs a large number of young men to fill up the many vacancies in its commissioned ranks caused by the retirement of officers who were commissioned during the last World War and also to meet the army's increased commitments. It is a surprising fact that the army is an enigma to the average person. Few people realise that it is a truly national army in which selec-



tion to the officer ranks is open to the sons of all citizens of India regardless of caste or creed. In a country vibrant with resurgent youth, I am confident there is no paucity of young men eager to enter upon a career which offers in large measure adventure, responsibility and social security.

One of the main problems concerning parents and guardians these days is the choice of a career for their sons and wards. There are many trades, professions and services which offer opportunities for advancement in life, but the problem is to determine which would be the most suitable. My purpose here is to describe the opportunities that a career in the army affords.

First of all, I would like to explain how you can get into the army as an officer. You can do it in a number of ways. Firstly, by taking the UPSC examination for the National Defence Academy, provided you are between the ages of 15 and 17½ years and possess Matriculation certificate or its equivalent; or, again, through another UPSC examination if you are between the ages of 18 and 21 with Intermediate Examination certificate or its equivalent. In addition to the UPSC examination, these candidates have to go through an interview by the Services Selection Board. The written test, that is the 'UPSC examination, is to ascertain a candidate's academic attainment, and the second, the interview by the Services Selection Board, is to check up a candidate's officer-like qualities. Another mode of commissioning is through the National Cadet Corps. Here candidates have to possess a B.A. or an equivalent standard of education and again must successfully pass the Services Selection Board interview. National Cadet Corps boys do not have to appear for the UPSC examination. The age limit is 19 to 22 years. NCC candidates are required to put in three academic years service in the Senior Division Army Wing of the NCC. For the technicians there is a graduate course which trains technical graduates for commission in the technical arms and corps; for this candidates

must be between 20 and 27 years and have a qualification of B.E. or B.Sc.

Recently we have initiated a new scheme whereby N. C. C. cadets from the Universities can apply to join Officers' Training Units. These young men will first have to be selected by their NCC Unit Commander and then go through the Services Selection Board, after which they carry out three years at the universities during which time they are required to get a degree and a 'C' certificate. The military training would be slightly more detailed than for the average NCC boy. On completion of his B. A., the young man is put through another test for determining his place in the order of merit to obtain competitive entry within the NCC quota.

Training at the NDA during the first two years is built round the principle that a course of broad general education is an indispensable preliminary to professional and technical training. Moreover, the bulk of training is academic. The emphasis being on English, Mathematics and Science. The standard to be achieved is eventually going to be equivalent to a university degree. These three basic subjects apart, the course is framed with balanced representation of manual and mechanical skill, social study, the humanities, languages and projects. Parents will appreciate that normally at a Public School the cost of education is in the region of Rs. 250 per month while at the NDA a higher standard of education is imparted the cost of which including boarding and lodging, books, uniforms and medical treatment is borne by the Government. The boys are expected to meet their own pocket expenses, which do not usually exceed Rs. 30 per month.

Cadets at the National Defence Academy have to do a three year course followed by one year at the Indian Military Academy. Direct entry candidates undergo two years training at the Indian Military Academy before Commissioning and NCC cadets do 18 months training. After passing out as a commissioned officer in the rank of 2/Lt, a subaltern gets a salary of Rs. 450 including allowances and after two

years service he becomes at Lt. with a salary of Rs. 500. His pay increases with each successive promotion. At the minimum, an officer can expect to retire after 27 years' service on a pension of Rs. 620 per mensem.

Now I would like to tell you about the choice of the army as a career. The army, as you know, consists of many different types of Arms and Services. So, there is an opportunity for each young man who joins the army to join the Arm or Service which will particularly suit his talents. If he is a young man who is keen on dash and daring with a slight mechanical bent, he can join the Armoured Corps. If he is an officer who wishes to be in the 'queen' of Arms, he should join the Infantry. I was an infantry man and I have regarded it as the best Arm. Infantry offers an attractive career for boys of tough moral fibre with lots of courage who have a sense of adventure and a high capacity for personal leadership.

Then there is the Artillery man who shoots the big guns in which a certain amount of technical skill is required. This Arm has many branches—from the highly technical anti-aircraft gunner who deals with electronics, and soon we hope missiles, to the field gunner who shoots his shell from the observation post and is in close contact with the infantry man. The Artillery also gives scope for any one who would like to fly as he can join the Air Observation Post flights.

Then we get what we call the Technical Arms. These are called Arms because these are always in the front in a battle whether it is with the Armoured Corps or Infantry. These arms are the Signals and the Engineers. The signaller has to be a man who has high technical knowledge and also a personality which can get on easily with superiors at least two or three ranks above. He continually deals with his superiors and as a result, in addition to his own technical knowledge gains certain experience of highest tactics. The same is the case with Sappers who, like the Signallers, have to be virtually versatile men. They have to be capable of doing anything from lifting mines, desensitising bombs to

supervising and running technical workshops or building airfields and roads in the rear areas.

I now come to the Services. Napoleon said that an army marches on its stomach, by which he meant that without good administration no army can fight. The administrative services in our day are far more technical and highly qualified than the ones Napoleon needed. First comes the Army Service Corps. An officer in this corps may serve anywhere from a front line supply platoon to sitting in the rear ensuring that supplies reach their destination. He may have to be an expert on checking and having knowledge of all types of petroleum storage or the next moment may have to look after the feeding of men or animals. In addition, the ASC runs the life-line of the Army in running all the mechanical transport companies who take food up to and bring the casualties from the front line. If you are interested in horse riding and looking after animals, the A.S.C. also provides this career for you.

Then come the doctors, the Army Medical Corps. It can be said that a doctor in the army gets more chances of improving his professional knowledge than in any other service. For example, whereas a civilian doctor may only live in one part of India, the army doctor may at one time be up in Ladakh where it is frozen, facing problems of living at high altitude, and next he may be somewhere in the plains where he has to work under different conditions. He comes into contact with various problems in his professional capacity which give him a tremendous amount of experience. The army doctors who have been loaned to civil due to shortage there have proved invariably outstanding.

Then we come to the Ordnance Corps. Here a young officer who has a flair for managerial administration coupled with capacity for assimilating technical knowledge will do outstandingly well. Like other services, an ordnance officer is responsible for looking after various types of equipment which is necessary for the modern army. They have to account for these, and this

needs a thorough capacity for detailed and technical knowledge. The Ordnance supplies anything from a split pin to a tank to the ground forces.

Then comes one of the most important services in the Army—the corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers. These were raised during the War to cater for the increasingly complicated equipment which came into the hands of the armed forces during the World War II. This young corps was left with a very few experienced officers after the Partition, but by dint of real hard work they have attained an extremely high standard, so much so that they have kept the equipment going in our army for a longer time than the same equipment has been maintained in other forces throughout the world. This not only shows their ability but also the fact that they have saved valuable foreign exchange by their hard work. The electrical and mechanical engineer-officer has a wide range of technical trades in which he can specialise. He can become an electronics expert or he can be a mechanical engineer of various types.

Then we have the Veterinary and Remount Corps. For this branch an officer must be keen on riding and capable of training and looking after horses and mules and also be a doctor to them. An officer here gains more experience than his civilian counterpart.

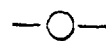
So, you see, the army offers you a wide horizon of choice on the professional side. It gives you opportunities to learn languages. You may do various courses, both in India and abroad and you have opportunities of travelling. Since independence, we have provided officers and men in Korea, Indo-China, the Gaza Strip and Lebanon and now we go to the Congo. In addition to this, individual officers have served as Military Attachees or on the staff in all the big countries of the world. So, these ample opportunities are open to each one of you dep-

endent on your efficiency. If, however, all you look forward to is a safe and comfortable job, with a big fat salary with no other intention but to save money for your future, then we do not require you in the army.

Finally, when I look back on my army career of 34 years, I think of my dashing subaltern days when I learnt to lead a hundred Ahirs from the Punjab, when I learnt to soldier and love and speak, eat and live with them. And then, as a Captain and a Major, learnt to command the Jats and Kumaonis and to serve alongside Sikhs, Dogras, Rajputs, Gorkhas and Madrasis, and all the other classes that go to make up this fine army of ours. I feel I really know this country and its people. I think of all the fun I have had, of playing game with these men, playing polo, pig-sticking, shikar and think of all the places that I have visited, both in peace and in war. Whether it was under the peaceful conditions of cantonment life, the glamour of the mess kit, dances and polo, or whether it was in the humid jungles of Burma, or the Himalayan snows of Kashmir with its sub-normal temperatures, service in the army has given me a fullness of life which cannot be gained in any other sphere of life.

These are all open to you. We in the army are a happy family. We make great friendships, we look after each other's interests and we are the greatest community, and I am proud that we are the greatest nation-building community that this country has. This in itself gives the satisfaction that no other life can give you. It is full of danger, full of toughness, and still a life full of glamour and romance. Watch the faces of the people who see them march past on Republic Day Parade, their smart turnout, their precision marching to the strains of brass and pipes and drums, and you will realise how proud this country is of them. So, I tell you all, if you want to be a man, join the army.

(AIR. Delhi)



Gandhian Humanism

By

Prof. K. C. JENA, M.A.

TRUE, some generations after, people will human welfare and the upliftment of Man as a single entity. I doubt whether a man like Gandhi could actually walk with flesh and bones. Gandhiji was deeply influenced by the great humanitarian writer, John Ruskin and he accepted the principle that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all, as the first principle of his faith. Being a votary of non-violence he could not subscribe to the utilitarian formula of the greatest good of the greatest number. He would strive for the greatest good of all and sacrifice his life in the attempt to realise the ideal. He would be prepared to die so that others might live. Gandhiji was looking at mankind as undivided and the special importance of Gandhiji lay in the emphasis he laid not on Indians because they were Indians but because they were a part of the entire human family. His sympathy for the South Africans, American Negroes and the Irish people speak clearly of his magnanimity to challenge on behalf of the depraved races. He was one of the few of this generation to realise the significance of a human approach to the political and social problems. In his economic and commercial approaches the importance is more on the human side and less on the monetary side. He was unprepared to weigh the advantages and disadvantages arising due to certain economic policies on the mere ground of economic benefit or loss; much above that stood the problem of Man. Gandhiji did not ignore that textile commodities could be produced cheaper and better in Manchester than in Bombay and his opposition for the foreign made commodities was never on economic grounds, at least in the usual sense in which the economists understand. Behind the bare economic problems there were still deeper and greater humanitarian aspects which compelled Gandhiji to oppose some of the more scientific and more rational problems. His outlook on employment and the industrial sectors was primarily dictated by the necessity of his love for mankind and his ardent desire to establish humanism on re-oriented grounds. In the face of History, Gandhiji will stand as the strongest advocate for

of a more humanitarian solution. Besides his emphasis on the Indian scene he was also concerned about the un-humanitarian and non-humanitarian problems which brewed out of the industrial and social changes of the post-war period. No doubt, before Gandhiji there were many men of eminence who had tried to improve the lot of Man but the exceptionality of Gandhiji lay in the fact that he opposed the very forces which had created him. His Western education and the Western influences had taught him that the Western methods of administration and cultural tendencies would be harmful for the humanity in general and depressed nations in particular. He did not hate any particular nation or people. Though he was opposed to the English administration and Government and their policies in India he never had any ill-feeling against the British people. Such an attitude would have been positively dangerous to a humanitarian of Gandhiji's standard. He wrote to Varrier Elwin "I would like you yourself to tell your countrymen that I love them even as I love my own countrymen, I have never done anything towards them in hatred or malice, and, God willing, I shall never do anything in that manner in future". This broad mindedness of Gandhiji makes him one of the fewest jewels of the Earth whose glamour will enlighten the world for ever. Observing this lofty humanitarianism of Gandhiji, one Christian missionary had remarked, "I see in Mr. Gandhi the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representative of the crucified Saviour than the men who have thrown him into prison yet call themselves by the name of Christ."

Gandhian humanism is best illustrated by his love for the untouchables and other backward communities of the world. He could not understand why the Jews should be looked down by the so-called progressive and advanced peoples. He said, "my sympathies are all with the Jewsthey have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables

by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendship, therefore, there is more common universal reason for my sympathy for the Jews." Similar sympathy had been expressed in cases of the persecuted peoples of China or Japan, America or Europe, and the Gandhian Humanism was singularly indifferent to-wards the differences on the ground of nationality, caste or colour. The Gandhian legacy which has almost become a legend could not have been possible without the love which Gandhiji had for all living creatures of the world. Never in modern history has any man been mourned so deeply and so widely as Gandhiji was. A man's worth is tested only after his death; and if this be so then Gandhiji has passed the test. Gandhiji died as a private citizen, without wealth, property, official status and any kind of special distinction to his credit except his humanism. "Yet men with Governments and armies behind them paid homage to the little brown man". "Mahatma Gandhi was the spokesman for the conscience of all mankind". There is no limit to which the Gandhian philosophy is believed to have shown a new and special path for the benefit of the whole world. Even though, those few communalists who had tried to confine themselves to the limited spheres in which and for which they had been working were unable to put this limitation on Gandhiji. Gandhiji, in spite of all the failure and feelings with the Muslim League and its members never had any ill-feeling about them. The correspondences which he had made with Mr. Jinnah show his great and real love for the country as a whole. Gandhiji was not a Hindu leader and anything of this sort might mean mistaking his ideology. Nor was he an Indian leader alone. Throughout his life he tried to formulate a new method which might give sufficient basis for the future of world society to go ahead. He knew that no religion and no God wanted division. God always and in every religion wanted the unity of all men. This was the firmest basis on which Gandhij

wanted to convince the Muslim League leaders and tried to unite the country. Albert Einstein spoke of Gandhi, "that a powerful human following can be assembled not only through the cunning game of the usual political manoeuvres and trickeries but through the cogent example of a morally superior conduct of life. In our time of utter moral decadence he (Gandhi) was the only statesman to stand for a higher human relationship in the political sphere."

Unlike others, Gandhiji combined his humanism with his religion. He identified his religious life with the whole of mankind and his relationship with politics was also a reflection of this position. He did not differentiate the different activities such as economic, social and political, and for him the whole life was a single whole and to divide was to destroy it. For others, life could be placed under separate heads and differing kinds of attitudes and actions might be taken. This was precisely the spot where Gandhiji differed from the modern thinkers and particularly from the Western way of looking at problems. For example, the Western missionaries might take the Church life as having nothing to do with the secular issues and the politicians might think that religion has nothing to do with their activities. Such an attitude to the different sectors of human activity may be a convenient method to escape responsibility. For instance a politician might express his support to the religious people and win their sympathy and at the same time may tell to non-religious people that religion is a private affair, hence his religion has nothing to do with the public issues. People might remain indifferent to the religious views of his. But in case of Gandhiji he did not know any thing or any human activity separate from human activity. Religion and an approach to humanitarianism were the common back-ground essential for all activities and thought.

The Gandhian humanism is essentially a religious approach. His emphasis lay on the

fact that first of all he was a religious man and then only he entered into politics. This may be true. He told to Mr. Montague that his social activities dragged him to enter into politics. His first entrance in political activities in South Africa began only for social causes. Gandhian approach to politics is significantly non-committal and positively defensive. All those, whose names have been associated with Gandhiji have clearly testified that Gandhiji had never taken the offensive line to attack. His humanism and love for the living world had no place for such aggressive attitude. He always stood for defence and that too never for self-defence but for the defence of the mankind and the living kingdom as a whole.

The Gandhian approach to every issue was so intimately related with the love for human values that he did not even demand any kind of punishment for those who had committed even the worst kind of sins. Even for General Dyer, he never asked any punishment. He suffered all kinds of humiliation in every possible hand, but he never thought any ill of any one. There is no parallel throughout the history of political struggle anywhere in the world to approach this kind of magnanimity of heart and soul which Gandhiji had for human dignity and human life. Human life itself was sufficient qualification to warrant his sympathy and love, no matter how adversely and how gravely he might have been depraved. Life is essentially and primarily noble, there is nothing to feel that life is born bad. Any life, and more so human life can be influenced by numerous factors and the more is the possibility of inter-action, the greater is the chance of being influenced, either way for bad or good. Gandhian approach aimed to reorient the life force and create a surrounding to enable man to see the better aspects of life more intensively and clearly and to keep away the evil influence as far as possible. This religious bent of mind to place the human life on the highest moral pedestal makes Gandhiji one of those "Great teachers of mankind who

have not had their places given to them. That place has belonged to them as a matter of right, as a matter of service". He enlarged the individual to the family and the family to the nation, the nation to mankind and ultimately merged the individual happiness and sorrow, the pleasure and pain of the single person were identified with those of every one living.

Gandhiji wished to put into practice his humanistic principles through Satyagraha. About Satyagraha, Rev. Jack C. Winslow remarked, "Satyagraha is not merely a dramatic method of winning freedom and unity for one's country or conquering militarism and warfare or improving a vicious social and economic order. It goes deeper still. It is the principle of eternal cross...the man who understands something of this true meaning of Satyagraha looks backward down the long vista of history and sees everywhere, all through the slow upward evolution of the race, progress for the type that is destined to survive, bought by the sacrifice and suffering of the innumerable individuals. He sees a great principle like that of parent-love, or later social co-operation coming into action, at first feebly and tentatively, later with decisive effect, but always working by the self-subordination of the individual through suffering and death often voluntarily chosen, in order to promote the well-being of others, of progeny for instance or later of fellow-tribesmen." This aspect of the Gandhian philosophy as a reflection of his humanism has been subjected to criticism. Critics attribute that he was expecting a very

high sense of idealism from every body who wanted to be his follower. In practice such an ideal manhood is impossible for the simple reason that every one cannot be a Gandhi or at least a serious follower of his principles. Gandhiji himself was aware of this criticism and he had the realisation that to love humanity is the one of the most difficult of all self-disciplinary activities which ordinary individuals might not be able to perform. But, unlike the other utopians, he suggested the practical methods which might lead the Satyagrahis to reach the goal of international familyhood.

The place of Gandhiji in the context of the 20th-century political globe was very difficult and complex. It was for one to be a nationalist or to escape the responsibility of all political and social problems. But in case of Gandhiji has did not ignore his responsibility nor he confined himself to the national problems alone. Like a crusader he fought against the evils those existed in India and extended his ideas to the international plane. This possibility of joining national and international issues must have been an impossibility for any other man except for Gandhi. His weapons of non-violence and satyagraha, his love for man and animals and above all, his firm belief that principles based on humanism alone will show new path for the world and avoid conflicts make him one of the rarest saints of a unique nature never found in the past and possible will be never discovered in the future. Gandhian humanism is one of the greatest contributions that Gandhiji made to the present civilization.

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Managerial and Administrative Training for Industries

By

PROF. NITYANANDA SEN, M.A. (Com), B.M.T. (G.I.)

THE mammoth expansion of economic activities in the country, particularly in the field of commerce and industry, has of late, proved the erstwhile management and administration of industries as obsolete and calls for a radical change so as to bring it exactly on—if not better than—the modern lines in vogue in the industrially advanced countries of the West. This reorientation of administration and management of industrial organisations in India, has posed as

one of the serious problems of the day when complexities in business organisations are fast increasing with the progressive rise in the tempo of industrialisation both in the Public as well as in the Private Sectors. In the modern industries, there are problems of application of technological and scientific techniques and innovations to production, distribution, marketing, management, administration, organisation, psycho-analysis and experiments, research, training of

labour and technicians and in maintaining the efficiency of the plants and equipments, so as to derive maximum output at the lowest possible cost and economy. Moreover, the managerial personnel are required to look after the task of organising the managerial and supervisory functions of each department after a careful and exhaustive study of the plans, policies and programmes as formulated by the Administration. They are also expected to divide judiciously the duties and responsibilities amongst the executives and subordinates, regulate and maintain the strict executive control over the organisation as a whole, approach every task in an organised way, concentrate on individual improvement through regular review of performance and potential, maintain adequate and timely incentives and rewards for increase in human efforts with a view to achieving better accomplishment and greater economy in performance. These innumerable complexities cannot be properly tackled by ordinary personnel, but by men fully trained and experienced in Business Administration and Personnel Management.

In addition to the country's existing and future industrial organisations in both the Sectors and in view of the adoption of the doctrine of 'socialist pattern of society' as the economic policy of the country, all the big private and personal business establishments (considered to be of national importance), would be gradually converted into impersonal businesses, more or less, in the status of "Corporations" and would become national properties as he had been the case with some European countries and also in America. It, therefore, seems that in course of a few years, there would be hundreds of thousands of such impersonal National Corporations besides the present Statutory Corporations in the state establishments and the nationalised undertakings, which would require to be controlled and managed by right type of trained managerial personnel including experts and technicians.

On the other hand the Managing Agents, though possess a long-standing experience in

management and associated with the Indian industrial set up for more than a few decades, cannot, in the national interest, be allowed to continue for a considerable length of time and will, therefore, have to be given a farewell before long.

And so, it is obvious that in course of the next few years, there will be an enormous demand for a large number of trained managerial personnel including technicians to cope with the rapid growth of industrial expansion in the country. But it is really a pity that very little has so far been done by the authorities to take this vital industrial problem by the forelock, on which rests the success of the present and future public undertakings. The present arrangement for producing such a separate specialised cadre of managerial personnel in India, is very narrow. There are only a few Management Institutions all over India for imparting the actual line of training in this respect, but that too with limited capacity. The training facility in these Institutions is actually restricted to those who are already in similar executive positions in reputable industrial organisations for a certain number of years. The intending executives are again required to comply with the rigorous formalities put forward by these Institutions in regard to fees, age, qualifications, sponsorship, etc. It is by way of an example that the name of the Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta may be cited here, which has laid down that an intending trainee must be an executive of a reputable industrial organisation with not less than three year's standing experience, he must be a Graduate, his application must be sponsored by his employer and that the entire training cost must be borne by the sponsoring employer for and on behalf of the candidate, viz., Rs. 800/- as tuition fees for two academic years and Rs. 400/- as examination fee. It, therefore, clearly transpires that it is not merit or ability that counts for such a training—the weightage is for the ability to pay fees and sponsorship, etc., thereby baffling the very idea of such training. This existing facility is,

therefore, considered to be too inadequate to meet the growing requirements of the country.

As against the above practice obtaining in India, both in England and America there are innumerable recognised Management Institutions with either separate legal entity or attached to almost all the Universities, under the style "College of Business Administration", which offer specialised higher training in the trade with least possible formalities. To give a comparative picture, a few lines from the Bulletin of one of such Universities in America, viz., the Bulletin of the College of Business Administration, University of Denver, U.S.A., are reproduced below, which will speak for themselves:

"The University of Denver offers a wide variety of housing facilities for single undergraduate and graduate men and women and married students on the University Park Campus.... It affords financial aid to qualified students in every way possible through a program of scholarships, grants and loans.... Many students also finance part of the cost of their education by part-time employment in businesses in the Denver Metropolitan area itself and the University assists them in locating part-time positions without any cost to the students for such assistance. The Office of Placements of the University will not only help you (student) find a part-time job while you are a student, but will assist you in finding a suitable position after you graduate and are ready to begin your life's career." Fresh Graduates and Under-Graduates from the Universities, are admitted into this course, which lasts for 2 to 6 years, comprising both theoretical and practical parts of the training. Candidates are compulsorily required to go round the various industrial organisations for a substantial portion of this period, to get themselves acquainted with the practical implication of the various managerial problems. The students are also invited to Seminars and Conferences held from time to time under the auspices of the University College authorities, Government and

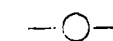
Business community, to discuss various problems of industries. They are also required to write projects and theses on various subjects including managerial and other problems of industries. Thus, the students, in addition to the College education get a direct training from all these sources. On successful completion of this training they are awarded a Bachelor's or a Master's Degree in Business Management and Administration or Personnel Management and Administration, as the case may be.

Year after year, quite a good number of brilliant and meritorious students come out of the Universities in India, who do not find suitable occupations for the rest of their life, but these students can be made good business Managers and Personnel experts if they are given proper training and education in the line. Again most of the ambitious youngmen, desirous of having education and training in the field of management for ultimate absorption in the business houses, can ill afford the large expenditure towards the cost of passage, maintenance and education abroad. On the other hand to receive the said training from the foreign countries will mean dependence on others apart from the question of heavy drainage on foreign exchange.

It would, therefore, be worthwhile if a few more Management Institutions were started in different parts of the country under the auspices of the State to impart training in Business and Personnel Management and Administration to the intending business executives as also other desirous and keen people highly educated in commercial lines, who can be employed in both the Private and the Public Sector industries. The door to this training should be open to all those who intend to receive it and also mentally and psychologically fit for it. This should be immediately done to satisfy the needs of the industries in the near future and for proper utilization of the able man power of the country. Only to erect a factory to turn it, may not be economical, as it cannot stand the competition with the indus-

trially advanced countries of the world, for it is bound to suffer from inefficiency for want of efficient managers. Now-a-days, most of the owners of the big businesses are the Managers and Directors, but ownership does not in any case endow managerial efficiency and experience which has got to be learnt from experts in the line. Besides, all the recognised Indian Universities should introduce such a course of training along with other subjects at Graduate and Post-Graduate levels so as to confer the Degree

in this subject just on the lines of the advanced countries of West, viz., B.S.B.A. (Bachelor of Science in Business Administration) or M.B.A. (Master of Business Administration) or M.P.A. (Master of Personnel Administration), as the case may be. This will no doubt go a long way in solving the problems of management and administration of Indian industries. The existing Management Institutions should also be suitably expanded so as to produce more trained business administrators.



Where goes our National Income?

By

Prof. V. G. RAMAKRISHNA AIYER, M.A.

A Committee has been appointed to ascertain the extent to which the increases in National Income on account of the first two Five-Year Plans has resulted in the concentration of wealth and has also benefited the common people. This Committee is the outcome of Prime Minister Nehru's suggestion to find out where the additional income has flowed. What we require for Planning is precise objective data about changes in the distributive system since the advent of planning. Now incidentally one may ask why the data is required?—Is it for fixing the targets for consumer goods or for gauging the taxable capacity of the people of different classes or for setting the pace anew towards the shining ideal of reduction of inequalities of income?

The terms of reference to the Committee suggest that the mind of the authorities is equally divided between the ideological purposes of reducing inequalities of income and concentration of wealth and the more practical purposes of increasing the standards of living of the common people. If we review the changes in standards of living during the 1st and 2nd Plan that it will enable the Planning Commission to decide how far the end products of centralised Planning justifies the antecedent efforts. Simi-

larly it would be a great help to the planners in their future endeavours, if the Committee succeeds in ascertaining such statistical and economic data as may be gathered at present to ascertain the gaps in the existing information.

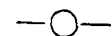
If the Committee's labours are to be fruitful, it should not merely dot the 'i's and cross the 't's of the information already collected on the subject and published by the C. S. O. (Central Statistical Organisation) and N. S. S. (National Sample Survey). What is required is not mere diagnosis but prescriptions of practical suggestions or remarks. The inquiry should be scientific, and not merely ideological. For instance an inquiry into the concentration of wealth is ideological than practical, and though interesting may be reserved for inquiring more leisurely at later time. What we want immediately to know is how much national income has increased, and how it is distributed during the last 10 years.

It appears that the Committee to probe the national income distribution and levels of living has already began its preliminary work by asking the existing channels of statistical information as the C. S. O., N. S. S. and the Reserve Bank to furnish them with all available data. Even before this Committee's appointment,

some rough studies of income distribution have been made by the C. S. O. which put side by side with the expenditure estimates of the NSS and the savings estimates enquiry by the Reserve Bank show some results. It is found that between 1952-53 and 1956-57, the percentages of population in the lower income groups recorded considerable increase, but this rise was not steady. Some 50% of the population were getting less than Rs. 200 a year during 1951-53. The percentage of people having income less than Rs. 200 per year was 55 in 1953-54, 62 during 1954-55 and 59 and 65 respectively during 1955-56 and 1956-57. On the other hand, the percentage of people drawing more Rs. 500 a year recorded a steady decline from 8 during 1952-53 to 5 in 1954-55 and 4.6 during 1956-57. This decline of percentage in the higher income groups and the increase of percentage income group showed a regressive income distribution.

All these conclusions are not very reliable, since the C. S. O. itself pointed and the limitations under which they had worked. Its bases was the N. S. S. (National Sample Survey) datas and in these datas expenditure per person was presented by *per capita* expenditure classes.

Again other recent studies of the distribution of income tax between 1948-49 and 1954-55 show that the number of assesseees in the first bracket up to Rs. 5,000 a year declined by 53%, while all other income ranges showed a steep rise for example income brackets between Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 70,000 and Rs. 150,000 to Rs. 200,000 increased by 39% and 14% respectively; while Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 40,000 rose by as much as 65% and 55% respectively. In fact income distribution has been going on against income earners up to Rs. 5,000 a year; a serious diversion of resources has been going on for the benefit of the upper classes and it has been assisted by the inequality in distribution of incomes resulting from planned investment. The upper class with its effective demand (note for instance the consumption of steel, cement, sugar etc. by a small section) is controlling the market forces toward its own benefit. With the growing tempo of investment contemplated in the Third Plan, this sector will emerge as still more powerful and what is required is a curb on its activities for the purpose of ensuring an equitable distribution of income.



Education in France

By

Prof. JACQUES POULIQUEN
(Université de Paris)

THE French sometimes appear sceptical, even cynical, about matters which other nations regard as solemn verities, but there is one thing about which they are deadly serious: the education of their children. They argue passionately about educational systems and methods. To understand the present system of education in France, we must make a short survey of the past: for our conception of education, and some of the problems on which the French are still divided, can only be explained by history.

During the Middle Ages, education was the task of the Roman Catholic Church. The University of Paris was meant to prepare the students for the ecclesiastical profession. However, during the sixteenth century, Rabelais and Montaigne expressed in their writings one of the most important ideas on which French education has been based ever since: 'It is better to have a well-shaped than a crammed mind', Montaigne used to say, thus advocating a civilized enjoyment of life.

In the seventeenth century, this conception of a general culture became absolutely inseparable from the idea of the '*honnête homme*', who was the French counterpart of the British 'gentleman.' The *honnête homme* was formed in the Jesuit colleges, and the young gentlewomen at Madame de Maintenon's establishment; and, if, among other pupils, we can name Descartes and Molière, and even Voltaire, one of the best examples can be shown in the personality of Fenelon, who was known to have given in one day a popular lecture on astronomy in the park of St. Cloud, then discussed theology with bishops, and, later on in the evening, read and discussed poetry with *beaux* and *belles*.

The eighteenth century advocated more attention to the sciences and technology, a more empirical attitude, and a closer conformity to nature, through the influence of Rousseau. However, when the Revolution broke out there was no organized system of education in France and half of the men and three-fourths of the women were still illiterate.

In 1791, the Revolutionary National Assembly proclaimed the principle of free education, compulsory and common for all children, but this vote was more a wish than a reality owing to financial difficulties and a lack of qualified teachers. In fact, primary education became free and compulsory in 1882.

Meantime Napoleon had endowed France with an educational structure which has remained practically the same ever since. Being a strong partisan of centralization, his educational system was accordingly characterized by uniformity and concentration. He created a body of civil servants which, under the name of the Imperial University, was given the monopoly of education in France. At the head of this body was a 'Great Master' assisted by a board of councillors. This 'education committee' had the responsibility of fixing the syllabi, the text books, and the time-tables which had to be the same all over France. He then divided the country into seventeen regional academies, and at the head of each of them he placed a rector

assisted by academy inspectors who had to supervise the administration and teaching methods in their own zones. Moreover, general inspectors, highly specialized in one subject, started to tour France in order to control the quality of the teaching in their particular fields and to unify the methods by issuing, for instance, 'General instructions for the teaching of modern languages or sciences'.

This system is still in use today, with the result that education in France is perfectly unified. A boy may be transferred from the north of France to the south without having any difficulty: he will find the same books and same methods in his new school. Moreover, the examinations are the same all over the country, and on those gloomy days thousands of boys and girls all over France are pondering on the same question papers on the same day and at the same hour.

Another legacy from Napoleon is the strong discipline which prevails in French schools. Self-discipline and prefects are unknown to our pupils who are always under the supervision of under-masters—generally impecunious students who have the right to punish the misbehaving pupils by impositions and detentions but not by corporal punishment, which is strictly prohibited in France. In case of serious offences, the pupils are judged by a disciplinary council which can expel them from the school.

Another characteristic of our French system of education is the competitive spirit which is prevalent among pupils and students. This may appear to run counter to the idea of 'a general culture' meant to provide an adequate basis for any career, and to a certain extent we must agree that it does do so. Nevertheless, this competitive race starts during the primary years, with written tests every week and graded tests every month, and continues throughout the secondary school classes with important tests and grades every three months. In the meantime, the pupils have to write at least one written preparation every week on every subject, and they get marks for these as well as for les-

sons. A report is sent to the parents at least every month, and parents are known to take the matter so seriously that a bad report means a most unpleasant time for the child! This competitive spirit reaches its climax in the *Concours General*, the general competition in one specific subject amongst the best students in France. Every year, the *laureats* are given their prizes by the President of the Republic himself at a formal ceremony at the Sorbonne.

The less gifted pupils also have a very bad time in the last few months prior to the school-leaving examinations. They sit up late at night, cramming their heads with dates, and figures, contrary to the British system. For instance, the candidates are obliged to write a paper on every subject—literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and modern languages—and to submit to an oral test in the same subjects as well. The competition gets even harder at the university level. Most of the *Grandes Ecoles* (higher professional schools) or, for example, the Polytechnique, Centrale, Mines, and Supélec, recruit their students by a very stiff competitive examination which needs, sometimes, two or three years of preparation. For example, out of 4,353 candidates who took the C.A.P.E.S. examination for secondary school-teacher posts in 1954, only 629 were successful. Some of these written examinations at times call for essays which require seven hours to write and necessitate great culture, rigorous working-methods, and considerable physical endurance.

The interview system, such as exists in the United Kingdom, is almost unknown in France, certainly in the civil service, where the graduates are appointed to a job and to a town according to their rank in the final competitive examination.

With such a hard life, French students and undergraduates need long holidays. The school year is thus divided into three terms. Classes begin in the middle of September; they are closed for a ten-day vacation at Christmas, a fortnight at Easter-time and three full months during the summer. About half of the pupils

are boarders in *lycees* or high schools, and the life of the university students is notoriously hard, except for the lucky few who are given accommodation at the Gite Universitaire. There is little of the campus life so characteristic of American colleges, and no college life like that of Oxford or Cambridge. Most of the undergraduates come to the university to attend the lectures, and return afterwards to either full-time or part-time jobs.

Since the last war there has been a general feeling that the French system of education should be reorganised. France has been called an intellectual's paradise, but the excessive academic requirements have been criticized as placing unreasonable strain upon the teachers and students. Moreover, though secondary education was meant for everyone showing intellectual ability, it has become obvious that it is, more or less, a middle class system owing to geographic and economic factors and to family traditions as well. Most of the children of farmers or workmen are put into apprenticeships as soon as they get their certificate of primary studies at the age of fourteen, whilst at eleven years of age, the children of clerks and state officials usually start their secondary studies in a high school. Statistics have proved that only two out of ten children from the working classes go to the university as against nine out of ten from the professional classes.

Whatever the reason, this fact is serious enough to have been taken into consideration, and drastic reforms have been suggested by a commission, presided over by the Rector of the University of Paris. The general principles or which the plan rests may be defined as follows:

(a) The first imperative necessity is to extend the school-leaving age from fourteen to sixteen years of age. This step is a moderate one Swiss, American, and Russian children receive compulsory education up to the age of seven years.

(b) Education should be divided into three grades:

- (i) from six to eleven years; elementary course, same programme in all schools. This subject having been taught from a very tender age. The objection that the gifted students would be wasting their time in orientation classes may have more serious value, but every experienced teacher is able to state that today, in the fifth and sixth years, there are many students who slow down in the progress of their best subjects. A good student would not, therefore, be more handicapped under the new system than he is under the system as applied today.
- (ii) from eleven to thirteen years; orientation course common to all French children, including obligatory teaching in handicrafts, and trial lessons in Latin, modern languages, mathematics and technical subjects which would help in the second year to show the aptitude of each child.
- (iii) above thirteen years; at the end of the orientation course, the pupils would specialize according to their abilities. The very weak ones would prepare themselves within three years to become specialized workers in professional institutes. The others would enter either the cadre of secondary schooling or technical training, the latter presenting many choices.

The years of schooling would continue up to the age of sixteen years for sales-girls, hairdressers, and shop-assistants, for example; and up to the age of eighteen years and beyond, for secretaries, technicians, and engineers. The study of languages and literature would be given more importance in technical education, and likewise, technical subjects would be given a much larger place in secondary education. Higher education would hardly be subjected to any change under the new project, except to decentralization all over France.

Of course, there is no lack of criticism and objection to this plan to say nothing about the difficulties to its actual achievement. The first criticism expressed concerns secondary education. It has been written that this would be harmed by the removal of two fundamental years, the fifth and sixth. There has been objection also on the points that the teaching of Latin would be neglected, and that gifted students would waste their time in the classes of orientation. Criticisms have also been raised on the point that enormous responsibility would be assumed by the selection committee.

The first two objections appear to be hardly justified, in particular the one in connection with the teaching of Latin in our traditional

The most delicate part of the project would undoubtedly be the formation of the selection committees and the power delegated to them. It should be immediately emphasized that the selection committees would be in fact 'councils of orientation'; they would be comprised of professors, heads of concerns, and representatives from parents' associations. Thus, it may be possible to avoid arbitrary decisions or favouritism. The final decision would rest with the parents who would be able to choose the orientation which they want their children to have, acting with full knowledge and responsibility.

The organization of this new educational system, before it is put into operation, would necessitate the implementation of a certain number of financial and material measures. The first necessary step would be the decentralization of secondary education, confined today within three or four towns of a subdivision. For example, it would be necessary to organize free school-bus services for students. This system has been highly successful in the United States, Switzerland, Vietnam, and other countries, and there is no reason whatsoever, why it should not function in the same satisfactory manner in France. Similarly, it would be necessary to reorganize the chain of school canteens. These canteens exist already in most of the first and second degree institutions. It would suffice to modernize them. A general remodelling of the form of scholarships and stipends (study-grants) would be necessary. There should be a subsidy for educational

supplies in the second degree, and, above all, for the construction of numerous schools. The fundamental problem is, therefore, a financial one. It is estimated that the application of the primary education reform measures would cost the State 54,000,000,000 francs.

Moreover, the carrying out of this educational reform requires that a definite solution be found for the problem which has not ceased to be talked over down the centuries amongst the French, namely, the existence of religious schools and their control and financing by the State. It is undeniable that private institutions would not be able to cope with the heavy expenditure that the application of the reforms would impose upon them, and as a result they would have to face the disappearance of quasi-nationalization. The government of the Fifth Republic has tried to find as good a solution as possible for this dilemma, and it has been decided by vote in Parliament that private institutions will be able to enter into contract with the State if they accept the following clauses:

1. The private institution having entered into contract will accept all students without distinction and irrespective of religion or race: religious instruction will be given outside the normal school hours.

2. The professors and instructors teaching in these institutions must be holders of the same degrees as the professors teaching in public institutions—under a temporary heading, a maximum period of five years is granted for teachers to obtain the required degrees.

3. The primary inspectors, academy inspectors and general inspectors shall be authorized to exercise an administrative and pedagogic control over the institutions which have entered into contract with the State.

4. If these conditions are respected, the State will take charge of the teachers' salaries and a certain fraction of the financial responsibility.

The Act having raised a storm from the religious side, it is considered to be both too cautious and too dangerous: too cautious because it

is evident that the principal religious institutions having already acquired without difficulty a regional or national reputation, particularly the Jesuit colleges, will be able to use a highly qualified staff. The small institutions, primary and secondary, will have increasing difficulty in recruiting the kind of staff they have need of because lay teachers possessing the required diplomas prefer to teach in the national institutions. The Act is considered dangerous because some see it a first step towards the pure and simple nationalization of religious schools.

From the point of view of the partisans of State schools only, it is regretted that this law officializes institutions which have up to now only been tolerated, and it is remarked that money thus spent could have been better utilized for the building of new government schools and the recruitment of official personnel. The future alone will be able to tell us if this attempt of the Fifth Republic will have been the first step towards a definite solution of its educational problems.

Amongst the other measures needed for the preparation of putting the educational reforms into action, the most urgent one is that of having qualified teachers ready to take up the teaching responsibilities in the orientation classes and in technical and secondary teaching.

The general and professional guidance given to the student-teachers in the training colleges has been, on the whole, extremely satisfactory. There has been no reason whatsoever to have a radical modification of the spirit of these schools, which have been running since the nineteenth century. However, some reforms have been carried out in their functioning and organisation. For example, all student-teachers have now to take examination of the *normal du baccalaureat* instead of the old examination of the *brevet superieur* which used to be reserved for them. This allows the best amongst them to take up higher studies, if they desire, and to prepare for a licence (Master's degree) which will open the doors of secondary education

teaching to them. Another reform concerns the work of information and mutual social aid which had been required from the teachers of the nineteenth century. This is today effected by social workers and rural health services. On the other hand, youth movements and holiday camps are taking on increasing importance: the student-teachers receive in the training colleges solid instruction as games' leaders, and in law, book-keeping, and first aid practice, all of which will make them capable of handling a scout pack, a holiday-camp, or a children's camp. They are required to complete courses of monitoring during the long holidays. All this exacts considerable sacrifice from the young men and women, it is no exaggeration to speak of it as a veritable lay apostolate.

But the essential problem which we have already mentioned is the formation of a teaching cadre capable of firmly conducting in a satisfactory manner, the teaching given in the secondary and technical institutions. The teaching imparted in these schools has remained very low in spite of the goodwill of the teachers, who have not themselves received the training essential for this field of teaching.

The same problem has come up little by little in the *lycees* as well, in particular on the secondary school level. In theory, secondary school instruction should be imparted by *professeurs agrèges*, that is, teachers who are qualified for university staff positions, but the stiffness of the examinations and the requirements of higher teaching have created a veritable void in *agregé* teachers in secondary schools. Most of the *lycees* do not have more than one *agregé*, of necessity, the other chairs being entrusted, for lack of anyone better, to *licenciés* that is, persons who have got only an insufficient teaching-training. The *licencie* entrusted with teaching has had to learn his work whilst taking class, which has evidently been far from ideal for the pupils. Then, in the technical schools, newly created, the situation has been even worse. In industrial design, for example, it has been necessary to recruit from the private sector per-

sons not having the qualifications needed from the point of view of degrees and experience.

This urgent problem of the formation of a qualified professorial cadre had been resolved in stages during the course of the last thirteen years. In 1947, a technical *baccalaureat* was instituted side by side with the regular *baccalaureat*. This degree answered a very urgent need. Further, in 1949, the University instituted the examination for the certificate of general literary studies, better known under the title of *propédeutique*. This certificate has for an objective, the control of the general culture of the candidates. Four failures disqualify a candidate. On the other hand, the institution of this examination has allowed the democratization of recruitment: since a year back, a certain number of meritorious students, having failed in their school-leaving certificate examinations, have been authorized after interview to take their chance in the *propédeutique*. This pre-university year is also a year of consideration, which allows the student to choose his vocation with full knowledge of his situation and to avoid as well errors in orientation.

The third stage of the project which is now admitted to be within sight of practical achievements, has been the creation of the I.P.E.S., or the Preparatory Institutes for Secondary Education or Technical Studies. These institutes function each under the jurisdiction of one of French Universities. Recruitment takes place by specialized competition after the obtainment of the *propédeutique*. The duration of studies is four years: three years during which the student studies for his certificate for the licence and receives teacher-training; the fourth year being devoted to the preparation for the C.A.P.E.S., that is to say, the Certificate of Pedagogic Aptitude for Secondary Instruction.

This competition is divided into two parts separated by courses of a year each: the first part constitutes theoretical tests comprising a series of written papers, on a level with that of the *agregation*, the programme being, besides, common to the two parts of the competition.

The second part is a series of oral tests, given before a panel composed of an inspector-general, a professor of the faculty, a *professeur agrege*, and a professor of the secondary education department.

The candidates successful in the first part of the test, are directed to a regional training centre. They receive theoretical instruction, interspersed with courses in different *lycees*—each student-teacher having a teacher-councillor. The candidate has to sit sometimes at the back of the class, and draw up a critical report on the course while he has attended, in this he will in turn be aided by the criticisms and advice of his own councillor.

It is not beside the point to note that during the final year, the student-teacher will be already receiving an allowance. Attendance at these courses is sanctioned by another competition, this time purely practical. Before the members of a panel the candidate must take classes of pupils of various age groups. If the result is not considered to be good enough, the candidate will have to commence a new year of courses; if he is judged to be capable, the panel will accord him the degree of certified teacher, and will permit him to sign a five-year contract with the National Education Service, which reserves the right to assign new teachers.

A parallel competition known under the title of 'Capet' has been instituted for the recruitment of teachers for technical instruction.

By the institution of these competitions the French universities are now able to have a teaching cadre on a professorial level qualified enough to allow the pursuit of educational reforms. And now it has been possible to start experimenting with the reforms on the pupils themselves. In certain pilot *lycees*, new classes have been established allowing for the study of the conduct of the pupils during the orientation period. The results obtained have been encouraging. Under the heading of experimentation, this year the entrance examination for the sixth grade has been stopped and, unhappily, a tentative reform of the *baccalaureat* has been undertaken.

It is undeniable that from the light of actual experience certain parts of the project should be initially modified and revised. It is no less certain that the French Government has decided to follow up these experiences to the end. The orientation course is starting now. In 1964, it is expected to promulgate the Act which will make school attendance compulsory up to the age of sixteen years, and it is hoped that towards 1970, France will have become endowed with an educational system completely adapted to the realities and needs of the modern world, and which will allow it to keep a place in the world of science, technology, and letters, that will be the envy of other nations.

(Address delivered at the Ramakrishna Mission Institution of Science, Calcutta.)

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Significance of Kennedy's Presidency

By
"ARGUS"

THE inauguration of Mr. John F. Kennedy to the Presidency of the United States on January 20, 1961 reminds a student of history of a similar function exactly a hundred years ago, when Abraham Lincoln took his oath of office. While Mr. Kennedy's inauguration was marked by intense drama, pomp and ceremony, Lincoln took his oath of office early in 1861 at a function remarkable for its stern note of austerity. Even as Lincoln was driving along in a coach, he was so hemmed in by soldiers that hardly a bystander saw him pass and sharpshooters were placed on the Capitol roof on the lookout for trouble. This year, however, the inauguration day in America was one of the most celebrated in history, noted for all its

traditions, parades and festivities. Political party lines were relaxed and the tensions of the election campaign were forgotten as the nation acclaimed the Chief Executive, chosen in November last year by the American voters. Washington was a crowded city in a holiday mood, to which visitors in millions had poured in by train, plane and automobile from all parts of the country.

Events making up the inauguration day have greatly developed since 1789 when the first President, George Washington, started the custom of the inaugural address. He was sworn in to the office on April 30, 1789, in New York City. The first inauguration to take place in Washington was that of Thomas Jefferson, who rode along from his home in Monticello, Virginia, to the federal city, arriving there on March 4, 1801, in time to walk with a party of friends from his boarding house to the Capitol. Not until 1897, at President William McKinley's inauguration was there a change in the custom of having the Senate Committee arrange for the ceremony. President Coolidge's inauguration in 1923 was the first to be heard over the radio and Hoover's inaugural speech in 1929 was the first to be broadcast around the world on an international radio hook-up. President Franklin Roosevelt made history by reading the inaugural oath of office four times successively in 1933, 1937, 1941 and 1945. His second inauguration in 1937 was the first to be held on January 20. The 20th amendment to the U. S. Constitution provides for this change which shortened the period between the time of election of the President and Members of Congress and the time to assume office.

Although the Presidential election comes once in four years, this year's event was historic in more than one sense, drawing comparisons with Lincoln's. While Lincoln rose from the log cabin to the White House in 1861, Mr. Kennedy, born with a silver spoon—nay a diamond one—in his mouth, bought the Presidency, in the language of a *Time* columnist, by his Papa's millions. There are strong resemblances, too, with Lincoln, for, like him, he won the election

by a very narrow majority; as also Truman in 1948. According to the final count, Mr. Kennedy had secured 34,130,719 votes (49.753 per cent) as against his rival's 33,955,913 (49.496 per cent) votes. It is unlikely, however, that this hair-thin margin of votes, with the majority of only a quarter per cent, will make much of a difference in the way of the governance of the country by the President, as the doctrine of the mandate is a dubious one in any country. What matters is winning the game, not the margin.

Further, party differences have long ceased to have any reasonable validity in America unlike in other countries. For it has to be remembered that the founding fathers, in all their wisdom, saw no need for political parties and made no provision for them. But the parties—Republican and Democrat—came up as a natural development as anything also in society. They do not, however, serve the purpose of being citadels of a conflicting dogma, policy or principle, as do the Conservative and Labour parties in Britain. Being as colourless as the Blue Faction and the Green Faction in ancient Byzantium, they served as a device for alternate Governments, which is after all what distinguishes democracy from dictatorship.

All newspapers were swift to point out that Mr. Kennedy is the youngest President to take office and the first President to be born in the Twentieth century. Stanley Baldwin, ex-British Premier, is reported to have once ruefully observed: "Half the mistakes from 1918 on have been the work of tired men." This seems to be true of the United States of forties and fifties when Roosevelt in 1944 and Eisenhower in 1956 despite their ill-health, stood for another term and thus lost much of their stature and reputation. If Roosevelt had a Yalta to forget, Eisenhower had much to regret for his Paris and U-2 fiascos.

Now America has a youngman, who, at 43 could be the son of any of world's major ageing leaders and this could well mark, in the words of the *Daily Telegraph*, "a turning point

towards an era full of peril, but also of great promise." Another important factor in this year's event is that Mr. Kennedy is the first Roman Catholic to be elected President of a nation, thus rejecting the long-established edicts of prejudice and bigotry, which somehow got rooted in the United States—a land of complete freedom and opportunity. But it is a land of paradoxes, too. For, despite its widespread education, universal suffrage, fabulous wealth and high standards of living, the great hopes of those pioneers who fought for them have not yet been fulfilled. Nowhere is there so much mediocrity in politics and banality in culture. But that is the high price that democracy has to pay for being ever suspicious of high standards, esoteric cults or elite tastes.

The old continents, Europe and Asia, are usually assailed for preserving age-long traditions of privilege, prerogatives and prescriptive rights; but it is usually forgotten that they keep alive the valuable standards of the cultured elite often missing in the American way of life. "Privilege", as Thomas Griffith points out in *"The Waist-High Culture"*, "was often selfishness secured, but it is best felt as an urge to uphold character and to acknowledge responsibility. Democracy of equals has not yet learned how to prize quality and distinguish merit." Thus has there been always a suspicion in this new world of the intelligentsia, vulgarly called the "egg-heads", which is evidently the reason why such a man of high I.Q. as Adlai Stevenson was twice rejected by the nation. With his intellectual serenity and oratorical resonance, Stevenson was a man who agonised on the deteriorating quality of American life and who spared no pains in revitalising the Democratic party by bringing it in line with the demands of the post-war world.

Growing to political maturity in Stevenson's shadow, Mr. Kennedy soon became a very articulate and well-informed Senator. Quite alive to the changes growing all round the world, particularly to the resurgence of nationalism in Asia and Africa and the emergence of Soviet

Russia from Stalinist stagnation, Mr. Kennedy brought a fresh appeal to the nation and his victory, therefore, introduced a new impetus by putting an end to the rumbustious American political legend. His inauguration is hailed as "a return to the politics of Franklin D. Roosevelt" and as the *Spectator* editorialised "America under the Kennedy administration is going to be an exciting place. Europe will need money glands to keep up." This marks the end of an era, for America has all of a sudden grown so solemn under the increasing burden of its international responsibilities that it has no longer any room for its own "internal political bonanza and braggadocio." One is here reminded of what Walter Bagehot wrote when, nearly a century ago, Palmerston and Derby gave way to Gladstone and Disraeli—the products of a new age. He said, "There has been a change of the sort which, above all, generates other changes—a change of generation. Kennedy, a product of this century, is thus a symbol of that change, but it is worth while to enquire how all this change came about."

Just as the Civil War marked a turning point in the development of the United States, the emergence of thirty new free nations in Africa naturally is an historic development which has not failed to leave its definite impress on the pattern of international relations. Just as the central issue of the Civil War was Negro slavery and the integration of America as a single nation, the main theme facing Mr. Kennedy seems to be a better appreciation of Afro-Asian problems towards the integration of world unity. His courage and dynamism has naturally endeared him to millions outside America, as is evident from world press reactions. It is stated that no U.S. President, not even Franklin Roosevelt, had such a favourable Press. Not only Mr. Kennedy's language is different, but his emphasis too, as is evident from this statement:

"We must, in collaboration with Western Europe and Japan, greatly increase the flow of capital to the under-developed areas of

Asia, Africa and Latin America, enabling emerging nations to achieve economic as well as political independence—and closing the dangerous gap that is now widening between our living standards and theirs."

Here he is talking not of military consolidation or even of an armed Communist threat, but is more concerned with the economic battle that the people all over the world are faced with.

In this context, it is noteworthy that Mr. Kennedy's first cabinet appointment was the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, to which he nominated the Governor of Michigan (Mennon Williams). This post, as he declared, was an appointment second in importance to no other in the administration. It is significant that the President looks on Africa as the greatest of problems in the coming months and he seems determined to chalk-out a reasonable and consistent approach from Cape Town to Cairo that does not vary with country or season and is tailored to meet the basic aspirations of the emergent nations, which are indeed the wave of the future.

A major point which Mr. Kennedy has taken care to keep ever in view in Africa is to build a foreign policy which would give up the old clichés and simple equations, so long prevalent, namely, that democracy is good, totalitarianism is bad; free enterprise is good, socialism is suspect; two-party States are the most civilized; more than two parties is good, but fewer is bad, etc., etc. These formulae, however suitable in the highly developed nations of Europe, are completely out of date in Africa, which has its own traditions and aspirations, to recognise which one has to go back in history to the Europe of 200 years ago. For instance, an African chief is not a hereditary despot, but he rules only with the consent of his people. Although he is not elected and therefore cannot be voted out of office, he can be deposed sometimes by his hut being burnt down. This may not fall into the normal democratic pattern but none-the-less it agrees with what Rousseau called the Common Will. Whether it is Sekou

Toure of Guinea, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, Nkrumah of Ghana, Tubman of Liberia, Jomo Kenyatta or Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, is the head of a one-party State without any serious internal opposition. Mr. Kennedy seems willing to come to terms with these so-called "undemocratic" democracies, refusing to be tied down to strict bookist traditions of the West. He feels strongly, as is evident from his statement on Algeria and other allied subjects, found in his *Strategy of Peace* that it is high time that the Western nations began to realise that the future of Africa lies with the Africans; for colonial empire is dead and exploitation of the natives is dying.

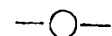
Something must be done to lessen the tensions in Africa, and America should try to free herself from the ties of her European allies, who are branded in Africa with the tar of colonialism. The *New York Herald Tribune* remarks:

"The United States has done nothing in the African view to lessen the tensions. It does not want to interfere. On the contrary in Algeria—where the sympathies of most African nationalist leaders are with the Arabs—it is closely allied to France and agrees with the UN that the rebellion is an internal French matter. When the UN complains because the Belgians are flooding back into the Congo (which they deserted at the first sign of trouble), the US back Belgians, its NATO ally. Africans do not like Belgians."

Going back again to Lincoln's days, the years following the Civil War marked the beginning of an industrial revolution, a period that Soviet Russia is just going through, namely, the setting up of the base for an industrial society. During the past century, America has forged ahead in all fields, industrial, scientific and cultural: till at last she became world leadership at the end of the Second World War. But this high position was soon

assailed by the revival of Soviet dynamism and America could not adapt herself fully and speedily to the various outside challenges. Although a highly affluent society, the nation presented a spectacle of a leisure-loving generation in danger of becoming a mediocre Hollywood fable. But the period of relaxation is now over and Mr. Kennedy's role in the coming years is to change this image and to restore the excitement of the idea of America as a vibrant nation, ready to meet her international obligations and play her traditional role as a friend of the weak rather than as a leader of an armed coalition.

The last 30 years have been full of activity in the United States; for the generation of the thirties led by Franklin D. Roosevelt was united in the great war against depression which soon took the country to the forties when the nation was organised for the war against Hitlerism. Then came the unleashing of individual pursuit of comfort and leisure with the Government playing the watching role of merely manning the levers of currency and credit. If this period of relaxation is compared to an orchestra playing all at once but with no particular melody, the brasses only dominating, is not high time, one wonders, that the nation abandons its fiddles and commences the earnest task of orchestration once again under the new era vouchsafed by inauguration of the young President Kennedy.



Life and Work of Tolstoy

By
Sri D. ANJANEYULU

AMONG the Russian writers naturalised in the Republic of World letters, Leo Tolstoy stands like a veritable Titan. Two at least of his works rank among the great masterpieces of fiction in any language. He was, however, no mere writer in a conventional sense whose novels had earned a high place in the affections of readers of all nations and languages. He was indeed a many-sided genius whose ideas on the fundamental problems of life have had an abiding influence on lovers of peace, freedom and social justice, wherever they might be. He is perhaps the most significant of the thinkers of the latter half of the 19th Century in bringing art nearer to life, in tearing asunder the mask of religious dogma from the clear face of truth and in striving to free social values from the incubus of private property and the golden shackles of family prosperity.

Count Leo Nikolaeivich Tolstoy belonged to an old Russian family (of German origin) of landed aristocrats. He was born on 9th September 1828 in the ancestral countryhouse at Yasnaya Polyana in the Province of Tula. Apart from a keen observation and a sensitive nature, his childhood does not seem to have been otherwise remarkable. After yearly education at home, he entered the Kazan University where he did not make any impression except for his desultory reading and unorthodox views. Like other men of his class, he joined the Petersburg University and passed some examinations. As a volunteer, he went on an expedition to the Caucasus where he had occasion to live with the Cossacks. He then obtained a commission and had a brief spell in the army. While with the garrison at Sevastopol, he was able to action at first hand in the Crimean War and his experiences here are incorporated in the 'Letters from Sevastapol', one of his earliest works to attract attention. His 'childhood', 'Boyhood' and 'Youth', works of autobiographical fiction, throw light on his early years, while the beautiful story entitled 'The Cossacks' is inspired by an affair with a lusty girl of that race.

A highstrung youth conscious of his want of good looks, Tolstoy was passionate by temperament and unorthodox by inclination. In his adolescent period he used to swing like a pendulum from vigorous bouts of physical activity to deep spells of melancholy abstraction. One of his earliest idols was the French bon vivant Jean Jacques Rousseau whose emphasis on a spontaneous life according to the laws of nature appealed to him intensely. His army career was useful to him in setting his feet firmly on the road to authorship. He was soon hailed as a promising writer by the literary circle at Petersburg led by Turgenev (whose conventional outlook on life, however, left him cold) and lionised in high society. But this was not enough to satisfy him. Between the ages of 25 and 35 he was engaged in running a school of his own for peasant children at Yasnaya Polyana, conducting a Journal for teachers known as 'Yasnaya Polyana' and in visits to foreign countries like Germany, France, Britain and Switzerland. German, French and English were three of the languages he knew well, outside his own. He wrote 'The Landlord's Morning' and 'Three Deaths' (referring to the end of an old lady, an old horse and old tree) in this period.

Tolstoy's marriage in 1862 marks a turning point in his literary career as well as in his domestic life. He was 34, experienced and still hot-blooded, while his wife Sofya Andreievna Behrs (the daughter of a fashionable Moscow Physician) was a delicate girl of 18, artistic and sentimental, with a hard core of shrewdness and calculation belied by a pair of wide, black eyes that spoke of an innocence unspoiled. The first few years of their marriage were an unbroken idyll of family happiness. One of his two greatest works of fiction 'War and Peace' was begun in 1863 and finished two years later. It was a bold departure not only from other novels, but his own earlier works and established his place in Russian literature. The family was growing fast and in spite of her increasing responsibilities, the Countess was of

immense help to her husband in deciphering his manuscripts and copying them for the press and in looking after the sundry mechanics of the publishing trade. Minor pieces like 'A Prisoner in the Caucasus,' 'God sees the Truth,' 'ABC Book' and 'On Popular Education' were published in the interregnum before he started on his other great work. 'Anna Karenina' saw the light of day between the years, 1874 and 1876. It brought him a great fortune besides putting the coping stone on his fame as a novelist. While he seemed to have, at this stage, everything a man could want in this life—a loving wife, a large family and all the good things of life, in addition to literary success, the sensitive nature of Tolstoy felt a sort of rift in the lute beneath the apparent harmony of his worldly existence. The grinding poverty and man-made suffering of the serfs around him had all along been to him an ugly reminder of the iniquity that made his luxury possible. He had, in theory, been reconciled to a much simpler mode of living for himself at least, and was in a kind of uneasy truce with the lavishness of the family tradition. But now began with him an unending quest for a religious justification of his life, side by side with a preoccupation with the mystery of death. The stirrings of his conscience are faithfully reflected in some of the powerful works of this period like 'Confession' (in some ways moving like St. Augustine's 'Confessions'), 'The Death of Ivan Ilyich' and 'The Memoirs of a Madman.' His wife and most of the family had little sympathy with this trend in the development of his personality. The Countess, who bore him thirteen children and loved him with a fierce possessiveness and jealousy, typical of a tigress, was positively hostile to his philosophic proclivities which threatened to upset the apple cart of family security. She fought him tooth and nail and not much peace of mind was left to him till the day of his death.

This inner conversion went hand in hand with a corresponding change in his outer mode of

life. He began to dress like a peasant (in broad felt shoe and a rough sheep-skin jacket) and to eschew meat, drink and tobacco. His attitude to art underwent a similar change, elucidated in his impassioned discussion entitled 'What is Art?' 'What I believe,' and other essays on life and religion reveal the extent of his dissatisfaction with orthodox religion and the lines on which he sought to evolve a new one. There was a distinct change in his literary style also which began to be divested of all that he considered merely superficial embellishments. Some of his later stories are examples of this severely chaste, narrative technique. In 'Resurrection,' a long novel of this stage, depicting his latter-day ideas, he, however, returned to the older method of elaborate detail.

Tolstoy's new faith began to take a social colouring and the family conflict took on a keener edge with the entry into the scene of a disciple by name V. G. Chertkov, the most uncompromising of Tolstoyans. The copyright on the later works of Tolstoy as well as the possession of his diaries became the main bone of contention between husband and wife. The Countess was growing incredibly neurotic and her demands were making the old man's life intolerable. So in November 1910, he leaves home at the age of 83 to live a life of his own, far from the madding family crowd. He catches cold on the way on the wintry night and dies at a wayside station at Astapovo (near Tula) on 20th November 1910. Though the Czarist Government of the day took all measures in its power to prevent anything like a national mourning, fearing a mass upsurge on the occasion, the peasants of Yasnaya Polyana mustered in their sorrow for the burial of a man they loved as one of their own. It was a quite, simple burial, for Tolstoy believed in no funeral services or tombstones. He lies in a shaded knoll dear to himself and his brothers in childhood.

There is perhaps a tragic irony of fate in the last days of Tolstoy when, in search of a tranquillity he sought in vain at home, he had to end

his life at a place on which beat the glare, of publicity for a time. The while he thought he was travelling incognito he was the centre of the world's attention, not to speak of the secret agents of the State. He saw himself excommunicated by the Orthodox Church for trying to carry a cross that promised too big for its portals. And the message he preached of non-resistance was sought to be practised in the far corners of the world outside the land of his birth. The colonies and societies started in his name disintegrated under his very eyes, while the essence of his message lives and fulfils itself in ways undreamt of by him.

It would, however, be a perversion of facts to treat him as only a political philosopher or a social reformer. He was perhaps more of an original thinker who challenged the accepted canons of Christian faith by going back to the gospels of Christ. He accepted the truth of the gospels not because he believed in the divinity of Jesus but because it coincided with the light of the human conscience. He laid great store by the philosophy of the Sermon on the Mount from which the Indian Mahatma drew similar inspiration. His religion was essentially anthropocentric and the sacredness of the human individual and his soul was an article of faith with him. He did not believe that anyone had a monopoly of Truth, not even Christ. The Buddha, Mohammed and other prophets were equally great in his eyes. What he wanted was the spread of happiness through the method of love and the elimination of greed, passion and anger in the affairs of men.

If his Christianity was ethical, his anarchy was all-comprehensive and impartial. While he denounced all forms of autocracy, he had his own fears of revolutionary activity which might strengthen the forces of hatred and violence in the process of destroying what it considered politically oppressive and economically unjust.

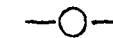
Tolstoy was no liberal-minded puritan, in spite of his latter day obsession with the moral

values in literature. Even his condemnation of Shakespeare's plays for their supposedly corrupt influence cannot relegate him to the frigid category of purely didactic writers. He was no less an artist than a moralist. "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina" mark the highest point reached in the evolution of the modern realistic novel. With his genius for characterisation, he began to give a new dimension to the Russian novel.

While his predecessors were content with describing action, it was left to him to lay bare the mainspring of that action. He was more concerned with why his characters do than with what they do. This transforms them so miraculously that the reader looks upon them less as the shadowy characters in a novel than as men and women in flesh and blood. This is

what makes Natasha linger in our hearts and Anna Karenina live in our memories. The range of the backdrop is large as life in either of his great novels. Against the background of Russian society, and in the context of European history, is told the story of man's eternal loves and passions, struggles and survivals. The adequacy of the verbal pattern to the living reality is achieved by a narrative and descriptive alchemy peculiar to Tolstoy.

If the gospel of non-resistance is dominant in his direct teachings, a knowing critic like Prince Kropotkin, would look upon "War and Peace" as a scathing indictment of war in its own way. As a creative artist, or as critic of life, or as the preacher of a new faith, Tolstoy has the same message of peace on earth and goodwill among men.



Academic Thinkers on Asia

By

Mr. WILLIAM D. ALLEN.

Editor, World in Brief, New York.

AMERICA'S specialists on Asia meet each year under the auspices of the Association for Asian Studies. Virtually all the important academic thinkers on Asia, the professors, researchers, writers of scientific works, attended the three day gathering at New York last spring. How did India fare in these surroundings? Was she adequately recognized, at her full significance? Do Americans approach India with fairness in their research?

Of about thirty five sessions, each lasting about three hours, seven dealt with India specifically. Of about one hundred and ten prepared papers read, eighteen were about India. India was also referred to partially in many other papers and discussions, of course. The above figures show India held third place in amount of attention at the gathering, with main-

land and Formosan China first, and Japan second. Most interesting general impression made by the reports and essays given on India was that they represented a new breed of scholar, a new method or approach to research. In the past in all lands, the university man tended to devote much of his attention to the writings of previous students of his subject. Thorough-going studies on history or social problems or culture were until recently as full of quotations as a cake is full of raisins. But now a fresh new type of advanced student seems to be among us. These Americans studying India gave the impression of having struck out for India in the spirit of frontiersmen bursting with eagerness to learn from the bare facts rather than from their elders. Their papers bypassed the world's

great universal thinkers, nor did they show evidence of having delved into India's own wisdom. One also sensed that this very youthful generation of American scholars obtained such freedom from the apron strings of their mentors thanks primarily to the novelty of the subject-matter; the mentors simply were in no position to control and hold in leash these boy explorers, knowing themselves so little about India. Much of course is lost in this "starting from scratch" but in any case it is symptomatic of a very new trend in relations between India and America.

Strangely, while these modern scholars have shaken off many hampering traditions of the past, have escaped from the Ivory Tower into the Market Place, yet they do not go so far as to communicate their activities and discoveries to the everyday people. We today are at a turning point in history, with scholarly investigation graduating into approaches and methods understandable and useful to immediate political and social action. Yet these very same scholars fail to have the impact on their own time which their work deserves, owing to an odd blindness to the potential interest of newspaper editors and radio commentators in their findings.

Among the most interesting sessions was one on political conditions in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. N. V. Sovani of Johns Hopkins University was the main Indian discussant. In another session, Brijen K. Gupta of Southern Illinois University read a paper on Indian history. The most Indian-manned session was on the modern Indian social novel. Naresh Guha of Jadavpur and Northwestern Universities reported on Bengali literature; Prabhakar Machwe of Sahitya Akademi and Wisconsin University told of Hindi literary trends; C. M. Naim, California University, reported on Urdu writings. Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, the world-famed authority on Tagore, now at Boston, Krishna Baldev Vaid of Harvard and Masud Husain Khan of California participated. A session on "the social effects of British rule in India" had as chairman S. P. Sen of Michigan University. The Tagore Centenary Committee led by Dr. Chakravarty met during the eventful gathering to plan activities in U.S.A. to stimulate appreciation of Tagore. The Asia Society organized two evenings of films on Asia, each evening running films for four hours without a stop. Two of the best of the films dealt with India.

Founders of the Schools of Thought

By

DR. P. C. GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit.

THE ancient system was either Vedic or non-Vedic. The schools under Vedic were Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Sankya, Yoga, and Charvaka. The first four accepted that Reason was the chief guide to knowledge and the Vedic revelations were the authentic sources of that knowledge. Charvaka's was not a new system of philosophy. He propounded a materialistic secularity and accepted the Pratyaksha only. The non-Vedic did not accept the authority of the Vedas. The two schools which grew up under the non-Vedic were Boudhya and Pashupat.

The 'Vedic' was also known as Hetukas. The propounders of its system of philosophy were Akshapada, Kanada, Kapila, Patanjali, and Charvaka. Of these Charvaka as already stated was a pratyakshavadi. The 'non-Vedic' were called the Pashandas and the propounders were Boudhya and Pashupat.

Nyaya and Vaisheshika are systems of bold reasoning. Akshapada through Logic and Kanada through psycho-analysis based their reasoning on clear, correct deductions and inductions. They held that God is the over-rul-

ing power. Nyaya admits an eternal, supreme and personal God and multitudes of souls. The Vaisheshika also accepts these two fundamentals of the eternal and of souls with certain reservations. It (Vaisheshika) propounds an atomic theory which is not very clear and is quite different from the modern scientific theory. Science has not yet come to the end of the division of particles, Vaisheshika has. It speaks only of the Anu and the Paramanu the ultimate unit. In Vaisheshika the number of souls is also infinite and are of varying sizes. The position of the Nyaya, in terms of the soul, is one of infinitives. In Vaisheshika there are two infinites which clearly is a contradiction in terms.

Kanada in his Vaisheshika accepted pratyaksha and Anuman, that is objective and subjective inferences. Akshapada, and later Gautama and Udayana, in Nyaya, accepted pratyaksha, anuman, upaman and shabda, that is, perception, inference, analogy and testimony. Jaimini, in his Vedanta took Vedas as his text, whereas the other Hetukas took nature as their text. Kanada's school accepted that Vedas were the words of God and because they were uttered through human agency they became only ancillaries and were, therefore, useless independently. Of superficial approaches, 'Monism' is the oldest 'Vishishtadwayita' came next and 'dualism' last of all. This idea of their sequences I base on (a) Shankara (b) Ramanuja and (c) Madhva. We might say that some of the Hetukas are allied, so are Sankhya and Yoga. These are followed by Purva-mimansa and Uttar-mimansa.

The Sankhyamat or school is dubbed atheist because it ascribed everything to Purusha and Prakriti. Here Purusha is the unlimited soul and Prakriti is the 24 principles of matter starting from the Gunas to Prithvi (earth). According to Sankhya the joinder of the two resulted in the Sansar. The goal to be achieved was to bring about a divorce between them. Purusha and Prakriti being both uncontrolled the universe became a self-governing commonwealth. Each

spiritunit is struggling to split free from the matter to which it is wedded. The Purusha can find the Right path through (a) remembering his original freedom, (b) remembering the experiences of his cosmic existence, and (c) realizing that life is nothing but pain.

In Sankhya, however, the theory of evolution is most rational and authoritative. The analysis of the three Gunas are almost thorough. The latter systems have adopted it without a question. The Sankhya based its theory on reason. It laid emphasis on the "Wheel-and-clay" analogy. But *Sankhya forgot the potter*. The Yoga of Patanjali is usually paired with Sankhya. But more emphasis was laid on a code of discipline and on the annihilation of flesh. Patanjali conceived God as a great being who lived far away unconcerned with the struggles of humanity.

Jaimini's "Purva-mimansa" attaches highest importance to Shabda and the Veda-Vakya exists eternally in the Bramhanda. Veda is the spirit of God. Heaven is a gift of God's grace. The cosmos is a symphony of rare beauty. Shabda is Bramha—the planner of the Universe. Badarayana's "Uttar-mimansa" has been commented upon by such great scholars as Shankara, Ramanuja and Madhva. Hence, much controversy centres round these commentaries. "Badarayana—sutras" have been interpreted in a dualistic sense (of Shri Bhasya by Ramanuja).

Four systems grew up at the beginning of the 13th century. These were the Vishishtadwaita, Dwaita, Sarvasidhanta and Vira-shaiva. The propounders were Ramanuja, Madhva, Meykandar and Basava, respectively. These Acharyas were distinct from but grew out of Alvars who were mystics and poets. Their aim was to reconcile Vedanta with Nathamuni's Prabandha and Bhakti with Karma. Nathamuni established the Pancharatna School and refuted Shankara's doctrine of Abidya. He determined the nature of the individual soul and advocated Prapatti or self-surrender. Ramanuja based his theories on the foundation of Prapatti. This is evident in his books, namely, Vedantha-Sangraha, commentary on the Geeta, Vedanta-Sutra or Sri

Bhasya. The last gives a philosophic basis to Vaishnavism. He combines in it the spirit of the absolute or its philosophy with the spirit of the Alvars. He gives an exposition of the relation between God and the World of matter and souls. The three realities to him were God Soul and matter. The soul and matter were interpreted in terms of Visheshan (adjective) and Visheshya (noun). According to Ramanuja tat was synonymous with God and twama with the Sarin-dweller of the soul. He taught Jnanyoga or meditation on the nature of the soul for the purpose of realising that it is different from its physical sheath. His Bhaktiyoga is a higher type of meditation accompanied by love on the nature of God. Moksha, according to him, came with the perfection of Bhakti. This liberalism of thought inspired thousands of lower-caste men and women to take shelter in the Vaishnava fold. His greatness lies in the fact that he brought such a revolution without coming into conflict with the orthodox section. Madhva, as head of the Sringeri-math, through his exposition in the Panchadashi and Sarin-darshan Sangraha. Madhvaranya and his brother Sayana as advisers of the founders, Harishava and Bukka, of Vijainagar, strengthened the Dwaitavada of Madhvacharya.

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Family Planning

By

LT.-COL. B. L. RAINA

FAMILY planning is just not an emergency measure to control population, but a social policy for the welfare of the family giving the right to every family to have children by choice. The control of births should not be viewed in a negative sense but in a positive one for bringing up children with love, care and affection. Spacing of children also preserves the health of the mother and thus ensures happiness and harmony in the home and proper care of the child. The individual families should therefore aim at three children.

The rate of population increase in India is serious and explosive and demands vigorous and sustained action. Stabilization of population is also an essential element in the strategy of economic development. The prospects are encouraging and the problem can be solved. Results in terms of reduced birth rate will, however, taken time. But we should march ahead with vigour, confidence and determination.

During the First Five Year Plan period the programme was started with caution and great deal of attention was devoted to research. In

the Second Five Year Plan period efforts were made to set up an organisational base to build a fourfold programme of "Service, Education, Training and Research." It soon became evident that emphasis should be on education and action research. The Central Family Planning Board was formed on September 1, 1956. Gradually State Boards were also constituted. The next step was to set up District Committees in each State. They are now being established with Union Government's assistance. Family Planning officers have been appointed in most States.

There are now three expert committees viz., the Demographic Advisory Committee, the Committee on Scientific aspects of Family Planning of the Indian Council of Medical Research (dealing with medical and biological aspects) and the Communication Motivation Action-Research Committee.

In the field of education, an attempt was made to collect information on factors responsible for community attitudes, beliefs and behaviour pattern, to identify natural group leaders for mass communication, and to prepare and

test basic material and methods for the masses. to carry the message. They have done and do valuable work. Family Planning orientation studies at Ramanagaram and Delhi showed that camps for leaders of different localities especially villages are also being held. The response is enthusiastic and exhilarating. The training programme for family planning workers began with ad hoc courses. The two centres, one for potential instruction at Bombay and another at Ramanagaram were developed. New regional training centres are being opened. About sixteen are functioning. In the field of services, we started with research on safe periods. Soon after foam tablets were offered. Now all available methods, including sterilisation, are available. The decision to accept one or the other method is entirely of the family. The point of view of conscientious objectors is respected and appreciated. The programme is being developed as people's co-operation of all parties and religious groups and steering clear of religious, ideological and political controversies.

This led to the formation of Family Planning Communication Action Research Programme. The Ford Foundation has offered \$ 330,000 for communication research and training. Such a research programme will enable us to know more about some problems of the various categories of our population and help in extending the family planning programme.

The programme is essentially an action research programme. The action based on available knowledge is being taken and is being modified according to results of research. Well known educational methods are being used. Family Planning Workers contact families individually and in groups and also promote community welfare activities. A large number of posters, pamphlets and folders have been issued. A number of exhibitions have been held. Broadcasts on family planning are also radiated by All India Radio Films (including a technicolor cartoon) and slides have been produced. Film strips are being prepared.

Honorary Family Planning Education Leaders have been appointed. It is hoped that soon there will be one such leader per division in each state. Such group leaders can help considerably in creating the background for the acceptance of family planning. These leaders address meetings, arrange group discussions, motivate people, mobilize public opinion and form a network of local voluntary groups in various places

The demand for contraceptives has increased considerably at one time heavy demands created shortage in supplies, orders had to be placed abroad in bulk. Their manufacture in the country was expedited. Foam tablets, jellies and sheaths are now being manufactured in India. Public demand for services, including sterilization facilities, has gradually increased. In 1956, the Second Five-year Plan started with about 147 birth control clinics (21 in rural areas), a few M.C.H. Centres giving Family Planning advice, a limited number of districts providing family planning services, with hardly any medical teaching institutions giving family planning advice and with about 67 persons trained in ad hoc courses.

By September 1960, the number of clinics was 1,444 (938 rural), 1,318 M.C.H. Centres (out of about 4,163 M.C.H. Centres) giving family planning advice, 292 districts having family planning services, about 13 medical colleges and 60 other training centres with family planning clinics. In addition 1,589 medical and health

centres provide family planning services. Family Planning advice is thus available from 2,862 centres. Over 3,200 persons have been trained. Free flow of supplies is being gradually arranged especially in rural areas. Contraceptives are given free and at subsidised rates. Sheaths, jellies and foam tablets are distributed free in rural areas irrespective of income. Sheaths can be issued by non-medical personnel. Foam tablets can be distributed through the Public Health Nurse, Health Visitor and Auxiliary Nurse midwife.

It has been recommended that the family planning services should form an integral part of medical, health and welfare services. National Extension and Community Development Organisations are gradually covering the entire country and each block will have a primary Health Centre. In rural areas the clinics are, therefore, being mainly associated with Primary Health Centres.

The Central Family Planning Board recommended the inclusion of sterilization operation in the family planning programme on the merit of each case after careful examination by a qualified doctor with the consent of both husband and wife in hospitals and institutions where facilities exist. The Government of India have sanctioned extra personnel to strengthen the staff of some of the hospitals directly under them, and grant of special casual leave not exceeding six working days to Government servants who undergo sterilization operation. They have also offered assistance to State Governments to strengthen the staff of hospitals up to district level for sterilization operation, for training and mobile units. The patients from primary health centres can be referred to the sub-divisional district hospitals where the sterilization teams normally operate. These teams can also go to primary health centres where operating facilities exist. The number of sterilization operations reported increased from 7,823 (2,333 males) in 1956 to 37,722 (13,925 males) in 1959. The total number reported from 1956 upto August, 1960 is 1,05,028 (39,654 males). Actual figures far exceed this number. Medical, biological and demographic researches are being conducted. Research in Motivation and Communication has also been started.

The much debated subject of use of progestational steroids has also been considered. An Expert Committee on oral contraceptives has

recommended that the stage has not yet been reached to permit the sale of these steroids for control of conception. But in view of the available evidence of effectiveness of these drugs for disturbances of menstruation, threatened abortion and sterility, for which their use is for short duration, their sale for therapeutic purposes on medical prescription may be permitted and this question may be considered by the Drugs Controller (India) in the normal course. The Government of India have no objection to the use of these products for research of their anti-fertility effect by competent workers under rigid controlled conditions.

A regular fellowship programme in demographic research in India and abroad is being developed. Demographic Training and Research Centres have been established. The population Council of New York is giving valuable assistance.

The effect of the Family Planning programme on birth rate is not likely to be evident for a number of years. But a study of Contributory Health Service Scheme Clinics' patients of Delhi by the Demographic Research Centre, Delhi University, has revealed that the pregnancy rate for non-contraception use period ranged between 62 and 66 per cent for contraception-use-period without clinic service it was 35.2 and for the post clinic contraception-use-period it was 10.0 for diaphragm and jelly and 12.6 for all the prescribed contraceptives. This shows that by using contraceptives under clinic guidance, it is possible to reduce expected pregnancies by 80 per cent. Much knowledge on the acceptability and effectiveness of various well recognised methods of family planning in different cultural settings is yet to be worked out for this country.

The Family Planning Programmes implemented during the first two Plans may justifiably be considered as preparatory phases for a more extensive and intensive approach beginning with the Third Five Year Plan. The achievements made are significant and encouraging but it is just the beginning. The results achieved are not only due to the efforts of governmental and non-governmental organisations but to a great extent on account of the acceptance of the programme by the people. To make family planning a way of life requires a great deal of further effort and widespread participation of the people which is gradually increasing.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The Indian National Congress

The 66th session of the Indian National Congress met Sardarnagar (Bhavnagar) on 4th January with the hoisting of the Congress flag by the Congress President Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi. Prime Minister Nehru, Mr. Morarji Das, Mr. U. N. Dhebar and other Congress leaders and members of the Working Committee joined the gathering at the Zenda Chowk in front of the venue of the open session in saluting the flag.

Mr. Sanjiva Reddi, the President, in the course of his address on 6th Jan. said: "The disparous tendencies that are visible and lowering tone of our public life have filled me with sadness and depression." He called upon Congressmen to work unitedly, forgetting petty issues, for the establishment of Socialism through democratic means. Unless India became stronger and her democratic institutions were fully protected, she could not help nations struggling to overcome foreign bondage. "We have to forge unity both for building up a Socialist India and for protecting our democracy, so that this country can play a strong role in the world", Mr. Reddi added.

Prior to the open session the General Secretaries of the Congress presented a report in which they expressed serious concern at the "lack of unity among Congressmen in some States."

The report warned the Congressmen against the "unhappy development" of formation of "rigid groups" centering round personalities with the aim of capturing power by "group pressures."

In his opening remarks at the A. I. C. C. meeting at the Congress Pandit previously, Mr. Sanjiva Reddi said that one of the biggest problems before the Congress now was how to restore unity in the organisation.

The organisational unity, he said, was essential in view of the coming general elections, in which the Congress had to face opposition all over the country.

Speaking on some of the important events in the recent period, from the Congress point of view, the Congress President referred to the mid-term elections in Kerala and the creation of two separate States of Gujarat and Maharashtra.

This year's Congress accords significant prominence for a twenty-two point election manifesto setting out in broad terms the policies

and objectives of the Congress. The manifesto will be enlarged in greater detail in the next few months.

In view of the General elections in 1962 this manifesto authorises the A. I. C. C. to place it before the people. Of course the manifesto is based on policies as indicated on Congress resolutions, more particularly the resolutions of this session of the Congress.

The session concluded on 7th after adopting all official resolutions.

Powers of the President

While laying the foundation-stone for the new premises of the Indian Law Institute in Delhi on November 28, President Prasad suggested that the Institute take up as part of its legal research work the study and investigation of the question as to how far the powers and the functions of the President of India differed from those of the sovereign of Great Britain. The President said that it was generally believed that like the sovereign of Great Britain, the President of India was also a constitutional head and had to act according to the advice of the Council of Ministers, and pointed out that there was no provision in the Constitution which in so many words laid down that "the President shall be bound to act in accordance with the advice of his Council of Ministers."

"A question of import is how far we are entitled to involve and incorporate into our written Constitution by interpretation the conventions of the British Constitution which is an unwritten Constitution", the President said.

Prime Minister Nehru addressing his Press Conference at New Delhi on Dec. 21 reiterated that the President of India was the constitutional head of the State and the country had a parliamentary form of Government.

Mr. Nehru said that a great deal had been made of the President's recent suggestion to the Law Institute to study the powers of the President laid down in the Constitution.

Mr. Nehru reiterated that politically and constitutionally, the President's position conformed to that of the British Crown.

Mr. C. R. observed that "It is a matter for some satisfaction that the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has suggested a thorough examination by jurists of the duties and powers of the President of the Union."

Nepal—

King Mahendra through a Royal proclamation on Dec. 15 dismissed Nepal's first elected Government, headed by Mr. B. P. Koirala, dissolved both the Houses of Parliament and assumed all powers of administration "till such time as other arrangements are made." The King said Nepal would stand by its policy of neutrality and maintain friendship with all nations.

King Mahendra ended the political uncertainty in Nepal by appointing a Council of Ministers under his own chairmanship. They were sworn on Dec. 26.

On 5th Jan. King Mahendra banned all political parties in Nepal and declared them illegal forthwith. In a proclamation, the King said to instil "a new awareness" in the people Panchayat Democracy would be developed in the country.

Panchayat Raj in Andhra

The Congress Parliamentary Party's study team on Panchayat Raj, which recently toured Andhra Pradesh, has said in a report published on Dec. 27 that the officials, non-officials and the general public "are determined to make this great experiment a success."

As in Rajasthan, the team was "struck" by the co-operation between officials and non-officials at all levels in Andhra as well as a growing awareness of their responsibilities by the representatives of the people, the report said.

The team noted that the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads in Andhra Pradesh had done good work both in regard to the expansion of primary and secondary education and in raising food production.

New U.S.A. Appointments

Mr. Kennedy's choice of Mr. Dean Rusk for the post of U.S. Secretary of State has been well received by the public; for, Mr. Rusk is a most capable man and has all the makings of a good Secretary of State. He may not be a spectacular person as Mr. Dulles was or brilliant as Mr. Acheson, but he is a sound man of cool and solid judgment. He is an intellectual and a liberal and those who have worked with him know him as a man who is not given to snap decisions, but as one who gives a problem much thought before making up his mind. Mr. Rusk was Assistant Secretary of State during the Korean war and took a firm stand against Gen. MacArthur's wanting to carry the war into China. Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith is to take charge as U. S. Ambassador of India.

Algeria

The U.N. General Assembly Political Committee on Dec. 15 granted the necessary two-thirds majority to an Afro-Asian draft resolution calling for a United Nations controlled referendum in Algeria.

The Committee voting on the resolution as a whole, voted 46 in favour, 20 against, and 28 abstentions.

A solid majority has supported the principle of self-determination for Algeria at the referendum, held on 8th Jay.

An Algerian Parliament with certain legislative powers and an executive dealing with Algerian affairs other than defence, foreign affairs, currency and higher education are provided for.

District and regional "councils" and "parliaments" would be set up throughout Algeria and increased powers would be given to local authorities. This would contrast with the strongly centralized administrative system now in operation.

The new measures decided upon by the French cabinet include the creation of 32 important civil service posts for Moslems, including 11 sub-prefects.

Saudi Arabia

The new Saudi Arabian Cabinet—in which King Saud is Prime Minister—was sworn in on Dec. 26 at Jeddah and later held its first meeting according to Radio Mecca.

Mansour Al Mansour, new Minister of State, of the Prime Minister's office, delivered a policy statement on behalf of King Saud, the Radio said.

King Saud said that his foreign policy would be based on "complete neutrality."

He also said they "will adhere to the Arab League Charter and will provide efforts to regain Arab rights in Palestine, Algeria, Oman and the South Arab Peninsula."

A Royal decree had been issued approving a new Saudi budget balanced at 1,786 million riyals, including 180 million for defence and the air force and 34 million for foreign affairs.

King Saud of Saudi Arabia has given his country a provisional constitution pending the drafting of a new constitution by the proposed National Assembly, Radio Mecca reported.

The first article of the provisional constitution stated that Saudi Arabia is an Islamic sove-

reign Arab State within the great Arab nation with an indivisible territory and a regime which is that of the constitutional monarchy.

The second article declared that Islam was the State religion of Saudi Arabia and that Islamic was the fundamental source of the country's legislation. Another article said the Arab language was the country's official language.

The provisional constitution also laid down that the successor to the throne should be selected from the family of the late King Ibn Saud father of the present King. A special constitutional provision would be issued later to regulate this question in detail.

Ethiopia

On Dec. 14 a *Coup* is said to have been staged in Addis Ababa capital of Ethiopia and that the crown prince was alleged to be heading the New Government in the absence of his father at Brazil. But the loyalty soon gained complete victory over the rebels. The Emperor Haile Selassie cancelled his programme and returned to Addis Ababa on Dec. 17.

He was greeted on his arrival by his son, Crown Prince Asfa Wossen, who was at first described as the leader of the *coup*.

It was learnt that the rebels had arrested the Crown Prince at the beginning of the attempted *coup* and used his name as an attempt to gain support from the people.

The Emperor returned soon after forces loyal to him gained a complete victory over the rebels after 36 hours of fighting.

The Capital was generally reported calm, with all British subjects safe and all members of the Ethiopian royal family also safe.

On Dec. 18 the Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia made a nation-wide broadcast and promised an amnesty to all those who took part in the abortive *coup*, if they admitted their errors.

The Emperor would do well to consider the case for greater devolution of authority and the building up of an administration that will carry out economic programmes with greater efficiency. The world, even in Asia and Africa, is moving fast and Ethiopia cannot afford to lag behind.

Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union

A union of Ghana, Guinea and Mali was announced on Dec. 25 in a joint communique issued by the Presidents of three West African countries.

The communique said they had also decided to "promote a common economic and monetary policy."

The announcement came after a two-day "summit" meeting at Conakry (Guinea) between President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Modibo Keita of Mali, and President Sékou Touré of Guinea.

The countries were already linked by the Ghana-Guinea Union, recent Mali-Ghana co-operation agreements, and the exchange of Resident Ministers between Guinea and Mali.

The joint communique said the Presidents had also agreed on common diplomatic representation, and decided that they should meet quarterly—twice in Accra, once in Conakry and once in Bamako, the Mali capital.

The three Presidents also set up a sort of preliminary "executive council" between them, observers said.

Congo

The Leopoldville government had accepted, if not too late, the Western suggestions for compromise talks with the Stanleyville government as large scale Civil War threatened Congo.

But authorities in Leopoldville have not yet reached an agreement as to who would negotiate—President Kasavubu or Col. Mobutu—and where.

In the meanwhile the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, flew to Leopoldville on January 3 to personally take stock of the critical Congo situation, according to *Reuters*' message dated 27th December.

Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, President of the (former Belgian) Congo, announced from Leopoldville on Jan. 17 that a "round-table" conference to reform the central institutions of the Congo would be held on January 23 at a place to be determined as a later date and that the Round-Table Conference would have the task of "modifying from top to bottom the fundamental law (of the Congo)."

In the meanwhile Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations Secretary-General, disclosed that he had charged the Belgian authorities in the Trust Territory of Rwanda-Urundi with assisting Colonel Joseph Mobutu's Congolese forces to launch an attack on Lumumba troops at Bukavu in the Kivu province of the Congo on the new year's day.

It is impossible to predict what will happen finally.

Buganda

The Lukiko (Parliament) of Buganda, a native kingdom inside Uganda, declared Buganda's Independence in a resolution passed on Jan 1.

Under the 1955 Buganda Agreement, no resolution of the Lukiko is valid unless it is approved by the Governor of Uganda.

Sir Frederick Crawford, Governor, told Ministers of the Kabaka (King) of Buganda that he would not be able to approve the terms of a resolution declaring Buganda's independence from the British Protectorate of Uganda.

At the same time, the Ministers indicated that the present basis of relations with the Protectorate Government would stay unchanged pending further talks.

The present demand for secession stems from Britain's inability to declare that Uganda will have a federal type of Government when the Protectorate achieves self-Government.

The Buganda people fear that their Kingdom would largely lose its identity if it remained with the rest of Uganda in anything except a federal relationship.

Laos

A slight lowering of tension in the Laos crisis has been noted during the last week although still serious, it is no longer considered to be the imminent threat to world peace.

This assessment is based mainly on two new developments—the belated reply from the Boun Oum Government on the question of reviving the International Commission, and a reported change of attitude in Washington in favour of a diplomatic rather than a military approach to the problem.

In view of the dependence of the Boun Oum Government on American support, the decisive factor is evidently a weakening of what at first appeared to be a belligerent stand on the part of the U.S. Administration.

What caused the change is not clear; but the attitude of America's principal allies, with their strong reluctance to join in any military adventure, and President-elect Kennedy's reported refusal to commit himself one way or the other, must have had a restraining influence on the Eisenhower Administration which has in any case only a fortnight more in office.

However, that may be, it is understood that the U.S. position has now moved closer to that of Britain and France, though full agreement is a long way off and there are still formidable obstacles to a solution.

Paramount Ruler of Malaya

The Paramount Ruler of Malaya, His Majesty Syed Putra, was ceremoniously installed as the Head of State at Kuala Lumpur on Jan 4.

He is the third Paramount Ruler of Malaya since the country became independent in 1957. The first ruler installed in August 1957 died in April last year and the second ruler died in September. Both of them were over 60 years of age.

The present Paramount Ruler, His Majesty Syed Putra Ibni Al-Marhum Syed Hassan Jamalullail, C. M. G., was born on November 35, 1920 and became the Raja of Perlis on December 4, 1945. Prior to accession to the Perlis Throne, he was in Malayan civil service until the Japanese occupation of Malaya during which he was in private business. He visited England in 1951. His recreation is tennis.

Under the Malayan Constitution, the Paramount Ruler styled as "Yang di-Pertuan Agong" is elected for a term of five years from among themselves by the Sultans of nine Malay States. A Deputy Yang di-Pertuan Agong is also elected. He is usually elected again as the Paramount Ruler when the post falls vacant.

America and Cuba

The United States broke off diplomatic and Consular relations with Cuba on Jan 3.

President Eisenhower, announcing the break, said the action of Dr. Fidel Castro's Government in deciding to limit U.S. Embassy personnel in Havana to eleven people could have no other purpose than to render impossible the conduct of normal diplomatic relations with that Government.

The President said "this calculated action on the part of the Castro Government is only the latest of a long series of harassments, baseless accusations and vilification."

"There is a limit to what the United States in self-respect can endure. That limit has now been reached."

The U.S. action was taken in a note delivered to the Cuban Charge d' Affaires, at Washington Dr. Armando Florez-Ibarra.

The note requested the Cuban Government "to withdraw from the United States as soon as possible all Cuban nationals employed in the Cuban Embassy in Washington and in all Cuban Consular establishments in the United States."

It said the United States was asking the Swiss Government to look after its diplomatic and consular interests in Cuba.

President Eisenhower, in his statement, said the United States friendship for the Cuban people was not affected.

BOOKS IN REVIEW IV

Democracy in the New States. *Rhodes Seminar Towards the Liberally Educated Executive.* By Robert A. Goldwin and Charles A. Nelson (Editors). Mentor New American Library, New York, 2250 rom.

This is a collection of some of the many papers presented at a Seminar which assembled in the ancient island of Rhodes to discuss problems of Representative Government and Public Liberties in the New States of Asia and Africa. "Democracy" is a very captivating word. It has fired the imagination of all Asia. But only a few people have an understanding of what democracy is. It is this lack of understanding that has resulted in the apparent failures of Parliamentary Democracy in many a new state and the rise of dictatorships though still in the name of Democracy. The Papers nine in all, are very illuminating studies. Though all the papers may not be said to expound a coherent doctrine or present a recipe for the success of Democracy in the New States, they all examine the problem thoroughly and define it. Mr. Jowett, Dr. Krishna, Mr. Gaithe, Mr. Ashok Mehta, Sardar Panikkar and a few others are the contributors.

The Spirit of Asoka. By Tuvit Gedblum. Maha Bodhi Society of India, Calcutta 12.

The adoption of Asoka's Lion Pillar as the national emblem of the Indian Republic and the Chakra or wheel of the same pillar on the Indian flag are, if anything, symbolic of New India's aspiration to recover the values and ideals of the Mauryan Emperor. How far we have succeeded in this attempt is another story. But the fact remains that the personality and achievements of Asoka are the greatest historical source of inspiration for the India of to-day. In this brochure reprinted from the *Maha Bodhi Journal* the author tells the story as told by Asoka himself on the basis of the edicts and inscriptions, which far from being mere legends, are certainly authentic. He explains with relevant authorities, how the Kalinga campaign changed the personal character and political aspirations of Asoka and how his compassion and tolerance took a practical turn in his handling of public affairs. He was no visionary but a practical reformer, good and wise, as King Solomon of old.

This is a comprehensive compendium written at the instance of the Unit for Adult Education for training EXECUTIVES to become more PRODUCTIVE as the modern must is "PRODUCE OR PERISH." Twenty one Top Executives in short compass ranging from one to fifteen pages give a Peimanised course of instruction, so that he who runs may read, and reading understand. As Lord Hobart pointed out in Madras nearly a century ago, a liberal arts education must be the basis of all citizenship. As Horn says "A lifetime of learning, study and reflection must follow the college course. The Bell System is almost like Gurukul. One must communicate a knowledge of the profound understanding of the nature of science, and the ability to think creatively and critically."

The Reality of Religion. By Jehangir M. Shapoorjee. Price Rs. Six. Genesh and Co. Madras 17.

This is a charming and inspiring dissertation by the erudite and human author born of an overmastering desire to tell his brothers how to know God through a Master in spite of the waterword "M.Y.O.B. (Mind Your Own Business)" given to him. Basic Concepts like God, Religions, Masters, Love, Truth, Faith, Hope, Pure-Mindedness, Karma, Rectitude, Religion and Science, are explained as taught to the Anchor by Pujya Baba Sai Mirchandani Saah Daraz of whom the only biographical vouchsafed are that having given up highly paid positions, he now lived as a middle-class householder. The accounts of other Gurus, Barrister Sai Giani 1890-1953, Sai Sakhi 1835-1957, Sai Nanak Yusuf, Sai Sachal follow the usual typeset accounts of saints in the hagiology of all religions with the additional attraction that they belonged to Christianity, Islam and Sanatana Dharma in their loyalties and allegiances. Electric touch, simultaneous presence at different places materialisation and conversation with dead persons and persons not yet born are the usual run of miracles in such accounts and these are found in this book.

Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power. By Gane Sharp. Foreword by Dr. Albert Einstein. Navajivan Publishing House. Ahmedabad, Rs. 5.

The author is a young American hardly 32, who has followed Gandhi's Civil Resistance Movement in India with more than a scholar's interest. Sentenced in April 1953 to two years imprisonment for civil disobedience to military conscription, he served nine months in prison and the remainder on parole. In this he was firmly supported by Albert Einstein.

The book was completed, we are told, in February 1953 when he was twentyfive. It is a plea for Gandhi's philosophy and technique involving the complex problems of our time and indeed of all times. "Out of the crisis of our age has emerged," says the author, "two significant developments: one of these is the organic totality of total war, conscription, the totalitarian State, mass depersonalization and regimentation. The other is the development of the most dynamic and ambitious types of non-violence: Gandhi's Satyagraha and the presently developing thinking, incorporating much of Gandhi's approach, which is seeking a way and a program which is capable of meeting the crisis of our age."

These two developments have taken place during the same half century and many in our generation have witnessed them.

Gane Sharp's method of presenting these developments will be greatly valued by future historians. Facts are sacred while comment is free, said a great British Editor, and Mr. Sharp gives us facts and nothing but facts, culled from contemporary documents, and Gandhi's own writings and statements and interviews, limiting his remarks to a minimum.

A New Approach To The Fundamentals Of English Grammar. By Norman C. Dowsett. Sri Aurobindo Ashram Press, Pondicherry, Rs. 6.

This book as the title itself suggests is an altogether new approach in tackling English Grammar. A poem to bring out various peculiarities, is a novel idea and the author must be congratulated on opening out a new horizon. While avoiding unnecessary ramifications, it nevertheless touches all phases of grammar. It is just as useful to the young student that goes to school as to the man who wants to relax and still make a profitable reading.

Aggressions By China. By Do Vang Ly. Price Rs. 5/75 nP. Siddhartha Publications (Private) Limited, Delhi.

Do Vang Ly, now the envoy of the Republic of Viet-Nam in Delhi has brought out this expose-cum-ette, incriminating the aggressions of China on Vietnam which has a population of 26 millions. The French played the same exploitation-cum-local despot-support as the British in India till practically 1946. Ho Chi Minh neutralised the Chinese generals with gold and girls and Vietnam and Vietminh started a fresh struggle like that between North and South Korea and Formosan China and Communist China. The Sanskrit sloka says the king must protect his subjects not only from thieves, public servants, enemies, and king's favourites, but also against his (the king's) own lust, anger, and greed. Free elections, plebescites, and "judicial" enquiries also need to consider the human beings running them, is the lesson taught by the author.

Khurshed Nariman. By S. S. Nanavaty. Author, 448/16 King's Circle, Bombay, 19.

Born on 17-5-1883, and died on 4-10-48, Nariman was a meteoric flame who scorched the enemies of the People and became dust and ashes when the Congress decided to compromise principles of Swaraj, Swadeshi, and Indian Unity with Lord Louis Mount-Batten. He started his career in Corporation affairs, made a brilliant attack on the corruption of British administrators including Sir George Lloyd and fell a victim to Pandit Nehru's distrust of scintillating rivals like Nariman and Subhash Bose. He pointed out about Gandhi what people are now pointing out about Nehru that a man of superhuman will-power is dangerous both as friend and foe.

He finally decided to compromise with Patel but died before the fruits of this apostasy from life-long ideals could bear fruit. The book is a masterly monograph done by a loving hand.

Bhaktiyoga. By Anwini Kumar Datta. Translated from the Bengali by Ganada Charan Sen. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay Rs. 2/-

The original of this book is a very popular one as it captured the imagination of all people, young and old alike. In order that the book may reach a wider public the translator has done a distinct service. The Sanskrit texts inserted at the foot of each page will be found useful by those who may be inclined to memorise them as they happen to be gems on which Hinduism is based.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

GENERAL

INDIANS GOING ABROAD

The Government of India have made an important change in the existing administrative procedure regarding the issue of exit-travel and tax clearance certificates under Section 46-A of the Income-tax Act to Indian nationals proceeding abroad, says a Press note issued by the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue).

Under Section 46-A, persons of Indian domicile, who, in the opinion of the Income-Tax authority, are not likely to return to India have to obtain tax clearance certificates before their departure. Airways and shipping companies are responsible for ensuring that the persons carried by them are in possession of such certificates. In order to help the carriers to identify the Indian nationals liable to produce tax clearance certificates, the practice hitherto has been to require all Indian nationals proceeding abroad temporarily to obtain exemption certificates from the Income-Tax Department.

PHILIPPINES

REFUSAL TO FIGHT APARTHEID

The Philippines recently rejected an Indian Government call to join in a new concerted Afro-Asian drive to "combat South Africa's racialism".

The Philippines' Foreign Secretary, Mr. Felixberto Serrano, wrote to the Indian Government that pending the results of the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld's consultations with South African authorities, the Philippines could not take any further step against apartheid.

He emphasised, however, the Philippines was opposed to racial discrimination and was one of the 29 Afro-Asian nations which last April got the U.N. Security Council to assign Mr. Hammarskjöld to try and settle the apartheid problem.

SINGAPORE

TAMILS IN SINGAPORE

Thousands of Tamils, who form the bulk of the 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 the Government in the Legislative Assembly during question hour last month.

Replying to a member, Mr. Chua Sun Wing Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister said 3,789 City Council employees were not Singapore citizens.

Although the Government is conscious of the need to safeguard employment opportunities to its citizens under healthy economic circumstances, the Government hopes to continue employment until the retirement age of all its good workers.

CEYLON

ILLICIT IMMIGRATION

Mr. S. Thondaman, Ceylon Tamil leader and member of Parliament, suggested recently that the Indian National Congress and the people of India should take effective steps to discourage illicit immigration of Indians into Ceylon.

Such immigration was a slur on the fair name of India, he told Pressmen here.

"I cannot understand this immigration in the face of so much unemployment and under-employment in Ceylon itself," he said.

When the Pressmen suggested that these illicit immigrants might be Tamils who were repatriated from Ceylon but wanted to return there Mr. Thondaman said there was no prospect of their being rehabilitated at all.

Mr. Thondaman was referring to the death of 18 Tamilians on the Ceylon coast recently while attempting to enter the country. He feared that there might have been starvation deaths among illicit immigrants on the coast which might have gone unnoticed.

CEYLON INDIAN QUESTION

"We must settle it early," observed the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike when she was asked at Bangalore on Dec. 22 by Pressmen about the problem of Indians in Ceylon.

The Ceylon Prime Minister said that, while at Delhi, she might discuss common problems between India and Ceylon informally with the Prime Minister of India and see if they could fix an early date for preliminary talks in this regard.

Asked whether the talks between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon in regard to problem of Indians in Ceylon would take place in Delhi or in the Island, Ceylon's Prime Minister said it was too early to say anything about this. She said she might be attending the Commonwealth Conference in March next year.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 1. Russia hurls 2 dogs in the third Soviet Space ship.
—Mr. Chandra Banu Gupta President of U. P. Congress Committee is elected leader of the Congress Party in State Legislature.
—India's new Air Force Chief Air Marshall A. M. Engineer takes charge.
- Dec. 2. Lumumba's escape bid fails; Mobutu's troops arrest him and bring him back to Leopoldville.
—Mr. A. K. Chanda is appointed Chairman of 3rd Finance Commission.
- Dec. 3. The Archbishop of Canterbury meets Pope John XXIII at the Vatican City.
- Dec. 4. Mr. C. B. Gupta becomes Premier of U.P.
- Dec. 5. Lt. Gen. Thapar succeeds Gen. K. S. Thimayya as Army Chief.
—Ghana breaks off diplomatic relations with Belgium.
- Dec. 6. The new U. P. Ministry is sworn in.
- Dec. 7. Security Council of U. N. meets for considering Congo crisis.
- Dec. 8. Prince Akihito and Princess Machiko leave India for Bangkok enroute to Tokyo.
—Premier Ikeda's second Cabinet assumes office.
- Dec. 9. Burmese Parliament ratifies Sino-Burmese border Pact.
—U. A. R., Turkey and Chile are elected to non-permanent seats on the U. N. Security Council.
—Chinese withdraw from outpost at Longju.
- Dec. 10. Army assumes full powers in Laos (Bangkok).
—U. N. General Assembly Economic Committee adopts 15-nation resolution by 75 votes to 10 for giving increased aid to under-developed countries.
- Dec. 11. French riots in Algeria are reported: French troops open fire.
—Gen. Ayub Khan in Jakarta; President Sukarno and President Ayub Khan issue a joint statement.
- Dec. 12. Japan and Philippines sign a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation providing for most favoured nation treatment.
- Dec. 13. Mr. Dean Rusk is appointed U. S. Secretary of State.
—Russia makes secret tests of new Atomic Weapons.
- Dec. 14. UNESCO seminar on slums opens at New Delhi.
—Army Coup is reported in Ethiopia.
- Dec. 15. King Mahendra of Nepal dismisses Premier Koirala and his colleagues and assumes all powers himself.
—U. N. adopts proclamation on colonialism.
- Dec. 16. Hammarskjöld's warning against withdrawal of U. N. troops in Congo.
- Dec. 17. Haile Selassie back in Addis Ababa and gains complete victory over rebels.
- Dec. 18. Japan and Pakistan sign a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce: Ayub and Ikeda sign the pact at Tokyo.
- Dec. 19. All the Communist leaders in Nepal go underground and evade arrest.
- Dec. 20. Mrs. Bandaranaike, Ceylon Prime Minister arrives in India.
—Lok Sabha passes the Constitution amendment Bill re-transfer of Berubari and the Merger of Acquired Territories Bill.
- U. N. Assembly fails to pass any resolution on Congo but retains the issue on Agenda for the coming March session.
- Dec. 21. Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike arrives in Bangalore and calls on Mr. Rajendra Prasad.
—Police open fire on the Catholic agitators of Ceylon who protested against Govt's schools take-over.
- Dec. 22. Rajya Sabha passes Preventive Detention Act extending its period for another 3 years.
- Dec. 23. Rajya Sabha passes the Constitution Amendment Bill and Merger of Acquired Territories Bill (relating to transfer of Berubari to Pakistan).
—Parliament adjourns *sine die*.
- Dec. 24. Disturbances in Brussels (Belgium) are reported.
- Dec. 25. Ghana, Guinea and Mali announce their Union for promoting Common Economic and Monetary Policy.
- Dec. 26. King Saud of Arabia gives a provisional constitution pending the drafting of a new Constitution.
- Dec. 27. France explodes a nuclear bomb at Sahara Desert.
- Dec. 28. United Nations Congo Conciliation Committee leaders leave for Leopoldville.
- Dec. 29. Mr. Josepa Ilea, Premier-designate of Congo resigns.
- Dec. 30. Parliament of Ceylon adopts motion for making Sinhalese as official language.
—Sir. M. Venkata Subba Rao is dead.
- Dec. 31. India and Pakistan sign instruments of ratification of the Indus Water Treaty.

READERS' DIGEST

BRITAIN'S DEATH-RAY

The "Daily Mail" of 23rd December reported that British radar scientists were perfecting a "big brother" device transmitting beams of intense light which would revolutionise world-wide television reception and transmission, simplifying long-range sky-spying, and which could be turned into a "death ray."

In its main front-page report the newspaper said that with the device, called "Laser"—standing for Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation—"beams of light brighter than the glare from a million suns can be transmitted and received in the same way as radio waves."

When development of the invention—at the top-secret Royal Radar establishment at Malvern in the Western Midlands—was complete, razor-sharp pictures could be received on television sets all over the world, and thousands of programmes bounced simultaneously from earth satellites and beamed to all continents.

The "Daily Mail" continued that laser would make sky and radar-spying easy. T.V. ground stations would be able to catch and transmit picture echoes in the same way that radar stations now pick up radio waves, and satellites and aircraft would pick up and relay laser beams carrying pictures with military information.

On its potential use for a "death ray" the "Daily Mail's" report said: "If enough power is fed into the laser machine its intense light could be focussed through lenses to turn it into a gigantic burning glass which could pierce thick objects."

"Some scientists seriously consider that with the right type of lens to focus the power, it could be made into a death ray. But the problems in this research have made it secondary at the moment to the T.V. and radar applications."

The report quoted a scientist from the Malvern Establishment as predicting that in less than five years "the scientific feasibility of being able to push buttons on our T.V. sets and receive direct broadcasts from almost any part of the world will have been proved."

"There is no reason why we should not be able to get simultaneous T.V. broadcasts from Congress sessions in Washington and the Supreme Soviet in Moscow or anywhere else in the world."

The report said the boosting of light was done with special crystals produced at the Malvern Establishment. Scientists had used a one-and-a-half inch pink ruby to transmit the blinding laser beams.

A patch on the moon's surface, the size of a football pitch, could be brilliantly lit by light from a laser crystal, the newspaper said, adding that scientists could already transmit beams of man-made light more than 50 miles.

THE NEPAL BREAK-DOWN

Under the above heading Mr. C. Rajagopalachari writes in *Swarajya*:

"It is easy to pull an old house down but not so easy to erect a habitable house over the debris. We have a clear demonstration that driving the Ranas out of power in Nepal, although it was pleasant business when it was not a wise step, India was very instrumental in this."

Of course there is a philosophy justifying errors and consequent ruin and misery which claims that only that way lies progress. It is too easily taken for granted that reform is not possible except through the ruinous process of mis-calculation and avoidable misery. Leaders prone to idealism but inept in execution indulge in these experiments and give them the name of Revolution and when the consequences are too sad for explanation indulge in self-pity. The people of Nepal wanted good government and that could have been easily achieved with the help of India. But instead, it was thought that the people thirsted for parliamentary government in place of the firm rule of the Ranas and everything was done to destroy the latter, root and branch, leaving thoroughly mismanaged situation for the world to draw lessons from, and for the Communist powers to manipulate on our borders.

So has Congo demonstrated the same sad truth—that it is not so wise to give up what you have in hopes constructed in the clouds with exaggerated notions of democratic capacity available to take the place of what is destroyed.

A penetrating analysis of the present situation has been furnished by a British correspondent who, after a scathing attack on what the Indian representative of the U.N. Secretary-General and the colleagues are doing in Congo, winds up that the time has come "to end the rudderless neutralism and the artificially preserved anarchy" which prevails in Congo.

THE ROLE OF NEUTRALS IN U.N.

The neutrals made their presence felt in the United Nations chiefly in sponsoring the resolution calling for an Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting and the role they played in the Vote on the China issue. It was their view, as expressed by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, that an Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting might help to melt "this glacier * * * that has come to surround us."

The main U. S. manoeuvre in bringing about the resolution's defeat according to the *New York Times*, involved the deletion from the resolution of all reference to Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev. "After that, an angry Mr. Nehru withdrew the resolution altogether since it had lost its "moral approach."

In the China vote both the U. S. and Communist bloc politicked hard among the neutrals to gain their support. The neutrals accounted for a large proportion of the votes against the U.S. resolution and of the abstentions. To that extent, the U.S. had lost ground in the struggle for the neutrals.

Many observers also felt that the U.S. had won a costly victory in defeating the resolution for an Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting. The neutralists were clearly angered at the U.S. role. The Russians, in contrast, had escaped antagonizing the neutrals by simply standing aside from the controversy and abstaining on the vote. "Khrushchev won a victory without lifting a finger," was the way one Soviet bloc delegate put it."

Nevertheless, the feeling has persisted that the U.S. has been somewhat tardy in its efforts to court the neutral leaders—several of whom have already returned home—and has failed to take full advantage of the opportunities presented by their presence in the United States.

"The neutrals probably will not organize a formal bloc. Mr. Nehru and some of the other neutralist leaders are known to believe that such a step would only tend to solidify the already too rigid alignments in the U.N. Nevertheless, it is clear that the neutrals over the past three weeks have drawn closer together and recognized certain common interests in international dealings. Mr. Nehru himself, who has always eschewed the role of spokesman for a neutralist grouping, virtually accepted that role at the current Assembly session.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

South Africa has decided to become a Republic on the strength of a little over 70,000 in a recent Referendum. South Africa's total population is about nine million, but franchise is restricted to fewer than two million white adults. It is interesting to note, says *Thought* that less than 1.6 million votes exercised their right.

In view of the importance of the issue involved, the margin by which the opponents of South Africa's ties with the British Crown have won has to be emphasized. The Republicans' victory in South Africa cannot be said to be a great moral gain even with the frame of reference Dr. Verwoerd's Government has been popularizing. The number of votes it polled within the restricted franchise is manifestly smaller than that of the opponents and the abstainers. Even the white population of South Africa does not thus seem to be enthusiastic about the political gymnastics in which the Nationalists have been indulging solely for retaining power.

Unless there is a revolt, and that too soon enough, South Africa should be regarded to have opted not only for Republicanism but also for severance of connection with the Commonwealth, though by itself the vote does not necessarily mean so. There are several Republics within that organization. Ever since India decided to be a Republic and yet remain within the Commonwealth, attitude to the British Crown has not been the only criterion of its membership. What India, Pakistan and Ghana have done could very well be a precedent for South Africa.

The Commonwealth need not certainly be proud of having South Africa in its midst. South Africa's unabated attempts to create for the coloured and black people virtually the situation of a vast concentration camp is an unprecedented scandal. "Nevertheless, membership of the Commonwealth enforces a degree of moral discipline. The Commonwealth therefore will have to be patient and farsighted to see if in spite of the recent referendum South Africa could not somehow be kept within its fold. If nothing else the South African Nationalists should not be allowed to have the satisfaction of help from outside in their secessionist ambitions. Let the South African Government itself decide whether republicanism is a mandate for secession.

THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION

Dr. John E. Owen of the University of New Mexico, U.S.A. offers in *The Aryan Path* ideas of great value to educators today. An education which is liberal in the true sense would create a questioning temper of mind while respecting the value of tradition it would not be afraid, he says, to combine reason with revelation or to break the bounds of narrow orthodoxies that cannot fulfil the enlightened demands of the intellect.

"A liberal education, in any country, would awaken the realization that value inheres in other religions than its own, and that other cultures with different traditions have produced their own prophets who perceived various sides of the prism of truth. This type of education would instil the sense of participating in the religions of mankind, transcending localisms and provincial fixations of doctrine ("the one true faith" dogma) through the knowledge that the ultimate values and goals of all faiths are fundamentally identical. To quote Professor Hocking, "Whatever in its nature belongs to all men will be sought by all men—this is the principle which is automatically making for world unity." A liberal faith is willing to receive truth wherever it may be found, including cultural traditions other than its own. It is not afraid to expose its world-view to the same tests of intellectual morality that have been found valid in other areas of human experience, nor is it unwilling to revise its conceptions to keep pace with man's growing knowledge of the universe. Its vanity is not grounded upon any set body of unchanging doctrine, and its psychological certainty is that of being on the right road rather than at the end of a religious journey.

A further sphere for the functioning of the educative process is that of ensuring liberation from mediocrity, from the cult of the average and from the pressure of "the herd mind."

"Conformity to a mass pattern and "adjustment" to the standards of a group are shoddy educational goals. Progress seldom originates with majorities. It is rather from the heretic, the nonconformist, the creative thinker and the prophet who has the ability to see through the injustices and hypocrisies of his age that progress usually ensues. As Baron James of Rusholme, has pointed out if our democratic faith means anything, it means that society must be prepared to tolerate heretics. It is highly essential that

the crowd standards of the public mind be constantly scrutinized, he claims, by a minority possessing a keener intelligence, a more enlightened conscience and a more discriminating wisdom than the majority. The two great streams of thought to which Western civilization owes the most were founded by Jesus and Socrates, men who were alike in that they were both persecuted as heretics by their own age.

INDIANS IN AFRICA

Prime Minister Nehru has told Indians in Africa that they need have no fear of their future if they understood the changing conditions and co-operated with Africans.

"The future of Indians in Africa will necessarily depend upon their friendly relations with the Africans", a letter received at Nairobi on December 27 from the Indian Prime Minister's Office said.

The letter, was in reply to Mr. V. Boal, Editor *Tanganyika Herald*, published from Dar-es-Salaam. Mr. Boal had written to Mr. Nehru that 50,000 Indians living in Tanganyika were in danger of being wiped out unless they got guidance and assistance from their motherland.

"Africa is in a state of deep ferment. This fact must be realised by everybody. It should also be realised that the ultimate future of Africa must necessarily lie in the hands of Africans themselves. Not even the great powers can prevent that... We must welcome this."

The reply said that while the Government of India was certainly interested in safeguarding the legitimate interest of Indians, the fact was that it was Indians themselves in Africa who were in the best position to deal with their future.

"Anyone to expect that revolutionary changes in Africa can be stopped is to nourish an illusion. But there should be no reason why Indians should have any fear about their future if they understand the changing conditions and co-operate with them."

In any event, being afraid did not help and for them (Indians) to think of coming back to India in large numbers was undesirable, the reply added.

Mr. Nehru advised them to face the situation with courage and sympathise with African movement for freedom.

THE CRISIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Fifteen years after its birth the United Nations is faced with a crisis similar to the one faced by the League of Nations. No one will deny, says Mr. Sachin Roy in the *Radical Humanist*, that since May last the world situation has worsened considerably.

"The world organisation is facing a serious situation as a result of the Russian attitude towards Mr. Hammarskjöld. No one will deny the valuable contributions made by the U.N.—many times in the last fifteen years the world came to the brink of the third world-war and the situation was saved by the U.N. It is true that the U.N. has sailed to stop war altogether but it has prevented to spread into a global war. In the above context it is necessary to examine the Charter to see whether a change is possible without destroying the U.N."

Since the inception of the U.N. many suggestions were put forward by the leaders of the nations to change the charter of the organisation to meet the new conditions of the international situation.

"Interim Committee, Peace Observation Commission, the Little Assembly, the Acheson Security Plan are some of the devices which were evolved to overcome many of the difficulties which the United Nations had to meet. Chapter XVIII of the Charter provides for two different procedures of revision. The ordinary method is the adoption of an amendment by two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly. But Article 108 provides that "Amendments thus adopted take effect for all Members of the United Nations when they are ratified by two thirds of the Members, including all the permanent members of the Security Council." Article 100 provides the other alternative for amendment."

So long as the present East-West cold war persists, the procedure for revising the Charter will remain a dead letter. Without any effective change of heart none of the proposed improvement in the machinery of the United Nations is possible.

"In the present atmosphere of the international power politics change of behaviour and de jure revision of the Charter are equally remote. The demise of the United Nations will create a serious vacuum. Whatever may be the defect of the United Nations no one will dispute its usefulness. The world powers should

evolve a more rational plan to strengthen the United Nations and to make it more effective without formal revision of the Charter so that it can meet the present world situation. To-day peace between the world Powers does not depend on the U.N., but the U.N. depends on peace between the world Powers. Let us hope that the United Nations will survive its present crisis."

BERUBARI WITHOUT PASSION

On the issue of the transfer of Berubari Union to Pakistan, West Bengal has a plausible case on humanitarian grounds, says *Thought*. The Berubari Union in Jalpaiguri district of that State has a sizeable population of refugees from East Pakistan, who have been resettled and rehabilitated there at considerable cost and effort.

"Transfer of the territory to Pakistan in terms of the Nehru-Noon Agreement of 1958 would involve uprootment of those resettled and might start a fresh influx of refugees for the Government West Bengal to rehabilitate all over again. For Dr. B. C. Roy's Government, which is still burdened with a huge contingent of unsettled East Pakistan refugees, and which has currently on its hands a fresh contingent of some 2,000 or more refugees from Assam, this would indeed be adding to burdens already heavy by any reckoning."

It seems to be overlooked, says *Thought*, that the Nehru-Noon negotiations came at the apex of a series of border incidents that at one time looked like irretrievably forcing the two countries of this sub-continent into a conflict not excluding war eventually.

"Those incidents were, moreover, a legacy of uncertainties and lack of clarity in respect of border areas left over since the Partition in 1947. Statesmanship and bold vision demanded that in circumstances steps be taken to neutralize that dreadful drift. This background—and the objective the Agreement sought and seeks to achieve—should alone be a warning against the unthinking pressure West Bengal has lately been building up. But there is an additional—and vital—fact which West Bengal's leaders would do well not to ignore. The Nehru-Noon Agreement is a solemn undertaking fashioned on a basis of give-and-take. Mathematically 28 square miles of Indian territory are to be exchanged for 17 square miles of Pakistan's. But the slight advantage this seems to give to Pakistan is crucial to India neither strategically

nor in terms of wealth or population. Besides, in the perspective of generations to come and of the future of the which sub-continent, the area now seemingly yielded to Pakistan is a concession to sanity and history."

THE REVOLT OF AFRICA

In this extraordinary age we are watching an entirely new world being hammered out on the anvil of time, says Clara M. Codd in *The Theosophist*.

"One current event, ominous and yet full of promise, is what I call the Revolt of Africa. It naturally followed the Revolt of Asia, agitations excluded. The dark-skinned man has plenty of intelligence; he does not watch what is happening in Asia without feeling the same desire for freedom within himself. He may not use that freedom wisely, but any caged bird desires passionately to fly. The day of the domination of any race by another is over. This means the doom of the colonial system as understood in days gone by."

ASIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The days of the white man in Black Africa are very definitely numbered, says Alastair Matheson in the *Hindustan Times*. But what is the future of the Brown man—the people from the Indian subcontinent, more than a quarter of a million of them living all along the East Coast of Africa?

"A decade ago these Asians, smarting under the colour-bar restrictions which they experienced in common with Africans, tended to side with emerging African nationalists in their struggle against European supremacy."

But the drastic changes taking place all over the African continent, not least in Eastern Africa, have placed the Asians in an entirely different situation. The Africans with whom they once allied themselves now see their own independence almost within reach and the tide of black nationalism in running strongly all over the continent."

Far from being allies, the Asians now find themselves branded by African politicians as an "immigrant race," lumped together with the whites as exploiters of Africa.

"The short-lived era of racial partnership which offered such scope to the various Asian communities of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika is fast disappearing after less than five years' trial."

Many Asians regard their future in East Africa with apprehension. While the white settlers have concentrated on agriculture with their main stake in the fertile White Highlands,

the Asians have a vast investment in property, especially in the growing, modern cities of the future of the which sub-continent, the area now seemingly yielded to Pakistan is a concession to sanity and history."

Today the Asians of Kenya are wavering between a policy of siding with the whites in an attempt to slow down the pace of this British colony's advance towards independence and African rule and the alternative of supporting the Africans in the hope of securing a small place in the sun as a reward from an anti-African government."

Biggest drawback to the over-all influence which the Asian community could exert has been its own bitter communal divisions, principally the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims, fanned by events in India after partition.

The Asians, says Mr. Matheson, are not entirely free of the blame they are now receiving.

"In the past many shopkeepers tended to overcharge Africans for scarce essential items such as sugar, and the Asian habit of "importing" relatives from India to work in family businesses and factories denied employment opportunities to African trainees."

The thoughtless attitude of a few Asians in the past is now coming home to roost—with a vengeance. This is especially the case in Uganda where the plight of Asians has become so desperate that thousands have streamed out into Kenya and Tanganyika, and others have returned to India."

A vicious boycott of all Asian shops and Asian merchandise has hit hard at the pockets of Kampala merchants.

"It is estimated that the drop in their revenue for the past year is nearly \$1,000,000 and swift retribution has been dealt to any African daring to defy the boycott campaign. Some have been killed, many beaten up and hundreds intimidated."

Earlier this year the position of Kenya's 150,000 Asians also began to deteriorate with a deliberate pattern of assaults, robberies and insults against Asians."

But in Kenya and Uganda queues of Asians at passport and shipping offices testify to the panic which has gripped this minority group following events in the Congo."

Few Asians want to leave East Africa for what they know will be a lower standard of life in India or Pakistan which some have never seen.

ISRAEL AND THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

Israel, says Medel Kohansky in the *Jewish Frontier*, is fast becoming a Mecca and a school for countries of the Far East and the African continent.

"What with all the seminars and conferences on labour problems, co-operation, agriculture and education recently held here, with young people from Burma, Ghana, Nigeria studying at the Hebrew University and the Technion, attending agricultural schools, living in kibbutzim, eager to absorb in the shortest time the knowledge which helped Israel overcome the problems still plaguing their countries. There is plan now being discussed in the press to organize here an international university solely for students of underdeveloped countries, with a curriculum specially designed for their needs. It seems that Israel has become the logical place for such an institution, should it come into being.

PEKING, LHASA AND NEW DELHI

Much of the present controversy and bloodshed in Tibet can be traced to the document signed in Peking in 1951. Red China's present position on the plateau and the current Sino-Indian differences stem from Peking's manner of interpreting and implementing the provisions of that accord, according to George Ginsburgs in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

"By the terms of the treaty the Dalai Lama's Government acknowledged that Tibet was part of China, consented to entrust foreign relations and defense to the Chinese authorities, agreed to the establishment of a Military Area Headquarters of the P.L.A. and a military-administrative committee on the plateau, acquiesced in principle to a proposed program of future socio-economic reforms in the region, and promised loyalty to aid the Chinese in freeing Tibet from all imperialist influences. In return, the Central Government undertook to preserve the existing administrative system in Tibet, granted the area "regional autonomy" within the Chinese state, and bound itself not to modify in any way the titles, rights, privileges and powers of the traditional Tibetan officialdom, on the sole condition that the Panchen Lama, then residing in exile in China, be reinstated in his lawful birthright.

The Sino-Tibetan agreement in fact withdrew the Tibetan question from the international arena."

Peking's initial moderation and apparent willingness to respect Tibetan institutions and

customs, coupled with China's public acceptance of the principle of peaceful co-existence led to the total elimination of foreign influences from the Tibetan plateau.

"Believing that Red China would abide by the 1951 agreement and would preserve the region as an autonomous buffer zone between China and India, Nehru acceded to China's repeated requests for the termination of all the privileges which the Indian government had inherited from its colonial era and which it continued to enjoy after achieving independence. With the conclusion of the Sino-Indian agreement of 1954,¹⁰ the last important foreign force in Tibet was removed. Indian garrisons in the trading posts were evacuated; trade missions were no longer maintained as of right, but only on the basis of strict reciprocity; a trade agreement for Tibet was signed with the Chinese in Peking, no longer with the Tibetans in Lhasa; and all installations here to fore owned and occupied by the Indian government were sold and transferred to the Chinese authorities. In 1956 Nepal followed India's example and surrendered what few special privileges she had enjoyed in the areas of Tibet adjoining their common frontier."¹¹

The measures that China has taken since 1951 to strengthen her initially precarious foothold in Tibet have now provided the means for further penetration to the south and south-east. Both areas of significant Chinese advance into Indian territory in Ladakh and south of Yatung are terminal points of major highways constructed during the last eight years by the so-called People's Liberation Army. To the military preponderance and communications supremacy is now added a third factor, the threat of population domination only the northern approaches to the Indian plains.

"What are, in effect, officially sponsored migrations of Chinese settlers into Tibet have been proceeding at a considerable, and ever increasing, rate during the past five years. Mao publicly stated, as far back as 1952, his desire to see ten million souls permanently residing on the highland within the foreseeable future.²⁰ Should this plan be fulfilled, a population ten times greater than the one which has traditionally occupied the plateau will be facing the relatively empty, and inviting, spaces across the Tibetan-Indian frontier. And populations, like cold air, tend to move from high pressure to lower pressure areas.

[JANUARY 1961]

In short, unless drastic steps are undertaken by New Delhi without delay, the outlook for a successful containment of Red China at the Indian-Tibetan border seems very dim—as dim as the hopes once so fondly cherished by most Foreign Offices that Tibet's impossible landscape, with some slight assistance from the Tibetan army, would defeat any Chinese invasion. Should such countermeasures not be taken in time or in sufficient number, the repercussions could prove fatal for the free world's survival on the Asian continent."

RAJAJI AT EIGHTY THREE

The *Swarajya* of Dec. 10 carries well merited tributes to the character and public services of Sri C. Rajagopalachari, the veteran statesman now on the threshold of 83. Among the writers are Sri Munshi, Mr. Ruthnaswamy, Porhan Joseph, V. P. Menon, Iswar Dutt and R. V. Krishna Iyer. Rajaji at 83 is just what we have known him for several decades, says Sri Munshi—"astute, subtle and vastly intellectual, wise, discerning and considerate."

At a venerable age, when most men would like to retire to well-earned rest, Rajaji has come forward with flaming zeal to rescue our hard-won freedom from the hands of those who talk the language of freedom but walk in the footsteps of the totalitarians.

His life has been inspired by a deep spiritual fervour, and in a sense, with Rajendra Prasad he shares the privilege of having been spiritually closer to Gandhiji than his other great followers.

To Rajaji, the mission to which he is called is not political one; it is a spiritual one—to re-establish the dignity of the common man; for, he has faith in God as also in the spiritual mission of the Motherland. He, like Gandhiji, again, views politics or social welfare only in terms of our spiritual growth.

More than once I have called him our Bhishma Pitamaha; and rightly, for his has been a life dedicated to *Dharma* in all its aspects, and it is difficult to imagine a nobler aim in life."

We wish him many more years of beneficent activity and fruitful service to the nation.

"NO WAR" WITH ANY

While critical of particular acts of omission or commission, *Chowringhee* the Calcutta weekly commends the foreign policy of the Nehru government as proper and reasonable. Why has China chosen the path of aggression? it asks.

The "friends" of China, the Communists in India and their allies who are hostile to the Prime Minister of India, for reasons of their own, have attacked the Indian policy in giving asylum to Dalai Lama and Tibetan refugees.

"The latter came mostly from the North-East. They might have been pursued. Should we have handed over them back to China? By what International standard of politics, ethics, justice and equity such an opinion has been made? Such a suggestion comes only from those who have vulgarised socialism and thrown to the winds all canons of justice and humanism. The very idea is nauseating and "these" people would hand over even their "children" in the name of the present ideology they believe in. The democrats, progressive people, decent men and women should realise that a refund to a neighbour in "dispute" would have been a negation of "Peace and friendship with Nations." There are, however, many "thick-headed" people with a "master of all" idea and they can never be convinced."

Take Nepal. In the newly won constitutional form of Government, they owe a lot to India. By trade, economic and commercial relations India has been the only help in the past as the later would continue to be so in the future.

"But the attitude which Nepal has taken on the Sino-Tibetan border dispute is distressing for India. It has been an astonishing piece of chicanery. But does it mean that India should give up friendship with Nepal? Or that India should not have helped Nepal in the past? We don't think the critics of Indian Foreign policy would say that. Let us be clear about Sikkim and Bhutan. They are Independent countries tied to us by Treaty and mutual obligations with other countries as well. If voluntarily and willingly they like to walk into the camp of China we have very little logic on our side to go on war on that account"

With the understanding about intentions of the Chinese people, says *Chowringhee*, India must continue the policy of peace and friendship with all nations."

"We must know how to deal with the present situation, short of war. The Indian Prime Minister must, however, strengthen the border and deal with the Chinese. In conclusion, we would like to say that preparedness is not to wage a war

AN ASSESSMENT OF NEHRU

In a tribute to Prime Minister Nehru on his 71st birthday, Jaya Linkim writes to *The Manchester Guardian* that his contributions to India has been immense, "greater even than Roosevelt's to America."

"By joining the Congress of Gandhi instead of the Swaraj party of his father he made it possible for the modern to follow the Mahatma and put up with his fads. By forming the States Congress in the Princely States he laid the foundation of Indian unity. It was his refusal to share power with feudal Moslem landlords way back in 1937 and later with Mr. Jinnah which ensured that there would be no weightage in the Constituent Assembly against the drafting of a secular progressive Constitution which would not stand in the way of socialism. Without partition India would have been paralysed by the Moslem League, and even the Hindus might have become bitterly communal. Mr. Nehru can justly take credit for the secularism of the Constitution, the socialism of the Congress, for adult suffrage and freedom of the press, for the Hindu law reform which is destroying the joint family and making equals of women, for the land reforms and the abolition of privilege, for the plans, the national laboratories, the scientific and international outlook."

When Mr. Nehru said sometime ago at a press conference that all the world—except China—was going his way, he was neither defending himself nor boasting; he was stating a fact.

"Mr. Nehru was the first to say that imperialism is dead, that the Afro-Asians had to come into their own, that atomic war would make peace necessary, that Marx is out of date, that the Iron Curtain must rise, that Russia was militarily and educationally advanced, and that technical progress would gradually bring back normalcy in Russia and produce a thaw in the cold war. As the spokesman of the underdeveloped, Mr. Nehru has been invaluable to the West. While it can be argued that he has not been the best of Foreign Ministers for India—Goa is still Portuguese, Kashmir is still in dispute. Indians are still persecuted in Ceylon—he has been a superb adviser on foreign affairs to the British and American Governments."

Against Mr. Nehru's immense contributions to Indian secular democracy and to its progressive outlook one must set out his failures, failures which are magnified by the public's impatience for India to make good. The late Sardar Patel used to jest "Jawaharlal is indispensable to solve the crises of his own creation. Both halves of the aphorism are true."

"Mr. Nehru's defects are congenital and incurable. A dilettante intellectual, he carries dilettantism into politics where it has no place. Equal to none when it comes to holding a vision before the masses, he cannot work out the details which alone will make the vision a reality. Mr. Nehru's congenital incapacity to delegate, to take quick decisions, to tackle details, to judge men, combine to make him the worst possible party leader. For the sake of a unity he does not enforce by discipline, he compromises even with integrity. During the past two years the Congress had made a spectacle of itself, thanks to Mr. Nehru's dithers which have perpetuated every row over personalities. Mr. Nehru, who seems to console himself with the knowledge that he alone is known to be above factions, forgets that discipline in the leader is not enough."

CALCUTTA ON THE EVE OF PLASSEY

In the last of his four articles on old Calcutta in the pages of *Visvabharati*, Mr. Tapanmohan Chatterji gives a picture of life among the native inhabitants and among the British immigrants. He surveys the social, economic and political consequences of the European settlement in the heart of the city and goes on to say.

"In those days the Indians did not build brick houses for themselves; they had not yet clearly realised the strength of the English and imagined them here for a short stay. They thought that when the 'hat-wearers' found it inconvenient they would leave at once. Then there was also the old superstition that those who built a brick house would be looked upon as having made money and that the evil eye would be cast on them. Besides, there was always the risk of thieves and robbers."

The English themselves, however, had no such fears. Even the young writers of the Company had begun to live in brick houses, to ride in palanquins and on elephants and horses, and to hire boats if they had to travel to a distance.

"Indeed they lived in such splendour that from time to time the Directors enjoined upon them the practice of the strictest economy in their way of living. They worked in the morning, slept at noon, enjoyed the fresh air in the evening, and at night they drank and gambled in taverns, which were in fact nothing better than low drinking booths. Even a theatre had been built and they crowded there as well. In spite of all this, their lives were as dull as ditch-water, and they always looked sad like withered flowers."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

A NEW CHAPTER IN KASHMIR'S HISTORY

The rapprochement last month between the Democratic National Conference and the ruling National Conference resulting in the merger of the former with the latter, opens a new chapter in the political history of the frontier State on whose borders three Powers—India and Pakistan—meet. While pro-Pakistan elements and political opportunists feel stunned at these dramatic developments, pro-India sections of the population do not conceal their joy over the reconciliation between Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq.

As the State is situated in peculiar circumstances on account of Pakistan's intransigence and Chinese incursions in Ladakh, people who strove for strengthening pro-India forces in Jammu and Kashmir, felt sorry over the "factional controversies" between the two political organisations, especially when pro-Pakistan elements were trying to come closer to one another. After 3½ years of mutual recrimination, however, the two parties have joined hands to face the dangers which beset the State and work for the economic amelioration of the people.

ADMINISTRATION OF S. W. AFRICA

The U. N. General Assembly on Dec. 18 adopted a resolution calling on the Trusteeship Committee's Council on South-West Africa to visit the territory for an on-the-spot investigation.

The resolution, one of several on South-West Africa passed by the Assembly was adopted by a roll call vote of 78 in favour to nil with 15 abstentions.

Under the resolution, the Committee would be charged with reporting back on conditions necessary for "restoring a climate of peace and security".

A separate vote on a section of the same resolution which "deprecates the application in the territory of South-West Africa, of the policy of Apartheid and calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to revoke or rescind immediately all laws and regulations based on that policy" was agreed to by 90 votes to nil with three abstentions.

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South Africa took no part in either vote. PRACTICE OF RACIALISM

The General Assembly of the United Nations gave overwhelming approval to a Trusteeship Committee resolution on Dec. 15 calling on member States with territories where racial discrimination existed to "revoke all laws and regulations" tending to encourage or sanction racially discriminatory policies and practices.

The resolution won the support of 88 States with only two abstaining, Australia and Britain.

South Africa was absent, along with Cameroun (the former French) Congo, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Iceland, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia.

BOMBS BOUND TO GO OFF

The eminent British novelist and scientist Mr. C. P. Snow, in an impassioned plea for the end of the arms race, warned on Dec. 28 at New York that within ten years at the most, some of the atomic bombs in the world were bound to go off "through accident or folly or madness" with "certain disaster."

Speaking before the Association for the progress of Science, Mr. Snow called on scientists to help end the arms race. He said that within six years or less a dozen nations including people's China, would have the "A" and "H" bombs.

"Within, at the most, ten years, some of these bombs are going off. I am saying this as responsibly as I can. That is a certainty. We know with the certainty of statistical truth that if enough of these weapons are made by enough different states, some of them are going to blow up."

He said, "Either the United States must accept a restriction of nuclear armaments beginning, as a token with the halting of nuclear tests, or risk nuclear catastrophe."

WORLD'S POPULATION

The Population Reference Bureau, a private research group, estimated on December 11 that the population of the world will pass the 3,000 million mark during 1961. It said there are now more than 2,900 million people in the world and their number was growing at the rate of 1.7 per cent per year.

Utterances of the Day

MR. NEHRU ON WORLD SITUATION

Speaking in the Rajya Sabha on 20th December on world situation especially after dramatic occurrences in Algeria, Congo, Laos, Ethiopia, Nepal etc. Nehru said:

"Looking at this picture all over the world, I have the feeling that we have arrived at some acute crisis in world's history. An acute crisis in the failure of the United Nations which represents the world community, an acute crisis in various parts of the world like Africa and South-East Asia.

People talked about legal governments and rebels, but no one knew who was the rebel one day and who the legal government. It was open to one set of powers to recognise one group as the legal government and the others as rebels, while another group recognised the rebels as the legal government and the others as rebels. One had to make one's choice. If they favoured one group, they could call them the legal government and those whom they didn't like become rebels.

For some years before, there had been a tendency towards relaxation of tension and gradually working up to the summit. But owing to the failure of the last summit, or for some time before, this tendency was reversed and nothing has happened yet to check this progressive deterioration."

J. P.'s PLEA

The hope that, after the next general elections, India would have "a national government constituted of the best talents in the country, irrespective of party membership or non-membership, rather than merely a party government", was expressed by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader, in an exclusive interview to "Indian Express" at Madras on 29th December.

Mr. Narayan remarked: "It is perhaps too early to speak of this but, if this matter were given some thought now, the whole character even of the general elections might change."

"What India needs today," he declared, "is a national effort and not merely a party one. I do not think that any party, including the Congress Party which is the biggest of them, is strong enough and has the necessary personnel and the moral resources to solve the problem which the country faces so urgently."

CHURCHILL'S APPEAL

Sir Winston Churchill said that 1961 opened on a "disturbed scene" and he made an appeal for international unity.

Making his first public comment on political affairs since he broke a small bone in his back in November, Britain's 86-year-old elder statesman declared on 2nd January, "The three great forces which sustain the Free World—the British Commonwealth and Empire, the United States of America and Europe—must combine ever closer, not merely locally where our problems show an immediate community of interest, but throughout the world. Only then can we march towards a future of limitless expectation".

LYNDON JOHNSON ON DISARMAMENT

L. Johnson, who becomes Vice-President of the U.S. on January 20, addressed the opening session of 200 legislators from the NATO countries at Washington last month.

The major theme of his address was that the parliamentarians of the world in the decade of the 1960's face the challenge of courageously dedicating themselves to stamp out "the eternal causes of war—human wants, injustice and inequality, ignorance, illness and all else."

"If free men are to hope for the day when they can safely lay down the instruments of war," Mr. Johnson said, "they must be at work now disarming the old causes of war."

POPE'S X'MAS MESSAGE

Pope John, broadcasting the third Christmas message of his reign appealed to the world's leaders to "act honourably in these days of general danger."

The Pope said, "The news, even more grave, of the storms which rage over some parts of the world, and threaten not only the social order but, more important, many souls weak and unstable rather than of ill-will or wicked, moves us, in the Christmas appeal to direct a word to those who have the highest responsibilities in the public and social sphere and to invite them, in the name of Christ, to place their hands on their breast and act honourably in these days of general danger."

"Do not avail yourselves on them to drive to ruin conscience as yet unformed or wavering. Have a sacred terror of spreading those germs which desecrate love, break up the family, mock religion and loosen the foundations of the social order."

Political

TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

Last month we published the gist of the statement made by Mr. Nehru on this vexed question of transfer of Berubari to Pakistan. On Dec. 20 the Lok Sabha adopted the Constitution Amending Bill and the Merger of Acquired Territories Bill to give effect to the Nehru-Noon Agreement involving the transfer of Berubari Union along with other boundary adjustments.

Opposition was more to the principle of the transfer of Berubari, rather than to the details of clauses in the Bills. Mr. Nehru's reply to the debate on the first reading lasted an hour.

Towards the very end, Mr. Nehru said he would not hesitate to admit that he had made a mistake in not sending a formal letter about the Berubari Agreement to the West Bengal Government and asking for its acceptance.

The final voting on the Bill was 328 in favour and 47 against. Two members abstained.

The House also passed the Acquired Territories (Merger) Bill for which no special voting was needed. Later Rajya Sabha also passed the Bill.

Regarding the transfer Dr. B. C. Roy observed: "Right or wrong, the Prime Minister (of India) has come to an agreement with the Pakistan Prime Minister. I do not want it to be said in the world that our country did not honour his word. Mr. Nehru is after all, the Prime Minister of the country and I cannot lower the prestige of the Prime Minister."

IKE-KENNEDY STATEMENT

President Eisenhower and President-elect John Kennedy stated in a joint communique on Dec. 6 that they discussed the main problems affecting peace, security and freedom in the world.

The communique reaffirmed that the U.S. had no territorial ambitions and did not seek to dominate or control any nation. It said the U.S. Government had always sought and would continue to seek to safeguard peace in justice and freedom for all people.

With regard to domestic problems, the outgoing and the incoming Presidents discussed questions related to the administration, national security and the process of handing over the reins of Government.

The communique stressed that the two men agreed completely that, in conformity with the Constitution, the President should maintain jurisdiction in matters of conducting State affairs until such time as he was replaced by his successor.

RELEASE OF TARA SINGH

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, was released from Dharamsala jail on 4th Jan.

Master Tara Singh, had been in detention under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, since May 24, 1960.

Before the orders for the release of Master Tara Singh were sent to Dharamsala, the Chief Minister, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, had consultations with the Governor, Mr. N. V. Gadgil and the high officials of the Punjab Government.

Immediately after his arrival the Akali leader went inside the Golden Temple and remained closeted with Sant Fateh Singh, the Punjab Suba agitation "Dictator" who entered the eighteenth day of his "fast unto death."

REPRESSION IN GOA

The third National Conference of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, at a special convention on Goa on the second day of its three-day session at Bombay last month condemned the "tyrannical Portuguese rule in the colonies of Goa, Daman and Diu" and demanded immediate withdrawal of the Portuguese from India.

In a resolution, the Conference also demanded that the Government of India should adopt "a forthright attitude" for the solution of the Goa problem in the immediate future.

Mrs. Arana Asaf Ali, one of the leaders of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, presided. A large number of Goan nationalists in Bombay and foreign observers attending the Conference, reaffirmed support to the people of Goa, Daman and Diu, in their fight against the Portuguese.

Mr. Khrushchev sent a message, addressed to Mrs. Rameshwar Nehru. It said: "Your Conference has met at a time when the struggle of the people for freedom and national independence has entered a new, important phase, when time has come for the complete abolition of the disgraceful system of colonial oppression."

"All those who are making their contribution to the attainment of this noble goal have the deep sympathy and support of the Soviet people."

Mr. Khrushchev wished the conference success and expressed his hope that its decisions "will promote the great cause of the struggle of the peoples against colonialism."

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Educational

THACKER'S PLEA FOR RADICAL REFORM

Professor M. S. Thacker, Secretary of the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, said that "radical reforms should be effected in the teaching of science in schools and university teachers cannot remain indifferent to it."

He was delivering the Convocation address to the graduates of the University of Allahabad on Dec. 24.

Prof. Thacker said that "as training grounds for future scholars, scientists and inventors, the universities have the responsibility of developing research departments and creating a zest among the youth for the pursuit of new knowledge."

The rapid and continuous expansion of university education in India, he said, had given rise to a situation in which a fresh look into education not only in the institutions of higher learning, but also in the schools that feed them had become imperative.

NEW U. G. COMMISSION CHAIRMAN

The appointment of Dr. V. S. Krishna, member of the University Grants Commission, and Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, as Chairman of the University Grants Commission has been announced on 2nd Jan. His appointment will take effect from January 14, 1961 when Dr. Deshmukh, the present Chairman retires.

Dr. Krishna, an educationist of country-wide repute, has been Vice-Chancellor of the University of Andhra since 1949. He was appointed as a member of the University Grants Commission on January 29, 1960 in the place of Mr. G. C. Chatterjee.

INSTRUCTION MEDIUM AT DELHI VARSITY

The Delhi University proposed to stick to its programme of changing the medium of instruction from English to Hindi in gradual stages beginning from 1962, Dr. K. L. Shrimali Education Minister, told the Lok Sabha on Dec. 20.

Answering a short notice question by Mr. Braj Raj Singh, the Education Minister said that the University Grants Commission had not issued any directive to the University not to implement their decision but had merely pointed out to them the desirability of their holding a full and free discussion of the problem with the university authorities and the principals of colleges before proceeding in the matter.

UJJAIN UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

The Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, said that "wholesale" criticism of the present system of education in India was not good, because the products of this system were responsible for our independence. It had done some good for the country, and it was capable of improvement, he added.

Delivering the second convocation address of the Vikram University at Ujjain on Dec. 24 Dr. Radhakrishnan said that in the history of any nation, there were periods of consolidation and periods for creation. Sometimes these periods came together.

Dr. Radhakrishnan said "we find ourselves now in a situation of conflicts—conflicts between science or religion, socialism or free enterprise, old or new, past or the future. A kind of conflict is pervading the whole atmosphere today and people are trying to fight about these things."

"As a matter of fact", he said "our country has never said science or religion. It has always said science and religion. It never said socialism or free enterprise. We stand for both as ours is a mixed economy."

MR. SHRIMALI ON RE-ORIENTATION

Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Union Education Minister, delivering the Convocation address of the Andhra University at Waltair recently, stressed the need for the development of an integrated personality and re-orientation of education to suit modern times.

Dr. Shrimali in his speech referred to the rapid strides made in the sphere of science and technology and said:

"In 1957 when the Russians launched their first sputnik the whole world was struck with awe and wonder. This event may be considered as the beginning of a new revolution, and may perhaps be compared with the discovery of fire, the first use of iron, the invention of the steam engine and the discovery of atomic energy. Man has now conquered space and is making preparation for interplanetary flight to Moon, Mars and Venus."

"If we continue to work in a disinterested way for world peace it is bound to create a moral force which would lessen the world tension and promote unity of outlook and community of interests among the people of the world and thus pave the way for bringing into existence a new world order."

Legal

C. R.'S SPEECH IN CHANDIGARH

The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly's Committee of Privileges was of the unanimous opinion that there was no case for a breach of privilege or contempt against Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and therefore no further action was called for and recommended that the case be closed.

Mr. Gopal Rao Ekbote, Chairman of the Committee, presented the report of the Committee on Dec. 9 on the question of privileges, which was referred to it on July 15, 1960.

The question of privileges against Mr. Rajagopalachari was raised in the House on June 27 1960 by Messrs. N. C. Seshadri, Mir Ahmed Ali Khan, R. Narasimha Reddi and Banappa. The motion *inter alia* complained that Mr. Rajagopalachari, a very important leader of the country, was reported to have stated in a public speech at Chandigarh that the Congress legislators were such people whom any first class Magistrate would round up. They were those without any appreciable means of livelihood, if it was true that he had made that statement, it was most unparliamentary and constituted a breach of privilege, committed against the members of the Assembly, individually and collectively.

BAN ON LAWRENCE'S BOOK

The Government of India do not propose to remove the ban on the entry into India of the unexpurgated version of D. H. Lawrence's book "Lady Chatterley's Lover," the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. B. N. Datar indicated in the Rajya Sabha.

Mr. P. N. Saprú asked whether the book was proscribed book and whether Government were aware that a British Jury had recently declared that it was not an obscene book and it was considered "a book of considerable artistic merit by competent critics."

Mr. Datar said, "The Government of India are of the view that the unexpurgated edition of the book attracts the provisions of Section 18 (C) of the Sea Customs Act, which prohibits the bringing into the country of any obscene book. The considerations mentioned in the question do not affect this view."

OBSCENE CINEMA POSTERS

President Rajendra Prasad called upon the State Governments and municipalities to enact acts and rules for curbing obscene and indecent cinema posters and commercial advertisements.

Replying to a civic address at a meeting at Nandan Vidyalaya grounds at Indore, on Dec. 8, Dr. Prasad hoped that Acharya Bhavé's campaign, started at Indore, would ultimately succeed.

Dr. Prasad appealed to the people to assist Bhavé in banishing public display of unhealthy advertisements. On five-year plans, Dr. Prasad pleaded for co-existence of the private and public sectors as, in his view, establishment of more industries would help eradicate unemployment.

LATE SIR VENKATA SUBBA RAO

The late Sir Venkatasubba Rao who died last month was a popular judge and to many in the legal profession, he was a friend, philosopher and guide. Sir Venkatasubba Rao's signal services in the cause of welfare organisations and the scout movement after his retirement, would always be remembered by every one.

The Chief Justice Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, making a reference to the death of Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao, in the Madras High Court said that he was "an eminent lawyer, a great judge, a generous benefactor, a man of exquisite taste and culture and a noble son of India."

GUJARAT HIGH COURT

Mr. Justice Kantilal Thakore Dasai, a Judge of the High Court of Gujarat, has been appointed Chief Justice of that High Court upon the retirement of Mr. Justice S. T. Desai, with effect from January 26, 1961, the Ministry of Home Affairs announced in a Press Communique issued on 1st January.

RIGHT TO APPOINT DIRECTOR

The Supreme Court on Dec. 16, held that under the Companies Act, 1956 a director of a private company could appoint another person as director in his place.

The Court, therefore, set aside the Bombay High Court's view that such an appointment would be void under Section 312 of the Act.

MARRIAGE & DIVORCE CODE FOR CHRISTIANS

The Law Commission in its 15th report has recommended a comprehensive code dealing with marriage and divorce among Christians in India. The report was presented to the Lok Sabha on Dec. 15 by the Law Minister, Mr. Asok Sen.

Its recommendations, which have been incorporated in a draft Bill, covers the ground traversed by the Indian Divorce Act of 1939 and the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872.

BRITISH AID FOR INDIA

An agreement for a credit of Rs. 6.67 crores from the Government of the United Kingdom to the Government of India was signed at New Delhi on Dec. 24.

Sir Paul Gore-Booth, the British High Commissioner signed on behalf of the U. K. and Mr. L. K. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, on behalf of India. This is the first agreement that Sir Paul Gore-Booth has signed since he became the High Commissioner recently.

The main features of the agreement are that the loan is not tied to any project—it can be utilised for a broad range of imports from the U. K. during the current year—and is repayable in 20 years, the first instalment falling due on November 30, 1966.

With this the British Government's assistance for the Second Five-Year Plan totals a little over Rs. 107 crores.

The rate of interest will be the same as that currently applied by the U. K. Treasury to a loan for a comparable period out of the British Consolidated Fund on the same date plus one-fourth of one per cent for administrative charges.

Speaking on the occasion, Sir Paul Gore-Booth assured Britain's co-operation in the economic development of Commonwealth countries and other countries in Asia and Africa. However, he said that the help depended on the continuance of a vigorous and enterprising economy in Britain and a high level of multi-lateral world trade.

SHARING OF INDUS WATERS

The Bill authorising Britain to contribute nearly £21 million towards the cost of works to distribute Indus waters between India and Pakistan became law on Dec. 21. It was done in the House of Lords by granting of formal Royal assent by a royal commission.

U. S. BUDGET

In his final budget this month, President Eisenhower will ask less for foreign aid than last year, despite urgent State Department appeals for an increase to meet pressing needs in South Asia, Latin America and Africa, the *New York Times* reported on its issue dated 28th December.

AID FROM D.L.F. TO INDIA

The Governments of India and the United States on Dec. 5 signed agreements covering loans to this country totalling 114.1 million dollars (Rs. 54.3 crores) by the U. S. Development Loan Fund. The loans are repayable in rupees. These rupee payments are not earmarked to pay for export of goods from India and will not be a charge against India's balance of payments.

The agreements represent the biggest single execution of finalised loans by the U. S. Development Loan Fund made to any country on any one occasion. Including three other loans approved by the Development Loan Fund in respect of which agreements have not yet been signed, the total of credits extended to India amounts to 423.3 million dollars (Rs. 201.5 crores).

FLOW OF CAPITAL TO BACKWARD AREAS

A Pakistan-Indonesian resolution calling for a study of the feasibility of establishing international credit insurance organisations to help promote the flow of investment capital to the under-developed countries won overwhelming support of the United Nations Economic Committee on Dec. 8.

The measure won the approval of 54 nations with none against. There were nine abstentions—all members of the Soviet bloc: Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelo-Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Ukraine.

The resolution also calls for a report on the extension of existing national credit insurance institutions.

U. S. BANK'S AID TO INDIA

The United States Government announced on Dec. 28 an authorisation by the U. S. Export-Import Bank of a \$50 million (Rs. 24 crores) credit to the Government of India for utilisation during the Third Five-Year Plan.

The credit is available for the import of U.S. capital equipment both for the public and private sectors. Allocations to the private sector from this credit with primarily benefit small and medium-sized business concerns. Repayment of the credit will be spread over 10 years beginning from 1966.

This is the second credit granted to the Government of India by the U. S. Export-Import Bank. The earlier credit for \$150 million was authorised in 1958 for India's Second Plan.

ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The 13th session of the All-India Women's Conference met at Surat on Dec. 27. Mrs. Mithan Lam presided over the conference. She called for a more intensive drive for better and higher education for girls so as to enable them to make the fullest use of opportunities provided by the progress the country was making.

She said it was necessary in this connection to break down "the conservatism" of parents in the matter of higher education for girls.

The AIWC should work closely with voluntary workers and try and persuade parents to allow their girls to take to higher education and to train them in some craft.

Mrs. Lam also laid down the following programme for the AIWC and through it for women in general: (1) A social welfare policy which would govern their work for a few years. (2) Evaluation of work done so far and starting of cottage and small-scale industries on a cooperative basis. (3) Starting of condensed courses to provide personnel for various services. (4) Finding out all possible sources of grants and making full use of them. (5) Greater effort for family planning and eternal vigilance not only in retaining their freedom but in retaining and utilising rights conferred by various pieces of legislation. (7) Greater interest in civic affairs than hitherto. (8) Starting of hostels for working women in cities and towns, particularly for medium income group women and (9) Securing donation of more vans by voluntary organisation to help their village mobile medical work.

MRS. SUCHETA KRIPALANI

Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani was on Dec. 12 sworn in as the fifth Cabinet Minister in the 14-member Council of Ministers of Uttar Pradesh. The oath of office was administered by the State Governor, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

Mrs. Kripalani has been allotted the portfolio of Community Development, Labour and Medium and Cottage Industries which were among those held, since the new Ministry came into being, by the Chief Minister, Mr. C. B. Gupta.

MRS. BANDARANAIKE

The world's first woman Prime Minister made history on Dec. 29 when she took the salute at the ceremonial reception in a foreign capital. The Ceylon Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, was accorded a warm welcome in New Delhi on Dec. 29 when she arrived for

a three-day State visit. She had already spent more than a week in several parts of India with her children.

Mrs. Bandaranaike was received by Prime Minister Nehru, besides, Cabinet Ministers and officials. Her feminine shyness, noticeable as she quickly reviewed the guard of honour, added grace to the smiling bows with which she greeted the assembled hosts and admirers.

When she was in Madras on Dec. 23 she told in a chat with pressmen that, "we are as anxious as you are to settle the Indo-Ceylon problem once for all."

MRS. M. N. ROY

Mrs. Ellen Roy, wife of the late Mr. M. N. Roy, leader of the Radical Humanist movement was found murdered in mysterious circumstances at her residence in Dehra Dun on Dec. 14.

Mrs. Roy (52), an American by birth, was engaged in the compilation of unpublished speeches and writings of her husband, for which she had received a grant from the Government of India and the Rockefeller Foundation.

She was the Editor of the *Radical Humanist* a magazine published from Calcutta, to propagate the ideals of the late Mr. Roy. She was married to Mr. Roy in 1937.

MRS. T. S. KUNJITHAM

The Madras Corporation Council, at its *in camera* meeting on 4th Jan. adopted a resolution appointing Mrs. T. S. Kunjitham as the Education Officer of the Corporation of Madras, in place of Mr. C. S. Arumainayagam, retiring from service from January 7.

This is stated to be the first time that a woman is posted as the Head of the Education Department in the Corporation. Mrs. Kunjitham, wife of Mr. S. Guruswami of *Viduthalai* is 51. She entered the Corporation service in 1938 as a Headmistress. Three years ago, she was appointed as the Lady Superintendent of Corporation Schools.

CONFUCIUS GIRL MARRIES AMERICAN

The 77th lineal descendant of Confucius, Prof. Kung Teh Cheng, says he was glad to have an American as his son-in-law.

Prof. Kung's 20-year-old daughter, Miss. Lucy Wei O-Kung, was married to Major Lester M. Conger, 36, in Washington. They met two years ago while he was on a tour of duty there. It is the first time that a lineal descendant of Confucius has married a foreigner.

General

Lt. GEN. THAPAR

Lt.-Gen. Thapar, who succeeds Gen. K. S. Thimayya as Army Chief of Staff, was commissioned from Sandhurst in 1926 and spent the early part of his service for 10 years in the 1st Punjab Regiment. He is the Colonel of the Rajputana Rifles Regiment.

During World War II, Lt.-Gen. Thapar served for two years in Burma and later in the Middle East and Italy. He held appointments at the General Headquarters, as it was then called, as Assistant Military Secretary and later as a member of the Army Reorganisation Committee. He also served with the British Forces Headquarters at Aden as a First-Grade Staff Officer.

In early 1946, he commanded the First Battalion of the Punjab Regiment in Indonesia and later the 161 Indian Infantry Brigade in East Bengal. Other appointments held by him were Director of Military Operations and Intelligence, Chief of the General staff and Military Secretary of Army HQ.

Lt.-Gen. Thapar commanded an infantry division and a corps for about five years, before his appointment as G.O.C.-in-C., Southern Command. He was transferred as G.O.C.-in-C., Western Command in 1959.

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

Mr. K. M. Cherian, Chief Editor of the *Malayala Manorama*, Kottayam, was unanimously elected Chairman of the Board of the Press Trust of India for 1960-61 at the meeting of the Board held last month.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Queen Elizabeth who will come to India next month is England's most effective Goodwill Ambassador to the world. A hearty welcome is awaiting. She symbolises the common goal of all the members of the Commonwealth, peace and a good life for all upon this earth. Her visit will be a most pleasant and rewarding event for India as we are sure it will be a most pleasant and enduring experience for her.

Late Dr. P. K. ACHARYA

Dr. P. K. Acharya who died in Calcutta on 1st December was a great Sanskrit scholar.

He was an authority on Hindu architecture and wrote seven volumes containing the annotated Sanskrit text, an English translation and a detailed analysis of the architectural treatise called *Manasara*.

Dr. Acharya's publications attracted international attention and the Government conferred upon him the title of *Mahamahopadhyaya* in recognition of his services "in the promotion of Sanskrit learning and in the field of research."

He was a valued contributor to this journal and has also sent an article for the forthcoming Diamond Jubilee Number of this journal. We offer our heartfelt condolences to the members of his family.

WORLD ALTITUDE RECORD

A U.S. Navy Jet fighter has broken the world altitude record by climbing up more than 27 kilometers (17 miles) with a regulation load of one ton, it was announced on Dec. 15.

The Vigilance Attack fighter (A-3J) reached an altitude of 27,873 meters to crack the record set last year by a Soviet plane with an altitude of 20,450 meters (67,096 feet).

The new mark was set on 13th Dec. last, at the U.S. Air Force base (California). The pilot was Major Leroy Heath, the navigator, Lieutenant Henry Monroe.

POET-LAUREATE OF ANDHRA

We regret to report the death of Kavi Sarabouma Kalaprapurna Sripada Krishnamurthi Sastri, the Andhra Poet-laureate at his residence in Rajamundry on Dec. 28. Mr. Sastri was 96. Mr. Sastri is survived by his wife and two daughters. The only son of his passed away 20 years ago.

Mr. Sastri was the author of more than 200 works in Telugu and Sanskrit. His latest book was a biography of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He had the unique distinction of having translated Valmiki Ramayanam, Mahabharatam and the Bhagavatam into Telugu. He had written 25 dramas the most popular of them being "Bobbili".

MILLIONAIRES IN INDIA

In the Lok Sabha, Mr. Kalika Singh wanted to know the number of millionaires or 'crore-patis' in India having assets of over a crore of rupees.

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure, Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, said that the number of non-company wealth-tax assesses as on March 31, 1960, with net wealth of over a crore of rupees was 28.

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In our November number we published an article on "Community development and Sarvodaya" by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. We are indebted to *Kurukshetra* for the same.

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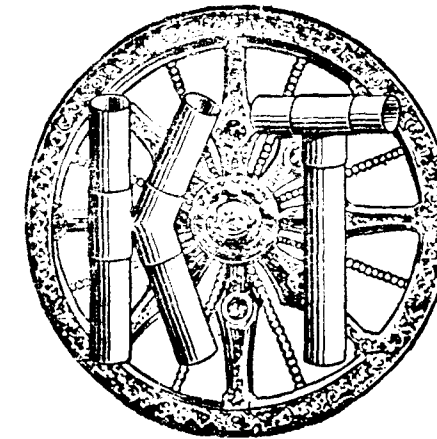
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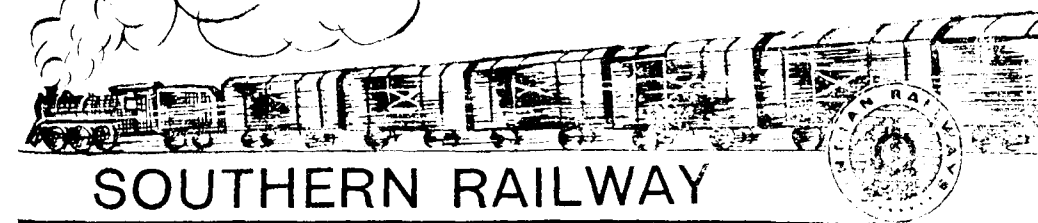
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Guest Editor: D. N. MARSHALL

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Book Selection for the Public Library of the Underdeveloped Countries, by A. C. Ray, Indian Central Jute Committee, Calcutta.

The Book Classification, by H. K. Majumdar, Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar.
Social Role of Libraries in India Today, by Hakim Singh, Punjab University Library, Chandigarh.

Planning Literature and Documentation, by P. N. Kaula, Librarian, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.

The Interamerican Library School, by Dr. Luis Floren, Director.

The School Library and its Librarian, by V. P. Kolhatakar, Librarian, Maharashtra Regional Library, Poona.

Some Outstanding Articles in our last Numbers.

June 1960
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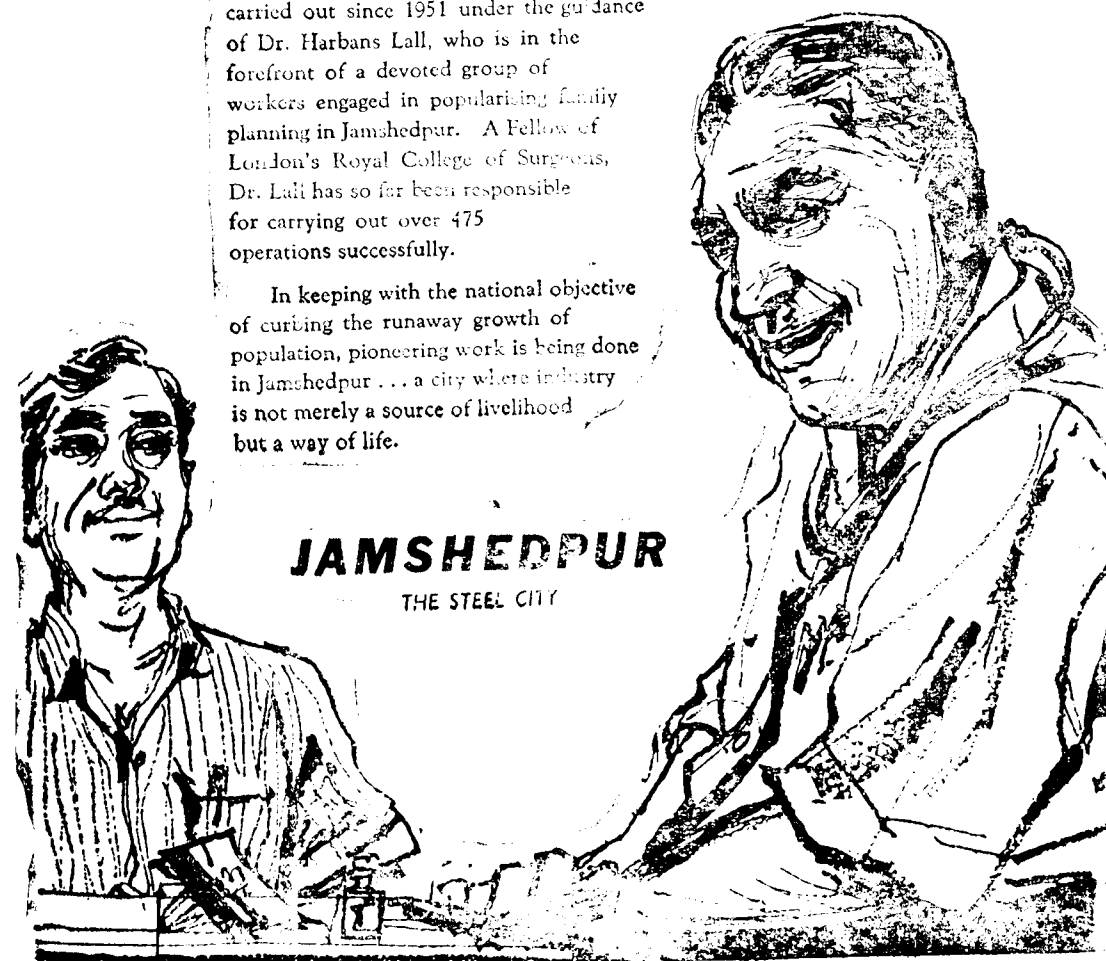


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Ethiopia Today

By

Mr. GABRIEL GERSH

WHAT Tibet is to Asia, Ethiopia is to Africa—an ancient, remote, conservative and xenophobic State, isolated in the mountains. By a strange irony the vicissitudes through which he has passed have helped him to accomplish his aim, for at the time of the Italian invasion he was by no means so universally accepted as he now is. Although a feudal chief in origin, Haile Selassie is modern in thought. Very tentatively he has begun to move the country forwards once again. General elections have been held, and there is an elected assembly which is given legislative work to do. There is as yet no system of responsible government but the Emperor accepts the proposition that "if you take the first step you must take the last." Today, however, it is still very definitely personal loyalty to him which makes Ethiopia "tick."

Ethiopia is twice the size of France, with a population of about eighteen million. The political structure is based historically on the domination of a Christian Amharic minority over a number of other tribes many of which are Moslem or pagan. However, modern developments have to some extent blurred the edges of these tribal distinctions. The present Emperor, Haile Selassie, who is by any comparison one of the most remarkable figures of present day Africa, is the architect of Ethiopia's present unity. He is a feudal chief who had to struggle to get where he is. Politically, Ethiopia is very clearly in the stage in which most European countries found themselves in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Haile Selassie has substituted a strong central monarchy, ruling through a centrally controlled imperial civil service, for the old system of feudal chiefs owing a loose obedience to the Emperor.

The Army, too, is an important factor. Nearly 30,000 strong, it includes a few artillery and armored units and the Imperial Guard of 10,000, which served with distinction in Korea and is fanatically devoted to the Emperor. At present the officers are trained by the Indians, and the U.S. provides a technical mission to train the troops in the use of American small arms and transportation. The U.S. is also supplying the Air Force with jets. In so vast a country it is hard to generalize about conditions of life among the people. I travelled by train from Addis Ababa to Dire-dawa and then by bus and jeep to Harrar and through Jijiga into Somaliland. The Ethiopians may be xenophobic, but they are unfailingly

kind and courteous to the individual foreigner. In everyday life they display a cheerful insouciance. The bus in which I travelled had a table tied on top of the luggage rack, with its legs pointing upwards. The route we took had recently been traversed by the Emperor, and our table proved a very efficient instrument for removing the numerous triumphal arches which had been left in the wake of his cortage, but no one seemed dismayed at this act of involuntary desecration. In general, standards of living are appreciably lower than in British East Africa. Some of the tribes, such as the Esa, who live along the railroad lines, are certainly wild and woolly, but not more so than the Masai in Kenya or the cattle Fulani in Northern Nigeria. The Ethiopian peasant tends to live from harvest to harvest. There is little in reserve to guard against famine. In some parts public order is not too good, but the *shiftas*, although they may relieve a traveller of his possessions seldom harm him.

The Emperor is now turning the weight of his authority upon improvements in education. According to official figures only 100,000 children attend elementary schools. This is a low proportion even in Africa. There are some good secondary schools, including the British-run Wingate College, in Addis Ababa. These schools are now being decentralized by being moved out into the provinces.

There is also a University College, the nucleus of Ethiopian higher education, which was established in 1950. About two-thirds of the college's staff are French-Canadian Jesuits and the remainder are Polish or Russian exiles with a small American and British contingent. The aim of the university is, of course, partly to impart western techniques and methods of organization; but also it is designed to give the students a better understanding of their own traditions. In this double role the Jesuit direction, which is formally debarred from religious indoctrination and works in close harmony with the French-speaking Emperor, is very sensitive to the creative potential of Ethiopian

intelligence. Upon the success of the college the success of the country's modernization program depends, for until there are enough young Ethiopian administrators, the country's pace of progress must indeed be slow.

At a lower level of education, the Ethiopian Church, one of the oldest emanations of the Christian faith, has fostered literacy in Amharic. Outside each church the younger children may be seen huddled together under a tree, learning their lesson by rote such as in the Koranic schools in Nigeria.

Economically, Ethiopia is not basically poor. The country is naturally fertile, and produces one valuable cash crop, coffee, which provides about half the country's exports. As this is mostly marketed in the United States, it builds up a useful dollar reserve, which can be used for the purchase of textiles and other necessary imports from non-dollar eastern countries, such as India and Japan, in such a way that Ethiopia gains in the transaction. Gold is mined in the south, and there is potash and manganese in Eritrea. Three-quarters of the country is covered with a volcanic layer and is therefore unlikely to contain mineable minerals. The Italians prospected the rest pretty thoroughly. As is to be expected with an economy of this kind, there are few industries. There are, however, two interesting development projects in progress. The Koka dam, being built by the Italians as part of war reparations, will double the country's electricity supplies. In Assab a Yugoslav firm is carrying out improvements of the harbor which may ultimately make this route a threat to the Jibuti railroad, hitherto the main outlet for exports.

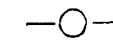
The United States is carrying out Point Four assistance on a wide scale. Agricultural school have been set up, teachers are being trained and a malarial scheme has been started. U.S. experts do not claim that Point Four is an unqualified success, but they are confident that it will yield some promising results.

Most economic and social development in Ethiopia is carried out by foreign companies

and missions though with the help of Ethiopians. The United Nations has made here one of its major efforts and has indeed established in Addis Ababa the headquarters of its economic commission for Africa. Great Britain, since the withdrawal of the military mission and the British Council in 1950, has lost ground although the British Council has now been restored and the British educational effort remains considerable. The Russians maintain a somewhat shopworn pavilion of culture. If Ethiopia is any guide, the fact that foreigners are not "colonialists" does not make them any more popular. The Italians, who are present in great numbers, are better liked than most. "Without Mussolini they are all right," is the general verdict. Considering how many Ethiopian families suf-

fered under the Italian fascists this lack of resentment, in which the Emperor set the example, is remarkable.

Internally Ethiopia today enjoys stability but little development. Most of the elements which have caused revolutions in the Middle Eastern countries are present in embryo—a newly educated middle class, a powerful army and discontented minorities. But the pressures are still low. Externally, the situation appears for less certain. Ethiopia is a Christian Power surrounded by Moslem nations. Her predicament today is that, whereas in the past colonialism appeared the principal threat to Ethiopia's security, today the liquidation of colonialism may portend even greater dangers.



Powers of the President of India

By

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

IT seems to me that it would not be right to assert that the President is only a figure-head under our constitution with nothing (or at best a few) powers of discretion or independent judgment. As a matter of fact the plain meaning of the language used in Art. 53 (1) that the executive power of the Union is vested in him and that he can exercise that power *directly* or through officers subordinate to him shows that the discretionary power is categorically given to him in every matter. The Council of Ministers, which is headed by the Prime Minister, is only subordinate to him and is to be regarded as an Advisory body. Such seems to be theoretically the correct position according to the actual wordings of the constitution. In most cases, however, the President may leave things to be decided and executed by the Ministry in his name and may not care to, or feel the necessity to, interfere and do anything directly, for the sake of smooth working.

That the President's discretion to accept or not to accept the advice tendered by his Council of Ministers, that is the Prime Minister, is wide and absolute can be seen by comparing his powers with that of the State Governors. The wording of Art. 154 (1) is exactly similar to Art. 53 (1). Let us consider now Art. 163 (1). The Governor too has his Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister of the State, to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions, not in all matters like the President but only in those cases where he is specially or specifically required under the Constitution to exercise his own discretion. Art. 163 (2) further provides that if any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter in which the Governor can exercise his discretionary power, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to

have acted in his discretion. A similar provision like Art. 163 (2) has not been provided for the President because advisedly the Constitution makers did not provide for only some exceptional cases where his discretion was to be used though some such cases might have been provided, but generally fully conceded the supremacy of his powers of discretion in all cases. There are some articles when specific powers are given to others but they do not affect the general nature of the President's powers. Anyway, the President could not be put in a worse position than the Governor, and should be given much larger powers, as in fact has been done.

It would be well to note a few cases where the constitution mentions specifically that the President could use his own judgment. Under Art. III he could refuse assent to a Bill which might have been passed by both the Houses of Parliament. If the Council of Ministers try to force him to give his assent he could dissolve the Ministry and direct the party in power to obtain a fresh mandate from the people—Art. 123 (1) empowers the President to promulgate ordinances during the recess of Parliament, and it is not stated here that this could be done by him only upon getting the advice of the Council of Ministers. Art. 243 (2) gives him power to make regulations for the peace and good government of territories in Part D of the First Schedule and other territories not specified in the Schedule. For the purposes of administering such territories the regulations made by him may repeal or amend any law made by Parliament. Art. 143 gives the President powers to consult the Supreme Court to get its opinion upon a question of law or fact which is of great public importance. And when the opinion is obtained it is not binding on him to be followed in his action. Discretion is also given to the President in Art. 352 to make a proclamation of emergency and similarly in Art. 360 when there is a financial emergency. More instances could also be given.

Now let us reflect what are the reasons (which

are obvious) for providing independent power of judgment to the President or the Governor. The provisions of Art. 163 as we have seen invest the Governor with an overriding power over his cabinet, if only "to block or retard the separatist or the centrifugal tendencies of the State due to one or more conceivable causes." It is not intended that the Governor should use his discretionary powers as an autocrat but only to use them on special occasions, if necessary, to safeguard the interests of the Central Government (whose nominee he is) and carry out the fundamental policy of that Government to maintain a uniformly effective administration throughout the Union. Mr. N. R. Raghavachariar, author of "The Constitution of India" has ably summed up the position thus: "An independent and detached head who is not influenced by party passions or local politics, can often play a very useful role in the smooth working of the governmental machinery. Ministers may come and ministers may go, and the same parties may not always be in power. In times of quick-changing politics, a Governor whose position is unshakable except by the pleasure of the appointing authority, namely, the President, can bring to bear a wholesome and effective influence upon what may be warring elements contending for power in the State Government. On such occasions, there must be an absolute discretion in the Governor to act in the way best congenial to the country's good and that is all that is sought and aimed at in this article. This does not make the Governor a despotic head or an irresponsible potentate. It only gives him a discretion to act in particular but rare contingencies, when for the furtherance of larger interests it may be necessary for him to ignore or override the wishes of the Ministry in power." If the Governor should ever choose to act arbitrarily or in a despotic manner, the President could promptly remove him from his office. That is the safeguard.

Most of the above observations could apply also to the relations between the President and

his Council of Ministers. If it is feared that the State's Ministers are likely at some time or other to be carried away by local passions and prejudices and therefore there must be a Governor to pull them up, then there is no reason to suppose that the Central Ministers even as a body will always be above party politics and do nothing which is not conducive to the solidarity of the country's administration or jeopardise the larger interests of the country and there is no need for a President who is clothed with sufficient authority to pull them up. Will the existence of a mere figure-head who cannot counter-balance any possible unhealthy trends in the Ministry in power be conducive to the best interests of the country? Obviously the framers of our Constitution looked into the future possibilities and must have intended to give ample powers to the President to interfere whenever necessary according to his judgment. In actual practice no President will care to override the Ministerial decisions except when grave consequences are apprehended by him.

At the same time the Constitution has provided sufficient safeguard if any President should choose to act whimsically or arbitrarily in disregard of the Constitution. It provides for impeachment of such a President for violation of the Constitution (Vide Art. 61) by means of a resolution to be passed by two-thirds majority of one House of Parliament bringing the charge and also the other House after investigating the charge after giving the President an opportunity to be represented in such investigation passed a resolution with like majority that the charge has been sustained. Such resolution will have the effect of removing the President from his office as from the date on which the resolution was passed. It is unthinkable that ordinarily any responsible President who has been chosen to that office by an enlightened electoral college of legislators would reduce himself to that predicament of having to face a charge of impeachment. But it is also significant that for a mere non-acceptance of the Ministerial advice to him in ordinary matters a charge of impea-

chment cannot possibly be sustained in both the Houses of Parliament with the large majority required. Because of the difficult procedure it may sometimes be possible for a President to override the advice of his Ministers with impunity. Perhaps, on the other hand, the country may spontaneously hail his action as most proper and patriotic in the circumstances. In such cases of disagreement the President can dismiss the Ministry which holds the office only at his pleasure and appoint another Prime Minister who can form his team, or the President can dissolve the Parliament and ask the party in power to get a clear mandate on the question from the electorate.

All that Art 74 says is that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. It does not categorically say that the President is bound by that advice in all cases. In the interests of the harmonious working of the Union Government he may not care to disagree, except when his conscience compels him to act otherwise. The advice is not stated to be in the nature of a direction.

It is often stated that a Constitutional provision ought not to be interpreted very strictly in the manner of a statute. It is true in the words of Justice Higgins in *Attorney General for New South Wales Vs. Brewery Employees Union* (1908) 6 Commonwealth L. R. 469 at p. 611 that a Constitution is "a mechanism under which laws are to be made and not a mere Act, which declares what the law is to be." Sir Maurice Gwyer, C. J. has pointed out in *Inre C. P. Motor Spirits Act* 49 Law Weekly 36 at P. 39. "a broad and liberal spirit should inspire those whose duty it is to interpret it; but I do not imply by this that they are free to stretch or pervert the language of the enactment in the interests of any legal or constitutional theory, or even for the purposes of supplying omissions or of correcting supposed errors. A federal court will not strengthen, but only derogate from, its position if it seeks to do anything but

declare the law." However it was decided in America in *Judd V. Board of Education* 118 A.L.R. 789 that the words of the Constitution should receive informal and unvarying interpretation and by *United States Vs. Sprague* 71 A.L.R. 1381 that "where the meaning of a Constitutional provision is plain and clear, there is no room for construction and no excuse for interpolation or addition of words which substantially add to or take away from the Constitution as framed." It seems to me that it will help us to re-read Art-53 (1) and 74 in the light of the above observations, which will make it clear that there is a categorical statement that the President has his choice, whether he has to act directly or through the Ministry for the exercise of his functions. If he should himself respect a convention that ordinarily he will not use his powers directly but only through the proper channel, that is his discretion and not what he is obliged to do by the Constitution. For further support, *Sapulpa Vs. Land*, 35 A.L.R. 872 says that "where the Constitution confers the power to do a particular act and prescribes the means and manner of doing such act, such means or manner is exclusive of all others." Here the President's means and manner of exercising the executive power of the Union is prescribed as "directly or through officers subordinate to him." It may be that as a matter of routine, convenience or convention all things are being done by the Ministry in the name of the President, but what is being done conventionally cannot be said to have the Constitutional sanction. Again it was laid down in *Jones Vs. Williams* 79 A.L.R. 983 that a Constitution is to be construed as a whole and effect given, if possible, to every section and clause and the court must, if practicable, harmonise apparent conflicts between different portions and must lean in favour of a construction which will render every word operative rather than one which may make some words idle and nugatory. So if indeed a conflict should arise, I should think that as the Consti-

tution stands at present the courts will not be inclined to treat the word "directly" in Art. 53 (1) as inoperative or idle and render it nugatory.

The President is compared to the British monarch and it is often stated that he is only a figure-head. In England, theoretically the Crown wields enormous powers but actually it is the Cabinet which carries on the Government with the Crown taking no active part either in legislative or executive functions. There it is an unwritten Constitution but many conventions have developed over centuries which have acquired more sacredness than law. The Crown is also a hereditary office. The English Constitution is based on the unitary type. Ours is a federal type of Constitution, the office of President is not hereditary. We have a codified Constitution with the powers of the President defined or restricted in specific cases and we have yet to develop Conventions in amplification of our Constitution. It seems to me therefore that the oft-made comparison is not altogether apt. The dissimilarities are many and vital. And how long are we going to draw on the model of the British conventions, even while we are having a written Constitution and have already amended it on many occasions?

If a conflict has not so far arisen between the two limbs of executive power in the Union—the President and the Prime Minister—it is because of the great personal qualities of the concerned office-holders at the moment. Surely we cannot interpret the Constitution in terms of personalities but only from what it has actually laid down. It seems to me that President Dr. Rajendra Prasad has started looking into the future and is anxious to establish with precision what exactly the Constitutional provisions are, what we are and where we are. He feels it is high time, eleven years after the inauguration of the Constitution, that we rely less on extraneous aids to interpret our Constitution.

—○—

The Futility of the Cult of Repression and Violence

By

PROF. RADHA KRISHNA SHARMA, M.A.

MAHATMA Gandhi is not the first man who has preached the futility of the cult of repression and violence and the efficacy of the cult of persuasion and non-violence. The ideas of violence and non-violence and also their exponents have been present in society from times immemorial and debates and discussions have been held among scholars and politicians in preference to the one or the other. The meaning of the word 'non-violence' it is to be understood not in a narrow sense but it is to be understood in a wide sense. It is not merely a negative attitude—abstinence from revenge—blood for blood; but it is also a positive act conquering evil by good. It is universal brotherhood in theory as well as in practice. Though, under religious superstitions, some sort of sacrifice was made, the Vedas and the Upanishads have sung enough in praise and utility of non-violence. They enunciate the principle, "Ahimsa Parmo Dharm." The most predominating element in the life and teachings of Mahabir and Buddha was non-violence. King Asoka, after the Kalinga war, praised, preached, and practised non-violence. Even outside India there have sprung up sages and seers who have denounced violence. They have been found in different ages in different parts of the world. To mention a few—Laotse, Jesus Christ, Socrates, Wycliffe, Tolstoy, Ruskin, Theodore Lessing. In the last, in our own age, stands Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest apostle of non-violence. But in one respect there is a marked difference between Gandhiji and his predecessors. Gandhiji has much extended the scope of non-violence. As J. H. Holmes explains, what other men have taught as a personal discipline, Gandhi has transformed into a social programme for redemption of the world. In the words of Bagehot one of the greatest pains to human nature is the pain of a new idea. But as a great philosopher Hugo says, the invasion of an army can be resisted but never the invasion of an idea. Society is not static but dynamic, and with the advance of time change is bound to take place. When the existing political, economic or social order becomes out of date, not in keeping with the needs of the people, some powerful personalities, with a new series of ideas and programme, appear on the scene. This has been true in all countries in all ages. But as they stand far in advance of their time, the people in general and the government in particular misunderstand them, and take resort to force and violence in order to stifle their ideas and programme. But as John Dryden aptly observes, "of all the tyrannies on human kind, the worst is that which persecutes the mind." Because of the vested interest and certain inherent weakness, the government fear any change and want to maintain the *status quo* at any cost and price. But as a matter of fact it is the manifestation of their weakness and unwisdom. The reformers and revolutionaries who sound the passing away of the exististing era and the beginning of another with new hopes and promises, are not ordinary mortals made of ordinary stuff. The cause for which they stand is far dearer to them than the life itself. So when they are sent to the sword and the gallows, they embrace these infamous weapons with all the peace, patience and pleasure that are characteristically theirs. But at last the rash action of the government recoiles upon themselves. Individuals physically die but the cause remains behind. As Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru has well said, "when a person is prepared to die for a cause and indeed to glory in such a death, it is impossible to suppress him or the cause he represents." Terror does not and cannot succeed in altering opinions or ideas. At best temporary success

is achieved but permanent harm is done. Minimum result is secured at maximum cost because out of the seed of martyr's blood grows the plant of public or people's movement.

Any discontent, either on the part of an individual or a nation is caused by some want or grievance. So, unless the root cause is removed, the ultimate problem of discontent can never be solved. "To penalize the ideas and programmes does not stifle the wants." The policy of repression or suppression is negative and destructive as it only represses or suppresses but does not and cannot remove the wants. With the more delay, the problem becomes more serious. Moreover, it makes the wants or grievances all the more widespread and their exponents all the more popular. As Prof. Laski aptly observes, "No state can suppress the human impulse of curiosity, and there is always a special delight, a kind of psychological scarcity value in knowledge of the forbidden. No technique of suppression has so far been discovered which does not have the effect of giving wider currency to the thing suppressed than can be attained in any other fashion." He further says, "It has been the historic character of persecution always to degrade the persecutor and to strengthen the persecuted by drawing attention to their claims.

Some important instances from history of different countries in different ages will illustrate the point. In the second millennium B.C. one finds that the mightiest might and fiercest force of the most powerful Assyrian Empire could not crush the spirit of the Babylonians to break the chain of servitude and live in the sunshine of freedom. In about the first millennium B.C. the Jews were exiled by way of punishment, but the exile proved a blessing in disguise, as the age of the exile is the age of the foundation of the Jewish Church. To the Jews, Jesus was a social rebel and to the then government a political one. He was tried and crucified. But as Pt. Nehru has well said, "The living and preaching Jesus was hardly known outside Palestine, but the crucified Jesus

sat in the heart of the people." The whole force and might of the most powerfully organised Roman Empire could not crush Christianity though hundreds and thousands of Christians were mercilessly put to death. The "despised and proscribed" sect emerged triumphant. Marx was penalized and so many of his followers, but Marxism has captured the minds of many young men and women and forms an important subject matter for study in Political Science. The most successful Plantagenet king, Henry II, triumphed over the strong barons, but the church worsted him. In order to get rid of Becket, the champion of the rights of the church, Henry got him murdered. Becket raised such a storm of opposition that Henry had to bow down and leave the church intact. And so it is said, "if ever a dead man won a fight, it was Becket." The Stuart monarchs with all the powerful armies and servile courts failed against their subjects in establishing despotic government and Charles I had to lose even his head. But his very execution strengthened the cause of monarchy which had to be restored in 1660. In the 18th century the senior mother, despite her threat and violence, could not succeed in preventing her junior daughter from being mistress in her own house (G.B. Vs. America). In France many revolutionaries were put to death, but the ideas of the revolution—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity—remained and have become popular slogans and aspirations in the 19th and the 20th century world. In Russia the all-powerful Czar could not successfully crush the popular movements and Czarism has been replaced by socialist regime. The Irish have been the most stubborn resisters because they have been the most oppressed people by the Br. Government.

India furnishes some (further) suitable examples. The invaders like Mohamud and Timur, Nadir and Ahmad, rulers like Alauddin and Aurangzeb in spite of fire and sword, death and destruction, could not affect Hinduism. But the Hindus and the Buddhists had spread their cul-

ture inside and outside India not through crusade or Jihad but by peaceful, non-violent means. The combined forces of the Mughals and the Afghans tried in vain to destroy Sikhism. Arjun, the fifth guru, was tortured to death during the reign of Jahangir and this proved a turning point in the career of the Sikhs. The blood of Arjun proved to be the seed of Sikhism and in the words of a historian, "The Sikhs throughout their early history have always appeared like a suppressed flame ready to rise into higher splendour from every attempt to crush them."

Last but not the least, it is well-known that one of the greatest imperialist powers of the world, with all its bombs, bullets and bayonets, tanks, poisons and gases, has proved powerless against the unarmed teeming millions of India under the leadership of a 'naked faquir.' The brute force of the British Government has proved of no avail against the soul force of Mahatma Gandhi. During the first war of Indian Independence in 1857-8 the war between the Indians and the British was based on violence and so the less organised inferior violence of the Indians failed before the organised superior violence of the British. But by 1942 when second war of Indian Independence broke out, Gandhian leadership has brought about a mass awakening in India. When in that year, the unprecedented reign of organised terror and violence was let loose over unarmed India, the fate of the British Government also was sealed for ever. The blood of the martyrs brought India far nearer her goal than ever and within the space of five years Indians have become free. Besides achieving long cherished Indian freedom, even in the field of communal disturbances where armed force failed to restore law and order, Gandhiji's personality worked miracle. But even this very man fell a victim to an assassin's hand. What a foolish and childish act! Except God nothing on earth is everlasting. In the very birth death is implied. The physical existence of Gandhiji has been put an end to, as it was bound to be.

sooner or later: but what power on earth can put an end to Gandhism that has got hold of the minds and hearts of the millions of people? It continues and will continue to influence the people at large. The life and achievement of the Mahatma illustrate the truth contained in the observation of Macswini, "Not all the empires of the earth can crush the spirit of one true man. And that one true man will prevail."

These are some instances, which can still be multiplied, showing the inevitable futility and failure of the attempt to crush the spirit of a nation or even an individual fighting for a noble cause employing noble means.

From psychological point of view one at once realizes the weakness and uselessness of the cult of violence. There is a marked difference in feeling when we utter the names of the votaries of violence like Alexander, Napoleon and Hitler on the one hand and those of the votaries of non-violence like Christ, Buddha and Gandhi, on the other. The friends and followers of violence appeal neither to the mind nor to the heart, they are the destroyers of the cream and flower of culture and of the hopes and aspirations of the youth, leaving behind them legacies of fear and frustration. When Hitler, the best representative of the cult of violence, died or disappeared, world including his homeland rejoiced. At best they occupy some space in the pages of history. But the friends and followers of non-violence appeal to both mind and heart, they are the protector and promoter of cream and flower of culture and the hopes and aspirations of the youth, leaving behind them legacies of goodwill and gratitude. When Gandhiji, the best representative of the cult of non-violence, died, the world in general and India in particular plunged into the ocean of mourning. They occupy space not only in the pages of history but also in the heart of human race.

On further critical examination, the practice of torture and tyranny, of penalization and punishment, is found to be negative and transi-

Catherine read the book and made marginal notes, her anger rising as she proceeded. She had once sympathised with the views of the French thinkers; but long years of power had changed her altogether, and the very suggestion of questioning power raised hysteria in her. She immediately ordered the prosecution and punishment of the daring author. Death was the penalty that the obedient judges of the Empress pronounced. Then perhaps through the kind influence of Count Vorontsov, the occasion of celebration of peace with Sweden was used as an opportunity for commuting the death sentence to ten years in Siberia.

But Radishchev's book thereby became all the more famous. Withdrawn from circulation, manuscript copies of it were made, and the few copies available were in such demand that twenty-five roubles an hour were paid to get them for reading in secret. According to Radishchev's biographer, Marshall Lang, thirty

manuscript copies of the book have come down to us.

In Siberia this political and social thinker spent the long evenings in writing, the very title of his book, *On Man. His Mortality and Immortality*, showed the trend of his thoughts. The despondency and weariness of his soul are shown by his *Song of History*. Though after the death of Catherine in 1796 he was recalled, his debts, his domestic sorrows and the criticisms against him made him drink, on a sudden impulse, a glass of nitric acid which his son had prepared to brighten some brass of his.

Thus ended the life of the man who was the first radical in Russia. He was more a radical in thought and writing than in action, and that too only because he lived in Tsarist Russia. Had he lived now there would have been nothing radical in his writings because all his criticisms and advocacies were merely on the lines of the highest ideals of modern democracy.

Medical Uses of Television

By
Mr. ROSEMARIE CLARK

ONE of the most dramatic and effective uses of television to-day in the United States and in several other countries is in the field of medicine. Where visual demonstration is the very heart of the instruction programme, television has provided its educational value. It is used primarily in three ways: on closed circuits for distribution within a hospital for the benefit of students; on inter-city closed circuits where educators can reach as many as 30,000 physicians throughout the country; and on open circuit programmes, advertised only to the physician, which use regular commercial channels at off-hours.

Because of the success it has achieved, inter-city medical telecasting is considered separately. The foremost purpose of these telecasts is to offer a kind of post-graduate medical education to physicians who lack the time or opp-

portunity to continue their studies. Programmes with this objective were produced as far back as 1952 when the emphasis was on formally prepared discussions of a specific clinical problem. Present-day programmes, however, are much more vital and dynamic and show a tremendous advance over these earlier ones.

In 1955 the Upjohn Pharmaceutical Company started sponsoring a series entitled the "Grand Rounds." For the first programme, presented by Tufts University School of Medicine and the New England Medical Center, a subject was selected that was purposely one that would be of interest to the general practitioner as well as to the specialist: "acute abdominal problems." Finding patients as case illustrations was no easy. The television company moved ten tons of equipment into Boston City Hospital and waited. After four days, during which tim-

the crew—on a twenty-four hour alert—familiarised themselves with operating room procedures, the first patient arrived. All personnel were required to don masks and gowns. The net result of two weeks' work was 10,000 feet of unedited film on six cases. After a great deal of cutting, eleven minutes of edited film was finally selected and used for the programme.

The format of the programme called for the presentation of three cases recently admitted to Boston City Hospital. Well-known clinicians were invited to preside as panelists. Without advance knowledge of the cases, they were confronted with the patients and asked to diagnose and prescribe for them. The audience watched how each specialist met the problem at hand. Naturally, among the experts, there was dissension from time to time over diagnostic criteria, over medical and surgical treatment. This heightened the effectiveness of the proceedings, and probably in so doing, it also reassured the non-specialist physician in the audience who also on occasions may be hesitant when it comes to diagnosis and prescription. The hour-long programme of spontaneous discussion and controversy succeeded in showing, as it had set out to do, first-rate critical intelligences face to face with some of the everyday problems of the general practitioner.

Since these programmes are unrehearsed, they are far more complicated to produce than regular open-circuit television shows. There is always the unexpected to be contended with. On the second of the "Grand Rounds" telecasts, the subject was "the cardiac patient in stress: work, surgery, and pregnancy." One week before the date of the telecast, one patient's condition deteriorated so much that using that patient on the programme was out of the question. A second patient was found in a New York hospital. All the doctors on the medical board except one agreed that there was no danger in transporting her to the Boston hospital from which the programme was to originate. But on the basis of the one doctor's

doubts, the television company cancelled the plan. Two days before the date of the scheduled telecast, a third patient was found.

The question of timing also presented a problem during this same programme. An anaesthetist was to be shown placing a tube down the throat of a patient, an operation that takes twenty seconds to perform. Because of a mix-up of cues, the anaesthetist started for the operating room two minutes earlier than he was expected, and the camera almost lost the sequence completely.

These are not the only problems peculiar to this type of programme. The telecasters are dependent upon the goodwill and co-operation of hospital staffs; the privacy of patients must be respected; scientific accuracy must be observed, and the medical audience must feel itself directly involved in a learning experience. Moreover, it is a largescale undertaking. For one of the "Grand Rounds" telecasts 1,500 people took part in the preparation and final presentation of the programme, and 8,000 miles of cable, and 35,000 pieces of equipment were used.

What are the results? A survey conducted recently indicated that more than 50 per cent of the physicians in the United States have attended at least one such programme, and more than 90 per cent of those attending considered them useful. Every physician in the country received an invitation to the "Grand Rounds" series, and an average of 30,000 responded. For those unable to attend personally, kinescope sound films were made of the telecast.

Letters that pour in from isolated parts of the country provide additional proof of the project's success. Letters from provincial doctors telling of their gratitude in being able to learn what is being done in their field to-day, and letters from over-burdened general practitioners without the leisure to keep abreast of latest developments. All these letters are testimonials of interest and enthusiasm that more than justify the output of labour and money in one of the most exciting educational developments in TV broadcasting. (UNESCO)

A History of the Freedom Movement

By
DR. R. C. MAZUMDAR

THE achievement of freedom by India in 1947 may be regarded as a unique event in the history of the World. There is no other instance known to us of a weak, disunited and unarmed people freeing themselves from a mighty imperial power without any bloody fight or armed rebellion. It is, therefore, highly important to write an objective account of the process by which this was rendered possible. The conquest of India by a body of English merchants has been regarded by many as a miracle. No less a miracle is the expulsion of the British from India. But if a miracle means something of which it is not possible to give a rational or natural explanation, none of these two episodes can be described as miraculous. They are strange and unusual, perhaps even unique, but are susceptible of rational explanation. To give such an explanation for the latter on these two events constitutes the main object of writing a history of the freedom movement in India.

When, in 1947, first mooted the question of writing such a history, some well-meaning critics raised an objection. They doubted whether the time has come for writing such a history in a truly detached spirit. We are too near the crucial events to take a passionate view of men and things. Many persons who took a leading part in them are still alive, and some of them occupy high positions in the State and political organizations. Would it be possible to speak out freely all that happened, or to discuss, without any reservation, why they happened? Could any historian, writing about 1950, follow the basic doctrine of telling the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth?

These are valid objections and time has proved their strength. But as against this it was pointed out by me that there were some inestimable advantages in writing a history without any delay. In most countries independence is achieved by armed revolution leading to san-

guinary fights, which leave their traces in chaos and confusion and keep the people and State disoriented for a long time. When the people settle down and are in a mood to write the history of that revolution, they find that much of the evidence in the shape of persons whose recollections and experiences could supply valuable information, as well as newspapers and documentary evidence, have largely disappeared. In particular, all trustworthy information about those underground movements which constitute an essential feature of all political revolutions, and of which it is impossible, from the very nature of things, to secure reliable evidence, is likely to be lost for ever with the death of the persons who took a leading part in them. Fortunately for India, the achievement of independence was not followed by any such chaotic condition and there was a unique opportunity of securing valuable materials which were scarcely available in other countries for writing the history of freedom movements.

While an inordinate delay in writing such a history involves the loss of these advantages, it does not compensate for this evil by removing altogether the valid objection referred to above. For the disappearance of leading figures does not always mean the removal of obstacles in speaking freely and dispassionately about them. Men die, but are survived by the parties and ideologies which they represented. It is almost as difficult to form a dispassionate judgment of Gandhiji's character and achievements and to speak freely about them today, as it was in 1947. On the whole, therefore, the balance of advantages lies in taking up the history of the freedom movement without any delay.

The first problem that faces the writer of such a history is to decide where to begin. When this matter was discussed by the Board appointed for this purpose by the Government of India, two extreme views emerged. One was to start with Gandhiji and at least not to go

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further back beyond the foundation of the doctrine and the authority of the priests and Indian National Congress. Another view was that, in religious and social fields, was to begin from the very beginnings of human history in the political field in trying to Indian history, going back to the remotest times of the tyranny of foreign rule.

The growth of this spirit, from stage to stage, surd one and need not be seriously considered. In different fields, is therefore an essential part I have always held the view that when today we of the history of the freedom movement. We talk of the freedom from the British yoke, we must view the picture as whole in order to understand the history goes back to the beginning of British rule and the causes and true significance of the evolution of political ideas and organizations, also begin later. For the course of events that even though these must necessarily form the led to the freedom of India from the British principal part of that history.

The most important part of the history of yoke may be carried back, through distinct stages, to the beginnings of British rule, and freedom movement is to trace the different stages of this evolution. There is a current belief that the organized political movement preceding one that almost inevitably led to it, began with the Indian National Congress. Even the Chief Minister of a Province has expressed this view in one of his recent publications. But this may be a greater mistake than this. There were political associations and organized movements in Bengal for more than a century before the Congress came into existence. The ideas of reform enunciated by them are not less advanced than those advocated by the Congress during the first twenty years of its existence. In some directions they were even far more advanced. There were important political associations in Bombay only two—and partly by the regime of the Grand Monarch a century earlier. So it is impossible to write the history of Indian freedom without taking into account the growth of Western ideas—such as rationalism, patriotism, nationality etc.—due to English education, and the forces unleashed by them which so worked upon the religious, social, and political ideas of India that was transformed from the medieval to modern age. It would be unhistorical to study the growth of political ideas and movements by themselves, without any reference to the growth of social and religious ideas or of the literature which sustained them all. Human mind does not work in isolated compartments. It is an organic whole and its work has to be looked upon in its totality. The same spirit which revolted at the tyranny of superstitious

But no one would call it a part of freedom movement. Another important aspect of the problem is to define precisely what is understood by freedom movement. Any and every fight against the British or attempt to drive them out of India cannot be construed as a freedom movement. The Pindaris were a well organized body and they fought strenuously against the English. But no one would call it a part of freedom

movement. The Wahabis formed a well-knit organization, extending from Bengal to the North-Western Frontier, with a view to driving out the English from India, but their object was to establish a *dar-ul-Islam* (kingdom of the Muslims), and to them the Sikhs were as much an alien enemy as the British. Can we regard the heroic fight of the Wahabis as a national war of independence? These are clear cases. The outbreak of 1857 is more complex in character and opinion is sharply divided as to whether we can view it as part of a freedom movement. It is therefore, necessary to postulate the principles on which alone we must judge whether a movement can be looked upon as a movement for freedom of India from the British yoke. Again, the out-break of 1857 must also be viewed in its true perspective, for like the Congress, it is the culmination and not the beginning of a process of armed resistance against the British.

The most serious aspect of the problem is to assess properly the contribution of different factors to the final result. The Congress propaganda has popularised the view that freedom of India has been achieved by the non-violent *Satyagraha*. This is an over-simplification of the question at issue. The basic idea of *Satyagraha* is to bring about such a change in the opponent's heart by patient sufferings that he would repent of his crime and do the right and proper thing. It is very questionable whether the Englishmen had undergone such a moral transformation when they granted independence to India. As to Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience Movement it was a spent-up force after 1942, and there was no immediate connection between it and the grant of independence. Of course, the awakening of the masses under the inspiration and guidance of Gandhiji and the possible recrudescence of Civil Disobedience Movement were very important factors. But these were not the only factors. The I.N.A., symbolizing the collapse of the military force by which alone the British could hope to keep India under their control, the weakening of British military power and economic resources by the hammering blows of Hitler, the underground revolutionary activities in India,—all these and many other less important factors have to be taken into

consideration before we can take an objective view of the means by which independence was won in India. Much has been made of the unique technique devised by Gandhiji of fighting brute force with love and *ahimsa*. This method alone is supposed to have humbled the mighty British lion. But, strangely enough, although the 'cult of Gandhiji' is well on its way to become a dogma or creed, his disciples have not thought it of much worth in checking the encroachments of Pakistan or China, none of whom is as powerful as the British. The sooner we get rid of these cults and slogans, the better is it for writing an objective history of the freedom movement.

Finally, the most important and at the same time the most difficult task for one who writes such a history is to take a rational view of men. This specially applies to great leaders like Gandhiji—to take only one name and avoid allusions to living persons. He may be revered as a saint, but the part he played in the freedom movement must be judged by the standard which we apply to all other great men in history. The author of the *History of the Indian National Congress* has put Gandhiji in a class apart, and in defence, has frankly claimed that Gandhiji did things by flashes of instincts and not by ordinary logical process of reasoning. In other words, Gandhiji was mystic and criticism of the ordinary type is out of place in his case. But mysticism has no place in history, and history is no respecter of persons. Gandhiji did many great things, and his memory must ever be cherished as one of the leading figures in the struggle for freedom. But his faults and blunders, for which India paid heavily, should not be ignored or minimised, far less covered under the cloak of a mystic saint. A wrong assessment of Gandhiji's part in the struggle for freedom out of veneration for his person is one of the great pitfalls which the historian of the freedom movement must carefully avoid. He should think of Gandhiji and other big leaders as men, and not as demi-gods, saints or supermen who are above criticism. The proper way of showing respect to Gandhiji's memory is to follow the ideal of truth for which he lived and died.

Technology and Planning: An Analysis

By

Prof. MADAN GOPAL BHASIN

THE present imbalance and unrest all over the world is solely due to man's ill-chosen adaptations and incomplete adjustments to his geographic environment. That being so, his 'grass roots', his faith and belief, and all the facets of his personality are undergoing various shades of stresses, tensions and frictions.

Man is our major asset, our primary resource. It is his ingenuity and skill that gives dynamism to land, water and air resources, and thus creates a rich and varied mosaic of cultural landscape. His attempts and efforts are both rational and instinctive, conscious and unconscious. Unknowingly he has created a vicious circle where problems always remain problems. Nevertheless, the generalists as well as the futurists maintain a divine faith in improving the condition of Man by improving suitable ways and means, checks and counterchecks to achieve a healthier, freer and fuller life.

The desire for power and harmony continues to abide in the mind of man. The golden mean has not been arrived at to-date. It, moreover, is charred with numerous shakes and shivers, warps and tilts. Thus, the long-standing duals between 'Man and Himself', 'Man and Society', 'Man and Nature' remain undecided. Although the success towards a just solution is rather scant, yet, it holds a reservoir of promise. The ultimate V-day rests on how do we conciliate the two urges—power and harmony.

The desire for power is natural and materialistic. It implies power in the economic, social and political context. The desire for harmony is more spiritual on its essentials. It primarily aims at evolving a balance between the body, mind, intellect and the spirit—a divine state of peace. The former desire, in the modern era, is epitomised in Technology whereas the latter is achieved by planning.

Technology is the scientific study of mechanical developments and applied sciences. Its widespread, nay, the global use is the result of

centuries of scientific labour and the age or epoch so dawned is known as 'The Machine Age' or 'The Technological Epoch'.

The impact of Technology on Civilization has been tremendous. It continues to penetrate and enlarge. Lewis Mumford in his famous book 'Technics and Civilisation' characterized it in three successive waves which step chronologically into each other.

The first wave was set in motion in the 10th century, when Gilbert invented the clock. *The clock, and not the steam engine, is the key to modern industrial age.* Time consciousness entered both in the mechanical and the organic world. Time could now be calendered. Calendering passed into time-saving, time-accounting, and time-rationing. This marked a dramatic change in human relations. Eternity ceased to exist as the measure and focus of all human actions. This was the harbinger of disintegration in religions and civilization.

The second wave dawned in the 18th century and is popularly known as the Industrial Revolution. Its impacts were, no less varied. The globe became apparently smaller in size. The people started living and thinking in new dimensions. The planet became a thinking, organic unit. And withal this was accompanied an era of expansion, colonisation and robber economy. The resources of Mother Earth were ruthlessly exploited and socio-politically it was an 'era of External regimentation and internal disintegration'.

The third wave came in our own life-time. The frontiers closed and the world witnessed two Great Global wars. Economic revalries and political ideologies have become most acute and stake struggle for survival. This wave seeks to mechanise life itself, and transform man into an insensate robot. Its end product will thus be a man devoid of his personality and individuality which is no more than a head in a flock or a herd.

The present generation inherits the legacy of a complex situation. Nothing, unfortunately, is found in familiar places. This change is both qualitative as well as quantitative. Ideas are running at astronomical speeds whereas the adaptations have not the speed of even an automobile. The world, therefore, is surcharged with a grievous fear of destruction. The survival simply hangs on the spider's thread. It is still a paradox that humanity starves amidst plenty.

But how did this vexatious problem arise? It all arose when power i.e. technology dissociated itself from the planning function. The lure of power and the lust for power displayed this havoc. The inseparable and simultaneous activities were divorced by the division of labour and specialisation of work. The two, therefore, were compartmentalised. Technology, in this way, emerged sovereign.

Technology deals with production. It subsists on discoveries and inventions, and is proud of its two agencies—tools and machines. It processes raw-materials into finished products for a variety of consumers. To cite instances, large quantities of iron ore is converted into steel, milk is turned into break-fast table products, cotton cloth is manufactured from raw cotton. Similarly, Vanaspati and Toilet essentials are made from oil seeds.

Technology has a centripetal character. It centralises activities. It has an acquisitive, possessive and hungry mentality. Planning, on the other hand, is the reverse of opportunism, which is day to day solving of problems without caring for the final pattern that would result. It is a positive and scientific vehicle of change. It co-ordinates activities in time and space on the basis of known facts about place, work and people. Its primary function is to distribute, to dispose of the vitals at the right time to right person at the proper place. It is a rationocentrifugal activity.

Planning embraces a wide range of jurisdictions, and that makes the plans and the planners numerous. The house-wife, for example,

plans a dinner, the businessman plans a sales campaign, the industrialist plans an industrial unit, the regional planner plans for regional self-sufficiency, the national plans for the national welfare and the international plans are made to achieve global objectives.

Both technology and planning are inter-dependent and strive towards the same ends. The two are the warp and woof of the societal carpet. Their separation from each other has produced huge gaps and inequalities among equal born. This is due to opportunism in the technological field which moves on the path of egoism.

The world, in consequence, is sharply divided into various camps and blocks. Of these one is under the tightening grip of a rigidified money economy. The other camp is held by the futurists and the generalists who, pursue the life-fulfilment economy—the biotechnic economy. Life and not money is the gospel.

The pull and the push between these big two has always existed, and if left unchecked, would continue to remain. In this tug of war, technology has achieved supremacy, and victor and the vanquished got nothing but the spoils. Man today lies in a tilted position and the most tragic part of all is, that in spite of all that has happened everybody thinks that he is on the threshold of Eldorado.

Various social orders, economic systems and political creeds resolved to war against the problems confronting mankind. In, to no avail. This has simply widened and deepened the gul between man and man. The human family continues to groan under the stupendous weight of poverty, ignorance and disease.

Perhaps there were difficulties in the past. Among these, *at first* was the difficulty of predicting inventions. The *second* was the fore cast of their influences, and the *third* was the unwillingness, hesitancy or incapacity to adjust with the new situations.

With all this in mind, one has to concede that we did not plan sufficiently in advance. Our plans were sheer palliatives. The planner

looked more towards the physical aspects like the widening of roads, designing artistically sound architectural structures, zoning etc., etc. The motive in mind was to make these look beautiful, splendid, unique and representative of the age.

Nevertheless, our generation is better placed and better equipped with tools and machines that can measure the shape of the things to come more precisely, more accurately and can build a heaven on earth.

Necessity is the mother of all inventions, and there exists a diversity of inventive needs. In this context, it may also be remembered that the first invention was infinitely more difficult than the subsequent ones.

All inventions in science, engineering or medicine are focussed and measured in terms of human use. These are either labour-saving or time-saving or material-saving devices. Their aim is beauty and variety, economy and efficiency. The problems, for example, faced by American inventors in the 19th century were labour-scarcity, excess of space and its natural corollary, scarcity of time. As a result, the American inventor concentrated on the instruments of transportation and communication.

That is why, the mechanical reaper, the calculating machine, the telephone and the air-brake rank supreme among American inventions. Crowded Europe suffered from the inadequacy of raw-materials. Therefore she concentrated on conservation of raw-materials i.e. material-saving devices viz., indigo from coal, nitrogen from air, blast furnaces, Bessemer converter, fuelsaving and Open Hearth furnace for using the scrap. The emphasis in India on the Multipurpose Projects, Community Development Projects and Gramdan is a natural response to modernise her underdeveloped agrarian economy. Similarly, the Russians have concentrated most on Sputniks because of their innate desire to paralyse the American Foreign policy of 'Containment' and 'Negotiations from Strength'. Deserts, for this very reason, have good astronomers.

Cressey—an American Geographer has made a comprehensive list of epoch-making devices and it is as follows :—

1. The passenger and automobile truck.
2. The tractor and its accompaniments.
3. The airplane.
4. The diesel engine.
5. The Radio.
6. Radar.
7. Science of Genetics.
8. Synthetic Fibres.
9. Synthetic Rubber.
10. Plastic.
11. Winning of products from the Sea.
12. The high speed steel—the mother of assembly-line and of the real machinery age.
13. Thinking machine—Eniac.
14. Atom Bomb.

All inventions are precipitates of change. All inventions have an educative value. All inventions generate both simple and derivative influences that make direct as well as indirect intelligible as well as unintelligible impacts on our lives. The range of influences is finite, and in it lies a reservoir of new opportunities, new responsibilities.

All inventions affect themselves as well as others. The underlying ideas are all altruistic. An example from the automobile may substantiate the point in view. The motor car is no longer a luxury article. It has become a necessity, more especially, in the urban areas. The motor car needs and demands paved, widened highways. From it grow the need of drivers, mechanics, workshops, petrol pumps, lubricants etc., and the facilities for training this personnel, the organisation and the capital necessary for it. This has developed an organic relationship between the city nucleus and the neighbourhood and has led to the formulation of traffic laws, traffic guide and legal machinery to deal with the offenders. Tourism and Hotel industry flourished and zoning has come in the city-structure. Human contacts are intensified which has given rise to many a problem, vices and virtues of the urban life. The world

has come to need a new social order, a new outlook on life.

The resultant machine age, in brief, is accompanied by the three big problems :— (i) Inflation—slow and fast, (ii) Unemployment—educated as well as uneducated, and (iii) and the problem of poverty and ignorance. It is also necessary to remember here that our resources—human and physical are more often misused and abused, and are very rarely properly used. The present unrest may also be attributed to the fact there are square pegs in the round holes.

Can humanity be saved from this peril and is there a way out of this dilemma?

The answer to these lies within us. The tools and the machines are not at all at fault, for they have no life of their own. "The machine", as Renclu puts it, "is a set of resistant bodies so arranged that by this means the mechanical forces of nature can be compelled to do work accompanied by certain determinant motions."

Fifteen Years of United Nations

By
"A STUDENT OF POLITICS"

IN recent years a new kind of anniversary has been added to the calendar of great occasions. It is one that is international in origin and universal in observance. It belongs to no single nation, but is shared by all. It does honour to and is honoured by peoples of many different faiths and philosophies but its unique quality is that emphasizes the common ties that unite them. It is the anniversary that all lands and peoples can acclaim—"United Nations Day".

The event it commemorates is the coming into force of the United Nations Charter on October 24, 1945. The signing of the Charter and the establishment of the United Nations Organization represented the beginning of the greatest effort by the peoples of the world to be rid of war and to build together a better peace.

Tinkering here and tinkering there are just palliatives. What humanity needs is the effective and the cheapest, healthiest curatives. Gandhiji, following the teachings of the ancient seers and sages emphasized that all human relations should be based on love and truth. And S. Radhakrishnan's advice that "technology is for mankind and not mankind for technology" needs be entered in each and every cell that constitutes the human personality.

Man lives in a wall-less environment and has a fundamental right to cherish the basic five freedoms—(i) freedom from want, (ii) freedom from fear, (iii) freedom of speech, (iv) freedom of worship and (v) freedom of travel.

We can achieve this goal by developing 'a living faith in God, stopping opportunism in its hideous manifestations and by encouraging, living and planning a decentralised technology, so that, its end-products are the life-fulfilling and life-ennobling commodities.

The first fifteen years of its existence have not been easy ones. The promise of Big Power harmony gave way to 'cold war' distrust. Smouldering tensions between nations have sometimes flared into open hostilities. The vast gap between technically advanced and underdeveloped countries—still unclosed—has posed economic problems with far-reaching consequences. The rapid advance to sovereign statehood in accordance with the goals of the Charter of formerly dependent peoples, especially in Africa, has also posed problems of adjustment both for the former administering Powers and for the new States faced with the task of building the administrative and economic basis for their newly won independence. Unprecedented population growth has added fresh urgency to such long-standing problems as the shorta-

ges suffered by millions in food supplies, health services, housing and educational facilities. The benefits that could result from the mastery of atomic energy and other great discoveries of science are clouded by the threat of civilization's destruction, should they be used for other than peaceful purposes.

A sober appraisal of these fifteen years shows that the world needs the United Nations more than ever. The fact that full application of all the Charter provisions has not been possible because of continuing mistrust does not invalidate the Charter; rather it underlines the importance of the United Nations as the means for those contacts and negotiations, public and private, most likely to heal conflict without loss of prestige to either side, and for reducing the dangers to peace.

Proof of its living quality has been the way the United Nations machinery and methods have shown themselves adaptable to new situations. On the political side, it has evolved flexible methods for dealing with disputes. To the combination of public debate and continuous diplomatic contact made possible at the United Nations Headquarters, has been added the recent development of the Office of the Secretary General as representing an independent position for the Organization as a whole in the conciliation of disputes and in the upholding of Charter principles and purposes.

In the economic field, the disinterested research, surveys and planning carried out by the United Nations have helped provide the groundwork on which sound national and regi-

onal economic policies can be based. Though still small in relation to bilateral aid programmes, United Nations technical assistance and its recently launched Special Fund and provision to requesting governments of operational and executive personnel have helped developing countries acquire the skills, the men, money and moral backing needed to advance their economies and raise their living standards. Multinational aid channelled through the United Nations has the added value that both donor and recipient nations participate as partners and that the aid given or received carries no political or psychological obligations.

On the social side, the activities of the United Nations have quickened the conscience of the world to recognize the worth and dignity of the human individual. Spurred by United Nations initiative, the greatest humanitarian effort on behalf of refugees—the World Refugee Year—was launched. Millions of children have benefited from the feeding and welfare programmes of UNICEF; and now, in its Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the United Nations has proclaimed that mankind at large "owes to the child the best it has to give."

In its first fifteen years, the United Nations has already become part of the fabric of international life into which it is slowly weaving a new pattern of human solidarity. These years have proved the worth of the Organization and the need of its member governments and peoples for the essential services it can render in the preservation of peace and the solution of the other problems of international life in the spirit of the Charter.

The Vexed Question of Recognition

By
PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

IF "aggression" is found difficult to define, states who constitute members of the International family have made the question of recognition, a question of fact to be adjudged by each state for itself. Yet, round this problem eminent jurists are to be found for the Constitutive view of Oppenheim as also for the declaratory theory of Hall. Those who search in vain for a *via media* remind us of the position of a slave in Roman Law who existed *de facto* without a *de jure* status. If one is thrown back in despair to *natural law* concepts, the baffling difference persists between "is" and "must." The learned author, Mr. S. R. Patel, an advocate of the Bombay High Court, has shown penetrating analysis of the issue involved in each theory. Every important point of view

round the problem of recognition has been canvassed and examined critically.

Like the idealists who sponsor the view that the state becomes an international person the moment it acquires the marks of a state, the learned lawyer ends with a note that "International law must become law as municipal law is." In such a far-off view, "the consent of the states will be without meaning"!

Those who toil hard in the fascinating fields of International law, if they are imbued with any legal philosophy, have to end in a note of idealism.

The ground covered in this masterly survey of 122 pages is for the advanced student who has gone through the discipline of a study of

Brierly Oppenheim and at least Pitt-Cobbet's "*Leading Cases in International Law*."

Though International Law is getting increasing recognition in Indian Universities, Allahabad University took the lead in 1936 under Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's advice to make it compulsory for LL. B.—the impact of regional chauvinism has begun to retard a thorough study of standard books in International Law. It is refreshing to read a book* from Bombay covering the controversial terrain of "Recognition" in International Law with critical acumen and a penetrating insight.

The get-up of the book is excellent; there will be legitimate difference of opinion on the high price of this booklet.

* *Recognition in the Law of Nations* : S. R. Patel, N. M. Tripathy & Co. Bombay. Price Rs. 15 - \$ 4.50.

The Dealer in Gram turns Believer in 'Ram'

By

SRI HAR KRISHAN SINGH

SOLIDARITY and proof of true greatness lies in humility, a rare virtue in man who prides in his great littleness. When Baba Sri Chand, the Udasi son of Guru Nanak, once asked Bhai Jetha why he kept so long and flowing a beard, the latter replied in his characteristic simplicity, "To wipe the dust of your feet." Not vain words said. For they symbolised the real pith of his being. One glimpse of Guru Amar Das, the Third Nanak, was enough for this young boy to put his soul and body at the service of the Guru, when he first came to see him at Goindwal. Jetha dedicated himself to the Guru with full faith and surrender. This spirit of humble service and devotion was enough to win for him not only the kindness of the Guru but also the hand of his beloved daughter. And the gift for which he would "pray humbly" was "to be led towards the Divine Guru" and the "light of the Name."

"O Lord Beloved, O Guru, flame
My being with Lord Rama's Name ;
My seeking is but one : the feet
Of refuge of the Guru True ;
My yearning with thy kindness meet,
With light of the Name my being hue.
Be Guru's Name my one life-friend
And Hari's songs my treasure's fund.

Test of true service is hard and the only thing that stands in good stead is humility. Bhai Jetha's father-in-law asked his Sikhs to raise a dais for his seat. It was not a difficult task, for it was soon carried out. But it was a difficult test. The work did not meet with the Guru's liking. It had to be demolished and rebuilt, not only once but times without number. Patience is not given to all; only the true gold will give its glitter in the trial of the crucible. The attempt had to be abandoned, for none could satisfy the deeper meaning of the Guru, for none understood.

What humility, what candidness!

"I would in humble and complete
Submission fall at Guru's Feet :
For he alone can make me meet
My Lord by his compassion sweet."
"No man the Lord Divine can find
By obstinacy of his mind,
Many devices men have tried
And tired themselves unsatisfied ;
By scores of wisdom-ways pursued
This bare-blank mind cannot be hued.
The Lord no man can hope to meet
By means of falsehood and deceit.
Whatever seed the man shall sow,
Of that he shall the harvest grow."

Bhai Jetha stuck to his spirit. He was not to be tired. He went on moulding his spirit of service, patience, humility, devotion and faithfulness into a form that might ultimately be worthy of acceptance by the lord of himself. "How long will you go on like this?" asked the Guru. "Till the work meets with your satisfaction," was his reply.

Service and humility were the warp and woof of Bhai Jetha's texture which spread in endless self-giving. He was destined to carry the grace of Guru and God in wide expansion and protect, as the next Guru, the growing *raja dhi* was to stand the challenge of a great tyrannic empire. He was to keep secure and revivify the spiritual heritage of a people that had become almost spiritless, weak and slothful, forgetful of the great spirit of Dharma, which, said Guru Nanak, is

".....Compassion's son,
Pervaded by Contentment's soul
Which keeps all knit in ordered whole."

The warrior-soul of the 10th Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, later invoked the Divine Power so that :

"In corners and nooks of the whole world,
be current the tale of the Dharma!"

Jetha, who as a small boy sold grains had now as his commodity "the light of the Name," and wealth of Hari's Name :

"Hari is the treasure of jewel and gem,
Hari alone the emerald.
Thy heart all Guru ward impelled
O light the coin of Hari's Name."
"In the Name of Ram and Hari lies
My whole life's wealth and merchandise."

The price he demanded was humility, love, dedication, detachment and faith. He said :

"The servitors of Hari are
Forever highly fortunate
In their unflinching faith and great
Thrust for the Lord that they inbear."

And is it not that as their meed,

"Thou hast been down the ages keeping
Thy servitors, full of their need,
On them, O Lord, O Wonder, heaping
Thy bounties. 'Tis Thy Grace indeed."

Guru Ram Das wanted his relation with 'Ram,' the Divine, entire and inseparable :

"Hari alone my life and friend
And He alone my being's Lord ;
O let my body and my mind
Be bound to Him with own-ness cord."

As Guru, his service for Waheguru, the Divine Wonderful, took the form of service of His servitors. He was ordained to lay the foundation of a place of pilgrimage for the Sikh, a centre of flourishing trade and a religious centre. Later it came to be called Amritsar. The 'Lake of Nectar' which surrounded the new Gurudwara where Guru Arjun, the next Nanak, installed the First Copy of Sri Guru Granth Sahib, compiled by him with great labour of Love.

For him none was great or small, rich or poor, high or low. All took their food in the 'Common Kitchen' which was free from all social discriminations. All were equal to him for within everything animate or inanimate dwelt the Lord :

"The Lord Beloved has created
Himself the whole widespread creation,
And He Himself has penetrated
All things and therein taken station."
"Wherever I lift up my eyes

There thee and Thee alone I view,
O Lord Omniscient, dwellest Thou
In mould of every shape and size.
Same is the breath and same the clay,
Same light in everyone doth stay."
His hand was free in giving and his heart was
full of faith. For he knew, as says Barbara
Leslie Jordan :

“Hands that are withheld
Never can receive,
Those who live with doubt
Never can believe.”
Although he found that
“Rare are men, whose life is stirred
By Guru's Wisdom-way and word,”

yet he knew categorically that
“All beings' hope but in Thee dwell'th
Thine are all creatures, thou their
wealth.
There is, O Lord, no single spot
In world where Thou abidest not.”
That is why he says :
“Hurrah and glory great for those
Who are to Guru turned and close.”
His prayer is eternal to the Divine and his
compassion for His children immeasurable :
“From drowning in the waters dark
Of venomous ignorance and dread,
Says Nanak, save Thy men ; O hark
The prayers by Thy servants said.”

Demographic Training and Research

By

DR. C. CHANDRASEKARAN*

THE Demographic Training and Research Centre was established in 1956 under the joint sponsorship of the Government of India, the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and the United Nations. Its purpose is to conduct scientific research on population problems that are of special importance in Asia and the Far East and train personnel from this region in the field of demography.

As a regional institution supported by international agencies its programme is broad and its chief aim is to help accumulate scientific knowledge, to develop research methods, and to train a select group of professional persons as specialists in demography. In the view of the United Nations, the aim of the training programme would be “to help to build over a period of years a nucleus of persons in each country of the region who have sufficient knowledge of demography to plan and carry out such population studies as the governments and universities may wish to sponsor, and who, in turn can train other persons in their field.”

* Director, Demographic Training and Research Centre, Bombay.

At its inception the Centre was located temporarily in the grounds of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Chembur, a suburb of Bombay. In June 1960 the Centre moved into its own building which was constructed on the spacious grounds donated by the Sir Ratan Tata Trust. The new location is close to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

The staff of the Demographic Training and Research Centre consists, at the present time, of a Director and five senior professional staff members, together with the necessary junior technical, administrative, clerical and field personnel necessary to carry out the training and research programme. Approximately one-half of the teaching and research staff is composed of Indians and one-half is composed of experts assigned to the Centre by the United Nations through its Technical assistance Operations programme.

The facilities and staff of the Centre are supplemented through arrangements with the following cooperating institutions: (a) Department of Economics, University of Bombay; (b) Department of Sociology, University of

Bombay; (c) Department of Human Variation and Department of Physiology of Human Reproduction of the Indian Cancer Research Centre, Bombay; (d) Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona; and (e) The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay. In addition the Bureau of Economics and Statistics of the Maharashtra States provides opportunities for the students to obtain practical experience in the collection of population data through field surveys and processing by mechanical tabulation.

The Governing Body administers the Centre on behalf of the Government of India and the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust. An Advisory Committee provides the avenue whereby governments of the ECAFE region can advise the Centre on its programme and keep the United Nations informed of its progress. Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao is the Chairman of the Governing Body while Dr. P.S. Lokanathan is the Chairman of the Advisory Committee.

The training programme of the Centre is divided into two parts, the Basic Course and Advanced Training. The Basic Course constitutes the first year of training, and is a major part of the Centre's training programme. Admission to the Basic Course is open to persons with Master's degree in Economics, Sociology, Statistics or allied subjects. Advanced (second year) training may be given to selected students who complete the Basic Course with distinction and demonstrate evidence of ability and interest in demographic research.

The Basic Course consists of classroom lectures, statistical laboratory work, field observation and field work, and individual work. The formal lectures cover the following subjects: Substantive Demography; Technical Demography; Statistics; Sociology and Social Psychology; Economic Problems of Asia and the Far East; Methods of Social Research, including Field Survey Techniques; Human Genetics; Physiology of human Reproduction and Family Planning.

Individual work by the student is undertaken at the Seminar Course, which occupies an important place in the teaching programme of the Centre. It is here that the student's research ability is developed. Each student is required to prepare two reports for presentation at the Seminars. The first is a general demographic study of a country of the region, generally the

student's own country. The second is a demographic research problem; it is selected by the student and pursued as an exercise in independent research.

Since its inception, the Centre has trained 57 students from the following 14 countries; Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Hongkong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand.

The Demographic Training and Research Centre has worked out a long-range research programme, which is related to the special problems of Asia and the Far East. The Centre is well qualified to undertake such research because of its international character and affiliations, its well equipped library, and the specialist abilities and interests of its staff. The research programme is divided into five major parts: (a) Studies in fertility and family planning; (b) Studies in internal migration and urbanisation; (c) Assessment of the quality of census data; (d) Demographic problems of economic development; and (e) Special studies, worked out in cooperation with the Government of India or of other countries in the ECAFE region, or with other organisations.

The Centre justifiably gives the highest priority to research in fertility and family planning. As the registration of births and deaths is seriously deficient in most countries of Asia, the task of measuring fertility rates is a difficult one. It is even more difficult to measure changes in fertility and differences in fertility between socio-economic groups. Because there is the desire in many countries of Asia to reduce fertility rates in order to obtain the maximum benefit from their development plans—which will be difficult with the present high rates of population growth—much more must be known about the attitudes of the population to family planning and how these attitudes can be modified and family size rapidly reduced. The Centre's fertility research programme is directed to these major problems.

In one project, schedules using depth-interviewing techniques were designed to elicit from men and women their attitudes to the size of the family and their motivation towards family planning, and these have been pretested. Another study has investigated the causes underlying the differences in fertility patterns of Bengalee women from three socio-economic groups.

The projects currently in progress include a study of differential fertility in Malaya, a com-

prehensive survey of family planning clinics in Bombay city in order to evaluate their progress and problems, and a study of differential fertility in Bombay city using the data on registration of births in the city. In connection with the first of these projects the Malaya Government has agreed to provide the Centre with a sample of punched cards used in the analysis of the 1957 population census. Soon the Centre will be taking up a comprehensive project in the study of communication and motivation in family planning in India.

The Centre at Chembur is fast becoming a focal point of demographic interest in the

region. The United Nations Seminar on the Evaluation and Utilisation of Census Data in Asia and the Far East held at the Centre in June 1960 brought to it professional delegates from 18 countries. Through its "Newsletters" the activities of the Centre, as well as the demographic developments in general, reach persons in various countries in this region interested in population studies. Doubtless this venture of the Government of India, the United Nations and the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust is fulfilling a need keenly felt among those engaged in social and economic development in different countries in this region.

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John Dewey: A Centennial Review

By
MARTIN S. DWORKIN

ONE hundred years after his birth, John Dewey is a figure of partisan fiction. Extreme disavowals of his importance are countered by passionate assertions of his greatness. Careful reappraisal of his work is ridiculed or ignored, as either part of a continuing conspiracy, or as unnecessary annotation of explicit scriptures. The images of Dewey created in this kind of clamour may say a great deal about American attitudes at mid-century—as well as about traditional tendencies to view controversies as epic melodrama of heroes versus villains. But because Dewey played so consequential a part in American life, and had so profound an influence throughout the world, the fictitious figures of denied importance or affirmed greatness only block our view of the stage on which he moved, and of the drama in which he was a principal. Not only are we hindered in the necessary business of dealing with the many unclaritys and unresolved difficulties of his work. We are prevented from seeing clearly the background of events and movements of ideas that we must rehearse and re-examine in order to know ourselves and the world in which we live.

Dewey's career was the longest of any philosopher for whom there are verifiable records. The range and quantity of his writings attest not merely his spirited activity until the very end of his life, but the astonishing vigour of the mind that was at work. His first publication, at the age of 22, dealt with problems in meta-

physics. The writings of his last fifteen years, which many professional philosophers regard as his weightiest contributions to the continuing philosophical dialogue, were concerned with logic, theory of value, methodology of the behavioural and physical sciences, and theory of knowledge. Problems of psychology, ethics, political science, jurisprudence, religion, and critical interpretation of movements and systems of thought were discussed in dozens of books and lectures, hundreds of articles for magazines, encyclopedias, specialized annuals, and other publications. Topical issues, ranging from election campaigns, the international drug traffic, birth control, pacifism, and the League of Nations, to the revolutionary transformations of society in Mexico, China, Turkey, and Russia, were subjects of scores of pieces for periodicals, and of numerous books. But of all his published works, it is his writings on education that have exerted the widest and deepest influences upon life in the United States and other countries. And it is in the area of education that the question of his stature is presently most embattled, and directly involved with issues which are among the most vital and urgent facing today.

Irwin Edman remarked that it was "a historical accident that Dewey became widely known as an educator long before he became equally widely influential as a professional philosopher. That accident...conformed to Dewey's essential intent...." Edman's judgment of relative

influences probably reflects a degree of visual association in large measure accounted for the observation on the part of a professional philosopher of the Scottish philosophy of "compositer." And we may well wonder at the mere fact of the accident, that is, intention. But the paradox, at least, that is singularly due to the writings on education in the whole of his work, particularly derived from Hegel, and reiterated under the leadership of William Torrey Harris, was challenging proponents of the other self. The movement reflected the growing extent, we must ask, was Dewey's impact on education in Germany, as well as the impressive extent was it a product or expression of his ultimately determinant forces in American education? In dealing with these questions, more is involved than the inescapable task of understanding Dewey's work in order to criticize it. For Dewey's "responsibility" for the form and substance of American education in the last half of the most persistent exponents of the latter shadow of the discovery—particularly the decade. Was Dewey's influence accidental? Or was it inevitable? In either case, what crucial?

The meaning, more to uncertainty over whether reality exists independently of sensation or consciousness had immediately urgent implications for the authority of moral principles and the reasonableness of religion, doctrine. But from beyond the disputations was the enormous shadow of the discovery—particularly the decade. Was Dewey's influence accidental? Or was it inevitable? In either case, what crucial?

We know far more about the background of development of Dewey's philosophy than we do about the context within which his educational ideas took on their power. One reason for this is surely that tendency in the partial tradition of American scholarship to regard the study of education as worth no more than direct practical thought. This attitude was attacked by Dewey himself as revering a sadly inadequate understanding of what knowledge is, and a sadder ignorance of how knowledge is to be made to benefit our lives. In fact, Dewey's gradual rejection of traditional philosophy took place during the period when he began to actively concern himself with problems of teaching and learning. It is a naive simplification to say, with many admirers and detractors of Dewey, that he broke with the tradition primarily or principally because of his emerging educational theories. What does appear responsible, however, in the light of the influences bearing upon his early intellectual development, is that both his reaction against his own earlier philosophical training and his commitment to education were related in their origin.

Dewey began his philosophical studies, and did his first writing, at a time which Morton G. White drily describes as "no golden age of American philosophy." Whatever philosophy there was in the colleges was usually closely tied to, and tied up in theological studies. This

background of Victorian Dewey was educated to a certain extent in courses with H. P. Perry. Later in his graduate study at Johns Hopkins, he was profoundly affected by the Hegelian idealism of George Sylvester Morris, an influence that continued when he joined the faculty of the University of Michigan, where Morris had become professor of philosophy. At Michigan, the first chair in philosophy had been established, and there were close relations between the faculty and the high schools of the state on matters of teacher preparation.

In the biographical essay prepared by Dewey's daughters with his assistance, it is carefully noted that "his interest in general education was stimulated" by his participation in the program. This interest, to be sure, was more than theoretical. Before beginning his graduate work, he had taught "a little of everything" for two years at the high school at South Oil City, Pennsylvania, and later for a term in a village school at Charlotte, Vermont. The work with teachers and pupils at Michigan intensified his interest in psychology, which was grounded in his studies at Johns Hopkins with the pioneer of experimental psychology in the U. S. G. Stanley Hall.

Dewey's first papers, lectures, and books for teachers dealt with psychology. In their orientation, they still reflected his philosophical

idealism, notably in his assertion of a "universal consciousness" of which individual knowledge is a kind of special case. But the experimental basis of the new psychology, and the way it seemed to bring human behaviour into the natural order in accordance with evolutionary theory, was making a profound impression upon Dewey, as upon the whole of higher learning in the United States. The most significant single influence unquestionably was the thought of William James. James's *Principles of Psychology*, published in 1890, clearly illustrates the association of the new experimental outlook with evolutionary theory in the foundation of American pragmatic philosophy.

Other major influences were the social behaviourism of George Herbert Mead, and the economic sociology of Thorstein Veblen. With Veblen, Dewey was influenced by Marx but more closely by the militant reformism of the "muckraker" journalists: Lincoln Steffens, Ida M. Tarbell, Jacob Riis, Upton Sinclair, and others. These influences affected the development of Dewey's own form of pragmatism. Moving from the more restrictively philosophical enterprise of William James and Charles Sanders Peirce, Dewey came to place that emphasis upon social purposes and political action that is inherent in what he came to term his "experimentalism," and, later, "instrumentalism."

Dewey's central concept of "experience," by which he claimed to have avoided dualistic distinctions of perception and objective reality, is essentially a social process. And the "method of intelligence," which he argued as the governor of experience, is most truly practiced and fulfilled in application to social affairs—the area in which education is the most important instrument of action. In general, the direction of Dewey's thinking was away from the idea of philosophy as an academic discipline removed from immediate involvement in human affairs—towards that insistence upon action implied in the famous definition of philosophy in *Democracy and Education* as "the theory of education as a deliberately conducted practice."

The changes in Dewey's thinking are one evidence of how deeply the scientific and intellectual movements of the time were involved in volcanic turbulences in American life. This was a period of national consolidation following civil war. The expanding nation was overflowing the continental frontiers to gather in new territories and responsibilities while the popu-

lation grew explosively, as multitudes of immigrants continued to pour into country. It was a time of a accelerating innovation in technology—along with the growth of industrial complexes of such gigantic size and pervasive power as had never been seen before on earth. In rural, agricultural America, life was being transformed by railroads and farm machinery. In urban industrial and commercial America, traditional ways of family living and the still immature political institutions of the young democracy were being confronted by strange, often terrifying problems. Throughout the country, forces for social and political reform were working to organize farmers and industrial labourers, or striving to arouse the interest and the conscience of the propertied, professional, and commercial classes.

The coming together, in the 1880s and 1890s, of the evolutionary approach in the natural sciences, experimental method in the social sciences, and pragmatism in philosophy—in a world of technological transformation and in an atmosphere of social and political reformism, could not fail to have consequences in education. The effect would have been the same even if the schools themselves were not in their usual need of change. Dewey's arrival at the University of Chicago in 1894 as head of the department of philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy, may truly be one of the decisive events in American education. In historical importance, it may be compared, perhaps, only to the accession of Horace Mann in 1837 to the secretaryship of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, where he proceeded to develop and promote the idea of the common or public school. In the Laboratory School which Dewey founded in 1896 with Mrs. Alice Chipman Dewey, the basic ideas of progressive education were experimentally worked out. These ideas were spread throughout America and the world by his teaching and articles and books such as *My Pedagogic Creed*, *The School and Society*, and *The Child and the Curriculum* and, later, *Schools of To-Morrow* (with Evelyn Dewey), *Democracy and Education*, and *Experience and Education*.

But the Laboratory School, as is being substantiated in the researches of Ray Ginger and Robert L. McCaul, was in one sense a single phenomenon of a complex of reform movements in and around Chicago—including the famous settlement house project of Jane

Addams, and the experimental school of Francis W. Parker. And the whole progressive education movement, which Dewey is sometimes supposed to have begun and promoted single handed, is being shown in the work of Lawrence A. Cremin to have been but one factor in a nationwide, comprehensive reform movement. "In the universities it appeared as part of a spirited revolt against formalism in philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences. In the cities it emerged as one facet of a larger program of social alleviation and municipal reform. Among farmers, it became the crux of a moderate, liberal alternative to radical agrarianism."

In education, progressivism brought together several familiar tendencies—but with contemporary modifications. One tendency was a romantic emphasis upon the needs and interests of the child, in the tradition of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel—but now coloured and given scientific authority by the new psychology of learning and behaviour. Another was the democratic faith in the instrument of the common, or public school, inherited from Jefferson and Mann—but now applied to the problems of training the urban and rural citizenry for industrial and agricultural vocations, and of acculturating or Americanizing the swelling masses of immigrants. By the time Dewey moved to Columbia University in 1904, he was truly the leading theoretician and spokesman of the movement. But his leadership then—and, indeed, from then on—was largely that of a reverently misinterpreted prophet, rather than a carefully obeyed commander.

In the courses he gave at Teachers' College in addition to his work in Columbia's graduate faculty of philosophy, Dewey directly influenced tens of thousands of students from all over the world. Teachers and the public—throughout the nation were affected by his activities in promoting teaching as a profession, his involvement in politics, and his work in helping to form the first unions of teachers in the U. S.: the American Association of University Professors and the New York Teachers' Union, later to become part of the American Federation of Teachers. What his myriads of disciples and opponents did not seem to take seriously at the time, however, was his mounting criticism of the educational movement of which he was "leader."

It is significant that he repeatedly refused to associate himself with the Progressive Education

Association, founded in 1919—only consenting much later on to acclamation as honorary president. During the 1920s, and increasingly in the '30s and '40s, Dewey voiced his doubts about what he considered extremist or romantic oversimplifications in the movement. He sharply warned against the aimlessness and dangerous permissiveness of the notion of "the child centered school"—with its mixture of post-war bohemianism, undisciplined expression in the name of individual creativity, and Freudian solicitude for avoiding inhibitions. Later, while participating in the projection of progressivism into politics with the Social Frontier group, he carefully denied the practicality or desirability of using the schools to "remake the social order," as advocated by George Counts and others. He frequently complained about what he considered evasions of educational responsibility in many so-called "progressive" schools. Subject matter, for example, too often had been eliminated or minimized, when the truly progressive approach called for recreating the curriculum to develop new subject matter. The idea of adjustment and free expression, too, had been exaggerated and even perverted, wherever the schools did not promote an actively critical attitude towards society.

Dewey objected to attempts to associate progressivism with Communism. His jaundiced reports of his observations in Soviet Russia in 1928 included criticism of how some of his ideas supposedly had been put into practice there. In many ways, his participation in the Commission of Inquiry that went to Mexico in 1937, to investigate the charges made against Leon Trotsky at the Moscow trials, may be seen as being in the same vein of warning progressives and liberals generally against excesses or corruptions of their beliefs.

Some of Dewey's later work in philosophy was ignored by many of his most ardent followers, particularly in education—while attracting serious study by others who had not taken him seriously before, precisely because of his concern with education. Dewey had found the atmosphere at Columbia quite different from that at Chicago. In particular, the historically-grounded Aristotelian realism of Frederick J. E. Woodbridge led, as Jane Dewey notes, "to a rethinking of all his philosophic ideas." In his teaching in the graduate faculty, and in books such as *Reconstruction In Philosophy, Experience and Nature*, and *The Quest For Certainty*, he felt compelled to contend with problems of tradi-

tional metaphysical philosophy that had seemed to have been successfully eliminated in the first billiance of pragmatism.

This contention continued in the major works of his later years, including *Art As Experience*, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, *Theory of Valuation*, and his last book, with Arthur F. Bentley, *Knowing and the Known*. It is in this period that he stated, in *A Common Faith*, the principles of a religion of "shared experience" and of "scientific humanism" that he believed could supplant traditional faiths having their historical origins in prescientific ignorance. Until the very end of his life, Dewey was engaged in vigorous exposition and defense of his ideas. One important, still unpublished body of letters, for example, comprises a discussion with Bentley and Felix Kaufmann that was going on at the time of his death. The letters treat in detail many fundamental problems of methodology and theory of knowledge, notably those raised by his proposal of a concept of "warranted assertibility" in place of traditional measures of "truth," and by the term "transaction," with which he and Bentley sought to eliminate the duality of knower and known—elaborating and clarifying much of what he had earlier intended by the term "experience."

Dewey's language, indeed, is a principal factor in the persistent problem of measuring the effects of his work against his intentions, and of distinguishing the latter from the interpretations of his disciples. Dewey wrote badly. His style was often opaque, his terminology ambiguous. In his writing on technical problems of philosophy, it is true that he was attempting to express anti-dualistic reasoning in language traditionally and inherently dualistic. But therein lies one of the most serious difficulties of his entire work. The problem of his language is inextricable from the problem of his philosophy, despite the infelicities of his style.

Critics have long complained, for example, about the vagueness of his central terms "experience" and "inquiry," by which he intended to indicate an essential unity of experienter and experienced, of inquirer and problematic situation, without an idea of an observing mind or consciousness. Dewey's language, if not his intention, has been said to cause the individual inquirer to vanish into the situation, or into the social group, with only a trace or purpose to mark his existence. Even

more complaints have been made about the ambiguity of Dewey's meaning of "growth" as an end in itself. The education ought to lead only to more education, growth to more growth, has been criticised as without precise meaning at best, and as a justification of aimlessness at worst. In a way, Dewey may be said to deserve whatever confusions came to be associated with his name. It may be no compliment to professional educators that they so easily understood Dewey, while philosophers shook their heads.

Dewey's writing, as Felix Kaufmann once remarked about the *Logic*, "is like a witch's mirror in which every man may see his sweet-heart—or the devil." Dewey's followers have continually blockered among themselves over their certainties about his meaning. His opponents have blamed what Eliseo Vivas, with typical restraint, has called his "mentidical obscenities," for every fault of American life of the past half-century—and especially the crisis in education. Dewey himself complained that many of his followers, and especially among educators, either did not understand his work or garbled just enough to use for their own purposes. In one sense, the dangers of misinterpretation were inherent in Dewey's prescription of experimental action. His conception of the discipline of philosophy as the generalization of educational theory appealed directly to a hallowed American reluctance to theorize. Here seemed to be a way to philosophize by *doing*, rather than only by thinking. Of course, the hard work of conventional thinking was vital, but in the massive scriptures of the prophet most of it had already been done. The educator would be the philosopher thinking aloud, and his thoughts would be the actual experiences of the children in the schools. Society would be a vast mind engaged in endless experiment, and its "ideas" would be the events in their chain of trial, error, and inexorable progress.

Dewey suffered his own chagrin at being taken up by acolytes of good intentions whom Russel Kirk has referred to as "that distraught crowd of the semi-educated." But he did not assist the completion of their education in at least one crucial ambiguity in his thinking. He is continually ambivalent on the basic intellectual issue of the value of traditional knowledge, and the necessity for studying it. Sometimes a single article is truly a "witch's mirror" wherein we see reflections of two faces; the one

demanding study of history and the learning of the past as vital for an understanding of the present; the other calling for liberation from all old ideas and knowledge, in order to be untrammelled in developing new ideas and knowledge.

Here, of course, are the horns of the dilemma of the reformer in all ages. And it is not disparagement to say that Dewey's indecision is infinitely preferable to the certainties of censors and commissars, obliterating the past in order to control the present in the name of some future. But wherever Dewey appears to argue against study of the past he is raising up the two worst enemies of his true enterprise and his reputation. On the one hand, there arise the epigones, the blind believers who are absolved of the necessity of gaining the background to criticize his work, and hence can never understand what they believe, or control what they practise. On the other, there are those made into implacable enemies by his apparent vandalism in the temples of civilization. Because so often he seems to repudiate perspective in the name of progress, he prevents both of them from viewing him in perspective—and makes the task of judging his work and influence difficult and thankless.

It is a century since John Dewey was born, but still hardly a decade since his death. We are only beginning the kind of critical examination of his ideas and his times that will reveal his impact upon our ideas and times. A great deal of material remains to be collected and published. As yet, there are only a handful of comprehensive critical studies, and no biography that is more than a sketchy resume. But a few tentative judgments can be made, seeking something beyond the way he is uncritically revered by some, or the manner in which he is cited without being read, and refuted without being understood, by others who can explain evils only by placing blame.

Dewey's place in the history of thought may be quite different from that assigned to him at present by his admirers and detractors. But that he has a place, and an important one, is deniable only by those to whom history and logic are irrelevant. His contribution may be less innovation than synthesis; his true uniqueness more an encyclopedic range over problems of thought and conduct than any particular nuance of expression. When the University of Paris conferred an honorary degree upon him in 1930, the citation described him as "the most profound and complete expression of American genius." The French scholars, led by Emile

Durkheim, were not being invidious, but were paying tribute to the grandeur with which he had embodied and expressed the movements of ideas, the pioneering experiences, and the progressive aspirations of the new country. It is academic whether Dewey is the best among the best American philosophers: Charles S. Peirce, William James, Josiah Royce, Morris Raphael Cohen, George Santayana. If we ask, however, about the degree to which our lives are different because of a man's career, Dewey is unquestionably the most important.

Dewey's impact upon American life, however, must be carefully evaluated with regard to the forces that were at work. The deepest meaning of the need to distinguish Dewey from his followers in progressive education, and to limit his responsibility for practices committed in his name, may lie in the nature of what we call "progressivism." The many elements of that complex movement of thought and action may turn out to have had their own origins and momentums, working out their own courses towards their own outcomes. For one extended instant in history, those elements or forces may be said to have converged and focussed in Dewey's work. When in time they diverged and passed on, the philosopher was left to chide and criticize, warning of dangers and reconsidering and reformulating his ideas. Dewey gathered, rearranged, and recreated elements of educational reform that had been at work for decades—and even centuries. Even his experiments may be said to have been superbly appropriate—as punctually conceived and performed as if he had had an eye on a clock of destiny. Dewey the instrumentalist may have been as much an instrument of forces in American history and society as he was their organizer and shaper. It may make more sense to hold the American people responsible for what they made of Dewey, than to condemn his villainy in coming to lead so many who were waiting and willing.

In writing of "Philosophy and Civilization," Dewey reflected that "Philosophies which emerge at distinctive periods define the larger patterns of continuity which are woven in effecting the enduring junctions of a stubborn past and an insistent future." After all the critiques of faults and unclaritys, and the presentments of excesses and distortions, there remains what may be the truest measure of John Dewey's career: that without understanding it, we cannot understand our history, our present, and the directions toward our future.

A Psalm of Life's Woes

(With apologies to Longfellow)

By
WILFRED E. PEREIRA

Tell me not in mournful numbers
"Welfare States are but a dream ;
Well he fares who snugly slumbers
Lulled by Legislation's stream !"

* * *

They are real ! They are earnest !
And they tax you live or dead ;
Dust thou art ; to dust returnest !"
Is their motto drab and dread.

* * *

Seek a meal of bread and butter,
Sales Tax will your hunger slay ;
See the "pictures," have a "flutter,"
Entertainment Duty pay !

* * *

Swell your income working harder,
Income Tax will hound you, mate !
Super Tax next fills the larder
Of the ever gorging State !

* * *

Stint and save a nezt-egg daily,
Wealth Tax follows in your wake ;
Spend and splash your money gaily,
Expenditure Tax its toll will take.

* * *

Sell your home for a sorry pittance
Capital Gains Tax to evade ;
Gifts you give find no acquittance ;
Gift Tax keeps you thriftily staid !

* * *

Buy a box of safety matches,
Excise Duty you will pay ;
Wear your clothes in shreds and patches,
Lest more taxes come your way !

* * *

When, alas ! you are dead and buried,
Deeply mourns the Welfare State !
Its requiem toll is *Estate Duty* ;
Grand Finale to your Fate !

—○—

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Mr. Kennedy's Inaugural Address

President John F. Kennedy, who was installed on Jan. 20 as the 35th President of the United States, promised to wage a "long twilight struggle" against tyranny, poverty, disease and war. The new President called on the American people for "strength and sacrifice" and pledged his administration to defend liberty in the world at any price.

In his inaugural speech devoted entirely to foreign policy issues, President Kennedy extended to the Communist Powers an invitation to join in a new quest for peace in order to bring under international control the threat of nuclear destruction.

The new President began his inaugural address by saying that the new generation of Americans now taking over the Government was "unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed."

"Let every nation know, whether it wish us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support friend or oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty", he declared.

Mr Dwight David Eisenhower, who left the White House after eight years in office, watched as Chief Justice Earl Warren administered the oath on the steps of the Capitol building.

At 43, Mr. Kennedy is the youngest man—and the first Roman Catholic—to be elected President. President Eisenhower, who is 70, was the oldest chief executive.

With Mr. Kennedy's inauguration the Democratic Party returns to power after eight years of Republican administration.

President Eisenhower, in his farewell message, to U. S. Congress on Jan. 12 said that he believed his Administration in the last eight years had added to the spiritual, moral and material strength of the United States.

"Yet while we have worked to advance national aspiration for freedom, a decisive force has been at work to divert that aspiration into dangerous channels," he declared.

"The Communist movement throughout the world exploits the natural struggle of all to be free and attempts to subjugate them rather than free them. These activities have caused and are continuing to cause grave troubles in the world." Referring to China he said: "...This country has continued to withhold recognition of Communist China and to oppose

vigorously the admission of this belligerent and unrepentant nation into the United Nations. Red China has yet to demonstrate that it deserve to be considered a peace-loving nation."

Future of Algeria

According to Reuter's message of January 21 the French Government has received assurances through secret contacts in Tunis that the Algerian liberation movement (FLN) is now willing in principle to enter into peace talks.

But it is less certain that such talks, once started, will end the guerilla fighting in Algeria.

This sums up the attitude of officials close to the French Government to-day, after the referendum which gave President de Gaulle an overwhelming majority in favour of his peace and self-determination policy in Algeria.

It seems to be accepted in Government circles that M. Ferhat Abbas, the leader, in contrast to last year, now accepts the idea that there must be negotiations, and that in the first phase they must be concerned only with guarantees for free elections or self-determination in Algeria.

This is regarded as a considerable advance, and explains a certain note of optimism in high quarters these days when Algeria is mentioned.

That negotiations will come soon is now taken for granted by every-one, including the extremists on the European side.

U.S.A. Budget

On Jan. 16 President Eisenhower presented to Congress the U.S. Budget for fiscal year 1961—62, the highest in U.S. history, demanding an outlay of some 80,000 million dollars including 47,392 million for national defence.

Of the Budget 42,900 million dollars were allocated for Defence Department functions, 1,750 million dollars for foreign military aid, 2,680 million dollars to the Atomic Energy Commission and more than 50 million for setting up stocks of war material.

The Presidential Budget called for 9,400 million dollars for space research of which 7,400 million dollars would go to the Defence Department for division among the three services, and the remainder to the civilian National Aeronautics and Space Administrations.

Other major categories were aid to under-developed countries (425 million dollars), social services (4,800 million) and agriculture (5,100 million). The foreign aid figure includes 1,875

million in economic aid and 1,750 million to military aid.

But the largest slice or 58 per cent, went once more for defence as against 57 per cent during the current fiscal year.

U. S. Bases Abroad

President Kennedy has directed his administration to take a new, hard look at some of the American bases abroad and decide whether an offer to abandon them could be used for bargaining with the Soviet Union, the New York "Herald Tribune" said on Jan. 25.

The paper reported Mr. Kennedy has not made a final decision, but has asked his diplomatic and military advisers to give him answers to the following questions.

1. Has the development of submarine-borne "Polaris" missiles reduced the importance of certain American overseas bases?

2. How much longer will overseas bases be needed, in the light of technical progress in weapons?

3. Will mobile missiles make certain bases useless, to the point that they could serve as "pawns" in future negotiations with the Soviet Union?

4. Would it be possible, in some cases, to replace American forces abroad with inter-allied forces, so that the United States' European allies would have an increased share in the Western defence system?

New Govt. in Cambodia

The Cambodian State radio announced on Jan. 25 that Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State, had agreed to form a new Government after leading politicians' refusal to accept the responsibility.

This follows a motion of the Cambodian Parliament giving him executive power because of the situation in neighbouring countries, particularly Laos. The Prince is now choosing members of his Government.

Russia releases U. S. Prisoners

Two American airmen, released by Russia on 25th Jan. arrived in Washington on Jan. 27 raising the prospects of improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The new President of America, Mr. John Kennedy, in his dramatic announcement at his first Press conference at Washington on 25th Jan. said their release removed a "serious obstacle" in the way of peaceful relations between the two countries.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry statement in Moscow on January 25 also reflected the same

sentiment. It said the release of the airmen, shot down over Barents Sea on July 1 last year in an RB-47, was "guided by a sincere desire to lay down a basis for a new stage in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States."

The statement also said the airmen, Captain Freeman B. Olmstead (24), and Captain John R. McKone (28) were released "from criminal responsibility" by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Russian Parliament.

Mr. D. Rusk, Secy. of State said on Feb. 6 that the release by Soviet Union of the American RB-47 fliers had removed a troublesome problem and a constructive relationship could be achieved.

Visit of H. M. Queen Elizabeth II

On January 21, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth of England and the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in New Delhi and they were given a rousing and unprecedented welcome. Hundreds of thousands of Delhi citizens took part in greeting the royal couple. Welcoming the guests at Palam airport President Rajendra Prasad said:

"The United Kingdom and India have had close relations for some two hundred years. This long association between our two countries has left an abiding influence on our minds and on our institutions. You will see the signs of this, perhaps, yourself during your sojourn in our country, and I hope you will feel at home in our midst. As a member of the Commonwealth, India shares with the United Kingdom certain common aims—international goodwill and international peace being, perhaps, the most important of them. We welcome you, to-day, not only as the head of the oldest democracy in the world, but also as the head of a great Commonwealth. It is my earnest hope that your visit will further strengthen the ties of friendship and fellow feeling that exist between the United Kingdom and India."

Replying to the welcome Her Majesty said: "To all in India I bring a greeting of goodwill and affection from the British people. I hope that our visit will demonstrate to the world the respect and friendship which exist between Britain and India, and indeed between all the countries which are joined together in the free partnership of the Commonwealth."

Later a grand State Banquet was held. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, proposing a toast to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, laid stress on many of the ties that bound Britain and India and expressed the hope that the

Queen's visit would strengthen and enrich the friendship between India and the United Kingdom.

Dr. Prasad paid a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in making the people of India never entertain any ill-will or rancour towards their erstwhile rulers. He said "this is due mainly to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who taught us that nationalism should never acquire an exclusive character."

Replying to the toast Queen Elizabeth expressed the hope that "in combining scientific and technological progress with the ancient Indian values of toleration, compassion and wisdom, India will be an example to the world."

"In a larger sense the Commonwealth is a family of nations and this is an apt way to describe the relationship between Britain and India. No other nation knows India so well, and you for your part are well acquainted with the British, their frailties and their strengths, their foibles and their standards. There are in Britain many men and women who served and worked here and who remember India with respect and affection. The welcome I was given this afternoon makes me sure this affection and respect are reciprocated. I hope we will always allow this friendly and personal relationship to colour all our contacts and transactions."

The State Banquet was the most colourful function that climaxed a day of pageantry and royal reception to the British monarch. Later the Queen and her consort went on a trip to Jaipur where the Maharaja entertained them. They returned to the capital in time to take part in the Republic day celebrations on Jan. 26. They have a long and interesting programme to go through in visiting important places and industrial centres in India and Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru on his Retirement!

Prime Minister Nehru categorically declared on Jan. 24 that "there is no thought in my mind at present or in the foreseeable future of my retiring and so there need be no speculation about it."

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Prime Minister to the Press.

"I find that there is a great deal of speculation about my possible resignation or retirement from the Prime Ministership. This is due to a report of an interview I gave to a representative of a paper in London. I am sorry that some casual remarks about the future that

I made have led to this misunderstanding. There is no thought in my mind at present or in the foreseeable future of my retiring and so there need be no speculation about it. What I said to the newspaper correspondent was that the idea of my retiring from the Prime Ministership and devoting myself to other activities had often come to me. It was present in some corner of my mind and some time in the future it may be given effect to. But there was no such idea with me now. There need, therefore, be no speculation about it. Indeed, I have not mentioned this to any of my colleagues or members of our party because I did not think of it seriously."

China and Bhutan

There are sound reasons to believe that China is trying to get Bhutan to deal direct with her on the three-year-old dispute between them over 300 square miles of border territory. These areas in north and north-east Bhutan are now solely in the possession of Bhutan which has got her check-posts in these areas.

The Chinese claim to these areas has so far been only cartographic and though maps showing these areas as belonging to Peking appeared over three years ago there have, so far, been no incidents. All the same, Bhutan is on pins and needles, and like Burma before her, is anxious to have the issue settled so that she knows where she stands vis-a-vis her powerful northern neighbour. China has so far not bothered to reply to the two protests made by Bhutan over these maps.

Though, there is little active contact between them—even trading activity across the border has ceased—China has let Bhutan understand through unofficial go-betweens that she would rather deal with Bhutan direct. But being obliged to consult and seek India's advice on such matters Bhutan is not happy about this obvious Chinese effort to bypass and thus isolate India. The Maharaja of Bhutan, who has come down to India will have discussions with Nehru on the future line of action.

Nagaland State

The President promulgated on Jan. 24 the Nagaland (Transitional Provisions) Regulation, 1961, to bring into operation a new administrative set-up for Nagaland.

The regulation, which will come into force on a date to be specified by the Government, provided for the setting up of 45-members elected "interim body", to serve as the advisory council to the Governor. The members will

be elected from the tribes in Nagaland—the area comprising Naga Hills and Tuensang area.

The Governor, who is also Governor of Assam, is expected to inaugurate the first meeting of the “interim body,” whose members have already been elected, on February 15.

The regulation lays down the transitional arrangement for Nagaland in accordance with the agreement between the Naga People's Convention and the Government of India concluded on July 30 last year. This arrangement will prepare the ground for the setting up of a separate Nagaland State.

Ceylon Tamils' Action

The seventh annual convention of the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Katchi (Federal Party) as its session at Colombo on Jan. 22 called upon the Tamil speaking people of the Northern Provinces to be ready to launch direct action against the Government, in the form of picketing, satyagraha, non-co-operation etc.

The open session adopted five resolutions unanimously including one on the problem of citizenship of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon.

The first resolution called upon the Tamil people in the two Tamil speaking Northern and Eastern provinces to launch direct action.

The second resolution requested the Tamil investors to withdraw with immediate effect their investments from Sinhalese areas and to invest them in the Tamil areas.

The third resolution demanded the withdrawal of the present Citizenship Act and urged the enactment of a new legislation in conformity with international conventions and standards. It also requested the Government to confer full citizenship rights on plantation workers of Indian origin who knew no other home than the country in which they were living. The resolution added that the citizenship problem of persons of Indian origin was Ceylon's problem and it was in no way a problem between India and Ceylon.

Another resolution requested the Tamils to rid the Tamil areas of social disabilities and throw open temples, hostels, and other public places to the so-called “untouchables.” A vigorous campaign to eradicate the social evil of untouchability is to be launched simultaneously with the “independence struggle.”

The last resolution called upon the Tamil people to launch an “All Tamil” campaign and to transact all their business in Tamil only.

Canada-India Reactor in Trombay

Prime Minister Nehru said at Bombay on Jan. 15 that the benefits of nuclear power which would be available as a result of the new facilities being provided at the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay, would serve a useful purpose in expediting the changes being brought about in India.

The Prime Minister was inaugurating the Rs. 10-crores Canada-India Reactor at Trombay.

Referring to the criticisms levelled against the Government in setting up atomic power projects particularly in the present conditions with relative lack of resources, the Prime Minister said that the question should be considered in a realistic way. They were engaged in the tremendous task of raising the standard of living of the people of India and while they were planning, they had to look into the future of India, 15 or 20 years hence. They could do it only by hard thinking, hard work, hard planning and co-operative work. They had to look ahead for many things and possibly the most important thing was power. Power was the symbol of progress. They had various ways of utilising and relating them but the crux of the problem was whether the solution would be adequate to meet the demands of the people in the coming years. They would have to tap new sources for relating power for they could not take the risk of relying on something which might prove inadequate for the future. Therefore it was of vital importance that they built up atomic power for peaceful uses.

Mr. Gordon Churchill, Canadian Minister, and leader of the Government in the Canadian House of Commons, speaking on the occasion, and that the inauguration symbolised “India's coming of age in the atomic era.”

India, renowned for its ancient wisdom, was now numbered among the select few nations of the world which were learned in ancient physics, the most recent offshoot of the tree of knowledge, he added.

Describing the venture as “a shining example of international collaboration in the field of science and technology,” Mr. Churchill said that the reactor and the scientists who will work with it “most surely have great potentialities for the future peace and prosperity of India.”

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Annexation of Upper Burma. By D. P. Singhal, University of Malaya, Singapore. pp. 128. Price Straits Dollars 3.50. Eastern Universities Press. Macdonald House, Singapore-9.

The morality and background of the Second Burmese War have been the subject of much discussion and the consensus of opinion is that it was a piece of rascality but a humane and useful piece of rascality as Sir Charles Napier described the Annexation of Sind. The Burmese King insisting on the Resident removing his shoes was made a *casus belli*. It is amusing to note that till 1947 all Indian Government Educational Institutions insisted on no footwear or shoes of English pattern with socks and even now some Government Colleges under Congress Raj insist on shoes with socks.

The real trouble was that the French stole a march by an independent commercial treaty and the only remedy was an invasion and “mass executions by the Provost Marshall” to terrify the people. The annexation was dictated by “international jealousy and commercial and political greed” as the Indian papers pointed out and the mollification was offered to Liberal and International Public Opinion that Thibaw was a cruel tyrant and the Burmese people turned in relief to the British Invaders. That the trouble started with Sir Arthur Phayre who made the false accusation against the Gackwar that His Highness tried to poison his drink is not without significance.

A clear and concise account, but not altogether free from bias in favour of the British.

Vishva Dharma. By Acharya Visheshanand. Tr. by M. S. Bhatia. Price Rupees Five. Vishva Dharma Mission, New Delhi 3.

This is an aphoristic exposition of the quintessence underlying all religions. Some of the gems are the following: “Action performed by a man of scrupulous and *detuded* nature is *always harmful* to human life.” “You should first purify your worldly conduct and bodily actions.” “Forceful restraint on the body courts dreadful and tempestuous reaction.” “Dharma is to perform our duties as *human beings*.” “Lust, anger, avariciousness, are the chief enemies of Man.” “The Vishva Dharma Mission shall try to salvage the World.” May it succeed.

Petronius; The Satyricon. Translated by William Arrowsmith. Mentor Book. American Library, New York 22. 50 cents.

This is a daring attempt by Professor Arrowsmith to recapture for us not only the *ipsissima verba* but also the exciting elegance of Menippean Satire of Protocol in the Profligate Court of Nero. All know that Nymphomania really means not mania for nymphs but uncontrollable morbid sexual desire in women. Few know that Satyriasis means Excessive sexual Desire in Males. Amidst a mass of stark pornography like descriptions of poor novice tools of eunuchs, analerotics, etc. we get Irony of the Greek variety as in the following. “What good are the Laws when Money is King, where the poor are always wrong. And even the Mockers who scoff at the Times will sell the truth for a Song, and the Courts are an Auction where Justice is sold, and the Judge who presides bangs a Gavel of Gold.” Modern American White Caps and Purity Leagues are anticipated in the tirade against pearls on Matrons who raise shameless legs and cries of shame against brides that dress in flimsy gossamer and gauze to gloze their nakedness. There are yet in India people who feel that they would rather have continued to be British slaves than tax-oppressed freemen like Scylltus's freedman who would rather be a Roman slave than a tax-paying savage. The people drowning in a double-sea, by Debt pulled down, by Usury. Again, this narrative is interrupted by tales of raw onions followed by snails' heads as powerful aphrodisiacs and scenes of and description of what Galsworthy called the supreme act of Property. Kicking some dung in the dark or kicking a corpse by the cross-road at night is said to literally unman a man, and again you switch to the theme that Jupiter is money in the Bank. There are echoes of the confused varied decadent reading of the degenerate Roman in the concluding tale of Eumolpus who died rich and made it a condition of the legacies in his will that the inheritors must slice up his body and eat it in public. Herodotus mentions a tribe on Xerxes far-flung host who so dispose of their dead bodies.

Yoga: A Scientific Evaluation. By K. T. Dr. Behanan. Dover Publications, Inc. 180, Varik Street, New York 14 N. Y. Price \$ 1.65.

What is yoga? In a new book, a scholar and psychologist explains what yoga really is and why it has been generally misunderstood in the West.

Dr. Koor T. Behanan examines the philosophical and physiological aspects of yoga. Dr. Behanan, a Hindu by birth who studied at Calcutta University and at Yale, has based much of his study on his own first-hand experiences with yoga theory and practices in India.

One of the oldest philosophical and religious systems of India, yoga has commonly been associated in the West with magic and mysticism. Dr. Behanan, who studied yoga as a disciple of one of the foremost teachers in India, considers that yoga is above all a practical philosophy involving years of strenuous study and mental and physical exercises designed to help the individual gain control of his unconscious processes.

Traditionally, yoga techniques in breathing and mental concentration are said to produce a high degree of emotional stability. As part of his research project conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University, Dr. Behanan was able to test some of yoga's therapeutic claims and found that yoga discipline tended to "develop a healthy emotional equilibrium."

Evaluating yoga from the Western point view, Dr. Behanan remarks that yoga has many similarities with modern therapeutic methods, especially those used in psychoanalysis. A scientific and objective approach to yoga, Dr. Behanan claims, can dispel much of the mystery that still surrounds this Eastern philosophy.

Gandhi's view of Life. By Chandrashanker Shukla, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Price Rs. 2.

Shukla, like Mahadeo Desai and Pyarilal, was closely associated with Gandhi for the best part of his life. He therefore writes of Gandhi's views on many topics with complete sympathy and understanding. The book under review contains chapters on Truth and Non-violence, Satyagraha, Rights vs. Duties, Hinduism, Art, life and Beauty and a multitude of subjects in which Gandhi was deeply interested, and he interprets Gandhi's views as far as possible in Gandhi's own words. Mr. Shukla's book offers such pleasant and instinctive reading that it is no wonder it has gone through four editions.

Hindu America? By Chaman Lal. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

This book now reprinted by Vidya Bhavan was originally published in 1940. The statements made by Chaman Lal were so startling that Mahatma Gandhi did not hesitate to write to him, though with his customary caution in matters on which he could not claim personal knowledge, that "if they were true you have made no mean contribution to research work." Twenty years have gone by and yet a government headed by Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru—scholars with a trenchant for history—have done nothing to verify the findings at governmental level.

Fortified by the authority of some great names in Indo-American and European scholarship, Chaman Lal contends that even in the years before Columbus there were cultural contacts between India and America. "If the identity of culture, philosophy, educational system, birth and death ceremonies (including cremation and Satee) belief in the transmigration of soul, coronation ceremonial, kindling of sacred fires and numberless customs and manners of two countries, then America is certainly indebted to India" And his thesis is supported by well documented extracts from official records and appropriate illustrations. Here, certainly, if anywhere, is work for a team of researchers under a national government. Such astounding discoveries, supported by dispassionate authorities which Chaman Lal adduces can hardly be left unprobed and unconfirmed at the highest level.

Kasturba. A Personal Reminiscence. By Sushila Nayer. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad Rs. 1-50.

Dr. Sushila Nayer chose to share the prison life of the Gandhis in the Aga Khan palace. She was with Kasturba nursing her during her last fatal illness and she records her reminiscences of Ba and Gandhiji with moving simplicity and devotion. Ba, as every one knew, lost herself in service to Gandhiji and roused public interest in her by her complete self-abnegation. Here are some striking incident narrated with first hand knowledge by one who was in close association with the Gandhi family. The book, originally part of a Hindi biography of Ba, was subsequently translated and published in U. S. as a Pendle Hill publication. A book of charming interest.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

SOUTH AFRICA

SEPARATE COLLEGE FOR INDIANS

Seldom has the Indian community in South Africa, numbering nearly half a million, been as united on any issue as on its resolve now to resist the Government's introduction of racial segregation in university education.

Plans are being worked out to give effect to a resolution unanimously approved by a conference of leading members of the Indian community held in Durban, calling for "non-co-operation" with the Government's new Indian University College on Salisbury Island, in Durban Bay.

Similar segregated colleges have been established already for African and coloured (mixed descent) students. The coloured college is in Capetown and the three African colleges are in the Cape, Natal and Transvaal.

DAG TO VISIT AGAIN

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, announced in Parliament at Cape Town on Jan. 23 that the Government had decided to ask Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to visit South Africa again in view of the considerable value of the personal contact made during his recent visit with regard to S. Africa's *apartheid* policy.

MALAYA

INDIANS AND TODDY

Mr. Sambanthan, President of the Malayan Indian Congress, addressing the annual meeting of the Congress at Kuala Lumpur held recently said Indians in Malaya wasted 20 million dollars (about Rs. 3 crores) on toddy every year and this must be stopped. The Congress passed a resolution reiterating its stand over the abolition of toddy shops and requesting the Government to consider the matter seriously.

GENERAL

Mr. NEHRU'S ADVICE

Prime Minister Nehru advises Indians abroad to keep emotional contacts with India and not to lose their roots while trying to adjust themselves to their new environments.

Mr. Nehru said he wanted the Indians, wherever they lived, to mix with local people and serve the cause of India through such contacts.

In India to-day, Mr. Nehru said, basic revolutionary changes were taking place in spite of all controversies, conflicts and arguments that one heard about. The texture of Indian life was changing through educational, industrial and other processes. Indians as a whole were becoming interested in the world.

CEYLON

TAMILS IN CEYLON

According to the statement made on Jan. 22 by a correspondent of the local daily the implications of the political resolution adopted at the annual session of the party recently were far-reaching, in that the Tamil people should now on be in readiness for every kind of sacrifice. They had to pursue a policy of non-co-operation and wage a bitter struggle against the Sinhala domination as all other persuasive methods had failed with the Government. In fact, the main political resolution moved by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, seconded by Mr. M. Ahambaram and unanimously adopted at the session had fully explained the circumstances in which they were forced to launch the satyagraha campaign.

The main political resolution after giving a detailed analysis of the history of the struggle since 1948 for "Tamil Freedom" states "this convocation takes into consideration its history of repeated betrayal and the utter futility of negotiation and parliamentary methods in the present Governmental set-up, resolves that the only course open to the Tamil-speaking people to protect their national freedom is to resort to non-violent direct action and ratifies the following course of action set out on the directive of the party's action committee.

The resolution on citizenship stated that while they welcomed the Ceylon Premier's invitation to Mr. Nehru to assist her in the settlement of the citizenship problem declared that the problem of Stateless workers on the plantation areas was purely an internal one. "The convocation called upon the Government to repeal the reactionary and discriminatory citizenship laws and replace them with legislation based on the principles of citizenship accepted by all civilised nations."

KENYA

FIRST INDIAN JUDGE

Mr. Chunilal Bhagwandas Madan, Q. C., has been appointed Puisne Judge of the Kenya Supreme Court. Mr. Madan will be the first Asian Judge in the history of Kenya.

The Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, has accordingly accepted Mr. Madan's resignation as Minister without portfolio, a post which he has held since 1956 in the Kenya Cabinet.

Born in Kenya in 1912, Mr. Madan has been President of the Nairobi Indian Association several times and was elected to the Legislative Council in 1948.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 1. Invasion of Kivu (Congo) by Mobutu's forces : Grave situation in Laos is reported.
- Jan. 2. SEATO Council is convened to discuss developments.
- U.S. Warships and transport planes are alerted.
- Chou-en-lai arrives in Rangoon.
- Jan. 3. Congress Working Committee meets in Sardarnagar. (Bhavnagar)
- Indian Science Congress meets in Roorkee : Dr. Rajendra Prasad delivers the inaugural address.
- Jan. 4. America breaks off diplomatic and Consular relations with Cuba.
- The 66th Session of Indian National Congress opens.
- Jan. 5. Prof. Galbraith is appointed U.S. Ambassador in India.
- Jan. 6. President De Gaulle broadcasts a solemn warning to Algerians on the eve of Referendum : Referendum in Algeria begins.
- Jan. 7. Bhavnagar Session of the Congress concludes.
- Jan. 8. President-elect John Kennedy receives a special report examining the problems and prospects for economic development in India.
- Jan. 9. Fateh Singh breaks fast : Shiromani Akali Dal gives up agitation but decides to pursue constitutional means.
- Jan. 10. Fighting in Laos continues : Leftist forces claim capture of Royal Capital.
- Jan. 11. U.N. rushes troops to Northern Katanga : U.N. takes steps to prevent outbreak of Civil War.
- Jan. 12. H.E. Emperor of Ethiopia grants pardon to all soldiers who took part in revolt.
- Katanga Forces clash with Baluba Tribesmen in Congo.
- Godse's Petition for release is dismissed by Supreme Court.
- Jan. 13. Lumumba freed from prison.
- India-Pakistan cricket 4th Test at Madras.
- Lumumba is put back in prison after a few hours of release.
- Jan. 14. C.D. Deshmukh relinquishes chairmanship of UGC.
- Cambodian Govt. resigns—Study Mission for Laos—India, Britain and Canada to take part.
- Jan. 15. Harassment of Indian Embassy officials in China : Preventive measures by India in Indian Territory.
- Army day is celebrated in India.
- Jan. 16. President Ike presents his last Budget for 1961—62 to the Congress.
- Jan. 17. Exchange of territories along India—W. Pakistan border near Ferozepur District is completed.
- Jan. 18. President Rajendra Prasad inaugurates the First Asian-African Conference on rural reconstruction at New Delhi.
- Jan. 19. Tamilnad Muslim Convention meets in Madras.
- Madras State Legislature meets.
- Jan. 20. Kennedy assumes office as President of U.S.A.
- Jan. 21. H.M. Queen Elizabeth II arrives in New Delhi.
- Jan. 22. Mali Republic asks French Government to withdraw all military bases on its territory.
- Belgian Socialists decide to withdraw their strike.
- Jan. 23. Katanga Government refuses to allow U.N. Conciliation Body for meeting Lumumba.
- Jan. 24. Armed rebels seize Portuguese Liner in Carrebean waters.
- Jan. 25. Queen Elizabeth and Duke of Edinburgh return to New Delhi after enjoying a holiday in Rajasthan.
- Jan. 26. Republic Day Celebrations throughout India : Queen Elizabeth takes part.
- Jan. 27. Queen Elizabeth declares open All India Institute of Medical Science at New Delhi.
- Dr. B.C. Roy and Purushotham Das Tandon are awarded "Bharata Ratna".
- Jan. 28. S. Africa's Lower House of Parliament rejects by 91 to 50 the no-Confidence motion on Verwoerd's Govt.
- Jan. 29. Ceylon Tamils launch Satyagraha against Govt's imposition of Sinhala language on the Tamil people.
- Jan. 30. Japan announces her willingness to advance a loan of 200 million United States dollars to India.
- Jan. 31. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar is dead.

READERS' DIGEST

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Prime Minister Nehru has expressed doubts about the usefulness of any world economic conference as a means of lessening international tension through strengthening of economic relations between the East and West. However, He is "all in favour of every attempt being made to remove the present tensions and work for peace."

Mr. Nehru's views were given in response to an "Appeal to the World for Peace" sponsored by the well-known Japanese newspaper, *Yomiuri Shimbun* and drafted by three noted Japanese scholars. The appeal had been sent to political, cultural, academic business and religious leaders throughout the world and replies from some of them already received were published in the newspaper.

The appeal was drafted by Mr. Masatoshi Matsushita, President of the Rekkyo University Tokyo, Mr. Michitaro Tanaka, Professor of Kyoto University, and Mr. Ichiro Nakayama, Professor of the Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo. In it the scholars had made the following three points : "The free world and the Communist camp must adopt a spirit of tolerance and accept the existence of creeds different to their own. It is necessary to deepen mutual understanding and appreciation to achieve a state of tolerance. And in order to create opportunities for mutual understanding and appreciation, it is necessary to intensify programmes for exchange of persons, cultural interchange and co-operation in academic research between the East and West. It is desirable to hold a form of world economic conference as soon as possible in order to ease international tensions by strengthening economic relations between the East and West."

Mr. Nehru's reactions to the appeal were contained in a letter received by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* from the Prime Minister's principal Private Secretary.

Mr. Nehru declined to comment on the appeal because, according to the letter, this "cannot be done in a few sentences as it will require a fairly full analysis of the present day conflicts." Mr. Nehru, however, agreed that freedom of travel and freedom of information "are desirable things to aim at". He is all in favour of every attempt being made to remove the present tensions and to work for peace". As regards the proposed world economic conference, the letter said, Mr. Nehru

doubted "if a conference limited to the subject mentioned would be worthwhile".

Among others, who replied to the appeal were Vice-President Radhakrishnan, the British Philosopher, Earl Bertrand Russell, and the British M.P., Mr. Philip Noel Baker. Dr. Radhakrishnan merely said: "I agree with the general sentiments expressed by the three scholars in their appeal and I hope you will have a successful response". Earl Russell wrote that he read the appeal with "warm approval" and was glad that there was such a strong movement in Japan in favour of peace.

BRITAIN'S GLOBAL AIR BASES

Britain is to set up a chain of strategic island bases encircling the world, the London paper, *Evening Standard* reported on Jan. 19.

The newspaper said: Mr. Harold Watkins, the Defence Minister, and the Air Staff hope by this means to enable Royal Air Force transport and bomber commands to operate globally without relying on the politically threatened bases in Kenya, Aden and Singapore.

The Government has no intention of abandoning the massive bases in Kenya, Aden and Singapore. It sees the chain of air shadow bases both as a means of ensuring the global mobility of the Army's strategic reserve and of enabling the force to threaten the Soviet Union with nuclear retaliation from the south and east as well as the west, it said.

MR. MACDONALD'S APPEAL

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British High Commissioner in India from 1955-60, wrote in the *Observer* on Jan. 22 that it was imperative in the present situation that the Western democracies should do all in their power to sustain India in particular and the rest of free Asia in general.

The inevitable competition between India—thriving parliamentary democracy on the British model—and China—national development by Communist means—was a momentous world event, Mr. MacDonald said.

"Much will depend on its outcome. If China is far more successful than India in achieving economic and social progress, the Indians may well feel they were mistaken in adopting democratic methods and decide to abandon them in favour of a Communist model.

"Alternatively, if the Indians are evidently more successful than the Chinese, Communism may tend to lose its grip in China."

RACIALISM IN S. AFRICA

The International Commission of Jurists, said in a report published at Geneva on Dec. 16 that the South African Government's policy of racial discrimination "creates a potentially explosive situation which might soon lead to even more widespread internal violence than has already been experienced."

In pursuit of a systematic policy of racial separation in all spheres of life, the Government "has established a rigid and all-embracing network of legislation which denies to a vast majority of the population those opportunities without which the legitimate aspirations and dignity of a human being cannot be realised."

The International Commission is a non-Governmental, non-political body, which draws its support from 37,000 judges, lawyers and teachers of law in more than 80 countries and has consultative status with the United Nations. The report, entitled "South Africa and the rule of law," is being sent to the U.N. and also to Governments and lawyers throughout the world.

The 239-page report is divided into 11 chapters describing the effects of the application of *apartheid* in various fields.

The report said: "Rigid racial classification provides the basis upon which all movement and residence of non-whites is controlled and determined according to the labour needs of industry and agriculture. Real freedom of selection and change of employment or improvement of status is virtually non-existent, and collective representation of this massive labour force is strictly limited."

Denied the right to vote in general elections or plebiscites, more than 10 million non-whites were to all intents and purposes precluded from having any effective political voice or organisation, the report said. "Moreover, the very expression of opposition to or protest against the present policy of *apartheid* constitutes a criminal offence. The non-white is, therefore, by law relegated to a permanently unequal status."

The report said that the pass law system had resulted in "flagrant abuses of the law, involving arbitrary arrest and detention" and had carried a situation "of which certain aspects can be described only as legalised slavery."

South Africa's judiciary had up to now always enjoyed a high reputation for independence, impartiality and concern for fundamental human rights, the report said. "Yet, the judge can only apply and interpret the law as he finds

it. If then there exists little justice for many in South Africa to-day, it is primarily because the laws themselves are not just."

The report recalled that the South African Minister of justice, Mr. Francois Erasmus, told Parliament last April that he had instructed his department to inquire into and make recommendations on how admission of lawyers to the profession could be more strictly controlled. "This statement has sinister implications," the report said. "It may foreshadow a direct challenge to the independence of the bar as well as an attempt to restrict the right of the individual to be represented by counsel of his own choice."

South Africa is thus a country where "law" is perverted to evil ends: and it is significant that the government takes measures to destroy the independence of the judiciary.

SINO-SOVIET DIFFERENCES

Full support to the Moscow declaration of the 81 Communist parties was voiced in an editorial recently by the *People's Daily* the official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, which for the first time departed from the traditional Chinese line that war with the "imperialist camp" was inevitable to bring about the victory of the Communist camp.

"No socialist country or any Communist Party has ever held that the victory of Socialism required war between States" declared the lengthy editorial. The editorial added that the Socialist countries had "steadfastly pursued a policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition with capitalist countries and will exert every effort to prevent the catastrophe of a new war."

However, it did not rule out the possibility of war entirely, standing "should imperialist war maniacs needless of all consequences insist on imposing a global war" then as pointed out in the Moscow declaration, world people would "sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it."

But while the danger of "Imperialism unleashing a new world war," had not passed, a new world war can be averted "in view of the change in the balance of class forces in the world," the editorial added.

The editorial described the declaration as of "great historic significance" for strengthening the unity of Socialist camp and said while all the Communists of all countries should "resolutely oppose revisionism which departs from

Marxism-Leninism especially Yugoslav revisionism." It added, revisionism remained the "chief dangerous trend" in the international Communist movement.

At the same time, the editorial also called for waging a struggle against "tendencies of dogmatism and sectarianism which are a severance from reality and the masses."

Emphasising solidarity and unity between the Soviet Union and China and the Communist parties of the two countries, the *People's Daily* acknowledged the Soviet leadership of the Communist world. It said the Soviet Communist Party was the "acknowledged vanguard with the longest history" in the world Communist movement and was the "most experienced." The Chinese Communist Party the editorial said has always held in high esteem the greatest role played by the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union in the anti-imperialist struggle and activities in defence of peace.

The editorial said "imperialists and reactionaries" in various countries were "especially keen on scheming to undermine by every means the close friendship" between the Soviet Union and China and the Communist parties of the two countries but declared the outcome of Moscow meeting had utterly smashed the day dreams of imperialists and reactionaries. It has once again borne out what Mr. Mao Tse-tung has said that "the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples is eternal and unbreakable."

The editorial concluded with the pledge that the Chinese Communist Party would abide by the Moscow agreements.

THE THREAT TO THE HUMANITIES

A condensed version of Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar's paper on the above subject is published in the *Aryanpath*. In this "sputnik Age" we are apt to be preoccupied with technological and Scientific achievements and there is a decided bias in the direction of regimentation. While science and technology have their own value in the economy of life and society, the place of the humanities in any scheme can hardly be overestimated.

The main value of life, says Dr. Ramaswamy Aiyar, is to secure richness and variety of experience to acquire that true freedom which can be equated with an exhilarating sense of personal incentive and the development of individuality for this the best training is through the humanities.

"So far as India is concerned, its poets and its sages have, during several centuries, worked uninterruptedly to construct an ideal differing completely from the totalitarian thought processes. They have insisted on and practised liberty of thought and investigation; and besides, they insisted on charity and tolerance of differences not only in thought but in conviction, practice and daily life.

There is the danger today that, in our attempts to achieve economic and political progress quickly, we are apt to be captivated by the methods of regimented discipline which are stridently proclaimed successful in many parts of the world."

True culture is impossible without the consciousness that there is always some truth on the other side.

The study of the humanities is perhaps the best corrective to the domination of controversial politics and dogmas, and through that study alone shall we be able to avoid the intolerance which leads so often to pervasive hypocrisies and apparent conformity to the programmes of powerful ruling groups. In no other way can the importance of individuality be sensed and implemented. The dragooning of the masses through propaganda and methods like brainwashing into social or political conformity is the very opposite of the ideal of true culture.

S. AFRICA AND COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, South African Prime Minister, may walk out of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, in March, come home and call an immediate general election, the political correspondent of the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* said on Jan. 21.

This was being discussed among members of the ruling Nationalist Party, he said.

Should a crisis develop over the Union's continued membership of the Commonwealth, the correspondent added, an early election would serve to give sanction to a Republic outside the Commonwealth.

"This uncompromising attitude will place the British Government, which has been acting as South Africa's 'protector' in Commonwealth discussions, in an extremely difficult position," the correspondent said.

"The situation is that Mr. MacMillan is believed to have persuaded, or almost persuaded, other Commonwealth Prime Ministers that they should not expel South Africa from the Commonwealth when it becomes a Republic."

WEST GERMAN WAY TO PROSPERITY

It is said that seven million foreign tourists are visiting West Germany every year. Foreigners are naturally impressed by the phenomenal picture of plenty and prosperity presented by a country so completely devastated by war. Not a few of these are Indians, mainly students of technology and businessmen keen on obtaining machine tools and technicians. Only in 1950 Germany was in shambles. What is the secret of its quick recovery and how was it brought about?

That is the burden of a broadcast talk by Mr. Homi J. H. Talayarkhan of Bombay who returned from a study tour of the Federal Republic sometime ago. Good food, and plenty where there was starvation, excellent housing settlements in bombed-out areas, schools, theaters, concert halls and all the comforts and amenities of high social life—nothing is wanting to make life worth living. The figures he gives of German progress are impressive.

Where workers used to beg only for food as their wages, they earn today anything between Rs. 400/- and Rs. 700/- per month. Where all industries were flattened out after the War there is today an overflow of all varieties of flourishing industries big and small, producing to the maximum, providing employment to the maximum.

He attributes this success to three principal reasons; timely financial assistance from America, the indefatigable industry and patriotism of the people and the helpful climate which does not sap energy. As a result of this happy combination of conditions.

They have built four and a half million flats. They have started a new or fresh 100,000 industries. They have constructed or repaired over a lakh and a half class rooms in some 40,000 schools. They have restored or erected other splendid institutional buildings, including universities, hospitals, hostels, hotels, theatres, opera houses, concert halls, permanent exhibition centres. They have laid out most attractive gardens and parks and have rebuilt and enlarged much of their nearly 20,000 miles of road of which their famous 'autobahns'—straight stretches of sometimes as much as a hundred miles at a time—designed for fastest possible moving traffic, are a wonder in road construction history.

These are impressive figures but much remains to be done and Germans are fully conscious about it.

They have still to build some three million more flats for accommodating their people, they still require 30,000 class rooms; they still retain quite a number of the scars from their war wounds; they have been struggling with their political problems, but not allowing it to interfere with the pace of their economic reconstruction.

How do they find the money for all this. American aid and foreign loans alone cannot carry them far. So they tax themselves heavily and they save. Way back in 1913 only 11% of the total income used to come from taxes. Today over 45% comes from taxation. And the annual amount of saving comes to over Rs. 3,000 crores. Of course this includes all kinds of savings—“and 42% of the population are regular savers”—and altogether 85% of their revenue comes from taxes.

How similar are the problems in Germany to those in India. Both the countries may be said to start almost from scratch; India, because she was almost razed to the ground as a result of the catastrophic war from which she is just emerging like Japan after Hiroshima. And there in the refugees too—

“13 million refugees out of its population of 52 million and they are still coming in at the rate of 200 per day. Here with loans advanced by Government, many refugees have not set up small industries like jewellery factories and workshops, silverware, shoe-making, watchmakers, carpenters and a hundred and one varieties.

RIGHTS MORE MORAL THAN LEGAL

In the course of an article in the new issue of *Look Magazine* former Vice-President Nixon declared that he strongly feels that civil rights “is primarily a moral than a legal question.” Mr. Nixon contended that it is “unrealistic to assume that passing a law or handing down a court decision will solve this problem.

“Where human relations are concerned,” Nixon declared, “a law isn't worth the paper it is written on unless it has the moral support of the majority of the people.”

Commenting on the school de-segregation issue, Nixon said in the article:

“The moderate approaches which have been put into effect in Nashville and Louisville are sensible and provide a possible formula which might spread all over the South in a way that would be workable and realistic.”

BUREAUCRATS ARE HUMAN

One of the great dangers of organisation is that it inhibits spontaneity, observes Sidney Hook in the *Saturday Review* (reproduced in the *American Review*).

There are areas of human experience, especially personal relations, in which there can be no compensation for the loss of spontaneity, of fresh, natural response.

“Even educational institutions may be over-organized to a point where the mastery of the syllabus becomes more important than cultivation of the power of independent judgment and the capacity for self-education. But there are other areas of common activity in which we cannot safely rely on spontaneity and must prepare in advance the mechanisms to channel spontaneity. For example, whoever would wait for an enemy attack before establishing a civil-defence organization overlooks the fact.

The number of men in the world, their quest for plenty and leisure, their unangelic nature, and the necessity for just distribution in a technological age compel us to conclude that the multiplication of organisations in society is inescapable.

“Repining will not reverse the trend. There are some who see in this the eclipse of individual freedom and justice which they seek to avoid or attenuate by setting up still other organizations which in time exhibit the disease they would combat. I make so bold as to contend that by and large, so far as the great mass of individuals are concerned, our world of giant organization, despite its bureaucratic deformations, has more effectively widened the scope of individual freedom, the freedom to develop one's powers and talents, the freedom to move, the freedom to learn, to think, and to dissent than was possible in the world of smaller organizations it has replaced. This subject, of course, to some important qualifications, but I think it is wrong to say or imply that the individual has become helpless in the face of huge aggregates of power, a creature utterly dependent upon forces beyond control or modification, and that he can survive only becoming a compliant “organization man.” One can be a person in a bureaucratic age. It requires courage, but it always required courage to be a person, a courage which in the past, because of the absence of appropriate means and conditions, was not sufficient except for the privileged.

LIFE ON MARS

Writing in a recent issue of magazine, *Science Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dr. William Sinton says that he has evidence of widespread plant life on Mars greatly different from earthly plants and perhaps superior in yield, but that evidence is indirect and tentative.

But he says his work with the 200-inch “Big Eye” telescope of Mr. Wilson observatory suggested the presence of organic molecules on Mars.

“Growth of vegetation certainly seems to be the most logical explanation for the appearance of organic molecules,” he says.

His findings suggest that much of Mars was covered with plant life, notably the large triangular-shaped area known as Syrits Major, or “the great bog.”

Dr. Sinton says that his new findings had been made in October last year, during the close approach of Mars to the earth.

INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS

A cloudless sky—this is how the Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. K. P. S. Menon described Indian-Soviet relations in an interview given to the *Ogonyok* magazine on the occasion of India's Republic Day celebrations, *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, reported.

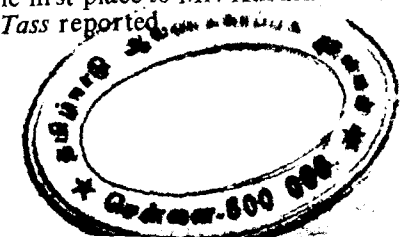
Mr. Menon said: A cloudless sky—this is the comparison which I feel adequately describes the relations between our countries.

“The strengthening of friendship between the Soviet Union and India is one of the most remarkable events of the second half of the twentieth century. This friendship is manifested everywhere.”

The Ambassador characterised as “exceptionally important” the Soviet Union's assistance in the prospecting and development of oil-bearing areas in India.

He said: “Soviet credit will enable India to build and enlarge many major industrial installations including a heavy machine building works, a hydro-power plant and a steam power station.

Among the events of 1960 which brought the two countries still closer to each other. Mr. Menon gave the first place to Mr. Khrushchev's visit to India, *Tass* reported.



PRIESTS IN INDIA

The old generation of priests in India is steadily declining in number. The profession is not paying enough for present standard of living. The sons of priests are taking to new ways of livelihood. The Hindu religious life is more or less unplanned. What will be the future of priests in the coming generation? Will they disappear in course of time? The *Vedanta Kesari* discusses their problem and suggests we should plan for the conference of the priestly order.

Christianity is a highly organized religion. It does not have the hereditary priests. Whereas the Catholics have monks as their priests, the Protestants and others have married priests. But in both the groups, priests are organised. Will Hinduism have to follow the same, in case the hereditary system dies? The Hindu ideal of sannyasa does not allow the monk to take part in the dasakarmas, the different religious ceremonies connected with a man's life beginning with his birth. Though that would be cheaper, it will be difficult to change the pattern even though there is a great effort at present in India to harness the sadhus for various purposes.

A correspondent to a leading newspaper of Madras suggested that priestly duties should be done by volunteers in their spare time and it should cease to be a profession. It is doubtful whether this will meet the demand.

So the other alternative will be the organized Protestant pattern. But we already have the married priests. Only instead of being hereditary, it will have to be vocational. But that will require tremendous organization for which Hindu society is as yet not prepared. Complete change of the social pattern is not envisaged by people and this consideration may look alarmist. But we have taken for granted that caste must go. It is time to think whether with caste the hereditary divisions of duty should also completely go or only the privileges attached to birth. The leaders at least should have the vision of the future pattern and if shaping the whole future of society is left to the non-religious people alone, what will happen to the Hindu method of worship and other ceremonies? It is time, we repeat, that there should be clear thinking among the Hindu leaders about the future pattern of society, especially its religious life about the value of which no doubt is entertained by them.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, has again stressed that "the reunification of Germany is necessitated by morals and by international law as an expression of the people's right of self-determination."

In an interview with the American news magazine, *U. S. News and World Report*, the Chancellor said:

"That right is valid for all nations. It is part of the fundamental principles of democracy. We are witnessing a historical evolution that, on the basis of that right, is bringing national independence to many young and, so far dependent nations. Should that right be denied to the German people in regard to reunification, then the confidence in the sincerity of democratic principles would be shaken all over the world, not only Germany..... Moreover, reunification also is a political necessity. A nation arbitrarily torn apart is a dangerous source of unrest and tension."

The Chancellor strongly rejected the impression that many Germans do not care much about reunification. He said:

"To some extent that impression has gained ground because the fight for reunification is being led with moderation and patience and without loud-voiced rhetoric. That attitude born out of the memory of our unfortunate past with its many loud-voiced national claims should not be misread as lukewarmness. Rather it is the manifestation of a feeling of responsibility toward the European community of nations."

EUROPE'S RESURGENCE

Raymond Aron contends in the columns of *Thought* that Europe is no more "like an invalid kept going by infections." It is quite virile and growing strong.

The truth is that if life is characterized by the ability to adapt itself to new situations, Europe does not at all present the appearance of an invalid, but one of youth and vigour: and it is the "new" States, which are so ready to despise "old Europe" that have still to prove their fitness.

That their task is more difficult than ours I willingly admit. And that Europeans are, in part, responsible for the under-development of the newer States, I emphatically agree. But whatever be the merits and demerits on one side and the other, we should do better not to confuse the facts and the values. Europe has lost her military power; she has not lost her power to live."

THE CHINESE WAY

Mr. Nehru held that Chinese Communists are different from the aggressive Russian Communists. Now the roles have been changed. China is now the aggressor and Russia, mellowed by prosperity and achievement, is playing a different role. But has Chinese expansionism nothing to do with Communism, asks S. R. Mohan Das in *Freedom First*. Is there no such thing as international questions different from the Chinese?

If Chinese expansionism was essentially Chinese in character and not communist, there has been no expansionist tendencies shown by China towards north, towards its former Mongolian territories grabbed by the Soviet Union. "Chinese" expansionism seems to be exclusively directed only towards non-communist territories and China's record in the Korean War, Viet Nam, Burma, Tibet, India and Indonesia is eloquent testimony to this. Secondly, China, has restrained its expansionism towards countries having even symbolic ties with military aid arrangements under pacts. In fact Mr. Nehru gave an unconscious acknowledgement of the significance of this when he sadly commented in Parliament that wherever India had been alert in guarding her frontiers like in U.P., Himachal Pradesh and NEFA, Chinese incursions have been negligible. Only in Ladakh where we were complacent and not alert have there been large-scale incursions by the Chinese. The simple moral involved in this has been lost on Mr. Nehru. Whichever country was alert about protecting itself from Chinese threat, China has not dared to undertake adventures against it. In Thailand, South Viet Nam, Malaya or Pakistan, China has not been tempted to embark on adventures. Towards Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos and the "giant" India, all of whom have been genuinely sympathetic to "New China," China has shown the baynotes.

Nor would China dare tackle Formosa, Thailand, South Viet Nam and Malaya where she knows she would have to face the forces of U.S.A.

The Tass official release on Soviet attitude to China dispute, which Mr. Nehru described in a Press Conference as an "objective and fair" document, was a very revealing document.

"In its first three paragraphs, it was a severe indictment of the Western powers for 'exploiting the present Sino-Indian dispute.' In the last paragraph the statement distinguishes bet-

ween the "unbreakable bonds of friendship with Communist China" and the "growing friendship with the Indian Government and people" and then hopes for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. This was the "objective and fair" attitude of the Soviet Union which Mr. Nehru hailed.

ISRAEL'S DEMOCRACY

Israel's parliamentary institution has become the focal point of its democratic life, says Moshe Koseli in the *Jewish Frontier*. It is the center of news and, as is inevitable, the target of criticism and the butt of the caricaturist and wits; but there has undeniably been clear and defined progress and development.

"Its members have learned the art of debate: they have acquired responsibility in government; they have developed their own form of parliamentary life, learning from and blending the experience of other parliaments of the world. Daily contact between men and women of widely divergent views has softened the sharpness of political controversy and the necessity for compromise has prevented national rifts.

The job is by no means complete. They will go on learning; they will perfect the parliamentary system; they will improve their legislation and they will strive, as a real parliament should, to reflect the aim and the purpose of the nation which they represent.

The three parliaments can be proud of their record and the Fourth which has just been elected begins its life with a high tradition upon which to draw and with a task which will tax its resourcefulness and its wisdom. "Modern parliamentary government is undergoing a severe test. The vast field which modern government covers has imposed a severe strain on many of the older democratic bodies. In the last few years some of the new countries, particularly in Asia and in Africa, have broken down under the strain and reverted to some form of dictatorship. From what we have seen in the three preceding parliaments, the reverse is true of Israel.

The prestige of parliament far from being on the wane is increasing daily, says the writer.

In a country which began its parliamentary life under such difficult circumstances and which has a citizenship drawn from so many backgrounds, this is no mean achievement.

THE LAW OF KARMA

The law of Karma operates in the individual life, in the collective life of the group or nation, and in the universal life. The whole creation from the highest to the lowest form of first life are all bound by Dharma and the Law of Karma observes Sri S. Subramania Iyer in *Bhavan's Journal*.

"What we sow, we reap. This principle holds true in all the planes of existence. Every wrong motive sows a psychological seed in the subconscious in the form of an impression, nurtures and grows in the shape of habits and reacts with full impact at a given opportunity. Every act of ours in motive, thought and action has a direct bearing on our individual and collective life. All our past Karma cumulatively moulds into a complex of *gunas*—*Sattwa*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*—and we inherit it as our *Swabhava*—inherent nature. Our temperament, tendencies and propensities are based on the play of the *gunas* in *Swabhava*. We respond to various stimuli in tune with our nature. The nature of work and duties in life in tune with one's *Swabhava* is one's *Swadharma*."

The Law of Karma is not fatalistic, and man is not helpless. Though its effect is inexorable, the cause is in our own hands.

"We are endowed with rational and discriminating faculty. We can study, analyse and discern its laws and respond, rightly and sanely to various stimuli in life.

When the impact of our past Karma propels through our *Swabhava*, we can consciously bifurcate our responsibility and avoid its rebinding, attributing it to the natural play of the *gunas* with the sense of non-doer in detachment.

"When Karma is done motivated by egotistic desires, the fruits thereof good or bad bind the individual souls. But when Karma is performed in dedication to the universal cause in the spirit of *yagna*, then that Karma does not bind us. If our actions are consciously in tune with Dharma, then the Karma does not affect our soul. We can consciously grip the causes and give them a benevolent turn."

BRITAIN AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

British Government has been engaged in the re-examination of its policies towards the European continent summarising some of the basic political and economic arguments which have been evoked in British discussions concerning participation in a common market or free trade area of Western Europe, the "Political Science Quarterly" observes:

Politically, there was the realisation on the part of the United Kingdom that the common market idea had assumed a significance in continental minds as the new symbol of European Union. Outright opposition not only would have been resented by the "Europeans", but might easily have damaged the wider cause of Western unity. Moreover, Britain's association with such a scheme might yet enable her to guide its precepts and to influence its operations in such a way as to provide for her own world-wide interests. Politically and economically, the fear of increased German influence on the continent of Europe has added to the dangers of a policy of isolation. Among the economic arguments for association, the most effective is the admitted possibility of eventual exclusion from a market of continental proportions barred to British exports by a common tariff wall. In view of these factors, the free trade area was proposed as a means of avoiding the Scylla of complete isolation and the Charybdis of full participation by the intermediary path of "close association". Even if the free trade area is completely abandoned, it will not necessarily mean the end of any association whatsoever, for such has been the consistent compromise approach followed by both parties in their post-war policies toward European Union—political military and economic.

SUCCESSFUL CURE FOR EPILEPSY

Surgeons of the Okayama University in Southern Japan have claimed success in completely curing three epilepsy patients by destroying a paralysing brain circuit.

According to reports published in Japanese newspapers on Feb. 3, the new surgical cure for epilepsy is free from any side effects. The new method was developed by a group led by Dr. Akira Nishimoto, Lecturer at the University, and supervised by Prof. Dennohuke Jinnai.

Conventional methods of treating epilepsy consist of administering a drug or removing by surgery the cortex outer skin of the part of the cerebrum believed to be causing trouble. But these methods are limited in their effectiveness because they cannot be applied when the diseased part is too widespread or elusive.

The new surgical method developed after ten years of research consists in destroying a paralysing conducting field called "foreel field" deep in the cerebrum by injecting 0.5 cubic centimetres of oily wax into it through a special deep surgery process.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

KENNEDY'S READINESS TO CO-OPERATE WITH RUSSIA

President John Kennedy, in a cable on Jan. 22 to the Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, said the United States was ready and deeply anxious to co-operate with all those prepared to take part in a common and sincere effort aimed at assuring a peaceful future and a more fruitful life for mankind."

The cable was in reply to a cordial message of good wishes from Mr. Khrushchev and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev on the occasion of Mr. Kennedy's inauguration as President of the United States on 20th Jan.

Mr. Kennedy's message, addressed to both the Soviet head of State and the Prime Minister said:

"Please accept this expression my appreciation for your message of congratulations on the occasion of my inauguration as President of the United States of America.

"I welcome your expression of hope for a fundamental improvement in relations between our two countries and in the world situation as a whole. It is a hope which we share.

"We are ready and anxious to co-operate with all who are prepared to join in genuine dedication to the assurance of a peaceful and more fruitful life for all mankind.

"Speaking on behalf of the Government and people of the United States of America, as well as on my own behalf, I can assure you that the efforts of the United States Government will be directed towards the imperative goal."

President Kennedy expected to take a cautious approach to a "new quest for peace" with the Soviet Union.

Diplomatic observers expect his offer in his historic inaugural address to resume negotiations to be followed by a thorough review of Soviet American relations.

If President Kennedy takes the advice of senior State Department career officers, he will probably recall home for consultations Mr. Lewellyn Thompson, the Ambassador to Moscow, who had a long talk with Mr. Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow on Jan. 21.

It was thought that Mr. Khrushchev probably wanted to impress on Mr. Thompson his desire for a Summit meeting in the spring.

All the indications are that the new administration will eventually specify the condition under which it would be prepared to undertake formal talks with the Russians. But the feeling is that President Kennedy is unlikely to rush into any new Summit meeting with the Soviet Prime Minister.

Disarmament is the priority subject in Mr. Kennedy's mind. He called on both sides to formulate—perhaps, as is said for the first time—precise proposals for the inspection and control of armaments.

A special task force has already recommended to the President a delay in any policy pronouncements on disarmament until a thorough enquiry has been made.

A "Summit" meeting between President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev now seems probable if the Soviet leader attends the resumed U.N. General Assembly Session in March—and he is almost certain to come to New York, according to Eastern European diplomats.

THE COMMONWEALTH P.M.'s CONFERENCE

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference opening at London on March 8 will seek a new approach to the problem of world disarmament negotiations.

We understand that disarmament would be one of the key topics of the week-long Commonwealth meetings—to be presided over by Mr. Harold Macmillan, United Kingdom Prime Minister.

The Commonwealth talks will virtually coincide with the reconvening of the United Nations General Assembly in New York to discuss what many international figures consider the outstanding current world issue—disarmament. Politicians speculate whether Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister, and some other top world figures might not again converge on New York for the General Assembly's disarmament discussion.

Some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers who will attend the London conference have already discussed the disarmament issue with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, during his recent short visits to India, Pakistan and Malaya.

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Utterances of the Day

PRESIDENT'S REPUBLIC DAY MESSAGE

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, asked the people of India to dedicate themselves afresh to the service of the country and said: "Let everyone feel that his personal contribution is as important as the collective effort for our national regeneration."

The President, who was broadcasting to the nation on the eve of the 11th anniversary of the Republic on Jan. 25 said that the task ahead was great "but so also can our national will be mighty". All they had to do was to inspire a sense of belonging, a sense of comradeship in the people.

He said that they were all engaged in the glorious adventure of building a better India of tomorrow—an India, which would count as a force of peace, progress, freedom and happiness for all mankind.

The President said: "A fresh dedication to the service of the country, an all-India vision and a general social awareness are the imperative needs of today. Let us draw inspiration from our past achievements but let us also guard against old mistakes. "And let us apply ourselves, heart and soul, to the task which awaits us."

KENNEDY'S EXHORTATION

When he assumed office as U.S. President on 20th of last month Mr. Kennedy appealed to all the nation of the world as follows:

"Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

"We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

"But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from their present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

"So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate."

EISENHOWER'S HOPE

President Eisenhower said in an address to the nation on 19th Jan. that he was retiring from office "with a definite sense of disappointment" at the failure of East and West to resolve their sharp differences over disarmament.

The President whose term ended on 20th Jan. urged the world to avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect. "Such a confederation must be one of equals."

The President summed up "Americans" prayerful and continuing aspirations" to the world in these words: "We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full, that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that those who have freedom will understand also, its heavy responsibilities, that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love."

ADLAI STEVENSON ON NON-ALIGNMENT

Mr. Adlai Stevenson at his first Press conference on Jan. 27 since his appointment as United States Ambassador to the United Nations, declared that the United States Government "respects neutrality and non-alignment."

He was answering a correspondent who asked whether under the new administration one could look forward to shedding distrust towards non-aligned countries.

Mr. Stevenson said he desired "as cordial a relationship as possible with members of the United Nations both aligned and non-aligned" and added: "I hope in course of time all of us would find ourselves enjoying a degree of mutuality, sincerity and confidence which would permit us to discuss matters that affect the world and threaten its security regardless of our political identifications with systems or blocs that have unfortunately divided the world so sharply".

Mr. Stevenson added he always attached "greatest importance" to Prime Minister Nehru's views and recalled he met Mr. Nehru on several occasions.

NEW GOVT. IN U. S.

President Kennedy's inauguration has been welcomed throughout the world with what may be described as above all a sense of relief because it puts an end to a long period of suspense and uncertainty about the direction of American policy.

His inaugural address (extracts from it are published elsewhere in this issue) has therefore been studied with special care for clues to the kind of leadership he is likely to provide. One thing about it which has struck observers most is that in spite of the gravity of America's domestic problems, the President chose to deal almost exclusively with foreign affairs and the international situation and that in his reference to the Communist countries he adopted a new conciliatory tone, phrasing even his challenge in terms of a request for a fresh start. These and other points in the speech have made a wholly good impression.

INDIA'S DISPUTE WITH CHINA

A reappraisal of India's relations with China from the long-term point of view is new in progress in New Delhi.

A careful examination of the official report on the border negotiations on the one side and a close study of the trend and character of Chinese activity in the countries lying on India's border on the other, have forced the conclusion that even a settlement of the border dispute, if it is at all possible, would not restore normal friendly relations with China. For the unprovoked harassment inflicted on the Indian Embassy staff in Peking and the opportunist policies exhibited in recent months towards India's neighbours reveal not only Chinese anger towards India but also a burning desire to score a point against India regardless of consistency or professions of ideological puritanism.

The conclusion of border agreements with Burma and Nepal, the acceptance of Pakistan's invitation for talks for the demarcation of the common frontier and the anti-Indian propaganda in Bhutan and Sikkim are to be taken one co-ordinated campaign to present India to the world as an unreasonable country with whom it is difficult to do business.

AYUB KHAN ON KASHMIR

"President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan, who was on a State visit to West Germany in January referred briefly to the Kashmir question at an official function held at Bonn.

Speaking at a dinner given by President Heinrich Luebke of West Germany at the Presidential residence, Field Marshal Ayub Khan said it was a sad commentary on the culture of the modern age which claimed to be so advanced in many ways that the right of self-determination was still not fully recognised by everyone everywhere. He said:

In Pakistan we are passing through a similar experience in the case of Kashmir. There are some other areas also where this fundamental right is being denied to oppressed peoples. The continued existence of these pockets of tyranny and injustice constitutes a standing menace to world peace. We hope and pray that sooner, rather than later, these dangerous sores will disappear and the world of to-day will be able to match its material progress with its moral and ethical conduct."

PRESIDENT PRASAD'S MESSAGE TO ARMY

On the occasion of the Army Day, which was celebrated on Jan. 15 the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, sent a message of greetings to all army officers and other ranks wishing them personal happiness and the continued progress of the force which they are serving with such loyalty and distinction."

The message from the President said: "On the occasion of the Army Day, I am happy to greet all officers and other ranks of our army which is the oldest of our three services. It has an enviable tradition which is inspiring not only for those who man the army but also for others; for, the Indian Army has distinguished itself by rendering valuable service in times of peace no less than during war. It can legitimately feel proud of its role in other countries for the preservation of peace."

AIMS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

Mr. Khrushchev declared in a report published last month that peaceful co-existence is "a form of intensive struggle, economic, political and ideological, between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism on the world sense".

In a report issued at Moscow on Jan. 17, by the Soviet information Bureau, the Soviet Premier gave what was undoubtedly the clearest and frankest exposition on the immediate and long-term objectives of World Communism ever made by a Soviet leader.

Educational

INSTRUCTION MEDIUM IN UNIVERSITIES

The working group appointed by the University Grants Commission to go into the question of medium of instruction in universities has expressed the view that colleges should have complete freedom to choose English as the sole medium or as one of the alternative media.

In the opinion of the working group, this choice should not be restricted or influenced in any manner.

The committee does not want the medium of English to be changed at present for post-graduate and professional schemes. Even in the under-graduate course the committee is of the view that it is desirable not to change the medium now for science subjects.

For competitive examinations, the committee has suggested that either English alone should be the medium or all the languages of India, English being a permitted medium.

In the report released to press on Jan 24 of the committee English should continue to be the medium of inter-university communication.

PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Central Advisory Board of Education recommended that greater attention should be given to the provision of schemes in the Third Five-year Plan for pre-primary education.

The Board which concluded its session on Jan. 17 under the chairmanship of the Union Education Minister Dr. K.L. Shrimali, emphasised the need for formulating schemes to promote the total development of the child and recommended that the Central and State Governments should allocate resources in their plans to enable a comprehensive programme in this field to be developed and implemented in a co-ordinated way.

Every assistance and encouragement, the Board recommended, should be given to voluntary organisations in the promotion of this programme and emphasised the need for the Central Government assuming a greater measure of responsibility.

VICE-CHANCELLORS IN U.P.

Mr. C.B. Gupta, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, said at Meerut on Jan. 21 that a Bill would be introduced in the coming session of the State Legislature for substituting the "system of election" for appointment of Vice-Chancellors in the State.

Mr. Gupta who was delivering the convocation address of the Meerut College said that it was being done as the indirect right of vote given to the staff of the colleges for the election of Vice-Chancellor had led to the formation of groups and parties. This had adversely affected not only the choice of Vice-Chancellor but also the administration of the universities.

MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S STEPS TO END CASTEISM

Grant of educational concessions based on economic and such other considerations is one of the proposals now under consideration by the Madras State Government towards ending casteism.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance, outlined during question time in the Legislative Assembly on Jan 20 the steps taken to eradicate casteism. He referred to the various steps taken by the Government for the amelioration of the lot of backward classes and said that in addition to these positive measures, three proposals were under consideration.

They were: (1) The question whether candidates belonging to classes other than Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or Anglo-Indians, such as Backward classes should be asked to give particulars relating to religion and caste in the forms in use in the Employment Exchanges; (2) Proposals relating to the grant of educational concessions based on economic and other such considerations instead of on considerations based on religion, community and caste; and (3) abolition of reference to caste, sect, religion, etc. in all official records.

AYURVEDA IN MEDICAL COLLEGES

The Union Government has decided to set up departments of Ayurveda in six medical colleges to begin with, Mr. B.R. Tandan, Secretary of Health, told the third meeting of the Council Ayurvedic Research, at new Delhi on Jan. 24.

These departments, he said would be in charge of an ayurvedic professor with beds allotted to him for conducting clinical research and teaching the principles and practice of ayurveda to internee students of medical colleges for six months.

Mr. Tandan added that the Health Ministry had approved the proposal for literal translation of "Sushruta Samitha" and Vagbhata's "Ashtanga Hridaya" in English and Hindi. The work was expected to be completed in a year and cheap editions would be available to the public.

Legal

SELECTION OF JUDGES

One important question which prominently figured in the discussion which the Home Minister Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant, had with the Chief Ministers of States at New Delhi on Jan. 18 were the appointment of persons from outside a State as Judges of the State High Courts.

The State Reorganisation Commission had recommended that in order to inspire confidence in the judiciary, one-third the number of Judges of a High Court should be recruited from outside the State. After some discussion, the Chief Ministers agreed that there should be an all-India panel of judicial officers prepared and from whom judges could be chosen.

The SRC's recommendation had been accepted by the Government of India and Parliament later endorsed it. Difficulties however, arose in regard to its implementation. The Centre's suggestion for the formation of an all-India panel of advocates, qualified to be judges, from amongst whom selections could be made was opposed by the Chief Justices of High Courts. The Chief Justices, however, agreed to the formation of an all-India panel of judicial officers who were qualified to be appointed High Court Judges. The question of preparing an all-India panel of advocates was also discussed but no decision was taken.

GODSE'S PETITION

The Supreme Court on Jan. 12 dismissed a *habeas corpus* petition by Gopal Vinayak Godse, who is under transportation for life for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi.

Godse, who had argued his petition in person, had pleaded that he has earned certain remissions in his sentence—totalling to 2,963 days—and in view of these remissions he had completed the term of life imprisonment, 15 years according to Maharashtra prison rules, or even 20 years according to Punjab prison rules. His further detention, he had claimed, was illegal and he should, therefore, be set at liberty.

Mr. Justice Subba Rao, who delivered the judgment, after examining various provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and the relevant jail rules held that the rules could not be construed as a statutory equation of 15 years' actual imprisonment for transportation for life. The equation was only for a particular purpose, namely for the purpose of "remission system" and not for all purposes.

SENTENCE ON PAKISTAN OFFICIAL

A full bench of the West Pakistan High Court on Jan. 9 held the Central Law Secretary, Sir Edward Snelson, guilty of contempt of court and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 2,000 or undergo one month's simple imprisonment.

The judgment was unanimous. The Judges held that the Law Secretary's speech at the Section Officers' meeting on February 15 last contained matter which was calculated to lower the High Court in the eyes of the public and undermine the authority of the court.

The West Pakistan Governor, however suspended execution of the sentence against Snelson under Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

FILM CENSORSHIP IN U. S.

The film industry's long fight against censorship suffered a severe set-back on Jan. 24 when the U. S. Supreme Court ruled by five to four majority that movie censorship is permissible and films are not entitled to the same freedom as guaranteed to the Press and speech under the Constitution. The First Amendment to the constitution guarantees both freedom of speech and freedom of the Press and the movie industry has been contending that films are media of expression and therefore censorship is a violation of the constitutional guarantee of free speech.

In the U. S. movie censorship exists only in the four States of New York, Kansas, Maryland and Virginia and 18 cities including Chicago. The Supreme Court has in the past thrown out many censor's bans in particular cases but this is the first time it has pronounced in favour of censorship as such.

SECTION 144 OF CR. P. C.

The Supreme Court on Jan. 12 held that Section 144 of the Cr. P. C. was constitutional and not violative of the fundamental rights of freedom of speech and expression and assembly as recognised under Article 19 of the Constitution.

The Court said that the validity of the section could not be challenged on the ground that it was vague and placed unreasonable restrictions on those fundamental rights.

The decision was given by the Court while dismissing a writ petition workers of Nagpur against whom a case is pending for violating an order under Section 144, Cr. P. C., banning assembly of more than five persons in January 1956.

WORK OF THE FINANCE COMMISSION

"A minimum of good Government" is what the Third Finance Commission will look for in the States in making its recommendations for the distribution of certain Central tax revenues among the States and grants-in-aid to them from the Consolidated Fund of India. Mr. A.K. Chanda, the Chairman of the Commission, who emphasised this point in a talk with Pressmen at New Delhi on Jan. 12, said that the commission would also take interest in the various public sector projects in the States to see if they are being executed with maximum effort and economy.

Another important problem which the Third Finance Commission will tackle is that of co-ordinating its work as a constitutional body with the Planning Commission which is continuously engaged, in some way or other, with determining the resources for development as between the Centre and the States. Though the Finance Commission is primarily concerned with the principles of distribution and the Planning Commission is concerned rather with the quantum of distribution, Mr. Chanda observed that there was now some overlapping of judgment in this regard and the present Finance Commission would examine the position.

SIZE OF THE 3RD PLAN

After a two-day discussion on the Third Plan the National Development Council arrived at a compromise on Jan. 15 between the States on the one side which refused to have their plans cut and the Central Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission on the other which considered it impossible to raise resources in excess of Rs. 7,500 crores for the public sector.

There will now be a "physical target" of development programmes with the total outlay of the order of Rs. 8,000 crores, of which the share of the States would be Rs. 3,847 crores.

At the same time, "the financial target" will be Rs. 7,500 crores based on the estimates of resources, internal and external, that may be expected to be raised during the Plan period.

In effect, the size of the Third Plan would remain as in the draft outline. The idea is that the States should first proceed to implement the programmes in accordance with a strict scheme of priorities having regard to the resources actually available. If adequate resources cannot be raised then inevitably some of the programmes must be left out.

FOREIGN AIDS

India has received about Rs. 2,727 crores of foreign assistance (Rs. 2,091 crores as loans and the rest as grants) since the commencement of the First Plan in 1951, of which Rs. 1,617 crores are meant to be utilised for the Second Five Year Plan.

By March-end, 1960 however, marking the completion of four years of the Second Plan, only Rs. 691 crores were utilised leaving a balance of Rs. 925 crores, both in terms of loans and grants.

The total assistance (Rs. 2,727 crores) includes the aid so far given by various countries and agencies for the Third Plan.

The following are the loans received by India country-wise, with the amounts of grants shown in brackets:—U.S.A. Rs. 974.64 crores (Rs. 505.66 crores), U.S.S.R. Rs. 383.41 crores (Rs. 115 lakhs) United Kingdom—Rs. 162.66 crores (Rs. 47 lakhs) Canada—Rs. 15.71 crores (Rs. 90.57 crores) Australia (Rs. 12.27 crores as grants). New Zealand—(Rs. 343 lakhs grants) West Germany—Rs. 150.58 crores (Rs. 2.00 crores) Japan Rs. 27.61 crores, Yugoslavia—Rs. 19.05 crores, Norway (Rs. 2.19 crores grants), Poland—Rs. 14.30 crores, World Bank—Rs. 219.44 crores for the public sector and Rs. 95.84 crores for the private sector, Ford Foundation—(Rs. 14.20 crores grants), and the United Nations Special fund—(Rs. 4.16 crores grants).

UTILISATION OF U.K. CREDIT

Sir Dennis Rickett of the British Treasury met the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, at New Delhi on Jan. 12 and is understood have assured him of Britain's continued co-operation in the economic development of India.

The utilisation of the initial credit of Rs. 40 crores by Britain to India for the Third Plan was also discussed. This credit is proposed to be utilised for the heavy electricals in Bhopal, the fertiliser factory in Nohorkatiya (Assam) and a few other power and transport projects. In addition to this sum, Britain has also promised Rs. 26 crores for the expansion of the Durgapur steel plant.

MERGER OF BANKS

The Government of India have promulgated an Ordinance on Feb. 4 called the Banking Companies (Amendment) Ordinance, 1961, to facilitate the speedy amalgamation of smaller banks with bigger ones. Several of these banks are now under moratorium, the periods of which will be expiring shortly.

MRS. BANDARINAIKE ON INDIA

The sense of national consciousness and patriotism of the Indian people has deeply impressed Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who returned to Colombo on Jan. 6 after a 16-day holiday and pilgrimage in India.

In an exclusive statement to the PTI she said: "My visit, made primarily as a pilgrimage, has made me aware of the great achievements of our Indian neighbours. There are many important points I have been able to pick up which should prove of special significance and use in this country."

DR. EDITH SUMMERSKILL

Queen Elizabeth created Dr. Edith Summerskill, the Labour politician, a life Peeress in the New Year honours list.

The list, issued from the Prime Minister's office, also named five other "life" Peers—members of the House of Lords whose title dies with them.

Four had been recommended by Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Labour leader, to Mr. Harold Macmillan.

Dr. Summerskill (59), a Doctor of Medicine, is a former Labour Party Chairman and former Minister of National Insurance.

WOMEN PORTERS AT BHAVNAGAR

Almost the first thing that greets and even shocks a visitor on arrival at Bhavnagar railway station is the presence of women porters.

There are, of course, women workers all over the country, but generally speaking, women are given light work which does not involve too much of physical strain. It distressed many to see in Bhavnagar old women offering to carry heavy baggages on their heads. The Railway authorities have supplied red saris as the uniform for these women porters.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S TOURS

Since her first journey overseas in 1947, Queen Elizabeth has paid various official visits abroad, several of them before her accession.

Her Majesty was crowned Queen in Westminster Abbey on June 2, 1953. In the autumn of the following year Queen Elizabeth set out to accomplish as Queen the Commonwealth tour which she had begun with the Duke of Edinburgh just before her accession. Between November 1953 and May 1954 the Queen and the Duke visited Bermuda, Jamaica, Fiji, Tonga, New Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, Uganda, Malta and Gibraltar.

WOMEN IN GRAM PANCHAYATS

Over thirteen thousand women panches and sarpanches were administered the oath of allegiance on Jan. 16 at centres in Punjab by Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

Glowing tributes were paid to the Indian women especially to those who played historic roles in the social and political life of the country.

Various Punjab leaders, while administering the oath to the newly co-opted women member of the gram panchayats, advised them to take active part in their rural life and take upon themselves to educate their less fortunate sisters.

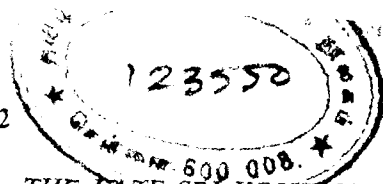
The Punjab State is claimed to be the first in the country to accord recognition and confer equal rights of participation in public affairs to such a huge number of women panches and sarpanches, to whom the oath of allegiance was administered.

WAR ON BIGAMY

Bigamy among Hindus is statutorily abolished in most States but such surreptitious marriages continue to take place, leading to much unhappiness for the first wife and unhealthy effect on the minds of the children. Equality of the sexes cannot become a reality unless monogamy is established. Where the marriage has proved a failure, both parties are now enabled to ask for divorce on certain well-defined grounds.

It is right this essential social reform is furthered by every possible means. The creation of public opinion against bigamy is, of course, necessary, but it must be implemented by positive action wherever possible. The Government of India, therefore, deserves credit for tightening the rules against the employment of bigamous persons.

Under the amended rules, no person who has more than one wife living shall be eligible for appointment to government service. A woman who marries a man with a wife living is similarly debarred. It is true that this rule might have to be invoked only in rare cases, but the fact that it is there should itself serve as a corrective to the bigamous propensities of those who are in or seek government service.



General

THE LATE SRI KRISHNA SINHA

We record with regret the death of Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, at his residence in Patna on 31st January.

A man singularly free from provincial or communal bias and known for his deep human sympathies and catholicity, Dr. Sinha started his legislative career in 1927 when he was elected to the Bihar Legislative Council and acted as the Leader of the Opposition Party from 1927-29. He was elected a member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1935, and in 1936 became a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly. When the Congress came to power, he was elected Leader of the Congress Legislature Party and became the Chief Minister of Bihar in 1937 and has been holding that office since then except during the Section 93 regime.

Dr. Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar, summoned members of Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha's Cabinet at the Raj Bhavan, on 1st Feb. and after consultations with them, appointed Mr. Dip Narain Sinha, Chief Minister and administered the oath of office and secrecy to him.

GANDHI STAMPS IN U. S.

Four cent and eight cent stamps in "Champion of Liberty" series dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi were issued by the United States Postal Department at a solemn ceremony on India's Republic Day according to a report received in India.

The newly appointed Postmaster-General, Mr. Edward May, expressed pleasure that among his first duties as Postmaster-General of the United States he had the opportunity to join in marking India's Republic Day. "We dedicate the 'Mahatma Gandhi Champion of Liberty' stamps to a man who has become a symbol of courage and moral strength to all peoples of the world," he added.

Responding to the Postmaster-General's speech, Mr. M. C. Chagla, Ambassador of India to the United States of America, said, "I deem it a great privilege to be associated in this ceremony. I think it is not only a good omen for your own administration which, I am sure, will be most successful, but it is a good omen for the new administration which has taken office on the 20th January."

One hundred and sixty million Gandhi stamps have been printed, and there was a great rush for first day covers.

KENNEDY'S OFFER

President Kennedy said that his country would be glad to consider the export of surplus food to Communist China if he thought that people's lives were involved or if there was a real desire to receive such food. He stressed, however, that Peking was exporting food to Africa and Cuba, and said his Government was not anxious to offer aid if this should be constructed as a propaganda move.

MR. S. PARTHASARATHY

We regret to record the untimely death of Mr. Srinivasan Parthasarathy, Publisher, "The Hindu," and Director, Kasturi and Sons, Limited, Madras, on the 3rd of this month. After graduating from the Presidency College in 1950, he joined the *Hindu*. He was in charge of the weekly magazine section in which he introduced several new features.

He became the publisher of "The Hindu" in 1959. In addition to the weekly magazine section, he was in over-all charge of the circulation and advertisement departments of the paper.

A good mixer, Mr. Parthasarathy had a wide circle of friends in different walks of life. We offer our sincerest condolences to the members of his family.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH

Since the accession of Queen Elizabeth II, the Duke of Edinburgh has played an increasingly important part in the nation's life, and has interested himself in many of its aspects, particularly those associated with scientific and industrial development, and with sport.

His interest in science is outstanding. The British Association for the Advancement of Science invited him to be its President in 1951 the year of the Festival of Britain.

The Duke of Edinburgh is the Patron or President of a large number of bodies. He is President of the English-Speaking Union, a position held by her Majesty the Queen before her accession. He was from 1949 to 1950 President of the M.C.C., the famous Marylebone Cricket Club.

Early in 1959 His Royal Highness represented the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Scientific meetings in India and Pakistan—the first visit by a member of the Royal Family to either of the countries since Independence.

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VOICES FROM THE PAST

(Excerpts from articles contributed to the *Indian Review*)

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