

INDIAN REVIEW

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The INDIAN REVIEW

62nd Year

Vol. 62

MAY 1961

No. 5

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By C. F. Andrews

Beyond (A poem)

By Rabindranath Tagore

Tagore Centenary : Tributes

Judicial Administration in Japan

By The Hon. Kotaro Tanaka

Has the Soul a choice in Taking a Body?

By The Mother

Dr. Verwoerd's Decision

By Sir Ivor Jennings

The late Pandit Motilal Nehru

U. S. A.—U. S. S. R. Tension

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The U. S. Man in Space

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Indians Outside India

Diary of the Month

Readers' Digest

Questions of Importance

Utterances of the Day

Women's Page

Etc. Etc.

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THE INDIAN REVIEW

Editor : MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 62]

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

Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 62]

MAY 1961

[No. 5

Rabindranath Tagore and His Age*

By

C. F. ANDREWS

IN order to understand the poet Rabindranath Tagore, we have to go back one hundred years in the history of India. We shall then find one of the greatest men of the world of that day, named Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, whose rightful place in history is only gradually being established.

Rajah Ram Mohan Roy was a Brahmin by birth. From his early childhood his mind was so free and his intellect so bright that he seemed to be able to break through all sectarian and racial distinctions. He was, in the end, destined to stand out as one of the very greatest men of the century. But he had to struggle against every obstacle in thus winning his own spiritual emancipation. On account of his marvellous moral courage and intellectual genius he stood far ahead of all the people of his time. In India itself, he understood from the very first the meaning of the meeting of East and West. Even one hundred years ago, he seemed to have been able to predict, in his writings, the very course which civilisation would take after his own death. He was the first great unifier of East and West. He was also the true originator of the practical study of Comparative Religion. On the one hand, he held fast to the learning and wisdom of ancient India and was full of the spirit of love for his own country and its glorious past. On the other hand, side by side with that, he welcomed freely with his commanding intellect all that came from the West. Little by little, he worked his way forward into world history so as to

become, as I have said, the actual founder of the science of Comparative Religion in our modern times. He studied, not only his own ancient Hindu Scriptures, but he was deeply learned also in the teachings of Islam, and in the ideals set forward by Christ. This amazing man not only was a profound student of Arabic and Persian, so that he became a scholar in all the learning of Islamic literature; he also learned Greek and Hebrew, and in that way became a true scholar of the Christian Scriptures as well.

I have read through, many times, all that he has written in English, and though it was set down a hundred years ago, it is still fresh and living to-day in its main interests, and many of his theories, which were then regarded as highly original and even startling, have since proved true.

As he grew older, he became the pioneer of liberal reforming Hinduism. The Brahmo Samaj movement was his own origination. One of his earliest pupils and disciples was the grandfather of Rabindranath Tagore, whose name is still remembered in Bengal, Prince Dwarkanath Tagore.

Dwarkanath was a man of very brilliant intellect, who followed closely in the footsteps of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. He was, in wealth and station, one of the leaders of Hindu society, and he was famed not only in India, but in England. For he was one of the very first to cross the seas, and to come to Europe to study the mind of the West. Prince Dwarkanath Tagore had, as his eldest son, the child who was in his turn to become the father of the Poet. His name was Debendranath Tagore. As Debendranath grew in years and saintly wisdom he became well-known throughout the whole of India as Maharshi,—Maha Rishi,—the great

* This article was contributed to the Silver Jubilee Number of this magazine in January 1925. Rev. Andrews practically spent the best part of his life in India, and took great interest in India's advancement. He was an intimate associate of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi.

Rishi,—because, in the whole of India, there was no one so saintly, no one who could bring back to memory so clearly the Rishis of Ancient India.

When Debendranath was quite a young lad, he was taken to Benares, to the banks of the river Ganges, where his grandmother was lying on her death-bed, waiting for her death, so that her ashes might be placed in the sacred waters after she had died.

By the bedside of his grandmother, as she lay facing death, this young child of eleven or twelve years old began to meditate upon God, and there at Benares his thoughts were turned away from worldly wealth to divine wisdom. From that moment, he became, as it were, a Bairagi, a religious wanderer, one whose life was ever wandering away into the infinite far apart from the limitations of earth. He became a pilgrim of eternity. He tells us that, from that day of his grandmother's death, riches were just like the dust of the ground beneath his feet to him. Nothing that was of this world was satisfying; for all his thoughts were concentrated upon God.

When he grew older, at last his father Prince Dwarkanath Tagore died. It was expected that Debendranath, his eldest son, would come into enormous wealth. People were saying "What will happen when he gets his great fortune? Will he still be unworldly then? Will he be truly a Bairagi?"

But when his father's death took place, it was suddenly discovered that most of the wealth of his father had vanished. For great and heavy losses had been encountered, and his vast estate had been very heavily mortgaged. The creditors were waiting for it. Nevertheless there was one very large sum, set apart by legal deeds, which could not be touched by any of the creditors; and this sum was placed to the credit of the eldest son, Debendranath Tagore. The amount was so large that it still constituted a fortune; but on the other hand his father's debts were remaining unpaid. So this young lad, at the very threshold of his life-experience, when he saw the situation, called together the creditors of his father, and said to them: "All the money ear-marked for me in my father's will, which you cannot touch by the law, I give to you by right. I hand over everything I have, and I will work as your servant

until I have paid off every penny of my father's debts."

The creditors were so deeply touched by the wonderful magnanimity and generosity of this young man, that they were almost moved to tears. One of them said: "Such a young man, so faithful and so honest, should surely be our steward. We need not take away the estate from him. But instead, we will make him the steward, and give him charge of all the property."

So they left the father's estate still in his hands; and he dealt with it so wisely and so well,—without spending one farthing on himself or taking one farthing in any doubtful manner,—that in the end he paid off all his father's debts to the last pie and built up an income of his own. "Maharshi" he was very truly called after this; because everyone saw that though he was in the world, like a householder, though he was building up a family, having many sons and daughters; though in a true sense, he was like 'Janaka', living in the midst of material things and sharing in the world's wealth, yet he was always living at the same time the life of detachment. As they watched him they said: "He is truly a Rishi"; and they called him 'Maharshi'.

When he grew older, his family increased, and he had very many sons and daughters. In his middle age, when he had already a large family of children, at last the youngest of all his children was born. That youngest child he called Rabindranath Tagore. 'Rabi', in Bengali, means the sun. 'Indra' means the storm. Rabindranath means the Lord of the sunshine and the storm. That was the name he gave to his little child, who was to be the sunshine of his old age. From the day of this child's birth, Maharshi loved this youngest child better than all his other children, because he seemed to be able to attain specially through this one of his children the vision of God. He was able to witness in his own little child the Divine Image. So Maharshi loved with the deepest affection the youngest of all his sons.

When Rabindranath was quite young he was found to possess the most beautiful voice for singing the hymns about God. His voice was like a bird; and as he sang, Maharshi used to go into the ecstasy of *Samadhi*, enraptured by divine thoughts. Again and again, as little Rabindranath sat at his father's feet and sang

the divine hymns to God, the aged saint would feel the sweet compulsion of prayer and he would lose all consciousness of space and time in the perfect rapture of the divine vision. So the young boy was rarely separated from his father.

Such was the beginning of the future Poet's life as a little child. Rabindranath at this period of his life was constantly taken by his father on his pilgrimages. The father, by this time, had already passed the age of fifty. According to the ancient Shastras he had determined now gradually to leave the Grihastha Asram and become a Vanaprastha,—a Bairagi, one who left his home in search of God.

First of all, he went up into the great Himalayan mountains, taking his little child with him. He went right on through these mountains nearly to the borders of Tibet behind the Himalayas. In every place where he stopped, he would sit and meditate; and the little child would sing his songs. The father's heart would become glad.

But the Maharshi was all the while longing to find a place of rest. He wished to discover some home in the Himalayas, where he might stay and retire from the world till this wandering life was over. Yet in the mountains of the North, he could not find it; and he went back again to Bengal seeking a solitary place where he might find God in peace and solitude of heart. One day at length he came to a spot near to a little village called Bolpur, about a hundred miles north of Calcutta. There, from the village, he started off in his wanderings right into the open country. The country was all barren, like one vast plain, with scarcely any trees, except here and there some scattered palm trees. The soil was sandy, and there was nothing except one long open heath in front of him, gradually rising towards the horizon. At last, as he walked on, with his little son beside him, he saw two trees in the distance, right on the horizon, standing by themselves, dark and thickly covered with leaves. They were *chattim* trees, and he went there and sat under those two trees.

Just as he had seated himself for silent prayer, the sun on the horizon was getting low and the glory of the sunset was before him, in all its beauty. He sat there absorbed in meditation. Then in a moment, the Rishi's eyes were closed in rapture and the great peace of

God came upon his soul. That bliss, which only the saints are able to experience, filled his soul. He gazed at the evening sky, and all through that night he never slept at all; his heart was so filled with gladness. When the morning came and the sun rose once more, he got up from his seat with his heart uplifted to God in praise and joy, and said; "This is my Shantiniketan,—my abode of peace. Here will I live, here will I die; here will I find my rest for ever."

That is how Shantiniketan became founded. The father of the Poet, Maharshi, for nearly forty years after that, still went on with his prayers and meditations, until the place became a holy place. He was almost ninety years old when he died, and all that while he poured forth his prayers to God, and therefore the spot is still a shrine. It has become a *Tirtha*, a place of pilgrimage, where many come to see those two *chattim* trees, under which Maharshi found the Divine Presence so wonderfully near.

It is near this very spot that to-day in our asram we sit and meditate, morning and evening. If anyone comes to Shantiniketan, he will see little children sitting just as Rabindranath sat sixty years ago as a young child with his father,—sitting there in peace, and finding the presence of God. There is the very centre of our Asram. From that spot now can be heard, day and night, children's voices praising God in the hymns which Maharshi composed and in those also which the Poet himself had composed at a later time.

So this little child grew up side by side with his father at this beautiful spot, called Shantiniketan. But when he had come to be twenty years old, his father decided that the time had come for him to be married. He gave him a noble and unselfish lady who became his wife. Rabindranath had five children born to him, two sons and three daughters. His father said to him; "Go and manage the estate, which I used to manage in my youth." He sent him to a place called Shileida on the banks of Ganges to the east of Calcutta, and there for nearly twenty years, from the age of twenty-two to the age forty, the Poet lived among the village poor.

There, in the villages of his father's estate the Poet learned to love the poor. Just as Mahatma Gandhi who was born in the West of India learned to love the poor when he was

in South Africa while he went among the coolies in the coolie lines and bore their sorrows, so our own Poet, who was born in the East of India, Rabindranath Tagore, learned to love the poor of the villages by the banks of the Ganges near to Shileida, where they lived and toiled day and night at their fields. He has, in one of the most beautiful of his poems, sung the joy of the poor, the true blessing that God is with them. He says, "Here is thy footstool and here rest thy feet, where are the poorest and the lowliest and the lost." He means that God is to be found most closely of all among the poorest and the lost. It reminds me often of the words which Guru Nanak sang, when he spoke to the disciple called Farid and told him that the divine Temple was to be found among the poor and the humble, and that the one who was to find God must stoop to the very ground and touch the feet of the poor so that by stooping to the lowliest he might find the Temple of the Lord.

This domestic life near the Ganges formed the second chapter of the poet's development. One further thing I would mention, that strikes one with amazement when we hear about it. He would every now and then be so eager to get close to God and away from mankind, that he would go out into the solitude, far away from every one, and for six months he would live on the sand banks in the middle of the Ganges and there he would never speak one single word to any human being, but only commune with nature. He has told me that more than once, when he has come back from his solitary wanderings, his lips and his tongue had become so unused to human speech that for a day or two he was hardly able to utter a normal word.

Thus, then, he learned the second lesson of his life experience. The first lesson was understood at the side of his father, Maharshi, at Shantiniketan where his father lived in prayer. His second lesson was learned in the villages of India among the poor, and in solitary communion with Nature.

Then, when he had reached the age of forty there came to him, as to his father before him, an inner call. He longed to go somewhere; but he did not know where to go. He thought at first that he was being directed to take part in the national movement. So he went away to Calcutta and threw himself into

the Swadeshi movement of Bengal. But very soon he found that he was no politician, and that merely to lead a political life was not at all his gift. At last he thought of that home of peace at Shantiniketan, and he determined to go back there once more to his father in his extreme old age, and seek to build there a school. He said to his father: "Let me found a school here; let me build up an Asram for children on this spot." When his aged father heard this, he had great joy at heart: and he blessed him and gave him permission and handed over to him the trust deeds of all that part of the country.

So then, at the age of forty, the Poet began to build up this religious Asram for little children, and the school has become known as Shantiniketan Asram. The school is still going on. Still the little children come to us and we give them the very best education we can, especially on the spiritual side, and the little ones learn all about Maharshi. They also learn to sing the songs of the Poet and to worship God in peace.

But very gradually the Poet's mind wandered away farther still, even from the children in the school, to the whole wide world. He said to himself: "My message is not merely, for one place, but for the world." It was at this time, that he came to England, and suddenly became famous by the translation of the book of poems, called Gitanjali. I cannot stop to explain all this in detail, but when the Poet came to Europe and found that the West was eager to receive his message, and that his poems were loved in the West and not only in the East, then there came to him the supreme conviction with living spiritual power that East and West must truly meet, unite and realise their fellowship in one common humanity.

But at this very time, suddenly came the European War. During the war, the Poet was filled with long-drawn agony of suffering, because he saw the whole world as it were, dashing itself to pieces. The brotherhood of men was torn asunder by the poison gas, the bomb, the submarine and other hateful abominations which modern science had discovered. So his heart was filled with torture throughout the time of war, and he determined there and then, even in war-time, that when it was over, he would go forth to all the world and speak of peace, of brotherhood, of love. He

would strive with all his heart and soul to bring mankind together. Shantiniketan should be a place of peace, not only for little children, but for men of every nation. Those who came from the ends of the world should find peace there, in the place where his father had found it before, and where he himself also had found it in his turn.

So, from the year 1919 onwards, the Poet has never ceased his journeys. He has been wandering up and down the world, to every country, speaking peace. He now calls this great new work of his at Shantiniketan, by a Sanskrit name, Visvabharati. Visva means 'world' and Bharati means 'wisdom,' or 'culture,'—universal culture.

There, at Visva-bharati, we have scholars and workers and students and teachers from all parts of the world who mingle together in mutual fellowship. There, on the same spot,

at the same Shantiniketan, they find their peace together. The Poet goes out, now to Europe, now to America, now to China, now to Japan. He has started recently for South America. He will go, one by one, to all the countries of the world, and everywhere he will speak the same message,—the message of universal goodwill and peace. He tells them in every place that mankind was not composed of one country, or of one people, but of all the world. The same universal spirit is everywhere, in every heart and soul of man and beast. Thus he has gone abroad and told to all the world that this universal message must be learned, this universal brotherhood must be brought together. He has united this ideal with Shantiniketan itself, and it is gradually becoming a place of pilgrimage and rest for all peoples and races and religions that fulfilling the great wish that was in Maharshi's heart when he founded it nearly fifty years ago.

BEYOND

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SANTINIKETAN
BEERBHUM (BENGAL)

To fledgeling birds flight in the sky may appear incredible. They may with apparent reason measure the highest limit of their possibilities by the limited standard of their nests. But, in the meanwhile, they find that their food is not grown inside those nests, it is brought to them across the measureless blue. There is a silent voice that speaks to them, that they are more than what they are, and that they must not laugh at the message of soaring wings and glad songs of freedom

Rabindranath Tagore

Nov. 29, 1925

TAGORE CENTENARY ; TRIBUTES

The birth centenary of Tagore was celebrated not only in India but also in other parts of the world. The Celebrations began on the 6th May and the following tributes were paid to the World's poet laureate :

Rajendra Prasad

Referring to Tagore's part in the freedom struggle, the President said : "I am inclined to think that while our political leaders, Gandhiji being foremost amongst them, gave us political awakening and showed us the way to freedom, it was Rabindranath Tagore who gave emotional content to our yearning to be free and to forge ahead."

Pt. Nehru

Rabindranath, Mr. Nehru said, was a typical person in the long line of India's rishis. In India, they had to solve today a peculiar problem of combining old and the new. This combination of old and new ideas reflected in a wonderful way in Tagore's life and character.

It was difficult, Mr. Nehru said, to pick out one aspect of the great poet's life and lay stress on it, because his activities were many-sided. Tagore, was not only very national but indeed he was an international person, a very much integrated human being.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

Dr. Radhakrishnan said that Tagore was a great educator and social reformer and had aroused India's national self-respect.

The Vice-President said that Tagore was an illustration of the phenomenon of Indian history that whenever the country lay prostrate as a result of invasion or internal dissension, a new soul arose to awaken the people to the greatness of their heritage. Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore were too great seers who stirred the masses. Tagore's religion was the religion of man. He believed there could be no higher worship of the divine than service to the common man.

Mr. Harold Macmillan

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, who is the patron of the London Committee of the Tagore Centenary Celebrations, in a message on the occasion, said : "In his work, he (Tagore) lives as an inspiration to lovers of peace and truth everywhere. I am glad to join with you in revering his memory."

The message, which was read out by Sir Paul Gore-Booth, U.K. High Commissioner in India added : "All of us in Britain who respect Tagore, congratulate India on the centenary of the birth of its great international poet and philosopher. In his life, Tagore spoke not only of India but also for all the people of the world who acknowledge their common humanity."

John Masefield

John Masefield, Britain's poet-laureate, has described Tagore as "a spirit of rare beauty whose thought gave a living impulse to all whom he met."

In a message to the public meeting held at the Albert Hall in honour of the Indian poet's birthday centenary, Mr. Masefield added ; "No poet in this century has so moved and lifted the hearts of mankind. No century can have more sorely needed a wise man from the East."

Lord Hailsham

Lord Hailsham, British Minister of Science, said if Britain and India were friends to-day it was, "to a greater extent than we shall ever know", due to Rabindranath Tagore.

He was speaking at a public meeting held at the Albert Hall, London on May 8 to mark the birthday centenary of the Indian poet and philosopher.

Tagore's life-span was almost exactly contemporaneous with history of the direct rule of India by the Government of the United Kingdom, Lord Hailsham said and added : "As much as any man after Mahatma Gandhi he expressed the aspirations, and influenced the destiny, first of Bengal and ultimately of India."

Mr. Nikolai Tikhonov

The 100th anniversary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore was celebrated in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow, the Soviet news agency, Tass said. The audience included prominent intellectuals and representatives of the Indian Embassy in Moscow.

Mr. Nikolai Tikhonov, the Soviet writer, called Tagore's jubilee "a great day in the history of the development of the culture of mankind." Other speakers at the meeting were Mr. Ivan Anisimov, the Director of the World Literature of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Mr. Alexander Guber, the historian, and the composer Sergei Balasanyan who wrote songs to the words of Tagore.

Judicial Administration in Japan

BY

THE HON. KOTARO TANAKA
(Chief Justice of Supreme Court, Japan)

THE judicial system in force in Japan since the Meiji Restoration of 1868 has been based on the European system — at first on the French, then on the German, pattern. The Constitution of 1819 (the "Meiji Constitution") which divided the power of the State into legislative, executive and judicial branches under a constitutional monarchy, thus following Montesquieu's principle of the separation of the three powers, was influenced by the Constitution of Prussia. Under this Constitution the judicial power was exercised by the courts in the name of the Emperor in whom sovereign authority resided, and the position of judges was guaranteed, it being seldom if ever that the executive interfered with the contents of a judgment of the courts.* The national institutions, however, were so framed that the administration of matters concerning the courts appertained to the Ministry of Justice. As the Minister of Justice was a member of the Cabinet, the courts appeared to be subordinate to the Executive, and the independence of the judge was in fact only relative.

In respect of the forms of law, both substantive and procedural, the Continental principles of law-making were adopted, and instead of the Common-law or case-law principles of Anglo-Saxon nations, the codification principle of Continental jurisprudence was followed. The

Civil Code, Commercial Code, Criminal Code, Code of Civil Procedure and Code of Criminal Procedure were successively enacted.

In the compiling of the Civil Code some consideration was given to a few ancient indigenous customs — in parts of its Law of Family Relation and the Law of Succession — but in the main the German law which succeeded to the Roman Law was regarded as the basic law. The other Code mentioned above also approximated to the corresponding German laws, except that in the Company Law of the Commercial Code some elements of Anglo-American law have been introduced during the past twenty years, particularly in the field of corporation finance.

It must also be admitted that the trend of jurisprudence and legal education in universities was generally speaking in the German tradition. Losing sight of the object of laws and regulations, scholars often devoted themselves exclusively to the study of conceptual or analytical jurisprudence, out of touch with other social sciences and the demands of social life ; they learned by heart and filled their heads with systematized abstract theories, which are by no means suitable for training legal minds.

Such tendencies, coupled with an educational method depending on the exclusive employment of lectures, hindered the development of jurisprudence and the improvement of the administration of law. Legal procedure, which should be regarded only as a means, was complicated by theories of procedural law with their conceptual and deformed development. As a consequence, lawyers, forgetting the original object of a lawsuit, often would not hesitate to play in court between themselves a sort of litigious game, or to direct their energies towards "catching out" the court. Delay in dealing with lawsuits thus became a chronic disease of legal life.

The new democratic and pacific Constitution of 1946 has achieved many radical reforms in every branch of the national administration. Of these, the reform of the judicial system was one of the most important. Such a reform would never have been effected unless strongly backed up by the occupation forces. The same can be said concerning the democratization of

* An exceptional case of interference by the executive with the judgment of a court took place in 1891. The Crown Prince of the Empire of Russia (later the Emperor Nicolas II), travelling in the countryside, was attacked by a policeman of Otsu, near Kyoto, and was wounded. In view of the delicate Russo-Japanese situation, the Japanese Government was of opinion that such a grave attempt on a member of the Russian Imperial family should be visited with capital punishment. However, the Japanese Criminal Code dealt only with an attempt on a member of the Japanese Imperial family ; it did not deal specifically with an attempt on a member of a foreign royal family. The maximum penalty for attempts to murder in general was life imprisonment. The Government exercised pressure on the Court of Cassation (Daishinin), in which the case was pending. But the conscientious and courageous Chief Justice, Iken Kojima, decisively rejected the political intervention of the Government by imposing life imprisonment on the accused, and thus maintained the independence of the judiciary. Kojima became a hero and the symbol of the spirit of the judge and his example has encouraged the succeeding generations to our own day. This is the famous Otsu Case.

other institutions and principles, such as equality under the law, the introduction of female suffrage, the abolition of the nobility and the feudal family-system with its *patria potestas*, the principle of parity of religions, agrarian reform, guarantee of the freedom of labour unions, reform of the Upper House, etc. As regards the reform of the judicial branch, nevertheless, it is especially noteworthy that there was always comparatively smooth cooperation between the occupation authorities on the one hand and the Japanese Government authorities and judicial circles on the other. The principal reason for this was that as judicial reform had not as its object any compromise between or accommodation of conflicting interests or between political views, all discussion of the matter centred on such technical considerations as were relevant to attainment of the judicial function and purpose.

Under the new Constitution, the judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as may be established by law (Article 76, paragraph 1). In this hierarchical organization of ordinary courts is vested the whole judicial power, and such extraordinary tribunals as the Administrative Court, provided for in the old Constitution, and courts-martial which presuppose the existence of armed forces, are not to be established (Article 76, paragraph 2).

The extinct Administrative Court had judicial power over a very limited number of matters, but at present a suit attacking any allegedly illegal act of an executive agency may be brought in the ordinary courts of law. In cases where an executive agency has competence to hear an appeal from an executive decision, the procedure of the executive agency follows that of a tribunal of first instance, and the law-courts function as tribunals of not lower than the second instance. In short, the courts under the new system have jurisdiction not only in civil and criminal cases, as they had in the past, but also in administrative litigation in a broad sense (such as cases pertaining to taxes, labour, agricultural land, education and local self-government). All suits, civil as well as criminal, concerning elections were within the jurisdiction of the law-courts in the past as at present.

The most important authority given the Court by the new Constitution is the power to pass on the constitutionality of laws, ordinances or official acts. This corresponds to what is known

in America as the power of "judicial review", the "check and balance" by the judicial branch of the legislative and the executive. The power may be said to have been established in America by Chief Justice John Marshall (1755-1835) of the Supreme Court of the United States during his tenure of office of thirty-four years, and is still exercised; but it is a power not yet recognized by the legal organization of many countries of the European Continent—except a few, such as Germany and Italy, which have established special Constitutional Courts. Japan, which followed the Continental system of laws, had not recognized it until the 1946 revision of the Constitution. Under the old Constitution, Japanese judges had to decide cases according to the terms of the laws, without power to examine their constitutionality. What is called the power of courts to review constitutionality is based on the provision of Article 81 of the Constitution, providing that "The Supreme Court is the Court of last resort, with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act."

The interpretation of this provision is, however, not entirely free from doubt. Some jurists are of the opinion that even in a suit not involving any concrete controversy, the Supreme Court has the power to pronounce an abstract decision, as the court of first instance and of last resort, on the constitutionality of given legislation. Mr. Mosaburo Suzuki, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Left-wing Socialist Party, brought an original action in the Supreme Court asking the Court to declare a nullity the law and ordinance providing for the establishment by the Government of the National Police Reserve. The Supreme Court, however, dismissed the action on the ground that, under the present system, it had no power to give hypothetical judgment, but only in concrete controversies (judgment given by the full Bench of the Supreme Court on October 8, 1952).

During the eleven years since the new court-system came into force, the Supreme Court has only given one decision holding a law or ordinance to be unconstitutional; the one exception is the *Akahata (Red Flag)* case. This case involved the legal issue whether an ordinance promulgated under the occupation authority, and limiting freedom of expression, could continue to be enforced after Japan had attained her independence and the new Constitution had come fully into effect. The Supreme Court allowed the

appeal of the accused, on the ground that the application of that ordinance by the inferior courts was unconstitutional. The majority opinions, however, were divided into two groups: the one being based on the reasoning that after the attainment of independence the ordinance ceased to have effect, and its application was therefore unconstitutional; the other, that the content of this ordinance was unconstitutional from the viewpoint of freedom of expression as required in the new Constitution. The dissenting opinion would have dismissed the appeal on the ground that the old law was applicable to the offence committed during the time when that law was effective. The decisions of the Supreme Court have involved constitutional issues arising under 47 Articles of the 103 composing the Constitution. More than 600 points have been involved in these decisions.

From the fact that the Supreme Court until now has almost uniformly upheld the legality of acts, the constitutionality of which were attacked, we cannot conclude that it has neglected its function as a Constitutional Court. To give affirmative decisions on constitutional questions demands the same amount of study and consideration as in the case of negative decisions. It cannot be denied that the Court has contributed greatly to the certainty of law by defending laws and ordinances from varied attacks in this post-war transitory period. The fact that the Supreme Court is now the Court of last resort with the power to determine the constitutionality of laws constitutes a remarkable enhancement of its position in contrast with the Court known to the old systems. Above all, this system completes the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms guaranteed to the people by the new Constitution. It is true that the old Constitution also afforded various guarantees of rights, but they were subject to restriction by legislation of the Diet. Under the new Constitution, not only is restriction by law of such guaranteed rights impossible, but any law restricting them can be declared invalid. The Supreme Court is popularly called the "Guardian of the Constitution" and it is in fact not unreasonable to regard the Supreme Court as a bulwark of human rights.

In the view of the new Constitution, fundamental human rights were not created by the State, but are eternal and universal institutions, common to all mankind and antedating the State, and founded upon natural law (see the Preamble and Article 11). But the people must

refrain from abuse of their rights, and are always responsible for utilizing them for the public welfare (Article 12). The public welfare grows from the natural character of a body politic called the State.

It is the duty of the Supreme Court to determine the respective bounds of the two concepts through decisions in concrete cases coming before it. Unlike the old Constitution based on legal positivism, the new Constitution has a natural law foundation. The supra-constitutional character of natural law is clearly expressed in its preamble, declaring that: "This (the principle of democracy) is a universal principle of mankind upon which this Constitution is founded. We reject and revoke all constitutions, laws, ordinances, and rescripts in conflict herewith." The sanctity of natural law is carried a stage further by conferring upon the courts, especially the Supreme Court, the power of judicial review. Fundamental rights derived from natural law are written into the Constitution and the Constitution provides the Court with power to review any act which violates those rights. To this extent the Supreme Court functions as the guardian of natural law, protecting the nation from both anarchy and dictatorship. It also acts as a safeguard of the Rule of Law in protecting basic rights.

In order to enable the Supreme Court and the inferior courts to discharge their duties, their independence must be guaranteed. Such independence has two sides. The one is the independence of judges, the other that of courts. The independence of judges was essentially recognized and guaranteed by the old Constitution, but the new Constitution made it more complete. The remuneration of judges, formerly below that of officials of the executive branch of the government, is now a little higher.

As regards the judges of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice is, under the Constitution, appointed directly by the Emperor, as in the case of the Premier (Article 6, paragraph 2), and the fourteen other Justices are accorded the same status as ministers of State. The Chief Justice receives remuneration equal to that of the Premier, while all other Justices are given the same amount as ministers of State. The Cabinet has the power of nominating the Chief Justice and of appointing the other justices, the formal appointment of the Chief Justice being made by the Emperor, as in the case of the Premier. In this connection it may be noted that the appointment of the justices of

the Supreme Court has to be reviewed by the people every ten years; this may be said to correspond to endorsement by the Senate of the United States, and is in substance an institution of recall (Article 79). The Judges of the Supreme Court and those of the summary courts—corresponding to small-claims courts, or justices of the peace—retire upon reaching the age of 70 years, and the judges of the other courts at the age of 65.

The Supreme Court is not composed exclusively of career judges, in which point it differs from the Daishin-in, the highest court of the old system, which most nearly corresponded to the Court of Cassation in the Continental system. About one-third of the Supreme Court consists of career judges, the rest being men who have distinguished themselves as lawyers, men of practical experience in constitutional or administrative law, professors of law or diplomats. The setting-up of a Supreme Court in which specialists in civil or criminal law plus non-specialists of varied knowledge and experience take part is largely the result of the Court's increased power which, as already mentioned, now extends to judicial review of legislation. It is an attempt to meet the need for far-sighted judgment and statesmanship at a high level.

In regard to the selection of judges in general, present-day Japan is as yet a long way from the circumstances of the United States, where judges are taken from the common pool of lawyers. In order to become a judge, public prosecutor or a practising lawyer, a graduate from a university, having passed the state judicial examination, is required to undergo two years legal training at a special training school, the Legal Training and Research Institute under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

In Japan there are now approximately 2,200 judges, including 450 assistant and 700 summary court judges. To become a fully-fledged judge the assistant judge is required to serve at least ten years in the courts. There are about 6,000 attorneys at law. The total judicial personnel is very small in relation to the population of Japan, numbering 90,000,000. This is one of the causes of the law's delays.

Practising lawyers have organized and maintain Bar Associations by areas, and have a National Federation of Bar Associations. The Lawyers' Law of 1949, regulating lawyers and Bar Associations, freed lawyers from supervision of the Government and the Courts and conferred upon the Bar Associations complete

autonomy. This will certainly serve to enhance the social standing of lawyers, which was not very high in the past. Japan until recently had no organization comparable to the "Bar Association" of the United States, which—including not only practising lawyers but judges, prosecutors, law-school professors as well as other jurists—is so influential both in the legal world and in society. Such an organization is an absolute necessity for Japan, since it is an important means of attaining one of the aims of our judiciary, namely the co-ordination of the administration of the internal affairs of all courts. For this reason a Bar Association of this type was founded in 1952, but it remains still in an embryonic stage. Whether the new Bar Association will grow up soundly, discharge its mission as a colleague of the judiciary, and become as influential as its sister institutions in the United States, remains to be seen.

With regard to the independence of the courts, the new system is implemented by the provision that the Supreme Court shall carry on the administration of the internal affairs of all courts through its conference of fifteen Justices. The Justices meet once a week and decide upon the adoption, amendment or revocation of rules, the designation of judges of inferior courts and other matters of personnel, the internal budgets of the courts, and other questions. Each inferior court has its own conference of judges to manage its administrative business.

The administration of court business, which under the old system lay within the jurisdiction of the Minister of Justice, has thus been separated completely from politics. The Minister of Justice, who is a Cabinet member and more or less corresponds to the Attorney-General of America, is placed in charge of some business which in a broad sense is judicial, the major items being affairs concerning the procurators' office, the registration and execution of punishments and preparation of drafts and bills of a judicial character for presentation to the Diet.

In not being a member of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court differs from the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; his position is different also from that of the Chief Justice of the United States, in that he is in charge of the administration of the judicial business throughout the country. Apart from being first judge in order of precedence, he presides over the meetings of judges dealing with administrative matters. As a consequence of the Supreme Court's responsibility for the

administration of the courts, a Secretariat comparable in size to that of the former Ministry of Justice has been established.

A most important power vested in the Supreme Court is the rule-making power; by virtue of this power it adopts rules of procedure and rules for the governance of attorneys, the internal discipline of the courts and the administration of judicial affairs (Constitution, Article 77, paragraph 1). Rules so far promulgated by the Supreme Court since its establishment in the summer of 1947 amount to about 150. These deal with procedure in civil and criminal cases, the organization of the courts, and details of judicial administration. In respect of the scope of the rule-making power, the judges of the Supreme Court disagree; some of them argue that since a law is superior to rules, the latter can be adopted only within the scope of the former, some contend that a law can be modified by a rule, while some others insist that laws and rules stand on an equal footing, so that, in cases where they conflict, the issue is to be settled by having regard to the order in time of their adoption. For the present, the Supreme Court has been making rules for regulation of details only within the scope of the laws.

As already mentioned, the position of the judges and the Courts alike has been raised to a striking extent under the new Constitution, by comparison with their position under the old system. The judicial power has attained complete independence as the third branch of the national Government, parallel with the executive and the legislative.

If the sphere of judicature were invaded by the executive, the legislative, or any other power, the foundation of the Rule of Law would be endangered. The judicature aims at the maintenance of the legal order, embracing the guarantees of freedom and the realization of justice as its purpose under the Constitution.

Ten years ago conflict arose between the legislative and judicial branches, in the form of a controversy whether the provision of Article 62 of the Constitution conferring on the two Houses of the Diet power to conduct investigations "in relation to government," includes a visitational power over the courts. Under that Article, each House of the Diet may conduct investigations in relation to matters of government, and may compel the presence and testimony of witnesses and the production of records. Accordingly, the Judicial Committee of the House of Councillors, taking up a case in

an inferior court then under public criticism on the score of punishment awarded and other points, had commenced investigation and had made adverse comments before the judgment was finally rendered. The conference of justices of the Supreme Court thereupon sent on May 20, 1949 an open letter in the name of the Chief Justice to the President of the House of Councillors, protesting against the acts of the Committee on the ground that the power to inquire into the correctness of a judgment or to carry out investigation concerning the findings of facts and the fixing of penalties belongs exclusively to the courts in whom is vested the judicial power, and that the Diet cannot on the strength of Article 62 of the Constitution lay claim to such a power. It has, moreover, not seldom occurred that a defeated litigant, dissatisfied with a judgment, has petitioned the Committee on Prosecution of Judges for action under the Law for Impeachment of Judges; but this is owing to the misunderstanding of the spirit of the impeachment system. Fortunately there has so far been no case in which the Committee has acted on such a petition and demanded the dismissal of a judge thus attacked.

The courts and the judges have obviously been vested with very important powers under the new Constitution, but have they really acquired a social position commensurate with their responsibility? We regret to have to confess that in Japan recognition by the people of the importance of the position of the courts and popular interest in the work of the judges are still very low, if measured by the standards of England and America. This may be surmised from the tone of public opinion as recorded in the press in connection with the recent vote by the people on newly appointed Justices of the Supreme Court, which took place simultaneously with the general elections for the House of Representatives. It is very doubtful whether a great majority of the people who voted knew—not only anything of the judgments rendered by the individual judge, or his views as expressed therein—but anything even of his character, intellect or career. The people in general are too preoccupied with the affairs of everyday life—their thoughts are on prices of the necessities of life, the food-ration, their taxes, getting their children admitted to schools, and the like—and they often fail to perceive that maintenance of the social order by means of the justice administered by the courts is the cornerstone of a democratic community. As a consequence,

the people generally showed little interest in the voting mentioned, and votes for the dismissal of each judge submitted averaged on each occasion about ten per cent of the total number of ballots cast. It is conceivable that these votes for dismissal were cast chiefly on instructions issued by leaders of labour unions to their members, by some elements of the left-wing parties and in particular by the Communists. This system of review is at present the target of a great deal of criticism and amendment is being urged. It is, however, undeniable that the system has been instrumental in linking the people psychologically with the Supreme Court and has thus emphasized the latter's importance.

Maintenance of order in the courts and the more speedy despatch of cases are the two important problems now confronting the courts of Japan. Before the termination of World War II, the judicial annals of Japan afforded almost no instance of disturbance, during a public trial, of order in the court. Freedom of speech, press and association, which the Japanese enjoyed after World War II, to some extent involved the courts as a subject for criticism and a field for propaganda, and the Communists in particular made extensive use of this opportunity.

The provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the customary way of administering it and the psychology of the judges, were all equally unfitted effectively to control defendants, attorneys, and spectators who chose to take advantage of the principle of public trial. In this connection it should be mentioned that the Japanese judge has no power of committal for "contempt of court", such as exists in Common Law countries.

It is considered desirable that the criminal law should provide for the effective punishment of such acts as obstructing the performance of public duties or interfering with a trial in courts, but the provisions which exist are in practice not employed as they raise difficulties of preserving evidence and are inconvenient to the prosecution for the purpose of controlling threats, abuse, shouting and other acts of obstruction at public trials. Following the lead given by the English and American concept of "contempt of court", a law dealing with maintenance of order in the courts was enacted in 1951, but it is open to doubt whether a twenty-day detention and a Yen 30,000 fine, both maxima, which are not criminal penalties can

be expected to deter those, such as the Communists, who, ignoring the Constitution, the power of the State and the authority of the courts, do their utmost to defy them. Nor is it certain that the dignity of the courts and the orderly progress of trials can be protected through the new law. Recently disturbances in the courtroom have become rare, owing to a change in the strategy of those who are seeking to undermine the authority of the courts. Legal measures are now being used to carry on the "court struggle", for instance, the right of challenging the judges. In any event, what is most desirable is that judges should be alert to discern the true nature of cases of this kind, and duly to determine them with moral courage and firm resolution.

The slow progress of proceedings in the courts has from antiquity been a world-wide evil. It has become a chronic disease in Japan. Any one of common sense in Japan knows that a civil case of little importance—for example a dispute of daily occurrence over a rented house or land—will require at least three or four years before a final judgment by the court of last instance will be given, if it should go to the court of last resort. Nor will a criminal case be determined much more quickly, if appeal be taken to higher courts.

This delay in justice generally is bitterly criticized by the press. If such a condition continues, the realization of justice and the protection of fundamental human rights, which are the courts' aims, will be next to impossible, and confidence of the people in the courts cannot be expected.

In order to bring about an improvement in the situation it is imperative that judges entirely rid themselves of their inefficient and easy-going ways, characteristic of bygone times for despatching judicial business. The administration of justice calls in general, not only for sound interpretation of the law (or scholarship) and pursuit of truth (or historical sense), but also administrative efficiency. In Japan the judges have paid conscientious attention to the first and second qualities, but often not to the third. The judicial conscience must be aroused and directed to cultivating all three qualities equally; Japanese judges ought always to remember the maxim, "Justice delayed is justice denied," in discharging their duties.

Prompt justice, however, will never be realized through the mental preparation and efforts of judges alone. Lawyers must share with the

courts the responsibility for dilatory justice in Japan. When a lawyer is found not fully prepared for a scheduled hearing and asks for postponement of a hearing more than once, or proposes to introduce useless evidence, the judge in charge often assents, simply out of the desire to have the proceedings progress smoothly. Again, the losing party in a civil suit in an inferior court, or his attorney, even though fully aware of the hopelessness of his case, often appeals to the higher courts with the sole purpose of delaying satisfaction of the judgment as long as possible. As under Japanese law the tax costs which the successful party is entitled to obtain from the losing party do not include attorneys' fees the latter will appeal at the cost of the successful party, without risk. To prevent purely delaying appeals it is desirable that attorneys' fees shall be included in the costs. In criminal cases, also, a convicted defendant or his counsel often appeals with the purpose of delaying the carrying out of the sentence. The Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure contain some provisions designed to prevent abuse of the right of appeal, but these provisions are seldom applied in practice.

As a consequence, moreover, of the provision of Article 31 of the Constitution, that no criminal penalty shall be imposed except in accordance with due process of law, even such an infraction by an inferior court of the legal procedure as could in no way affect the outcome of a trial will be used by lawyers as a pretext for appeal in the name of violation of the Constitution. For these reasons, the Supreme Court nowadays has a "pending" list of 4,000 cases, and is working hard in the attempt to dispose of them. It is necessary for judges to remind themselves that time is not their own property nor that of the parties, but belongs to the public; lawyers also should co-operate in speeding up proceedings.

No attempt will be made here to deal in detail with safeguards of human rights. Some fundamental principles already recognized or newly introduced are given a special place of honour by being incorporated in the Constitution itself; we may instance the "due process" clause, restrictions on powers of arrest, detention, seizure, etc., the right of cross-examination, the right to counsel, the privilege against self-incrimination, and the prohibition against conviction on confession only.

It should be pointed out that in criminal procedure the "party-principle" was adopted,

modifying the "official" principle prevailing in the countries with the Continental system. Under the new concept the position of the public prosecutor has changed, being equated with that of the accused so far as the trial is concerned.

In brief, a new system for democratization of the Japanese judicial system has been established by the new Constitution. In order to realize it in our social life, instead of leaving it as a mere paper-plan, deeper understanding of the judicial system by the people generally and greater efforts on the part of all judicial officials will be required. Although the system is transformed, yet it is not entirely free from the fetters of tradition or time-honoured habits and customs. Judges, procurators and lawyers should realize that they are not opponents, but have a common task of maintaining the legal order as a way of realizing justice and defending liberty. Such self-awakening will only come about if they develop the strong belief that democracy is possible only on the basis of the Rule of Law.

It may be asked, how we can further such a belief and destroy the evils lurking in our judicial system, so that it may satisfy all reasonable demands of the people? By way of reply, two points should be emphasized and these deserve general recognition by the Judiciary in Japan.

In Japan, the practical and administrative aspect of judicial proceedings has in the past been rather neglected, although scholars in procedural law have studied this field theoretically and minutely. In the first place, therefore, Japanese judges and lawyers must apply critically and in a realistic way an international standard to what we are actually doing. Fortunately, such an atmosphere is gradually forming in our country. Visits of jurists to and from Japan and America have become frequent since the end of the War: a number of Japanese judges, public prosecutors and lawyers have visited the United States, and while there have studied how judicial business is managed in America; on returning home their suggestions have provided a stimulus to the improvement of our judicial administration. Such useful trips of inspection by jurists are gradually being made not only to the United States but also to England and other countries. It is certain that the presence of Japanese delegates or observers at international conferences of jurists held in different parts of the world helped the Japanese legal profession to recognize the universal

nature of the mission of justice and to realize more keenly the necessity for the comparative study of law and the co-operation of all nations in the attainment of their common objective. In particular, it is noteworthy that Japanese judges and lawyers, trained in German jurisprudence, have become familiar with the Anglo-American way of legal thinking. Since the end of the War we refer more than before to Anglo-American lawbooks in deciding cases. Our experience has proved that harmony between two legal systems—the Continental and Anglo-American—can in large measure be established.

Where judiciaries share a common aim, the means and technique of attaining that aim do not differ fundamentally as between one legal system and another.

Secondly, such co-operation of various nations, such understanding of the universality

of the mission of justice, will be possible only when all acknowledge the existence of a basic rule, universal for mankind, of justice and freedom. It is the ethical principle constructing the foundations of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, and also of what is solemnly declared in our Constitution. This principle is the criterion for judging whether a nation is "free" or "totalitarian", whether it lives under the Rule of Law or the rule of force. Mutual co-operation of all free nations in efforts to protect and realize this principle is an indispensable condition for democratization of the whole world, and for the peace and welfare of humanity. The mission of the Japanese judiciary is to play its part in fulfilling this universal duty.

(*Journal of the International Commission of Jurists.*)

Has The Soul a Choice in Taking a Body?

By

THE MOTHER

(Aurobindo Ashram)

OF course, it is very exceptional, in spite of everything, in this formidable human mass for a conscious soul to take a body according to its will. It is a very rare fact. When a soul is conscious, fully formed and wants to take a body, generally it seeks from its psychic domain to see a corresponding psychic light somewhere upon the earth.

Also, during its previous incarnation, before it passed away, before it left the earthly atmosphere, the soul, as the result of the experience it has had in the life that has terminated, generally chooses more or less (not in all details but on the whole) the conditions of its future life. But these are exceptional cases. For ourselves, it may be, we might speak of this, but for the majority, the vast majority of human beings, even among those who are educated, the question does not arise at all. What comes is a psychic being in formation, more or less formed and here there are all the stages of formation from the spark becoming a little light up to the fully formed being and that extends over thousands of years. This ascent of the soul to become a conscious being having its

own will, capable of deciding the choice of its life, takes thousands of years.

So you want to speak of a soul that would say "No, I refuse this body, I am going to look for another"... I do not say that it is impossible—everything is possible. In fact, there are cases of still-born children: it means there was no soul to incarnate in them. But that may be for other reasons also, for reasons of malformation only, one cannot say. I do not say that the thing is impossible, but generally when a conscious and free soul chooses to take a body again on earth, even before the birth it works upon that body.

It has therefore no reason for not accepting even the inconveniences that may be due to the ignorance of the parents; for it has chosen the place, because of a reason that is not a reason of ignorance, it has seen a light there—it may be simply the light of a possibility, but there was a light and it is for that that it came there. So, it is all right to say "Ah, no, it does not please me", but where could it go to choose something else that might please it. It may be done. I do not say that it is impossible, but it

does not happen very often; for when the soul looks down from the psychic domain upon earth and chooses the place of its next birth, it chooses with enough discrimination and is not likely to make a gross blunder.

It happens also that a soul takes up a body because it has already started on the way. The starting may be due to many reasons. For children who die very young, in a few days or weeks, the reason may be something like that. It is said also that the soul needed just a little experience to terminate its formation, so it had a life of a few weeks and then departed. All is possible. To tell the history of the soul it would need as many stories as are needed to tell the history of man.

So to decide arbitrarily, "It is like this and it is not like that, this happens and that does not happen", is childishness. Everything can happen. There are cases, some more frequent than others, you can generalise, but you can never say, "This is not possible, and it is always like this or always like that." Things do not happen in this way.

But in any case, yes, in any case, even in the very best of cases, even when the soul comes consciously, even when it has consciously taken part in the formation of the physical body, so long as the body is formed in the usual animal

way, you cannot prevent the soul from having to struggle and correct all the things that come from this human animality.

The parents have necessarily a special formation, they are in a specially good or bad health; even putting the things at their best, the parents have a mass of atavism, habits and formations in the subconscient and even in the consciousness which are the result of their own birth, the environment in which they lived and the life they have had; and even if they are remarkable people they had a quantity of things which are altogether contrary to the true psychic life—even the very best, even the most conscious among them. Furthermore, there are all the things that are to come. Even if one takes good deal of pains for the education of one's children, they come into contact with all kinds of people who will have an influence over them, particularly when they are very young; these influences enter into the subconscient and one has to struggle against that later on. I repeat: even in the best of cases, you are compelled, because of the way in which the body is formed now, to meet innumerable difficulties that come more or less from the subconscient and which rise to the surface and against which one must struggle in order to be completely free and develop normally.

Dr. Verwoerd's Decision

By

SIR IVOR JENNINGS

THE first effect of South Africa leaving the Commonwealth is that there can no longer be any question of handing over the three High Commission territories—that is, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland—to the new Republic of South Africa. The Bechuana, the Basuto, and the Swazi are British subjects or British-protected persons, and they could not be transferred to South Africa without their consent—which they would never give. This is a serious matter for South Africa, because the only plan of *apartheid* ever drawn up, that of the Tomlinson Report, assumed that the High Commission territories could be treated as Bantu reserves. That plan never was very practicable; it will now have to be torn up.

The High Commission territories have in fact been asylums for those escaping from the sort of trouble which occurred after Sharpeville. Hundreds of people were then arrested at two o'clock in the morning. Many others, including the Bishop of Johannesburg, escaped into the territories. But this raises another question. At the moment all South Africans, white, black, and coloured, are British subjects. They have as much right to enter the United Kingdom as British subjects born in the United Kingdom. They have no right to enter the High Commission territories, but they can hardly be kept out when they are political refugees. When they cease to be British subjects, will they have the same privilege of asylum?

It works the other way also. Many British subjects and British protected persons obtain employment in South Africa. Obviously this is the sort of thing to be settled by agreement. Legislation will in any case have to be passed, and perhaps the Irish example will be followed. The Irish are not British subjects, but they are not aliens either, and so it is possible for people on both sides of the Irish Sea to pass across freely, without passports and without restrictions.

The refugees create another problem. Some of them, no doubt, are chargeable with crime, and they can be surrendered under the Fugitive Offenders Acts. Those Acts will cease to apply when South Africa leaves the Commonwealth. They will have to be replaced by treaties under the Extradition Act, and such treaties will be difficult to negotiate because South Africa has a mass of criminal offences as part of the policy of *apartheid*. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that an African cannot blow his nose into a white handkerchief. Obviously the United Kingdom Parliament will not help the South African Government to enforce repressive laws.

I have mentioned one economic effect, but there are several others. South African goods entering Britain and British goods entering South Africa enjoy a preferential rate of customs duty. This will disappear on both sides unless new legislation is passed. Can we any longer give South African sherry the advantage which Cyprus sherry will continue to have, and Spanish sherry has not? South Africa can, if it pleases, remain within the sterling area be-

cause that is not necessarily a commonwealth matter.

On the other hand, such things as the rates for sending cables, the postage rates, and so on, will have to go up unless new legislation is enacted. South Africa will be even more cut off from civilization than it is now. The average Afrikaner will not mind: the old Boer farmer rather likes to think of himself as a rugged individualist who cares for nobody if nobody cares for him. But it is bad luck for the English South African.

There is one point of wider significance. It is that membership of the Commonwealth must now be taken to imply a reasonable standard of civilized government. Racial intolerance is not the only defect from which Commonwealth countries may suffer. There are other forms of political repression than those based on colour. If a Commonwealth country went communist, I suppose everybody would agree that it should be pushed out. Obviously the case would have to be as extreme as that of South Africa, but Dr. Verwoerd was right in saying that not everybody in the Commonwealth has clean hands. What is more, black intolerance is as objectionable as white intolerance.

This leads me to my final point. The one place in Africa in which a genuine attempt is being made to develop a non-racial policy is the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The defection of South Africa seems to imply that attempt ought to be regarded with more sympathy than it has hitherto received in Britain.

—Courtesy: *The Listener*.

The late Pandit Motilal Nehru*

PANDIT Motilal Nehru was born at Agra on 6th May, 1861. He was a Kashmiri Brahmin and his ancestor Pandit Raj Kaul who was an eminent Sanskrit and Persian scholar in Kashmir, migrated to Delhi at the instance of Emperor Farrukhsiar, about the year 1716. Pandit Raj Kaul received a jagir with a house at Delhi near the banks of a canal (*nahar*) and due to this fact the family name Kaul changed to Pandit Motilal and in course of time became simply Nehru. Pandit Motilal was the posthumous son of Pt. Gangadhar Nehru who was Kotwal of Delhi for some time before the 1857 Mutiny.

Motilalji received his early education in the Muhammadan Maktab till the age of twelve and zealously applied himself to the study of Persian and Arabic. He then joined the Government High School at Cawnpore, from where he matriculated in the first division. At the Muir Central College, Allahabad, which he joined after matriculation, he was a favourite student of Principal Harrison. Among his fellow students at College was Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. But he was very far from being a model pupil and took more interest in games and novel adventures than in study. He was looked upon as one of the leaders of the rowdy element in the college. He was attracted to

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Western dress and other Western ways at the time when it was uncommon for Indians to take to them except in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay. However, Motilalji studied at the Muir Central College for four years but did not appear at the degree examination because he had not taken the trouble to work hard for it. The object of the new Party, they explained, and he was greatly dissatisfied with the way he had done the first paper. This was the end of his college career and he never graduated. But he spent the next three months in the study of law and appeared at the High Court examination and topped the list of the successful candidates of the year 1882-83.

On the death of his first wife, Motilal married Srijukta Swaruprani Delhi in 1882. Three issues were the result of this marriage a son Jawahar Lal who was born on the 14th November 1889 and two daughters Sarup Kumari (Mrs. Vijaya-laxmi Pandit) and Krishna now Mrs. Huthee Singh. He began his career as a vakil in Cawnpore, later moving to Allahabad where he was admitted to the Bar. His legal acumen and forensic eloquence, coupled with his suavity of manners, quickly brought him a lucrative practice.

Pandit Motilal came to the limelight in politics when he presided over the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress in 1919, just at the time when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were announced and the country was in the throes of a tremendous agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. His address was a scathing indictment of the martial law administration and the regime of Gen. O'Dwyer. He also laboured hard as a member of the Enquiry Committee into the Punjab Disturbances.

With the launching of the non-co-operation movement by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920, a great change took place in his political outlook. For the Pandit could never do anything half-heartedly, and it was typical of his that when he became a disciple of Mr. Gandhi he did so thoroughly, giving up his extensive practice and style of living. On the 6th Dec. 1921 he was arrested on a charge of signing the Congress pledge and for the first time he was incarcerated for six months with his son and nephews; and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, passed the remainder of his entire time and energy to the service of the country. In 1922 when Mahatma Gandhi was in prison and his boycott programme was suspended, Pandit Motilal with the late Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. V. J. Patel and Hakim Ajmal Khan, held an inquiry into the working of the civil disobedience movement. As a result of the findings of this Committee, Pandit Motilal, Mr. Muir and other leaders of the non-co-operation movement founded the Swaraj Party "to give battle to the bureaucracy on all fronts."

The object of the new Party, they explained, was not to lead a revolt against the Congress but to supplement the work of Mahatma Gandhi's party, the "No-Changers" as they were called, by "carrying the battle into the enemy's camp." Pandit Motilal thus became the leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, just as Mr. C. R. Das led the Swaraj Party in the Bengal Council. He led the Swaraj Party in the Legislative Assembly with ability and distinction and gave proof of his great qualities of Parliamentary leadership. He succeeded in defeating the Government on numerous occasions; and his powers of debate, knowledge of Parliamentary procedure and trenchant criticism made him a formidable opponent of Government. As it was, he had to be content with exposing the hollowness of the Reforms, and this his party did, under his distinguished leadership, with conspicuous success. On March 8, 1920, the Swaraj Party, led by Pandit Motilal Nehru, walked out of the Legislative Assembly after he had made his dramatic statement on the floor of the House. After the "walk-out", Pandit Motilal Nehru did not remain idle. He devoted his entire time and energy to the work of organising the country and educating the electorate. He fought the next general election and returned to the Assembly at the head of the Swaraj Party, which still constituted the largest single party in the legislature.

In the meantime he was called upon to pre-side over the Congress a second time, and under his leadership, the Calcutta Congress in 1928, laid the foundation for the present civil disobedience movement by passing a resolution, which has been described as an "ultimatum" to the Government. That "ultimatum" remained unheeded, and at Lahore in 1929, the Congress under the presidency of his son, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, passed the Independence resolution and embarked on the civil disobedience movement, with results which are today visible on all sides.

But the Pandit had undoubtedly constructive ability of a very high order, and in any other country his gifts would have easily won for him

the highest position in the State. For, during the same year he presided over the All-Parties Conference held in Bombay and was the author of the famous "Nehru Report," a document which he prepared in collaboration with Sir Tej Bahadur in answer to the challenge that Indians could not produce an agreed constitution. That Report was widely appreciated and is in fact the basis of India's demand for Dominion constitution. The fact was the Pandit was by temperament and training a constitutionalist and it was the peculiar irony of circumstances that conspired to make him spend his life in opposition.

After the Lahore session of the Congress, Pandit Motilal along with other Swarajists resigned from the Assembly and closely associated himself with Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movement. As a result of his activity in connection with the movement, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment on July 2, 1930, under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Section I—17 of the Penal Code.

While in jail, he, along with his son, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was taken to Poona from Allahabad to have a consultation with Mahatma Gandhi regarding the peace-parleys conducted by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. Owing to his serious illness he was unconditionally released before he completed his full term of imprisonment. But he was never able to recover from that illness.

In the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru passed away a prince among men. The universal tribute that is being paid to his memory is an index to the extraordinary hold he had on the affections of his countrymen. Nay more, he was beloved of all and Mahatma Gandhi's most poignant outburst is but an expression of national grief. Of his gifts and accomplishments, of the magnitude of his personal sacrifices and sufferings for the causes he espoused, of outstanding ability, his courage and integrity, and his commanding position in the public life of the country, eloquent testimony has been borne by everyone who has known him. Sir George Rainey spoke truly when he said in the Assembly that the Pandit

had a personality which impressed itself on the most unobservant. Eminent as a lawyer, eminent as a speaker in the first rank and as a political leader, he could not but take the foremost place wherever he might be, whether within these walls or outside them.

The quickness of his intellect, his skill in debate, his adroitness as a tactician, and his strength of purpose rendered him a formidable adversary in controversy. These qualities were there for all to see, but he had other qualities which lent distinction to his character in private life as well as in politics, and it is these I myself often recall. An endearing courtesy, a ready sense of humour, freedom from malice and bitterness and a wide and deep culture rendered him unrivalled as a host and the most charming of companions. We shall not again see in this House his well-remembered figure, but we shall often recall that exquisite fitness of attire which aptly symbolised the clean fighter and the great gentleman and that impressive face, deeply lined and careworn on which character and intellect were so deeply imprinted.

Yes, it was the charm of his manners and the courtliness of his behaviour that disarmed his political opponents. He had a striking and magnificent appearance. "His finely shaped head and strong face were outward manifestations of the mental brilliance which distinguished him alike in law and politics; he was moreover a man of sterling character and highest integrity both in public and private life."

As we think of that life our mind involuntarily goes back to the days when he was living the life princely. What a change has been wrought in that life by the influence of the Mahatma whose company has been to the son of the departed patriot "a solace and an inspiration," in this hour of trial and sorrow! How completely his views of life and habits have changed and what a resurrection has been wrought in his will be evident from a perusal of his own letter to Mr. Gandhi written from Ramgarh about the middle of 1921.

"You will be interested to know the kind of life I am leading here. In the good (?) old days two kitchen establishments—one English and the other Indian—accompanied me in the hills. After Chota Hazri in camp, we would start off for the jungle with a full equipment of rifles, shotguns and ammunition, and on occasions with quite a little army of beaters and killed such innocent creatures as came on our way till late in the afternoon—lunch and tea being served in the jungle with as much punctilious care as at home. A hearty dinner awaited our return to camp, and after

doing full justice to it we slept the sleep of the just! There was nothing to disturb the

even tenor of life except occasional annoyance at a stupid mess which saved the life of some poor beast. And now—the brass cooker (purchased in Delhi when we were all there for the opening of the Tibbi College) has taken the place of the two kitchens, a solitary servant, not over-intelligent, that of the old retinue—three small bags containing rice, dal and masala that the mule loads of provisions (I) shall never excuse Kamala for making these bags of Bideshi cloth instead of Khadi—one square meal of rice, dal, vegetables, sometimes khir (milk and rice cooked together) in the middle of the day, that of breakfast, lunch and dinner ala' Anglaise—lots of fruit with morning and afternoon tea and occasional egg or two when available.—The Shikar has given place to long walks and the rifles and guns to books, magazines and newspapers (the favourite book being Edwin Arnold's SONG CELESTIAL which is now undergoing a third reading). When it rains hard as it is doing now, there is nothing but to write silly letters like this, "What a fall my countrymen!" But really I have never enjoyed life better. Only the rice has given out, and I have applied Brahmin-like for a dole from the ministerial stores of Jagatnaryan who happens to be near.

That gives a measure of the transformation that was wrought on the life and fortunes of one who for more than a decade was second only to Mahatma Gandhi himself in influence and authority among his countrymen.

• Pt. Motilal Nehru : Tributes

Glowing tributes were paid to the "robust nationalism, composite culture, passion for national unity and fearless determination" of Motilal Nehru at a public meeting at New Delhi on May 6.

Held under the Chairmanship of the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad in connection with Motilal Nehru Centenary Celebrations the meeting was addressed by members of various political parties.

Among those who spoke on the occasion were Dr. Prasad, the Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. H.N. Kunzru, Dr. Sayed Mohamed Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Z. A. Ahmed, Mr. Ganga Saran Sinha and Dr. P. Subbarayan.

Prime Minister Nehru was among those who sat on the dais and heard tributes paid to his father.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said that the late Motilal Nehru would always have a high place in the history of India. With his sacrifice and determination he awakened the people. He played a great role as the leader of Swarajya Party in the General Assembly. Many a time through his organisational ability the Government of India was defeated in the Assembly and he left behind an example the like of which "we may not see again."

"Motilalji," the President said, "also left behind a 'ratna' (gem) to complete the work he had left unfinished."

Before the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress Motilal was its President. At that time he had stated that whatever he could not do during his period would be completed by his son. That prophesy had come true in various forms.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said: "We have all seen after freedom how under Jawaharlalji's leadership India have acquired such a high place of honour in the whole world. Even other nations, militarily powerful, seek India's advice in times of international crisis. They write to Jawaharlalji asking him to intervene and help them."

He said that in India economic reconstruction was going on and its fruits would be known by and by.

The President said that in very few countries, they could find an example where three generations of a family had played such a glorious role in the Nehru family, in Motilalji, Jawaharlalji and Indira Gandhi."

Dr. Radhakrishnan said that the best tribute that could be paid to Motilal was to work for individual freedom, social reconstruction and national solidarity. "Let us remember these three great ideals for which he lived and let us try to work on these principles everyday."

He stressed the importance of these ideals set before the nation by Motilal in the present context when India was facing threats to its national unity.

Acharya Kripalani said that Motilal's whole life was dedicated to the development of unity of the Indian people and composite culture. "Just as in Allahabad, there is the sangam of the Triveni, Motilal also tried to bring about a sangam of Hindus, Muslims and others."

Dr. Kunzru said that Motilal was a fearless man and once he took a decision he struck, to it with firmness and did not change it out of expediency.

Dr. Syed Mahmud said that Motilal was a great judge on men and matters. The people of India should follow the path shown by him.

Mr. Chatterji said that Motilal represented the highest type of civilisation.

Dr. Z.A. Ahmed Communist leader said that the greatest construction of Motilal was his robust nationalism. Hindu-Muslim unity and composite culture. He had put up a great fight against such fissiparous tendencies as were recently witnessed in Assam and Jabalpur.

The nation had to follow the path shown by Motilal.

Mr. Ganga Saran Sinha, the Praja Socialist leader said that the torch lighted by Motilal should be held aloft by the present and coming generations.

Dr. P. Subbarayan said that the tolerance of Motilal and his capacity to develop friendship with his opponents were qualities worth emulating to-day.

The Mayor of Delhi, Mr. Shammath thanked the leaders for participating in the meeting.

U.S.A.—U.S.S.R. Tension

By

MR. J. A. RAMALINGAM, M.A.

UNQUESTIONABLY the most dramatic and compelling feature of world-politics since the end of the Second World War has been the existence of bipolar world. Every aspect of world relations has been affected and often dominated by fact that two giants U.S.A and U.S.S.R. have assumed positions of mutual hostility in general policy and upon every specific issue as it arises. This has been due to concentration of power, ideological conflict and elimination of all power vacuums by unceasing combination of persuasion, pressure or open coercion. Both bend every effort to increase their military potentialities to the greatest dimensions. In the absence of world organization endowed with no power to enforce universal disarmament there could be only either peace by agreement between the two superpowers or a race for preponderance of power leading in all probability to war. U.N.O. in metaphorical language is like a building designed by two architects who have agreed upon the plans for the second floor but not upon those for the first. Each of them builds his wing of the first floor as he sees fit, each doing his best to obstruct the efforts of others. In consequence not only does the second floor become an unlivable abode but the whole structure threatens to disintegrate. Tensions of east and west paralyse international government of U.N.O. not only in its over all functions but also in what are themselves only technical matters of secondary importance.

By the end of 1946, American military leadership in Europe had concluded that partnership

with the U.S.S.R. was impossible. In March 12, 1947 the President Truman asked the U.S. Congress \$ 400,000,000 aid to Greece and Turkey, and on that occasion a programme was outlined which came to be known as Truman Doctrine. We shall not realise our objectives unless we are willing to help free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. I believe that it must be the policy of the U.S. to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation, by armed minorities or outside pressure. Other top-ranking American leaders like George Marshall and George Kennan had also given a new direction to the American foreign policy. The American policy had the objective of "containing" The Soviet Union. The Truman doctrine, Marshall Plan, and later on North Atlantic Treaty Organization had the ultimate aim of containing Russia in Europe. The Point Four Programme—aid to underdeveloped countries, her participation in Korean affair and mutual assistance pacts with Australia, New Zealand and Philippines and Japan are also the instruments of the policy. The Rio Pact with the neighbours in the south serves the same purpose in Latin America. The International Information Administration's Campaign for Truth endeavours to contain Russian ideology in the Psychological battle for men's minds throughout the globe. The defence expenditure had also been increasing which has reached approximately \$ 50,000,000,000 annually.

When the war ended in 1945 Russia emerged as a great military power. The whole of Eastern Europe including Eastern Germany came under the hegemony of Russia. Russian troops were in Manchuria, in North Korea and in Iran. The red army under the direction of Communist countries of the U.S.S.R. had encouraged Communists in all countries under their occupation. Communist groups were active in many countries where the Russian armies were stationed. There were powerful Communist groups in Greece, Turkey, in France, Italy and elsewhere. U.S.A. as well the Western Allies grew suspicious of Russian designs. There was fear of Russian domination and of a world-wide Communist revolution through force and subversion. There was solid evidence for all this. The downfall of Western Europe, and the total elimination of German and Japanese military power by Anglo-American unconditional surrender policy had removed the former frontiers to Russian expansion leaving a vacuum into which Russia proceeded to push but which Russia had not created.

There are many causes of tension between the two superpowers. Both American and Russian nationalism have been to some extent responsible for contemporary tension. Each talks good of one's nationalism, and criticises the nationalism of the other. Nationalism is one of the most powerful Socio-psychological forces operative in the politics of the countries of the world. It contains the emotional qualities, mystical elements and common past, common political allegiances enabling a nationality to transform itself into a nation. This sociopsychological force has integrated Russian and American people into political communities and gave them a driving power to build their social institutions and in the end enabled them to withstand innumerable vicissitudes. But this nationalism is turning out to be hysterical, emotional, authoritarian and totalitarian. At such a point, nationalism may destroy human values which it sought to serve. Each talks of internationalists but attempts to further their own national interests. Though the leaders of the Soviet Union may be lukewarm about the idea of international communism, yet at the same time they make unceasing efforts to spread communism all over the world thereby increasing their national power. United States championed the cause of United Nation, but used it for increasing their own national power.

Preserving human values while curbing the excesses of intolerance and hyper-nationalism or sublimating them into internationally constructive channels is one of the grave challenges confronting civilization today.

Another contributory factor to Soviet-American tension is imperialism. Both have tried to augment their national power by controlling the political, economic and cultural policies of weaker states. U.S.S.R. augments its power by introducing Trojan Horse in other countries by the help of local communist parties. The United States have been subjected to scathing criticism for helping the poor, underdeveloped countries to influence their independent political policies. U.S.A. champions the cause, that it helps the country for just moral, humanitarian and defensive reasons, not like the Soviet Union for spreading the frontiers of Communism. Both the powers have been making a persistent effort to achieve the balance of power. Each one is afraid that none should surpass the other. If Soviet Union tried to extend its influence beyond her frontier, United States as a counterpoise embarked upon a policy of economic aid, alliances and military pacts, intended to create a favourable balance of power. Both have also made no effort to create a third force viz., a neutral bloc, for having a more stable balance of power.

Economic factor is another contributor to the strained relations of the two rivals. U.S.A. has firmly believed that economic chaos in the underdeveloped countries of the world makes them more receptive to Communism. U.S.S.R. doubts the motives of U.S.A.'s assistance, and interprets it as the desire of national expansion. U.S.A. on the other hand believes that Soviet economic aid programme are solely meant to establish their political domination over the recipient countries. The dynamism of Communism is driven by a revolutionary and materialistic philosophy. Consequently the cancer of communism feeds on colonialism and imperialism it strikes to move into crevices created by rapid changes in the world.

There is ideological difference between the two as well. Both the States call themselves democratic, but the implications are different. The Soviet State based on Marxist-Lenin philosophy puts more significance upon its achievements of certain economic and social conditions. The Russian ideology advocates glorification of authority, a distrust of democracy, low regard for human life, liberty and dignity. The

American ideology stresses political democracy, individual freedom, capitalist economics. Both in technological progress which brings the claim that the other state is not democratic, and its attachment to it is merely hypocritical. Neither has them fully achieved—the ideals of equality, fair opportunity, freedom, liberty and dignity of man. The American form of government is democratic. But the very foundation of a democratic structure is the denial of privilege in the name of equality. Those who are denied access to privilege seek to destroy privileges *i.e.*, religious, social, economic and political. People who live under unequal economic, social and cultural conditions do not think alike and that therefore the commonsense of values and the will to understanding, which are the pre-requisites of democracy threaten to break down if conditions become too unequal. An unequallitarian community always lives in fear of inner divisions.

Psychological factor is also there, which is responsible for the tension. Each regards the other with the design of world domination. These assumptions have been taken for granted, and both formulate their policies accordingly. Each blames the other for having aggressive designs against the other, and suspects each other's measures and policies. Social issues also augment the tension between the two states. There are causes of frustration in both the social systems. In U.S.S.R. the citizens are more critical of the overcentralization and dictatorship of the government. In U.S.A. economic inequalities and social differences have left many of its members frustrated and dejected. Frustration creates tensions in the life of the individual, which he expresses by his acts of hatred towards the other person and social group. Due to the geopolitical reasons between the two powers have been strained. Man's use of his environment, his development

of natural and industrial resources, has resulted in technological progress which brings the whole world into close proximity. Geographic features such as oceans, rivers, and mountains no longer play the role of minimizing tension between states. Even the Arctic regions may no longer serve as an important barrier between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. Few means of transportation have made each other more vulnerable to attack. New means of communication make each other threat uttered by the opponent more easily received, thus contributing to a feeling of insecurity and tension.

Spiral of tension has reached its culminating point, and both the powers should make a new assessment of their military needs and view the results of armaments race more dispassionately. They must begin to feel genuinely that co-existence is not only feasible but more advantageous than armed conflict. Both the sides should strengthen the U.N.O. to serve as an instrument for keeping tension low but also should be available to deal with the differences of interest which are most certain to crop up from time to time between the two great powers. More cooperative relationship between Soviet Union and America in the international community should be developed.

A new policy should be initiated to make an adequate assessment of what real differences do exist between the two powers. It would be not feasible to explore final and perfect solutions for every conflict but it would be wise rather to explore ways of living peaceably in spite of bitter, ineluctable and permanent discord. The sword of Damocles hangs over the contemporary world of total war waged by total population through total mechanised warfare for the total stakes for world dominion or world destruction.

The U. S. Man in Space

By

ROBERT STEVENS

THE first American astronaut has sailed tediously as in-flight reports from Shepard came through space and returned safely to earth. His name is Alan B. Shepard, a 37-year-old commander in the United States Navy. At the peak of his flight, Shepard excitedly said, "what a beautiful view!" He communicated constantly with the control centre.

Launched Friday from this balmy, sun-drenched sliver of sand off the east coast of Florida, Shepard was driven 115 miles up into a sky which at that altitude became starry black. His 2,000-pound Mercury spacecraft was accelerated to a speed of 5,100 miles per hour before it separated from the Redstone booster rocket.

The spacecraft carried Shepard through a long weightless arc and gently landed him in the Atlantic Ocean, 302 miles from the launching pad. The flight lasted 16 and one half minutes.

Some five minutes after touching the water, Shepard was taken off the spacecraft by a helicopter. The spacecraft was hooked below the helicopter and both were delivered within a few minutes to the deck of the recovery ship, the U. S. *Lake Champlain*.

Shepard crawled back into the spacecraft to retrieve his helmet.

The Project Mercury flight was operated by the civilian National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), to which Shepard was assigned by the navy.

The launching was witnessed by some 600 newsmen, 60 of them foreign correspondents. The foreign press represented Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Philippines, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. They applauded repeatedly as in-flight reports from Shepard came through.

Concerning the press coverage, James E. Webb, head of NASA, said:

"This programme from its inception has been operated in the belief that the public has the right to know what the United States is doing in the space field...this has been so because we operate in a democratic society where our failures are known as well as our successes."

Webb added that such openness places "a serious psychological burden on the U. S." as compared to the Soviet practice of banking the press from their launching sites and withholding information until they have a successful space flight. If the public is led to believe every space venture is a success, then its understanding of the true nature of science is severely limited."

The countdown—that is, the final check of the Redstone rocket, the Mercury spacecraft, astronaut, and his space suit—began the day before the flight and ran approximately eight hours. It was resumed six hours before the scheduled launch time.

Three holds in the countdown—for a weather check, to replace a faulty inverter in the rocket, and to check a computer—delayed the launching about two hours. The rocket lifted off at 9-34 a.m., E.S.T.

Astronaut Shepard and his alternate, John H. Glenn, were roused out of bed at 1.05 a.m. Friday morning. They were given a breakfast of orange juice, toast, poached eggs, and steak wrapped in bacon.

After breakfast, both men underwent a physical examination. It was at this point that Shepard was certain he was the one to go into space.

Four small sensors for measuring his heart-beat in the spacecraft were glued to his chest. To record his rate of breathing, a small respirometer was taped to his neck. A physician then inserted a thin flexible rectal thermometer.

Next, Shepard, aided by a technician got into his pressure suit. The suit has an outer-lining of aluminized nylon and rubberized nylon inner lining. It is crisscrossed with zippers and straps. His helmet was placed over his head, and the visor was snapped shut.

The suit was inflated to check for leaks. Shepard looked like a silvery balloon-man, until it was deflated.

With the visor again open, he stepped out of hangar, where he had lived for some days before the flight. He carried a portable air cooler, which was attached to his suit in order to keep him comfortable until he climbed into the spacecraft.

He was taken to the launching pad in a large van, a three-mile trip, during which he was given a final medical checkup. At the launching pad, Shepard paused a few moments and looked up at the white rocket. Then he rode up the servicing gantry in an elevator. After a few adjustments to his suit, he lifted himself, feet first, through a side hatch in the Mercury spacecraft and settled in his form-fitted couch. Almost an hour later, the hatch was closed.

Alan B. Shepard was then ready for his flight into space.

Tension built up almost unbearably all over Cape Canaveral and throughout the United States which was viewing America's first manned space flight on television.

The countdown went on, and at 9-34 a.m. E.S.T., the rocket was fired.

As it slowly lifted off the pad on a ball of silvery flames, the press stand rung with cries of "there it goes:" and shouts of encouragement to Shepard. After a few seconds, the crackling thunder from the rocket enveloped the press area, drowning out the voices.

It picked up velocity, racing past the broken clouds and after a little more than two minutes disappeared from view. A few seconds later, the rocket burned out, the escape tower was jettisoned, and the spacecraft was easily blasted away from the rocket.

During the flight, Shepard became the first man to actually control a vehicle in space. Although some of the operations were automatic, he operated small jets causing the craft to roll, pitch, and yaw. He placed the spacecraft in proper position for firing of the retro-rockets and initiated the retro-rocket in proper position for firing sequence.

After the retro-rocket slowed down the craft a small amount, the vehicle went into its re-entry path and slammed into the atmosphere. Its blunt beryllium shield easily withstood the tremendous aerodynamic shock and fierce heating of air friction. Shepard was squeezed back into his padded couch by this force more than nine times his own weight.

At an altitude of 21,000 feet a small parachute opened and stabilised his downward plunge. The main parachute blossomed at 10,000 feet, and slowed the draft down so that it rather gently plopped into the water.

Shepard was taken to the aircraft carrier and then to the Project Mercury facility at Grand Bahama Island for medical and other tests.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

Kennedy-Khrushchev Meeting

The United States President, Mr. Kennedy, and the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, will meet at Vienna on June 3 and 4 for "a general exchange of views on the major issues which affect relationships between the two countries."

The Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting was "not for the purpose of negotiating or reaching agreement on the major international problems that involve the interests of many other countries," the announcement said. The meeting would, however, afford "a timely and convenient opportunity for the first personal contact" between the two leaders.

Mr. Lyndon Johnson made this announcement at a diplomatic reception given in his honour by the U.S. Ambassador in India, Prof. J.K. Galbraith at New Delhi on May 19.

He said: "Following the discussions through diplomatic channels which began last March and exchange of communications, the President and Chairman Khrushchev have agreed to meet in Vienna on June 3 and 4."

The announcement of the meeting was made simultaneously in Washington, Moscow and London.

African States Liberation

President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and President Sekou Toure of Guinea have announced their "determination to make all possible efforts for the liberation of African countries still under foreign control and for the liquidation of imperialism in all its form," Cairo Radio reported on May 19.

At the end of talks between the two leaders which began in London on May 8, both the Presidents also declared their "absolute support for the struggle and liberation movements in Asia and Latin America."

S. Africa

An Indian Affairs Division will be part of a new department of State dealing with the residential segregation of South Africa's racial groups, the Interior Minister, Mr. Jan De Klerk, told the House of Assembly in Capetown on May 18.

For various reasons the Indian community had always felt somewhat like strangers, the Minister said, and the division's first aim would be to show them they had the same future opportunities as had coloured (mixed race) people.

The Minister announced that the new

Department of State would combine departments which up to now had been responsible for different aspects of residential segregation.

It was hoped that implementation of the plan would remove the stigma attached to the Government's policy of separate residential areas for different population groups.

Housing considerations would play an important part in the new plan, he added.

Dr. Verwoerd as Dictator?

The Sunday Times, which usually supports the Opposition, said in its leading article on May 22 that Dr. Verwoerd was expected to arm himself with dictatorial powers after May 31, to suppress criticism of apartheid.

The newspaper quoted source "close to the Cabinet" that a bill was drafted that would make Dr. Verwoerd a virtual dictator.

"Dr. Verwoerd is expected to demand dictatorial authority for a period—possibly five years—to implement a crash programme of apartheid," the newspaper claimed.

Racial riots in Alabama

Negro leaders converged on the symbolic heart of Alabama (U.S.A.) on May 22 in the wake of a bloody racial battle and announced plans for full-scale defiance of segregation laws.

Meanwhile Governor John Patterson of Alabama warned that State authorities might arrest the 400 Federal Marshals sent to keep order if they tried to intervene in race riots there.

The Alabama knights of the Ku Klux Klan and other segregation groups held a meeting in a hotel at Rome, Georgia, and offered its "whole-hearted support to the Governor and citizens of Alabama." But the Klansmen did not say what action they planned.

The U.S. Justice Department rushed 400 Federal Marshals to Montgomery after a brief but vicious attack on 21 White and Negro freedom riders at the city bus terminal on 20th May.

The "freedom riders" all students from Nashville, Tennessee, had set out to challenge segregation laws in buses and waiting rooms.

The Marshalls, armed and wearing yellow armbands arrived in Montgomery (Alabama) with orders to prevent a repetition of race riot.

Laos

Although the first plenary session of the Geneva Conference has met, on May 16 the

confusion and uncertainty which have characterised the secret exchanges have not been dispelled.

The agreed formula for the admission of the different Laotian delegations enabled the conference to be formally opened exactly four days after scheduled date but it has only bypassed the issue and more trouble is expected on this question. The formula puts the Pathet Lao representatives on the same footing as the Boun Oum and Souvanna Phouma delegations but whether the conference can get very far without clearing up the issue as to who really represents Laos remains in doubt. Moreover, it is by no means taken for granted that the present arrangement will be accepted by either the Boun Oum delegation or the Thailand and Philippines delegations. Behind the scenes pressure is being applied to make them fall in line, but at the moment their reaction is uncertain, there can be no assurance that they will not change their attitude later on, even if they agree to the formula now in order to get the conference going.

A Royal Laotian Government delegation accompanied by the International Control Commission officials flew to Na Mon village for the fifth session of peace talks with Neutralists and pro-communists.

Meanwhile, the International Control Commission sent a report presumably on conditions of the cease-fire and progress of talk by a courier to Bangkok for transmission to Geneva.

Meetings between the delegations of the Right-wing Government Prince Souvanna Phouma's Neutralists and the Communist-dominated Pathet Lao have brought little progress so far.

"Both sides are very unreasonable", a diplomatic source close to the Control Commission commented.

An official Press bulletin said that the Government offered the creation of a joint military subcommittee to discuss cease-fire violations. But the allied Neutralists and pro-Communists, the bulletin complained, continue to stick to the issue of formation of a new mixed government. The Cambodian Chief has appealed to Kennedy and Khrushchev to issue orders for "Cease Fire" in Laos.

Algeria

On May 20, France, in a dramatic new bid for peace in Algeria, called a month's truce in the six-year old war as the long-postponed

talks with Algerian nationalist leaders began at Evian, Eastern France.

The French Government also ordered the release of 6,000 political prisoners and relaxed detention conditions for Mohammed Ben Bella—military leader of the insurrection and Vice-Premier in the "Algerian Provisional Government"—and other captive insurgent leaders.

Thus has France set the ball rolling by a surprise announcement that offensive action by 500,000 French troops in Algeria would be halted for at least a month. The French reserved the right to reply to terrorism.

France also released on the 21st May from imprisonment five Ministers of the Algerian Provisional Government and kept them in a luxurious chateau where they will be under French surveillance, but will be able to contact their colleagues by telephone.

The nationalists "rejected" the unilateral French decision to halt offensive operations, saying that France had still not agreed to "associate" the Provisional Government Ministers with the peace talks, and that the 6,000 Algerian detainees represented only a small proportion of the total held.

The nationalists said that a cease-fire in Algeria was a subject for negotiation.

The nationalist position has been that it was only through armed action that the French were made to consider a political settlement which would recognise Algeria's right to independence.

The nationalists fear that if they put down their arms it would lead to disintegration of their guerilla army and that without this means of pressure the French would fore stall a political settlement.

They also appeared to be convinced that President Charles de Gaulle's announcement to grant Algeria independence are in fact genuine. But they fear that President De Gaulle is still not fully a master in his own house and that there still exists a possibility of European Right-wing extremists and sympathetic army officers blocking his path.

Cuba

Premier Castro of Cuba told a May Day rally that he would be issuing a special decree to nationalise all but the smallest private schools and would institute the principle of free education.

Foreign priests would, henceforth, need special permission to work in Cuba. The

announcements followed his reading of a proclamation captured from a Spanish priest who landed with the rebels stating that they came "in the name of God."

Dr Castro, who announced that his Government was Socialist and would hold no more elections, said that "from now on, power in Cuba lies in the hands of workers and peasants." People only became patriots when the interests of a minority were abolished and the national wealth became the property of all.

Amid roars of approval, he said: "The revolution has no time for elections. There is no more democratic Government in Latin America than the revolutionary Government." They already had power and did not need to win it again.

From now on, his Government would rely on the direct backing of the people as expressed in such demonstrations as they had just been.

U. S. and Communist China

On May 15, the United States formally assured Kuomintang China that it had no intention of recognising Communist China and that it still opposed the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

The assurance was contained in a joint communique issued after the visit to Formosa of U. S. Vice-President, Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson.

The communique stated: "the United States has no intention of recognising Communist China, it opposes seating the Peking regime in the United Nations and it regards as important that the position of the Republic of China in the United Nations should be maintained."

The communique was silent on the issue of admitting outer Mongolia into the United Nations and on recognition of that country by the U. S. Both the ideas have been strongly opposed to by Kuomintang China which regards Mongolia as part of China.

The communique said that Mr. Johnson and President Chiang Kaishek "extended discussions regarding the threat of Communist aggression against the free nations of Asia."

The communique continued: There was complete agreement on the common purpose of the Republic of China and of the U. S. A. to maintain the integrity of Free Asia. There was candid exploration and consideration of the strategies required to assure effective action."

The communique said discussions encompassed "far-ranging consideration" of the international situation in Asia with reference to the serious events in South-East Asia and particularly "with regard to the Vice-President's visit to Viet Nam."

President of S. African Republic

Mr. Charles Roberts Swart was elected the first President of the Republic of South Africa by the Electoral College consisting of Members of Parliament and Senators at Capetown on May 10.

Sixty-six year-old Mr. Swart was the Governor-General of South Africa from January 1960 to April 1961 and before that he was the Minister of Justice for nearly 12 years.

Mr. Swart is known as one of the architects of *apartheid*.

During the period he was the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart introduced a series of drastic police laws including flogging laws and the law providing for the state of emergency.

He initiated the marathon treason trial with the arrest of 156 South Africans on December 5, 1956 his birthday. He was also responsible for the abolition of appeal to the Privy Council.

Nato Ministers' Call for Settlement

At Oslo on May 10 the NATO's Ministerial Council renewed the Western pledge to stand firm on Berlin's freedom, and expressed its desire for disarmament, a nuclear test ban and a settlement of outstanding differences with the Communists. But the final communique "deplored Soviet unwillingness to reciprocate."

The Ministers failed to agree on one issue—namely Portugal's colonial policy in Africa. In this, Portugal stands alone, delegates said. The other members would like to persuade her to abandon her policy of "integrating" colonies with the homeland and to promise them self-determination.

But the Ministers were careful in their choice of words to avoid offending the Portuguese Government. The general feeling was that the problem must be approached with great patience and understanding.

Three concrete results of the three day NATO conference are: agreement to set up machinery for political consultations on the Communist challenge anywhere in the world, a three-man mission to study economic aid for

Greece and Turkey, and thirdly America's offer of five nuclear submarines with polaris missiles for the NATO area.

The New Kenya Govt.

The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) on April 27 announced the formation of a new Kenya Government.

Mr. Ronald Ngala President of the KADU, announcing this said that two Ministries, those of Agriculture and Health and Social Welfare, remained unfilled. The announcement followed a meeting between KADU leaders and the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison.

KADU is one of the two main parties in the Legislative Council, where it has ten seats compared with 16 seats held by the Kenya African National Union (KANU). KADU has refused to join a Government until Jomo Kenyatta is freed from restriction.

U. S. Champion of Liberty

President Kennedy departed from the prepared text of his speech to a Democrat Party meeting at Chicago last month to remind his audience that the U.S. was the main defender of liberty in an age of great dangers.

The U.S. he said, had undertaken to guarantee the freedom of dozens of nations, and would implement such undertakings. But only if people were prepared to defend their own freedom, America could aid them. America's greatest ally was the desire of peoples for freedom he declared.

President Kennedy declared that the greatest adversary of the United States was not the Russians but American unwillingness to do what must be done. He called upon Americans to defeat this adversary and to put their unparalleled power, wealth and capacity in the singleminded service of freedom.

Mr. Kennedy said: "Proud of their accomplishments, confident of their progress, the Communists proclaim that the tide of history is on their side. I do not believe it. The tide of history is not on their side—nor on ours. For history is made by men—and it will move in the direction that strong and determined and courageous men compel it."

The Archbishop of Canterbury

The Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, said that his recent visit to Pope John had created a new friendship and shown that many tensions had been resolved and barriers lowered. The way had been paved for a new understanding, fellowship and open discussion.

Dr. Fisher was making probably his last speech in the House of Lords as Archbishop. He retires from this position in the Anglican Church on May 31. The debate was on the need for Christian unity.

Dr. Fisher said he had tried to bring about a family of the churches. The first hindrance was the doctrinal barrier.

Dr. Fisher said it had been said that doctrine was an unbridgeable difficulty, but everyone knew that in the end a bridge could be found for unbridgeable difficulties.

Free correspondence to exchange views was now possible between England and the Vatican for the first time since the Reformation England's break with Rome in the 16th century.

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone has attained its Independence last month. A British protectorate since 1896, Sierra Leone is the 8th colony to become a member of the Commonwealth since India blazed the trail for freedom in 1947. Besides Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya, Nigeria and Cyprus have also become members of the Commonwealth.

It is not without significance that this small British colony in Africa should join the Commonwealth on the basis of complete equality in the same year as South Africa decided to quit it. The event marks strikingly the changing complexion of the Commonwealth which is adjusting itself to the spirit of the times in the interests of peace and ordered progress.

With a population of 2,300,000, Sierra Leone's economy is based essentially on plantations, but iron and gold and even diamonds have been explored in recent years. In view of its accumulated sterling balance, estimated at £ 6.5 million, and comparatively small external debt ment forward in the years to come.

Iran

The dissolution of Parliament by the Shah of Persia and the replacement of the former Cabinet, by a new one headed by Dr. Amini, the former Ambassador to the United States, appears to herald the series of drastic reforms that have long been overdue in that country. The immediate cause of the fall of the previous government on May 9 was the demonstration of ten thousand teachers and students following the shooting of a teacher by the police earlier when the teachers had been demonstrating for

higher pay. Nobody could have been franker about the present malaise than Dr. Amini when he broadcast to the nation on taking office. He disclosed that the Treasury was empty "because of the excesses of past years coupled with blatant corruption in the expenditure of Government funds." He revealed also that, despite the new electoral laws, the elections had been irregular. The Shah has announced that fresh elections will be held after another revision of the election laws.

Angola

The Portuguese have unleashed a reign of terror in their colony, Angola. Over large areas Portuguese rule is but nominal, in spite of the brutal measures adopted by the hastily reinforced armed forces. The nationalists, guided by the Union of the Populations of Angola under the leadership of Mr. Holden Roberto, have been particularly active in the north of the country. Many Europeans have been killed in nationalist raids and some Africans loyal to Portugal have also been a special target of attack. European settlers have had to withdraw from several parts of the country and to concentrate in certain areas where the Government would have a better chance of affording them protection. Many of the Angolans in the north belong to the Bakongo tribe, which lives also in ex-French Congo and around Leopoldville. The Portuguese have arrested hundreds of Africans indiscriminately and have shot many on suspicion of being supporters of the nationalist movement.

Nikita's Boasts

Mr. Khrushchev said at Moscow on May 12 that although he and President Kennedy were "poles apart" as man, "we have to co-exist and find a common language on questions concerning peace."

The Soviet leader again affirmed that war would only hinder the inevitable victory of communist ideas. "We shall achieve our victory without it," he declared.

He made only a brief reference to President Kennedy and international affairs during his speech at the Tifli's Palace of Sports, marking the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia.

The speech, broadcast throughout the Soviet Union, was interrupted by stormy applause when Mr. Khrushchev referred to Stalin as "one of the most notable leaders of revolutionary social-democracy in Georgia and all Tran-

scaucasia...who later became an outstanding leader of our party."

Mr. Khrushchev said Maj. Yuri Gagarin's feat had given Russia "priority in manned space flight" for ever. He welcomed the U. S. space jump.

"We believe that the Americans will repeat what we have done—but only repeat it, mark you."

Future of Congo

The Congo kaleidoscope has thrown up certain confusing images the full significance of which it is not possible to gauge with absolute certainty. In general, the Leopoldville regime seems to be more in a mood to co-operate with the United Nations; as a consequence Mr. Tshombe of Katanga seems upset. The unpredictable armed forces seem to have put Mr. Tshombe, under arrest. If the soldiers are showing any sense of frustration at the inability of the politicians to agree among themselves, some measure of sympathy cannot be denied to them. In fact, one might even say that they are showing a much better sense of patriotism than they have been given credit for all these days. But uncertainty is the order of the day in the Congo. Fortunately, the reinforcement of the U.N. Forces is going on steadily at the base in Kamina and it seems as if the U.N. might even be able to use the port of Matadi again. It is a significant achievement that the U.N. should have been able to expel at least a few of the foreign "advisers" and mercenaries around Mr. Tshombe who now under arrest.

Soviet Aid

An article in the *Economic Gazettee* points out that the Soviet Union today gives economic and technical aid to 20 underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Credits totalling over 2,000 million roubles (18.90 roubles = Rs. 100) in new currency have been granted to them. More than 4,000 Soviet specialists are now working in these regions. Engineers, technicians and skilled workers from these regions are being trained in the Soviet Union.

Soviet credits have financed approximately 15 per cent of all investments from foreign sources in India's Second Five-year Plan, more than 33 per cent of such investments in the United Arab Republic's First Five-year Plan and up to 70 per cent in Afghanistan. Nearly 350 industrial enterprises and other projects were being built in Asia, Africa and Latin America with Soviet help in 1960.

Working in close co-operation with Soviet industries in the construction of such enterprises are other Socialist States, members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Today they are helping in the building of 34 industrial enterprises envisaged in inter-governmental agreements between the U.S.S.R. and underdeveloped states.

U.S. Foreign Aid Programme

The United States has provided 75 billion dollars in foreign aid grants and loans to 60 nations during the past 15 years, an independent research group reported on May 15. Of this, seven billion dollars has been repaid.

A report by Robert E. Asher, Senior Economist for the Brookings institution, estimated that Western Europe received 60 per cent of the loans and grants. More than 22 billion dollars went to Asian countries while Latin America received less than 4 per cent of U.S. Government aid programmes. Mr. Asher said foreign grants and loans accounted for 0.8 per cent of the U.S. gross national product in 1959. His study covered the period from July 1, 1945 to December 31, 1960.

"The increased deficits in the U.S. balance of payments during 1958-60 cannot to any significant extent be attributed to our foreign aid expenditures, which were lower in total and more concentrated in the United States during those years than during any other three years of the last decade," Mr. Asher said.

He predicted that foreign aid would continue as an important feature of U.S. policy abroad and said that the United States must find a new approach in determining how underdeveloped nations be assisted.

The Cairo 'neutral' Meet

Nineteen countries have so far accepted the joint invitation by President Nasser of the U.A.R. and President Tito of Yugoslavia to attend a preliminary conference in Cairo of non-aligned countries.

Of the 23 countries invited, Afghanistan, Yemen, Mexico and Venezuela have not yet replied.

The preliminary conference at ambassadorial level is scheduled to open about the middle of June.

Suggestions to enlarge the preliminary conference to include more Asian, African and European countries are under study but since these are border-line cases, it is unlikely that they will be invited.

It is, however thought that the preliminary conference might redefine "non-alignment" and include these countries at the main conference expected to be held some time late in August or September.

The invitees include India, Nepal, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, Saudi-Arabia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Cuba, Brazil, Venezuela and Ireland.

The question of including Malaya, Nigeria, Liberia, Sweden, Finland and Australia is under study.

The holding of this conference evidently scotches the Indonesian President Dr. Soekarno's recent moves for a second Bandung conference.

President Soekarno who went to Cairo on May 16 on a state visit had already given his support to the conference of non-aligned countries.

The Soviet Union is reported to have disapproved of this conference as it leaves out China which is a member of the Bandung family.

African Summit-Conference

President William Tubman, of Liberia, opened an "African summit" conference at Monrovia on May 8 with a pledge that independent African countries would stand by their fellow-peoples elsewhere in the continent.

He told heads of state and delegates representing more than two-thirds of independent Africa's population; "Our brothers must know in unmistakable terms that we stand behind them and will not desert them."

He coupled his pledge with a declaration of faith in the U.N. which, he said, offered "the best hope and means by which we can strengthen the ties that bind the nations."

Mr. Tubman was making the opening speech at the conference of 21 independent African states. Its aim is, in the words of several leading delegates, to seek "African solutions to African problems."

President Kennedy, in a message said the U.S.A. welcomed African moves toward greater regional or continent-wide co-operation.

The conference at its next day's sitting agreed on five principles for "brotherly relations" among African States, and decided to convene a Committee of experts to work out concrete plans for economic co-operation. It was also agreed that a Committee of experts was needed to recommend ways of achieving

maximum co-operation in scientific, technical and cultural matters.

A conference communique said heads of delegations "regarded as totally unrealistic any conception of unity, which entails the surrender of the sovereignty of any African State to another." But they "reaffirmed their faith in political co-operation."

The five principles agreed to were:

1. Recognition of equality of sovereignty, irrespective of size and population.

2. Each African State has the right to exist and no State should try to annex another for any reason.

3. Should any African State desire freely and voluntarily to join with another State, no other African State should stand in its way.

4. All States should respect the principles of non-interference in the internal and domestic affairs of sister African States.

5. Each State should respect the territorial integrity of another State and should not harbour within its boundaries any dissident elements who might wish to use it as a base for carrying out subversive activities against other States.

S. Korea

An anti-Communist military junta seized power in South Korea on May 16 after a brief but violent gun-battle around the Central Government buildings there.

It ousted the Democratic Party regime of Dr. John M. Chang—itsself in office as the result of a revolt against the strongly anti-Communist Dr. Syngman Rhee in April last year—because it said the politicians "failed to relieve the people's suffering."

The Premier was placed under house arrest and a revolutionary military committee was formed under the Army Chief of Staff, Lt.-Gen. Chang Do Yong.

The committee announced shortly after the coup that the Revolutionary Government would maintain firm and close relations with all its anti-Communist "free world" allies.

The committee also declared itself prepared to turn over the Government as soon as a new civil administration with a strong anti-Communist stand was established.

Victorious junta leader, Lieutenant-General Do Yang Chang, told the Press on May 19 that he was well aware that coup d'etat against the South Korean Government was "undemocratic" but that there was no other choice left to save his country quickly.

The 39-year-old General said the junta's immediate task was to build a truly clean and democratic society and intensify the nation's anti-Communist position and expressed his determination to deal promptly with the Communists and their collaborators by "legal means" and pointed out that not a single Communist was shot during the coup.

Nehru-Johnson talks

A joint communique was issued on May 19 at the end of the American Vice-President, Mr. Lyndon Johnson's two-day goodwill mission to India giving a gist of his talks with Mr. Nehru. The communique says that Mr. Johnson conveyed President Kennedy's admiration for the way in which India was waging its great battle against privation and poverty and of his interest in India's Third Plan.

Mr. Johnson told Mr. Nehru that while the American assistance to India's Third Plan was dependent on the decisions of Congress and also on the parallel efforts by other developed countries, it was President Kennedy's hope that American aid would be both substantial in amount and effective in form. Mr. Johnson expressed the hope that during the Third Plan there would be particular success in getting electricity to rural areas.

During the talks, Mr. Nehru stressed the importance of land reform in underdeveloped countries and mentioned India's programme for ensuring free and compulsory education in the Third Plan period. Mr. Johnson stated that India's experience in dealing with the basic problems of hunger, illiteracy and disease was of great value to the United States which wished to use its resources for aiding peoples in under-developed countries. Both the leaders expressed a desire for close and continued consultation on these problems.

Nehru on Kashmir Problem

A Karachi monthly journal, *Vision*, published an interview with Mr. Nehru along with a sketch of the Prime Minister on the cover page on 19th May.

In the interview, Mr. Nehru discussed Kashmir, mutual defence and future Indo-Pakistan relations.

On Kashmir, Mr. Nehru told the journal that he had nothing definite in his mind by way of a new approach to the solution of the Kashmir problem.

Asked what actually could be the alternative approach to plebiscite which would be acceptable to both parties, Mr. Nehru replied: "That

I cannot answer. I do not know what President Ayub Khan had in mind. The broad position is that each country accuses the other of aggression—this mutual accusation is the real problem and the mental approach of the two countries to the problem differs. In this issue strong feelings are involved on both sides."

Asked why India and Pakistan could not find ways and means of settling their differences, Mr. Nehru said; "If you want a straight answer, it is the extreme social backwardness of the two countries, not poverty or economic backwardness—though that is a contributing factor to some extent—but broadly speaking social backwardness is mainly responsible."

About future Indo-Pakistan relations, Mr. Nehru said it was bound to be something closer. "Relations should and must improve; that is a natural development with neighbouring countries tied up like India and Pakistan in the past."

Anti-Dowry Bill

The historic joint session of the two Houses of Parliament met at New Delhi last month and passed the Bill prohibiting and penalising the demanding, or giving and taking of, dowry directly or indirectly. The joint session accepted the definition of dowry as amended by the Rajya Sabha. At the same time, the joint session retained the clause which made it an offence to demand dowry, but added a proviso that the offence would not be cognisable except with the previous sanction of the State Government.

The proviso was considered a necessary safeguard because of the existence of factions in villages and the possibility of needless harassment being inflicted.

That dowry is an evil was accepted by the Houses sitting separately and there was no controversy about it. Opinion was somewhat divided as to how to combat the evil. The Lower House, that is the Lok Sabha, taking a strong view, adopted a provision which would make it a penal offence to demand, give, take or any abetment thereof. The Upper House, that is the Rajya Sabha, took a more practical view of the situation existing in the country and made two important changes. One was to delete the clause which made the demanding of dowry an offence. The reason first, was that the offence was difficult to prove and secondly it was open to the other party to refuse the demand. The second change was to exempt

from the definition of dowry any presents made at the time of marriage out of natural affection and not as a consideration for the marriage. The Lok Sabha refused to accept these changes and hence the joint session.

The women members of Parliament were very keen on retaining the severity of the Bill. On May 22 the President gave his assent to the Bill which has now become law.

National Activity

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill also is now law. The President has assented to the Bill on May 17 and the law has come into force with immediate effect.

Any one who, by either spoken or written words, by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, questions the territorial integrity of India is now punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with fine or with both.

Anyone circulating, publishing or making in any area adjoining the borders of the country and notified as such, any statement, rumour or report prejudicial to the maintenance of public order or essential supplies or services or the interests of safety or security of India, shall be punishable with imprisonment for three years, or with fine or with both.

They also enable the Central Government to regulate entry of outsiders into the area, search of outsiders coming into notified area and forfeiture of newspapers or books containing any matter punishable under the Act.

Kennedy-Nehru meeting

Mr. M. C. Chagla, the Indian Ambassador, said at Washington on May 22 that he was sure President Kennedy would have an early meeting with Prime Minister Nehru.

The Ambassador said details of the time and place had yet to be worked out.

Mr. Chagla spoke to reporters after paying a farewell call on Mr. Kennedy at the White House.

Mr. Chagla is leaving Washington after two and a half years as Indian Ambassador. He said he intended to seek election to the Indian Parliament on his return to India.

Mr. Chagla reported that he was leaving the United States at a time when relations were at an "all-time high."

He said President Kennedy realised the importance of India in the context of the world situation and he appreciated the big role that

India, as a neutral or unaligned country, could play in developing world peace.

Punjabi Suba

Master Tara Singh, Akali leader, offered to retire from public life and quit the country provided a Punjabi Suba was created.

The Akali leader made this offer in a statement dated 11th May which he alleged that Government was not conceding the demand for a unilingual Punjabi-speaking state because it did not trust him.

The general body meeting of the Shiromani Akali Dal on May 28 at Amritsar empowered Master Tara Singh to go on "fast unto death" from August 15.

The meeting, which was attended by over 400 delegates, in a 1,000-word resolution adopted unanimously, said that the Akali Dal permitted Master Tara Singh, to follow the dictates of his conscience in the matter.

"The process of individual self-immolation," the resolution said, "is to continue till such time as the conscience of the people of the country in particular and the world in general are aroused to compel the present rulers to abandon their undemocratic and anti-Sikh policies and to concede the demand for the formation of a unilingual Punjabi-speaking State."

N. P. C. Seminar

Inaugurating the National Productivity Council seminar on Advanced Management for South India, at Coonoor on April 24, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Chairman, National Productivity Council, said that the most important single factor of the weakness of the Indian industry to-day was inefficient management and inadequate supply of managers.

Cost considerations had been given a subordinate place because it was a 'protected sellers' market and business was able to make profits by meeting the large domestic demand. So, no need was paid to the specific needs of the consumers. Goods were not manufactured for the international markets. The weakness of the Indian industry was shown up by Indian goods being priced out of the world markets.

In spite of industrial wages being still about the lowest in India, the Indian commodities were very expensive. The Indian worker was as intelligent and adaptable as labour in the more developed countries and so if the conditions were not satisfactory, the blame lay elsewhere perhaps upon the entire community and the social and economic organisation.

Continuance of English

We understand the Union Government have assured the Madras Government that they propose to bring forward appropriate legislation in the next session of Parliament to implement the Prime Minister's assurance about the continued use of English for official purposes even after 1965.

This assurance of the Government of India is said to be contained in a letter sent to the Madras Government on 23rd May.

The letter was in reply to a communication from the Madras Government asking what action had been taken by the Central Government on the resolution passed by the State Legislature "requesting the Central Government to undertake appropriate legislation in order to implement the assurance regarding the use of English for official purposes in the Indian Union."

Missionaries in India

By a recent decision of the Union Government, visa exemption accorded to commonwealth citizens on a visit to the country has been made inapplicable in the case of incoming missionaries, it is learnt.

This departure from reciprocity is clearly intended to regulate the inflow of foreign missionaries. The official intention precisely is to discourage evangelists and welcome the more useful missionaries such as doctors, nurses and technicians.

The various foreign missions operating in India received remittances of the order of about Rs. 10 crores from their headquarters in the U.S.A., U.K., Canada, West Germany and Switzerland, in the first eight months of 1960. In the three years ended 1959 their foreign receipts totalled Rs. 23,40,000,00. It is the policy of the Government of India not to interfere in how the missions utilise these funds.

Private Foreign Capital

The policy of the Government of India regarding private foreign capital is to attract such capital to industries which are to be developed in pursuance of the priorities and targets of the Third Plan.

Lists have been drawn up of enterprises where such investment is needed and where it is not needed. Enterprises with an export potential will receive special encouragement.

As a facility in the establishment of new industrial units, the Government are creating an agency in the Commerce and Industry

Ministry to co-ordinate the various controls and procedures through which industrial projects of the private sector have to pass.

Conquest of Annapurna III

Instructor Lietenant M. S. Kohil of the Indian Navy led the Indian expedition to the glory of second success in Nepal Himalayas on 6th May, when with two others, he reached the third peak of the many-peaked Annapurna range in failing light.

Two others to get to the 24,858 foot "White table" peak were Sonam Gyatso, who is now India's number one climber having already climbed Cho Oyu, world's sixth highest mountain with the first Indian expedition to Nepal Himalayas in 1958 and Girmi a nepalese Sherpa.

The other members of the team were Capt. A. B. Jungalwala of the Army, chief yeoman of signals K. P. Sharma, Lt. V. S. Shekhawat of the Navy, Flight-Lt. P. C. Chaturvedi of the Air Force and Dr. A. N. D. Nanavati.

The Annapurna III expedition was sponsored by the Indian Mountaineering Foundation.

Textile Industry in India

Cotton textile industrialists of the world reviewed development in India with keen interest if not apprehension, a spokesman for the International Federation of Cotton and Allied Textile Industries, which met at Tokyo on May 9.

Reviewing for the Press the proceedings of the panel discussions which were held in camera, Mr. Mario Ludwig, Director of the Federation, said delegates recognised that India should make further efforts to modernise productivity to attain its own expansion goal and to compete more favourably in export trade.

Mr. Ludwig said that he noted on the other hand that Pakistan had emerged as a vigorous competitor in the same area although producing still within limits, but using new modern and efficient mill equipment.

The Secretary-General of ICAC (International Cotton Advisory Committee), Mr. R. Evans, said he was confident that the world cotton industry could withstand any competition from artificial fibres.

President Prasad on Decentralisation

The President speaking at the 13th All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan last month emphasised the need for non-violence and disarmament.

But his most important statement is that desire should be conquered and we should take to decentralisation. There is a feeling that more and more power is vested in a few hands, thus negating the very idea of decentralisation. With reference to general elections though every one had a free vote only people from a group or party get elected with the result that power is retained in the hands of a few.

Management Training

The setting up of a National Institute of Management jointly by the State and by the industries has been recommended by the productivity team on industrial management, which recently visited West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The Institute is to offer advanced education in management and also conduct basic and applied research.

The team has suggested that universities which do not at present offer courses in management but are located in and near industrial areas, should be encouraged by the Government to consider the feasibility of instituting courses in management at the under-graduate and doctorate levels.

For efficient management of industries, the team has suggested total participation of all personnel through the constitution of committees for joint consultation and co-ordination.

Scope should be afforded for suitable senior management personnel to be associated at the board level in order that their competence, experience and loyalty might be made available to the industry.

Tax on Births and Marriages in Pakistan

The West Pakistan Government authorised Union councils of basic democracies to levy tax on births, marriage feasts, house construction and animal slaughter.

The councils have been allowed to levy a tax of Rs. 2 on the birth of a male child, Rs. 5 from the bridegroom on the occasion of marriage and Rs. 2 for feast. The tax on house construction varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 and that on animal slaughter from 25 paise to 50 paise.

An All-India Bar

The adoption by the Lok Sabha of the Legal Practitioners Bill, as amended by the Joint Select Committee, will be widely welcomed by the members of the legal profession. It meets

their longstanding demand for the establishment of an All-India Bar Council and a common roll for advocates, conceding to those on this roll the right to practise in any part of the country and in any Court, including the Supreme Court. The All India Bar Committee, which reported in 1953, had recommended these steps and the Law Commission had endorsed the proposals in its report of 1959. Though the demand for an All-India Bar arose originally as a protest against the monopolistic privileges of the British Barristers on the Original Side of the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts and against "the insidious distinctions between barristers and non-barristers," the All-India Bar Committee held that urgency was imported into this issue by the achievement of independence and the establishment of the Supreme Court in India. The present Bill also ends the many castes in the profession by integrating the Bar into a single class of advocates, with prescribed uniform qualifications and a uniform enrolment fee of Rs. 250.

Birth Centenary of Rabindranath Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore's birth centenary was celebrated all over India and also in several other countries last month. The spontaneity and enthusiasm with which the celebrations were organised bear testimony to the tribute to his literary excellence and to the philosophy of life which he propagated and practised. If "Gitanjali" brought him into the limelight of world fame by the offer of Nobel prize there are Tagore's other works which are no less shining. His published verses and dramas, we are told, amount to more than 150,000 lines while his non-dramatic prose—novels, short stories, autobiography, criticism, and essays of many kinds—is more than twice as much; and there is a mass of uncollected material which is being periodically released through the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. He was a life-long devotee of Nature and her beauty in countless forms and to him Nature was an open book from which he could draw endlessly. With him it was a passion to interpret the varied and ever-changing moods and forms of Nature to which he gave concrete expression in prose and verse. (See page 229 of this Journal). It is this innate quality which has enabled him to hand down to his own generation and generations to follow a wealth of ideas, dreams and thoughts.

It was the constant endeavour of Tagore throughout his long life of eighty-one years to bring the message of love and peace to a world torn by greed, jealousy and rivalry. "His faith in the essential oneness and indivisibility of humanity and in the one world ideal was unshakable. His God is with and within Man in the vices and virtues, in the sorrows and sufferings, in the dust and dirt of his daily life. In his vision, God and man merged to make a complete entity."

Motilal Nehru

The birthday centenary celebration took place to honour the memory of one of the foremost builders of Free India—the late Pandit Motilal Nehru last month almost simultaneously with that of Tagore. Motilal lived the full biblical span of life of three score and ten. His association with politics dates to the early part of his career at the bar, but his association with the Indian National Congress goes back to 1892 in which year he appeared on the Congress platform as a member of the reception committee at the organisation's session at Allahabad. With Gandhiji's emergence on the political scene came his conviction that the country was ripe for mass struggle and he showed the heroic spirit in him in discarding without the least hesitation his adherence to the moderate creed and plunging into field of battle ready to take any risks as a deliberate choice. In 1921 the entire country was moved by the noble spirit of his sacrifice. For a full decade until his death he was second to none in guiding the destinies of the freedom struggle, of course, with the exception of Gandhiji. Anand Bhavan at Allahabad, which he handed over to the Congress, became the hub of all political activity. Motilal Nehru fought many a constitutional battle with the British Government inside the legislature, but it is by the battles he fought outside that he will be remembered more in history. A detailed account of his life published immediately after his death appears in this issue. It is only proper that the Centenary Committee is raising a fund of Rs. 10 lakhs in Motilal Nehru's memory to institute an annual award of Rs. 5,000 to a national of this country who makes the greatest contribution to the cause of promoting Indian unity.

Tamil National Party

On April 19, Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, who broke away from the D.M.K. because of differ-

ences with Mr. C. N. Annadurai, addressed a gathering of over 1,000 dissidents. They have formed a new party called *Thamizar Desiya Katchi*—Tamil National Party. Its aim is to work for the economic betterment and industrialisation of Tamilnad. The DMK has a membership of 3,000,000 and about 25,000 support Mr. Sampath, member of the Lok Sabha. He wants an independent Tamilnad, with the right to secede. The Central Government by means of its planning has deprived the states of much of their autonomy, said Mr. Sampath.

Pondy

The Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court on April 29 issued questions to the Union Government to ascertain the constitutional status of Pondicherry—whether it is within or outside the territories of India.

The order was passed by the court on a preliminary objection raised by the respondents (some bus operators) on the writ petitions and appeals filed by Mr. Masthan Sahab and Mr. Sivarama Reddiar challenging an order of the Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry in regard to certain bus permits.

It was contended that Pondicherry was outside the Indian territories. The Supreme Court, therefore, had no jurisdiction to entertain the writ petitions and appeals.

The following questions were framed by the court for answer by the Union Government:

1. "Whether Pondicherry, which was a former French settlement, is or is not at present comprised within the territory of India as specified in Article 1 (3) of the Constitution by virtue of the articles of the merger agreement, dated Oct. 21, 1954, between the Governments of India and France and other relevant agreements, arrangements, acts, and conduct of the two Governments.

2. If the answer to Question 1 is that Pondicherry is not within the territory of India, what is the extent of the jurisdiction exercised by the Union Government over the said territory and whether it extends to making all and every arrangement for its civil administration, its defence, and in regard to its foreign affairs. The Government of India might also state the extent of jurisdiction which France possesses over the area, and which operates as a diminution of the jurisdiction ceded to or enjoyed by the Government of India."

Goa

The Prime Minister said in the Rajya Sabha on May 4 that when Goa came into the Indian Union "we are not going to merge Goa into some district. Goa will remain as an independent entity presumably under the Government of India."

Mr. Nehru said that it was for the people of Goa to decide what they should do. But the Government of India felt that as in the case of Pondicherry, the individuality of Goa with its ways of living, language, religion, etc., should be preserved.

Earlier, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister, told Mr. Maheswar Naik that a delegation of the Goan National Union had met the Prime Minister and as far as she remembered, there was a general discussion about the Goan situation.

The Prime Minister said that while the whole policy of the Government of India was directed to bring about the liberation of Goa, they were not going to take any military or semi-military steps for the liberation of Goa.

Demand of Ceylon Tamils

The Ceylon Government's military action in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of the island has virtually crushed the Federal Party's agitation.

An eye-witness who has returned to India after a tour of the areas ravaged by the military, told in an interview on 23rd May that the Federal Party has offered to keep its demand for regional autonomy in abeyance, if the Government will lift the emergency and concede the language demand.

He said he had verified from independent sources the accounts of atrocities inflicted on the population by the military personnel. It has been a virtual reign of terror in the army-ruled area, with numerous cases of arson, loot and criminal assault.

The labour leader said that the response of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon to the Federal Party's call for agitation against the Government was spontaneous. The people of Indian origin had gone through considerable suffering and privation when the military intervened to suppress the agitation.

It is now reported that the Ceylon Workers' Congress, dominated by these people of Indian origin, might decide on taking a firm stand against the Government's policy of terror.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Political Parties. By Robert Michels. Dover Publications, 180 Varick Street, New York 14, N. Y. Price 2 dollars.

Robert Michels' *Political Parties*, a classic of social science and a pioneer work in political analysis, has been published in a paperback edition.

This republication of a major work in the analysis of political parties is especially timely today when democracy faces its greatest external challenge. In *Political Parties*, Michels outlines the internal weaknesses which threaten democracy's survival as a political system and way of life.

Some of the critical areas in our political life, notes Michels, are the dangers of excessive organization within political parties, the corruptive tendency of power, political apathy among the electorate, the growing breach between the wishes of the electorate and the decisions of the elected, the creation of an oligarchy of leaders who rule the party without the electorate's consent.

Political Parties was a pathfinding study when it was first published in 1912. The study and analysis of political parties was a new field to which Michels applied the principles of sociological and psychological research. His book opened vast new areas of study and provided a reference point for later work. In the mid-twentieth century, *Political Parties* still touches on many vital issues for our time. A very valuable and instructive book.

The New Mathematics. by Irving Adler. The New American Library of World Literature Inc., 501, Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Price 50c.

What are real and imaginary numbers? Can there be a number system without numbers? These and many such interesting questions are answered in this book in "simple and uncomplicated language." The author traces admirably advance theories from the beginning and helps the layman discover the meaning of the revolutionary developments in the realm of Modern Mathematics. Though it is doubtful as to how far "anyone who has a smattering of High School Algebra and Geometry can follow the 'Do it yourselves' at the end of each chapter and in the supplement-as made out by publishers—it has to be pointed out that this well got up book priced at only 50c is bound to find a place in the Libraries of all educational institutions and of "Philo-Mathematics."

The Kena Upanishad! with Shri Sankara Acharya's Commentaries. Adhyatma Prakasha Karyalaya, Hole Narasipur, Hassan District, Mysore State Price Rs. Two.

This is a back to Shankara publication. An Upanishad etymologically means learning by sitting at the feet of a Preceptor but derivatively "Destruction of Ignorance by knowledge of the Supreme Spirit." The *Kena Upanishad* combines the two approaches by clarifying the Vedantic Doctrine of the Universal Witnessing Principle as explained by Jagadguru Adi Shankara himself. The self-denying ordinance to restrict the text to Shankara's words unencumbered by commentaries and sub-commentaries with only the addition of short notes, a summary and an Index is most commendable and makes it most useful to the earnest thinking reader. The sara of summary at the end is both clarifying and instructive.

Gandhi and Tagore. By Gurdial Mallik 80 nP. Strikes By M. K. Gandhi 30 nP. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Most of the thirty short essays comprising Sri Mallik's booklet were written originally in Gujarati, and the Navajivan Press has already published the Gujarati and Hindi editions. This English version will cater to the needs of a wider public. An attempt is made in these little essays to suggest what the author modestly claims, "some kind of an outline of values, common or complementary in the life and work of Gandhi and Tagore."

The handbook on Strikes is a collection of Gandhiji's stray writings in *Young India* and *Harijan* compiled by Ravindra Kelekar. Gandhi's views on strikes and his method of tackling them are of equal interest to employers and workers alike. They continue to be of interest to the public and the State as well.

A Guide to a Career in the Defence Services By Manohar Lal Chaudhury. Published by Sadhana Traders, Choumukha Pul, Moradabad (U.P.) Price Rs. 8.

This is a very useful addition to the class of books that exist to help people who appear for interviews and examinations. In the Introductory chapter information is given on Entrance Examination for the Defence Services. This book is particularly useful as they have answered the Entrance Examination questions for the Defence Services in English, General Knowledge, Current affairs, Mathematics-A and Mathematics-B for a number of years.

International Seminar on Traditional Cultures in South East Asia. Published under the auspices of Unesco. Orient Longmans. Rs. 6.

This is a report of the Regional Meeting of experts on Traditional Cultures conducted with the aid of the Unesco Institute. The object, as Prof. Neelakanta Sastri says in his Preface is "the preservation and promotion of the best elements in the cultural traditions" of the region concerned. The efforts of Unesco in this direction comprised the organization of Seminar at University level and Field Studies by competent persons.

Part I deals with the Traditional Cultures of South East Asia specially prepared for the occasion by the Institute of Traditional Cultures Madras, and contains extracts from Reports and Field Studies in Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan. Part II contains proceedings of the Madras Seminar, with the addresses of Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar and Prof. Humayun Kabir. Ten papers are read at the session, five from India, two from Ceylon, two from Indonesia and one from Pakistan. The Director's General Note supplies the basis for the papers which, however, do not wholly endorse this radical view. But all of them recognize the values inherent in cultural traditions. Mr. Bhaskaran answers certain questions raised in the Director's Note. Dr. Raghavan and Prof. Sambamurti suggest ways and means to preserve the "living oral tradition" in Vedic chanting and classical music. Among other papers may be mentioned "Indian crafts" by Mr. Ajit Mukerji and "Arts in Rural India" by Mr. Amar Nath Sehgal. Dr. Raghavan suggests tape recording of traditional recitation and music for preservation in the great archives of London, Paris, Moscow, New York and New Delhi. He also pleads for sustained government aid in training youths in their teens—not merely rewards or scholarships for proficiency—Altogether the papers teem with ideas and suggestions coupled with concrete proposals for the advancement of the cause.

Women In The Vedic Age—Women In The Sacred Laws—By Shakuntala Rao Sastri, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 2/- each.

These two books throw much light on the position occupied by women in days of the past.

'Women In The Vedic Age' deals with the historical matters as evidenced in various works. It starts with the Rig Veda and ends with Grihya Sutras. They show us of the high eminence accorded to women in the ancient days. 'Women In The Sacred Laws' deals with the position of women as legally obtained, viz., the Laws of Marriage, etc. The book ends with a defence in the author's own way of the new provisions of the Hindu Code. The two books are useful, interesting and illuminating.

You and the Atom. By Gerald Wendt. Avon Publications Inc. New York 22.

This is a reprint of the Unesco leaflet issued in 1955. It takes us step by step in brief over the prolonged research that led to the release of atomic energy. It reassures us just as Tubal Cain recast iron weapons into ploughshares, energy, electricity and fertilizers and therapeutic agents can and are being evolved in Atomic Research Stations. Thus the Mighty Atom is powerful both for Good and Evil.

Democracy in World Politics. By Lester B. Pearson. Pyramid Books, New York 22.

This is a reprint of the Steffard Little Lectures delivered in Princeton in 1955. The author's mind plays on Old Problems on a New Scale, finds that two cannot play at the game of Diplomacy unless both agree to the Rules of the Game. Thus till 1914 and Teutonic Total War Theory, wars were fought to be terminated earlier than the exhaustion of both parties. Rama must stop fighting when the sun sets each day. But when societies disintegrate and there is no vision, the people perish. The demagogue becomes the sycophantic version of the courtier of absolute monarchy. The tragedy of it is that "public servants including Ministers and civil servants shape their reports and recommendations not on their own honest judgment of a situation but on their estimate of whether a particular recommendation is likely to be popular and to earn the advancement now, or be unpopular ten years later, and earn them dismissal then." This is a most thought-provoking pamphlet worthy of being compared to Lord Bryce's Hindrances to Good Citizenship. The danger of today is the weariness that afflicts the good as Pope Pius said in 1954.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

STATELESS INDIANS

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, told Mr. Niranjan Singh in the Rajya Sabha on May 1 that "no further step has been taken" for the settlement of the problem of persons of Indian descent in Ceylon.

There were about 10 lakhs persons of this category who were considered stateless as they did not have Ceylon nationality and were not Indian nationals.

Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar asked whether in view of the present situation in Ceylon, Government were getting any reports about the stateless persons.

The Prime Minister said that the Government of India got reports on the present situation from the Indian High Commissioner who was in touch with Indian citizens in Ceylon. "He is not supposed to report to us on the stateless persons in Ceylon because they are not Indian nationals," Mr. Nehru added.

CUBA

SAFETY OF INDIANS

There does not appear to be any danger to Indian nationals in Cuba, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said in the Lok Sabha on May 5.

Mrs. Menon told Mr. P. C. Deb that the Indian Embassy in Washington was taking such action as was possible about the safety of Indian nationals in Cuba but it had pointed out that it was extremely difficult to make inquiries owing to interruption of communications.

AUSTRALIA

CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

Mr. Alexander Downer, Australian Minister for Immigration told the House of Representatives on April 26 he thought that in future naturalisation of Indians would be "less rather than more". He said that last year a total of 932 Asians were naturalised as Australian citizens.

ISRAEL

INDIAN JEWS

Israeli Jewish religious authorities have ruled that Indian-born Jews, particularly those from the Bombay region, are not pure Jews and, therefore, cannot marry members of other Jewish communities in Israel.

The authorities have refused to grant marriage licences to these Jews, basing their ruling mainly on the fact that there is no organised Indian Council of Rabbis.

The 7,000 strong Indian Jewish community has formed a 60 member action committee to defend its interests. They claim that observance of the 2,000-year old Jewish tradition and of Mosaic Law justifies their claim to be "pure Jews".

S. AFRICA

SANCTIONS AGAINST S. AFRICA

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, leader of the Indian delegation, declared in the U.N. special Political Committee last month that India would not be backward or lag behind any other country in imposing sanctions against South Africa if the Security Council were to invoke such a measure.

Britain abandoned her traditional "hands off" policy and, in a dramatic move, supported U.N. pressure on South Africa for an end of apartheid. The British delegate, Mr. Peter Smithers, said he would vote for a resolution submitted by India and three other Asian powers.

UNITED KINGDOM

INDIAN STUDENTS

How many realise that the largest number of overseas students studying in the universities in the United Kingdom during the academic year 1960-61 are from India? Out of a total of 12,410 full-time students, about 1,513 are from India, according to the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth. It should not surprise anyone that more than half the number—7,890 students—are from the Commonwealth countries. To many it may seem distinctly odd that, next to India, the United States should claim the largest number. There can be no greater tribute to the efficiency of the British system of university education.

SINGAPORE

SOUTH INDIAN LABOUR

The destitute and unfit South Indian labourers and their families repatriated to India in 1959 from Singapore totalled 72 as against 52 in 1958, according to the annual report of Singapore's Labour Department for the current year.

The report said that the cost of their repatriation was borne half by the Government and half by the Indian Immigration Fund (since known as the South Indian Labour Fund.)

A sum of 3,11,590 Malayan dollars representing half of the share, borne by the Singapore Government was spent on repatriates out of 6,450 Malayan dollars provided for the purpose.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- April 1. Indian Air Force celebrates its 28th anniversary all over the country.
—Police opens fire on Adivasi demonstrators for release of the Ex-ruler of Bastor.
- April 2. Marshal Tito in Casablanca.
- April 3. Mr. B. P. Koirala of Nepal breaks his fast.
—India opposes to Mr. Dayal's recall from Congo.
- April 4. Mob violence in Katanga and attack on U.N. troops.
—Ceylon Bank Staff on Strike—Commercial banking activity crippled.
—The Jan Sangh victory in Lok Sabha bye election over Congress Candidate.
- April 5. Mr. Macmillan's talk with President Kennedy at Washington begins.
- April 6. Russia withdraws its complaint at U.N. against U.S. spy flights over Soviet territory.
- April 7. Conciliatory talks on the Ceylon Tamil issue fail.
- April 8. Kennedy—Macmillan talk concludes.
- April 9. Indian Communist Congress meets at Vijayawada.
- April 10. Soviet Russia sends man into space and the attempt is successful, though it is not confirmed officially.
- April 11. Adolf Eichman's trial opens at Jerusalem.
- April 12. World's First Russian Spaceman back from orbit.
—Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is arrested in Peshawar division.
- April 13. Five Power Resolution adopted by U.N. Assembly calls on all members to consider "separate and collective" action to bring to an end apartheid in South Africa.
- April 14. Russia honours Space man Major Yuri Gagarin: The titles of "Hero of the Soviet Union," and the Order of Lenin are conferred by Khrushchev.
- April 15. U.N. Honours Spaceman GAGARIN.
- April 16. Mystery planes raid Cuba; Several injured and killed.
—Tamils in Ceylon open parallel postal service.
- April 16. The New Council of CPI re-elects Mr. Ajoy Ghosh as General Secretary.
—Gangtok report says that the Panchen Lama has disappeared to some unknown destination.
—Ten day session of the Communist Party concludes at Vijayawada.
- April 17. State of Emergency is declared in Ceylon.
—Anti-Castro men invade Cuba.
—Kasavubu offers to co-operate with U. N.
- April 18. Khrushchev's warning to Kennedy re. the Cuban Affair.
—Ceylon's Federal Party is banned.
—Demonstrators stonet the American Embassy in Moscow.
- April 19. Kennedy asks Russia to keep off Cuba.
—Cuban Rebel planes raid Havana.
- April 20. Castro's Govt. claims total victory over the rebel forces: Rebels admit tragic losses.
—Train accident on N.E.F. Railway near Siliguri results in 23 dead and 81 injured.
- April 21. Gen. Assembly of U.N. decides to set up a five-member committee to inquire into the situation in Portuguese Angola.
- April 22. Anti-De Gaulle men seize Algiers, arrest Gen. Fernand and declare they have "saved French Algeria."
- April 23. U.K. and Russia reach accord re. cease-fire in Laos.
—French Army revolt in Algeria spreads.
- April 24. Lok Sabha passes Bill to punish offenders indulging in anti-national activities in border areas.
- April 25. Royal Laotian Govt. of Prince Boun Oum accepts British Soviet call for cease-fire in Laos.
- April 26. Military revolution in Algeria is crushed: whole country comes back under Govt. control.
—Armed Congolese soldiers are reported to have arrested Katanga President Mr. T. Shombe.
- April 27. Kenya African Democratic Union (Kadu) announces the formation of new Kenya Government.
- April 28. President Kasavubu is reported to be under house arrest by the Congolese Army.
—Army patrols near Jaffna are shot at: Ceylon Tamils experience hardships.
- April 29. Union of African States consisting of Ghana, Guinea and Mali is formed.
- April 30. Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, leader of the Federal Party in Ceylon goes on fast.

READERS' DIGEST

MAJOR GAGARIN'S SPACE FLIGHT EXPERIENCE

Major Yuri Gagarin, the first spaceman who is also the fastest man alive gives his experiences as follows to the press Correspondents who interviewed him! "I was quite sure of success. I knew all the techniques. I felt excellent during the flight. During the active period of flight the acceleration and noise vibration did not oppress me and prevent me from working."

He said his weightlessness while in orbit was not strange to him because he had experienced it in training. While in orbit he ate and drank, communicated by radio, watched indicated, tape-recorded his words and made notes in his diary.

He said that after the command to descend was given, the spaceship was made to change its direction, its speed reduced and he landed in a pre-determined area.

"Throughout the whole flight I was able to do all the work which was given to me," Major Gagarin said.

"The visibility of the earth from that height was excellent. The earth seemed to be much brighter than when flying in a jet plane. I was able to observe all features of the ground. The sky looked quite black. The stars seemed brighter and more vivid."

While in orbit, entry into the earth's shadow was very sudden, Major Gagarin said. It became quite dark and as he was over the ocean at the time he could not see much. If he had been over some big city he might have seen its lights.

Maj. Gagarin said that he conducted his observation through a porthole in the ship, not by television. His spaceship was not suitable for a flight to the moon. "Special ships are being created in the Soviet Union for that purpose, he added.

Maj. Gagarin earlier, speaking "from experience" told a questioner that man could stay up in space much longer than he did.

"How much do you weigh?" "I weighed 69.5 kilos before. I weigh the same now."

One of the few questions Maj Gagarin dodged was about the braking of the rocket. He merely repeated the time when the command for landing was given.

Asked about his landing technique, Maj. Gagarin said many landing techniques had been worked, out one of which was parachuting.

Tass quoted him as adding that during this flight the pilot was in a cabin and the descent was successful.

To questions whether he took any charms or pictures with him into outer space, he replied with a smile:

"I have no superstitions of any kind. I did not take any pictures with me as I had complete confidence that I would return to see my family."

Asked how many other Soviet cosmonauts were being trained, he said: "We have enough for further flights in outer space."

To the question "Did you experience hunger or thirst?" he answered: "I did not feel particular hunger or thirst. When the time came to eat and drink—and this was the time I was generally accustomed to—I ate and drank."

Dr. Nesmeyanov, answering a question whether it was necessary to send a man into outer space, asked "if there had not been such a necessity, how could we study other planets in general?"

"Photographs like the one of the reverse side of the moon, are not enough. The very presence of numerous correspondents in Moscow these days shows that photographs alone do not suffice. You wish to see everything with your own eyes."

ECONOMIC AID FOR INDIA

The *Washington Post* on May 9 called on the wealthy industrialised countries to give full support for India's Third Plan. In a leading article the paper was commenting on the talks to reopen on May 31 among a consortium comprising Britain, the United States, West Germany, France, Canada and Japan under World Bank auspices.

The *Post* said: "The success of India's Third Five-year Development Plan presents an enormous challenge to the wealthier free nations. To help India progress towards a self-generating economy is clearly one of the most important tasks before the developed nations.

"Because this task is so important, the disagreement in the 'Aid India Club' meeting under the auspices of the World Bank is dismaying.

"The response of Germany is disappointing. Germany has offered 200 million dollars over two years (and a total of 310 million over five years), but at 5½ per cent interest and repayable in only 15 years or less.

ALAN B. SHEPARD AND SPACE FLIGHT

"I know that it can be done, that it's important for it to be done, and I want to do it," Alan B. Shepard wrote in an article in *Life* magazine after he was selected as one of the original seven-man team for Project Mercury. Now, as the first American to ride into space he has got his wish and proved his point.

Like his fellow astronauts, Shepard wanted to be first. He once said that there were lots of reasons but a concise one would be this: "The flight obviously is a challenge and I feel that the more severe challenge will occur on the first flight. I signed up to accept this challenge."

Shepard, a commander in the U.S. Navy, is on loan to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the civilian organisation that is managing Project Mercury. Discussing the Project with reporters before his flight, Shepard said, "The specific objective of the programme is to evaluate man's ability to survive, to react, and to observe in a space environment. It is a step in the evolution of space travel."

The 37-year-old astronaut has been enthusiastic about the programme from the start. "I had no difficulty in making my decision once they asked me to participate," he says. "I'm here to serve my country. As far as I'm concerned, doing this is just a function of maturity. If you don't use your experience, your past is wasted, you are betraying yourself."

Graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1944, he served during World War II on a destroyer in the Pacific and afterwards entered Navy flight training. However, the pace was not swift enough for him. Impatient to qualify as a pilot, he went to a civilian flight school in his spare time and earned a licence there before receiving his Navy "wings" in 1947.

Shepard has served in land-based fighter squadrons and on numerous aircraft carriers, at times in the capacity of operations officer. He has been a test pilot and instructor most of the time since 1950, has participated in high-altitude test missions, helped develop the Navy's in-flight refuelling system, and contributed greatly to research on carrier landing techniques. He was graduated from the Naval War College in 1958. His flying time totals 3,700 hours, including 1,800 in jet planes.

Like his six space team mates, Shepard has the distinction of being as nearly perfect a

physical specimen as the civilian Space Agency could find, and of having unusually high intelligence.

In a press interview following his selection as an astronaut, Shepard explained that in addition to training in all facets of the programme, individual team members were assigned particular areas of responsibility in developing the programme. "Each of us takes his area and studies it much more carefully than the rest of the group, and then we are responsible to the entire group for that particular area."

"Alan doesn't try to explain all of the technical aspects of his job to me, but he does put himself in my position enough to understand what might lead to apprehensions and to explain things before they do."

Looking back on his preparation for space flight, Shepard once told reporters that he felt the "real key" to the training programme was the building of a feeling of confidence. "The feeling, I think, is three-fold: It is a confidence in the people with whom we work, our colleagues, our associates in the Space Task Group; it is a confidence in the systems in which we are dealing and will have to deal in our flights; and, of course, it is a confidence in ourselves."

DR. C. V. RAMAN ON SPACE VISIT

"Militarism run mad"—this is how Dr. C. V. Raman described the achievements so far made in the conquest of space.

Speaking on "Real motivation of Science" at the opening of the Raman Science Block of the Bishop Cotton Girls' School at Bangalore on April 19 he declared that the real motivation of science was realisation that scientific research should be used for "unravelling the mysteries of the world around us."

What was going on around the world today was perturbing. The other day "the whole world went mad when a man, put into a bullet and sent into space, returned to the earth safely."

"I did not rejoice at this achievement of man; on the other hand, I became cold, absolutely cold, at this."

It made very little difference whether a dog or a monkey or a man was put into space. What mattered was the motivation behind it. The motivation was militarism run mad and nothing else. "This is not the real spirit of

science. The real spirit of science came to those who realise that they were all children of Mother Nature. Nature had produced many myriads of creatures and man is a marvellous achievement of nature. The more one looks at it the more he is impressed by this marvellousness of nature."

The research on hearing was a typical example of how a man of science who sought something would find it.

Dr. Raman advised the students of science to use their eyes, ears and their power of thinking in their pursuit of knowledge.

"THE TIMES" ON INDIA'S DEFENCES

The Times in its comments on last month's debate in Lok Sabha expressed the view that India's defences as a whole are being kept up to the mark under the care of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

"Opposition members in the Indian Parliament may have thought they had some good ammunition to loose off in the defence debate," this daily declared.

"To start with," *The Times* said, "there is the Defence Minister himself, Mr. Krishna Menon, an excellent target for an Opposition that knows that many Government supporters share their feelings about him."

"In the debate, the old charge of political favouritism in promotion was repeated and further allegations were made about the danger of allowing Soviet pilots to fly along the Himalayan border."

"They are doing this to complete the training of Indian pilots in the use of Antonov 12 aircraft, bought for their capabilities in high altitude and poor landing fields."

"Whatever the truth may be in the rumours that these aircraft are not giving the performance expected of them, there need be nothing suspicious in the training programme."

"On the contrary, if anyone were to be suspicious it would be the Chinese, noting Russia's readiness to supply India with aircraft specifically chosen for the defence of the northern frontier."

INDIA'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Sir Donald MacDougall, a British economist who played a prominent part in that country's post-war export drive has carefully analysed the problem of India's balance of payments in a paper published in *The Economic Weekly*. He finds that our planners have greatly underestimated the target for export.

Sir Donald is not among those who think that India's industry has no natural advantages in the field of manufacture. He calculates that the proportion of total output of the new manufactures, that would come to be exported in the next decade, would not be more than ten per cent but this amount would represent larger percentages of certain industries: These will have to be carefully selected and given every kind of official encouragement. Clearly the task before us is a formidable one but not beyond our capacity. The public will have to reconcile themselves, for a time, to scarcity in items earmarked as valuable for the export drive. The carving out of new export markets will, however, be a permanent gain well worth a great deal of hard effort in the next few years.

Until recently, there has been much more emphasis, says Sri Donald MacDougall, on important saving than on export promotion in the strategy of India's economic development. This has quite rightly led to large investments in the production of goods that were previously imported and the process will continue, without it India's development could not proceed very far. It is now necessary, however, to ensure that the imports required to maintain this rapidly growing production are forthcoming and this means far higher exports to pay for them.

The greater emphasis required on investment in exports must not be at the expense of import-saving, for both are needed in a big way; it is not a question of either/or. It must be at the expense of activities that are not essential and that would not help the balance of payments.

However successful the export drive, foreign exchange will remain scarce for many years and it must be husbanded with great care. Though this paper is more concerned with export promotion, it may be worth mentioning some ways in which import economies might be made.

There is a strong case, concludes the writer, against a measure that would have inflationary tendencies reduce confidence in currency, weaken a powerful argument for cost reduction and be fraught with other dangers and uncertainties. It might well, moreover, actually worsen the balance of payments, at least in the short run, because the foreign exchange earnings from exports might well be reduced while the foreign exchange cost of imports, which are severely restricted, would not fall.

CURE FOR STUTTERING

"How to treat stuttering" is the subject of an imposing article in *Soviet Land* for May by Dr. (Mrs.) N. P. Boudnick who gives the following valuable hints:

"A Stutterer should undergo a complex treatment, embracing speech training, psychological re-education and general supportive medication. If stuttering appears in early childhood every attempt should be made to prevent the child from noticing his handicap. The less the chances to speak the better. Care in bed, good rest and slow, quiet and distinct speech of the people around him are extremely beneficial, for by imitating the adults, the child will soon get used to speaking quietly and slowly, without spasmodic breaks. Thus within two or three weeks of the onset of stuttering, the defect may completely disappear, especially if it has been caused by fear. Stuttering which results from the aftermath of infection usually requires more consistent and prolonged treatment. It is very important that the child should hear correct speech in his family. Of considerable help is singing, reciting and walking to music. This promotes fluency and rhythm of speech. Picture books and toys may be used for this purpose, provided the tutor (mother or teacher) succeeds in getting the child interested. The lessons must look like games, compulsion and overexertion being carefully avoided.

If stuttering occurs in adolescence or early adulthood the treatment should aim not only at the elimination of speech disorders as such, but also at the development of such mental qualities as enable the stutterers to overcome fear and uncertainty. We recommend that the treatment should be conducted under the guidance of a doctor who is a speech specialist and stutterers should be trained in groups. Group training has a psychological advantage, because a stutterer is surrounded by people of his own kind and, naturally, he has no reason either to be ashamed of his blemish or to be afraid of speaking to them. This makes the stutterer more self-confident and improves his speech. Group treatment of stutterers ensures mutual support. Stutterers are glad to see the achievements of one another. They benefit from one another's experience and derive cheerfulness from one another's progress. Slow, flowing speech remains the main curative means in group teaching. One often hears a

stutterer complain that he lacks the courage and self-control to speak slowly. A doctor's duty then is to convince the patient that he can build up his will-power. The doctor may refer to inspiring examples of how men have built up their will-power and realised their objective. He may take such examples from literature or from life itself.

A stutterer should be encouraged to read books about men of great will-power. He should be taught to hold his head high, and look straight into the eyes of the person he is talking to. He should be taught to walk steadily and speak confidently. A properly organised daily routine in a great measure helps the patient in acquiring self-possession. Certain medicines are indicated for the treatment of stuttering. Bromides, calcium chloride or calcium gluconate through mouth and vitamins B-complex are useful. Physical training (general and respiratory gymnastics, swimming, sponging, ball games etc.) strengthen the body and as an essential part of a complex treatment lead to quicker elimination of the defect.

Mrs. Boudink quotes Dr. I. J. Derazhne of Kiev who gives the following suggestions in this connection. He has advised the treatment of stuttering by muffling temporarily the distorted speech of the patient. It has been established that so long as the speech is muffled stuttering does not interfere with it. For this purpose an apparatus, called "correctophone", has been designed. When the current is switched on and the tubes are inserted into the ears of the patient he does not hear his voice. It is muffled by the noise which is generated by the "correctophone".

The stutterer should be made to count up to say 300, and read and recite for about 30 minutes. Two such lessons per day should be given for 15 to 20 days. Later on the apparatus is employed to deaden the voice only partly by the plugging of one ear. The desmedicamentous or physiotherapeutic treatment

In neglected cases where persistent pathological conditional reflectory linkage has developed the chances of success in treatment are remote,

FOREIGN AID TO THIRD PLAN

The United States, had made a "mammoth" offer of 1,000 million dollars of aid to India's Third Plan repayable over 50 years, with little or possibly no interest, subject to Congressional approval and the willingness of other "Aid-India Club" nations to increase their previous aid commitments to India, the *Washington Post* said in its issue dated May 2nd.

West Germany, it said, was reluctant to make a large aid commitment which caused the sudden adjournment of the conference of the five nations and the World Bank.

Experts from the Bank, Canada, West Germany, Japan, Britain and the United States met to review India's foreign exchange requirements for the Plan.

The scheduled three-day meeting adjourned on April 28, after two days, until May 31 with the announcement that the facts of the study would be considered by the parties concerned.

The *Washington Post* said that West Germany had offered 100 million dollars for each of the first two years of the Plan at 5½ per cent interest repayable in six to 12 years. "Instead of coming up with a large assistance offer in which they would be sharing some of their post-war prosperity."

"Of the other assisting nations, Britain has now offered to increase aid to India to a little more than 100 million dollars, repayable at low interest over the next 25 years," it added, and this money comes out of no 'fat' as it does in the United States and Germany, but out of Britain's own meagre foreign exchange reserve.

France, which now spends more money per capita in foreign aid than any other country in the world also is believed to be carrying her share of the burden.

"Canada and Japan are believed to have made sizable commitments."

The *Post* said that West Germany last February announced its willingness to spend 600 million to 700 million dollars a year on foreign aid and India, with a well-organised economic plan and a clearly defined economic need is considered to be the first real test of Germany's promise."

It said the other participants in the conference were "furious" because they felt India offered the non-Communist world a tremendous opportunity to help a powerful underdeveloped nation to become a long-term hope for international stability.

SMOKING AND CANCER

A New York scientist said that cigarette smoke may contain a wax-like chemical that acts to block the cancer-causing process in human beings.

Dr. Ernest L. Wynder of the Sloan-Kettering Institute reports to the American Press that cigarette smoke also contains two other substances—one that acts to cause cancer and another without whose 'promotion' the first chemical cannot cause the disease.

In a report read at the annual meeting of the American Association for Cancer Research Dr. Wynder said that the cancer-causing chemicals in cigarette are known as carcinogens.

These chemicals, he said, are stimulated into deadly action by a second group of chemicals known as 'promoters'. Without these, he said, the carcinogens cannot cause cancer.

The third group he labelled anti-carcinogens and said they act to block the cancer-causing process.

He outlined a five-point programme to eliminate the cancer danger. The programme is More effective filtration of the promoters in smoke, selection of tobacco containing less of the two harmful chemicals, use of methods to cause more complete burning of tobacco to eliminate the harmful effects and adding anti carcinogenic chemicals.

ARE JAPANESE WHITES?

Japanese living in South Africa are to be treated as whites not "coloured", from now on, and will be free to live in "white" areas, the *London Daily Express* said last month in a report from Capetown.

The *Express* said South Africa's Interior Minister announced this decision in Parliament also.

The *Express* added that "the South African Government is making this concession because it is trying hard to make friends with Japan which it wants to develop as a trading partner in view of threatened boycotts by Afrasian nations."

The paper pointed out that when it was announced last month that the two countries would exchange Ambassadors, it was also stated that the Japanese Ambassador would be allowed to live in the "white" areas of Capetown and Pretoria, and that his children would attend "white" schools.

WEAK NATIONS IN NUCLEAR AGE

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Swatantra Party leader, declared in a letter that "the weaker nations have been completely orphaned by the atom."

Writing to the *New York Times* dated April 30, he said: The entry of nuclear power in warfare has made a great and deplorable change in human fellowship. In the days that are gone, weak could look forward to sympathy and material assistance from powerful nations and rulers. Victims of injustice and tyranny could find material support from abroad in their unequal struggle against oppressors entrenched in power.

"History is full of shining crusades of compassion. The world was one and indivisible, and nations and men were prepared for fighting any where in a noble cause to give assistance to victims of iniquity. But now things are changed. "Weapons of mass destruction have altered the perspective for all powerful nations.

"They are not prepared to invite clashes over the rights and wrongs of other people, whatever be their nature. They are not prepared to go out to relieve or help victims against oppressors. If such action carries with it the possibility of a clash with another power which can start a nuclear war.

"The biggest power now are more anxious to preserve peace and look after their own security than to yield to the call to do noble deeds. The weaker nations have been completely orphaned by the atom.

"Tyrants and usurpers are now free to deal with their victims without any fear of external indignation. The usurper or dictator has converted the majority of the people into debased slaves and no dissenter has any chance.

"The world order envisaged by lovers of peace has a definite and permanent saving clause against any intervention in the internal affairs of a *de facto* regime which has established itself anywhere by brute strength or fraud or otherwise. The world executive, to be brought into existence under proposals for world Government cannot intervene in what has been comprehensively and cruelly called the "domestic" affairs of any State.

"Here, then, we are, British statesmen and the British Press. Mr. Nehru in India, and every intellectual everywhere, taking for granted that Cuban affairs must be left to Fidel Castro and it is not for America to intervene.

"The enemies of individual freedom are completely free to do what they like and the rights of national sovereignty accrue to every tyrant whatever the origin of his *de facto* authority may be.

"Truly, again, one may cry that the days of chivalry are gone. There is no room for international chivalry, now that the monstrous fear of nuclear weapons has been enthroned as the guiding principle of all international politics.

"Most private cruelty is done within family walls and most public wrongs within State frontiers. And if these frontiers and walls are sacrosanct, then oppression gets a free charter in the nuclear age."

SOVIET DISCOVERY ABOUT VENUS

Russian scientists, announcing a major new discovery on May 11th said that by bouncing radio waves off the planet Venus, they had discovered that its period of rotation could be estimated at near to 10 earth days.

The news was carried on the front page of the Government newspaper, *Izvestia*. The paper said it had been informed of the discovery by the Academy of Science which had made the experiment recently.

Another discovery was that different parts of the planet's surface reflected the radio waves in different ways.

The results of the experiment, which took place when Venus was at its nearest point to the earth, 40 million kilometres (25 million miles) away, were still being studied.

The Soviet Defence Ministry announced that a special "Flier Cosmonaut" badge had been instituted for personnel assigned to duties with space ships.

The badge included such symbols as outstretched wings with five feathers, a globe flanked by ears of wheat, an unfurled banner with a five-pointed star at the flag pole, a flying spaceship, and a goldish orbit round the globe with a Sputnik on it.

The badge also carried a shield with red figures indicating the number of space flights performed.

Britain's Jodrell Bank Observatory sent a congratulatory telegram to the Russian scientists who discovered the period of rotation of planet Venus by radio location.

Major Yuri Gagarin, Russian spaceman, said a vivid purple light appeared on the shuttered portholes of his spaceship, indicating the tremendous temperature outside, as he descended to earth, Moscow Radio reported.

HOW MEN ARE MADE GREAT?

Eminent people like Mahatma Gandhi, Mao Tse-tung and Ernest Hemingway became world famous because they had a childhood background of domineering authority, says Dr. Victor Goertzel, an American psychiatrist.

After a study of the lives of 400 eminent people, he says that the majority of them had domineering parents—especially mothers—and none of them had a peaceful home life.

Adolf Hitler and Mahatma Gandhi, according to Dr. Goertzel, both had domineering mothers. Hemingway ran away from a troubled home.

Mao Tse-tung had a loving mother who protected him from a stern father. The result was that he grew up to be a military leader and a poet—"two occupations that seem to attract boys who are protected by their mothers and who hate their fathers," Dr. Goertzel says.

PHANTOM RUSSIAN WARPLANE

The monthly magazine, *Flying* reports that Russia had developed an atom-powered plane capable of flying at supersonic speeds for 90 days without refuelling.

The "phantom warplane" has already been testflown for 21 days without refuelling.

Information on the plane reached the Central Intelligence Agency in a report from the Korean underground.

The plane is said to have a top speed of 3,500 miles an hour and the ability to reach altitudes of up to 85,000 feet. The plane, in flights, was able to escape radar detection 23 times out of 25.

CHRIST AND DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Moscow Radio claimed last-month that the Dead Sea scrolls found in the Qumran area of the Judean wilderness had provided further proof that Christ never existed.

When the scrolls were found, it said "some bourgeois scholars and Christian theologians at first saw in this document proof that Christ was a historical figure....."

But it had turned out that "the teacher of righteousness of the Qumran scroll, who so resembles the Christ of the Gospels, had in reality, lived about 100 or 150 years before the time when Christ was supposed to have been born."

The Qumran teacher of righteousness had perished, but the Qumranites believed he would return in order to judge those who had rejected his teachings, the radio continued.

Thus the newly discovered documents not only "failed to confirm that Christ had lived on earth, but on the contrary, have helped to reveal how legends about a non-existent saviour have been formed."

The writers of the Gospel had used the pre-Christian teachings of the Essenes about a teacher of righteousness, "amplified them with eastern myths about diving and resurgent Gods, and then created a history of the birth, prophecies, and death of a man by the name of Jesus Christ who had never existed."

(The first of the Dead Sea scrolls was found in 1947 by an Arab shepherd boy on the north west coast of the Dead Sea.

Since their translation began, there had been considerable controversy particularly on the relationship between the texts of the Qumran sect and the Christian Gospels).

"THE GUARDIAN" ON NEHRU'S ANTI-APARTHEID POLICY

The "Guardian" gave credit to Mr. Nehru for giving the lead to other Prime Ministers in the anti-apartheid "battle-royal."

The paper's Commonwealth correspondent said: Although no one member of the Afro-Asian team claims to be its leader, it seems pretty well certain that its captain is the man who up to now has deliberately avoided the limelight.

"He is Mr. Nehru and the ultimatum that has been placed squarely before South Africa is referred to by members of the teams as the 'Nehru plan'."

This plan, according to the correspondent, would read approximately as follows: "We accept the principle that apartheid is inconsistent with member ship in the Commonwealth of nations."

The plan is "very nearly identical with the suggestion of the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. John Diefenbaker, that the time has come for the drawing up of a Commonwealth declaration of principles," the correspondent said.

He added that one man, who has been close to the battle is Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika. "It was his sternly worded warning, issued from Dares-Salaam, that seems to have done the trick and convinced Mr. Nehru and his associates that the die must now be cast."

EVENTS IN CUBA

"The noisy support that Cuba has received from the Communist world, if not the series of actions the Castro regime undertook since it launched itself on a noisy campaign against the United States, says *thought* in its leading article should help us know the true character of the political situation in Cuba. The weekly says :

Even if Castro is not a Communist, he is a "peace-monger of the variety much in favour with the headquarters of World Communism which hopes to use its peculiar peace campaign to topple the non-Communist regimes the world over. In any case one has to be in Mr. Kennedy's position to realize the threat in its various forms to the country he has been called upon to guide and protect. Mr. Nehru was not only soberer but right when unlike his earlier impetuous fulminations he admitted not only that he would not judge American action because he did not have all the relevant facts at his disposal but that America had every right to feel interested in the fortunes of Cuba, its next-door neighbour. The doctrine of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries can have universal appeal and meaning only when practised universally. In no case could it be allowed to be a cover for interference by others in areas vital to one's security. A Soviet base, including the presence of technicians and Stalin's "engineers of the soul" in Cuba could any day pose a mortal danger to the United States, as Tibet under Chinese occupation does to this country.

But while it is true the Cuban people has not as yet spoken their final piece, the fact today is that America's flirtation with revolution has added to the prestige if not the strength, in the final analysis of Castro. The American sentiment, if not also their policy, has been rendered an orphan in Cuba. In the midst of conflicting reports and rumours of new landings by the anti-Castro Cubans and America's alleged plans to help them materially and to throw a naval blockade round Cuba, it is not easy to determine with any degree of certainty what is coming to redeem that country's political position vis-a-vis Cuba. One thing however seems safe to assume. The Kennedy administration would not slip into one more blunder to rectify the old one. Salvation for Cuba must be worked out primarily by the Cubans themselves. Occupation of Cuba by America would be easy

enough in itself. But this would create complications incalculably difficult to resolve. The need of the moment seems to be to hold the ring impartially as between the Cuban people and the Castro regime. In simpler terms the Cuban people should not be allowed to perish in an unequal struggle against a regime freely drawing upon the means of destruction being placed at its disposal by the official champions of subversions in Moscow and Peking.

'GERMAN PLANS' TO OCCUPY BRITAIN

The Soviet weekly, *New Times*, dated May 5 published some captured German documents on the planned occupation of Britain during the second world war.

The documents were captured in 1945 at the headquarters of the German 16th Army—the Army chosen by Hitler in 1940 for operation "Sea Lion". "Sea Lion" was the German code name for an invasion of Britain.

The agency said a translation of the documents was accompanied in the magazine by an article explaining the Nazi occupation plans, and the role of Gen. Adolf Heusinger, but it gave no details of the article.

Gen. Heusinger, Chief of operations on the German General staff until arrested in July 1944 on charges of complicity in the abortive bomb attempt on Hitler's life, is now West German chairman-designate of NATO's permanent military committee.

ANGOLA, SALAZAR'S ACHILLES HEEL

"The Times" said on May 7 that the casualty figures on both sides in the struggle in Angola were "startling when compared with civil disturbance in other African territories.

"They are a measure of the ferocity with which the struggle is being waged on both sides.

"How long can a small country like Portugal sustain a struggle of this kind without running into economic, social and political difficulties?

"Considerations of this kind, and comparison with the fate of the French in Algeria, were a major factor in deciding the Belgians to give up the Congo.

"So far they have not influenced the Portuguese Government at all. However, Angola is now the Achilles heel of the Salazar regime," "The Times" editorial concluded.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE A.I.C.C. MEETING

The All-India Congress Committee met for 2 days in Durgapur on the 28th and 29th May. This session was perhaps most hectic since Independence for it turned out to be an epoch making one packed with patriotic fervour and "highlighting many facets of the growing pains of Indian democracy." The session passed important resolutions. It unanimously approved the report of the National Integration Committee detailing the steps for fighting fissiparous tendencies in the country through alertness of public spirited citizens and effective administrative action.

The resolution *inter alia* re-affirmed the resolve of the people and the Government of India to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Union and to repel aggression from whatever quarter it came.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Sastri, Union Home Minister, moving the resolution, condemned the intransigence of China in not coming to terms with India on border violation. There is no doubt, he said, that India's stand on this issue was right as was evident from the record. In fact, the various talks held between the officials of the Indian Government and the Chinese Government indicated that India's cause was just.

It also passed unanimously the resolution on International Affairs. Moving the resolution Mr. C. Subramaniam of Madras said that the policy of non-alignment followed by India was the only approach that would help to create an atmosphere in the world leading to total disarmament and peace.

By taking a "partisan" line, India would not serve the cause of world peace though there might be momentary advantage for herself by aligning with some bloc or the other. "Whether we like it or not, this is the only policy beneficial for us as well as for the world and we have to firmly adhere to it."

The session also adopted an eight-point resolution, sponsored by the "ginger group," laying down certain criteria for the selection of candidates for the general elections.

Mr. S. N. Mishra, Union Deputy Minister for Planning moved the resolution. It was

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carried by an overwhelming majority—only two members voting against—after a brief debate.

Winding up the session, the Congress President Mr. Sanjeeva Reddi said that though they had experienced an atmosphere of emotion, the session had gone on peacefully and they had useful discussion, particularly on national integration.

The next session will meet in Madurai on September 30. It will also be important as the election manifesto will be placed before it and finalised.

WIPING OFF COMMUNALISM

The Union Home Ministry has asked the States to issue suitable instructions to all district authorities to impress upon them the need for constant vigilance and appropriate action in good time to curb communal troubles.

The Centre has sent a circular on May 12 to the State Governments on this subject expressing the view that if the legal provisions available even now are used judiciously and at the appropriate time, all communal troubles could be greatly minimised. Further measures to strengthen the law are also understood to be under consideration.

It pointed out that communal troubles have wide repercussions namely that any incident in any part of the country may result in serious consequences elsewhere and also bring the country a bad name abroad and said that any vigorous action by authorities to put down the evil is fully justified.

The Home Ministry has pointed out that there are even now a variety of legal provisions under the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Penal Code, which could be utilised against the trouble-makers, including communal agitators.

Under Section 99 (A) of the Cr. P.C., a State Government is empowered to forfeit books, newspapers or any document containing any matters which promotes or is intended to promote a feeling of enmity or hatred between different classes of citizens, which is deliberately and maliciously intended to outrage the religious feelings of any such classes by insulting their religion or their religious beliefs.

Utterances of the Day

KENNEDY ON U. S. ADVERSARY

President Kennedy declared at Chicago on April 29 that the greatest adversary of the U. S. A. was not Russia but "American unwillingness to do what must be done."

He called upon Americans to defeat this adversary and to put their unparalleled power, wealth and capacity in the single-minded service of freedom.

Speaking at a banquet organised by the Democratic Party, he said: "Proud of their accomplishments, confident of their progress, the Communists proclaim that the tide of history is on their side. I do not believe it. The tide of history is not on their side—nor on ours. For, history is made by men—and it will move in the direction that strong and determined and courageous men compel it."

DEAN RUSK ON COLD WAR

Secretary of State Dean Rusk spoke on the occasion of the Charter Day exercises at the University of California last month. In the course of his address he observed; "The cold war was not invented in the West; it was born in the assault upon freedom which arose out of the ashes of World War II.....We should keep our eyes on the world beyond the cold war, the world we see when men come to their senses, the world which men have dreamed about for centuries. For, in building that world, we shall have friends in all parts of the earth, we shall find strength in the very nature of man, we shall share purposes which make natural allies of us all. If defending freedom is to be called waging the cold war, then wage it we must, but we would prefer to bring it to an end. For we look forward to a time when contest will be unnecessary because the freedom of man will be firmly established."

Mr. NEHRU ON ROAD TO PROGRESS

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a big public meeting at Lucknow on April 30, said: "Our country will not make any headway towards economic emancipation by resolutions and speeches. What is needed today is determination and strength to bring about prosperity in the country. But for that, the whole process of thinking has to be changed."

Condemning casteism, Mr. Nehru said: "it is an age of internationalism. At this stage, we continue our old casteism, there will not be any progress and the fate of the country will be sealed."

SIR PAUL GORE-BOOTH ON ENGLISH

Sir Paul Gore-Booth, the U. K. High Commissioner in India who was inaugurating the Bihar branch of the English Speaking Union, at Patna on May 7, said the first aim of the union was to promote understanding of the English-speaking peoples of the world and to engage in any educational work designed to further this object.

Sir Paul said English had become one of the great languages in the history of the world, performing a function similar to that of Latin or Sanskrit. This language, wherever it had been used, had become a great source of ideas. If there was a common thread running through it, this might be the emphasis.

"The union had nothing to do with any language controversy", he said.

"You will find among the English-speaking peoples the pursuit of policies which have a certain common basis in politics and law," Sir Paul observed.

ARCHBISHOP BLANK ON APARTHEID

Dr. Joost de Blank, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town spoke at Philadelphia on May 22 that the Church had been accused of interfering in politics in South Africa because it dared to criticise the Government's racial policies.

"The churchman cannot keep silence, even if he would, because the honour of God Himself is at stake," the Archbishop said, in a lecture prepared for delivery in Holy Trinity Church. He said that a Government or a political party was putting itself in the place of God when it advocated a policy which flouted one of the universally held Christian principles: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," with no mention of "the colour of our neighbour's skin."

AFGHAN P. M. ON PAK COLONIALISM

Sardar Mohamad Daoud, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, has declared at New Delhi on May 12 that the freedom struggle of Pushtoonistan was against the "brute might of Pakistan's colonialism, and that is the real reason for the aggression and concentration of Pakistani divisions in the territory of northern Pushtoonistan."

It is a fact too that the people and Government of Afghanistan would never refrain from assistance to their blood brethren in Pushtoonistan in their sacred fight for freedom. We are certain of the final success of our Pushtoonistani brethren."

Political

INTEGRATION OF GOA

The National Convention for Integration of Goa, Daman and Diu at its meeting held at Bombay on May 14, considered it as "the sacred duty" of the Government of India and the entire Indian nation to help the people of those pockets to liberate these territories from the Portuguese yoke and thus eradicate finally from the national soil "the last ugly vestiges of European colonialism".

By a resolution passed at the meeting which was presided over by Rev. Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas the meeting expressed "its gratitude" to the Government of India for the clear statement made by the Prime Minister of India on May 4 declaring that Goa, Daman and Diu would form a separate State of the Indian Union and that the way of life, culture, language, religion of the people would be protected by the Union Government.

Mr. Melicio Fernandes, moving the resolution, criticised the moves of certain people in Goa to gain administrative and financial independence under the protection of the Portuguese flag. This move was a "sinister one" he characterised and added that such a step would perpetuate the Portuguese authority in the colonies.

The meeting by another resolution, condemned the Portuguese brutal atrocities perpetrated on the people of Angola. The meeting saluted the heroism of the brave Angolan nationalists and wished them success in their struggle and expressed its solidarity with their just and noble cause.

The convention also congratulated the United Nations and the African States on taking a firm stand against the Portuguese policy in Angola and it appealed to all free nations to go to the aid of the brave Angolan people so that Angola and other Portuguese colonies might obtain independence.

THE KASHMIR ISSUE

President Ayub Khan told Newsmen at Srinagar in the North-West frontier on May 13 that Pakistan would use every possible avenue to get the Kashmir issue settled.

The President said that Pakistan could not sit idle and had to do something to get the dispute resolved "though we cannot say definitely what will happen".

CONSTITUTION FOR PAKISTAN

President Ayub said, "wait and see", when asked whether there was a possibility of the issue being taken up in the Security Council.

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan asked his people not to start any controversy or indulge in speculation about the future constitution of the country. He was speaking at a Cabinet meeting in his office in President's House after receiving the report of Constitution Commission from its Chairman, Mr. Justice Shahabuddin on May 6.

The President said that he intended to announce the fundamentals of the constitution which were fixed and before the Constitution was drafted.

He said that the report was in the nature of an advice to him as to what shape the future Constitution should take. With the receipt of this report, he added momentous period of the country's history had begun. He asked his Cabinet colleagues to be conscious of it and added "if we want to make history, and we do, then we all have to act with wisdom and courage and rise above petty or parochial consideration."

FREEDOM FOR TANGANYIKA

The U.N. General Assembly unanimously approved that Tanganyika should emerge from U.N. trusteeship to independence.

It adopted without objection a resolution stating that its trusteeship agreement with Britain for the latter's administration of that territory, which it approved on December 13, 1956 "shall cease to be in force" that day.

The resolution recommended that independent Tanganyika should be admitted to the United Nations. It asked Britain to report to the Trusteeship Council next summer on measures taken for the transfer of power to the Tanganyikans.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR CONGO

The Congo is to have a new constitution, it is learned from an authoritative source. The political leaders now gathered in Conquillatville will have to approve the principle of the revision of the Fundamental Law—a legacy of the Republic's accession to independence before they close their conference.

The mechanism for this revision is simple: Once this principle of the constitution is adopted, the task of drafting the constitution will be placed in the hands of a group of international jurists—five or six specialists in constitutional law, probably including a Swiss, Belgian and perhaps a Frenchman.

NEED TO UPGRADE HIGH SCHOOLS

In his presidential address at the 51st Madras State Education Conference which had its three-day session at Trichy on May 11, Mr. T. P. Srinivasavaradan, M.L.C., made a strong plea for the upgrading of high schools in the State into higher secondary schools. With the introduction of pre-university course in colleges "there is no longer any room for uncertainty and if Madras is to conform to an all-India pattern, it is necessary to upgrade S.S.L.C (academic) course with the definite objective of bringing the pupils to the standard of the university course," he declared.

Mr. Srinivasavaradan suggested a constitution of a statutory body for secondary education which would direct the courses and bring about changes from time to time.

Mr. Kuruvilla Jacob, who inaugurated the conference, laid stress on the importance of opening trade and craft schools where pupils who wanted to enter life after primary education could get vocational training.

About 1,600 delegates of whom 300 are women attended conference.

FORD FOUNDATION GRANTS TO INDIA

The Ford Foundation announced a \$ 600,000 grant to the Government of India for the establishment of a central industrial extension training institute.

It also announced grants of \$ 200,000 for further assistance for training and research centres in Indian engineering colleges on village planning and rural housing. The new funds will be used for the establishment of "laboratory" villages to test and demonstrate new construction and design techniques in rural housing.

AUTONOMY FOR UNIVERSITIES

Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Union Minister for Education, informed the Informal Consultative Committee of Members of Parliament attached to the Ministry of Education that the Government were considering the preparation of model legislation for the guidance of universities in India in regard to the implications of autonomy of the universities.

The members discussed at length the question of autonomy of the universities vis-a-vis the national needs, in the light of the recommendations of the Vice-Chancellors' conference held at Khadakvasla last year.

EDUCATION THROUGH T. V.

A Ford Foundation educational team of T.V. experts will come to New Delhi in June in connection with the introduction of a scheme to impart education in higher secondary schools through the medium of television.

The programme, scheduled to begin in August will be initially available to 300 higher secondary schools in the capital.

To be telecast thrice every week, each programme lasting 20 minutes will teach English, Hindi, Physics and Chemistry.

Although television was started on an experimental basis in September, 1959, its impact remained severely restricted owing to paucity of sets and funds. The Unesco, however, provided a grant of \$ 25,000 for the purchase of T.V. sets for community viewing and production of special programmes.

At present none of the schools has T.V. sets. Teleclubs have been provided with 66 sets for community viewing.

Encouraged by the results of the experiment, the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting considered it desirable to explore further possibilities of augmenting the facilities of viewing educational T.V. Programmes in schools.

As a result, informal discussions were conducted by the Ministry with the Ford Foundation in India, and the latter evinced keen interest in the organisation of a regular educational T.V. programme for Delhi schools.

AWARDS FOR HALDANE

Professor J. B. S. Haldane is one of the six recipients of the U.S. National Academy of Science Medals. He was awarded the Kimber medal for his work in the science of Genetics.

Other medal winners included a German astronomer, and four American scientists.

President Kennedy has congratulated all the six winners through the President of the National Academy of Sciences.

The Academy of Lynxes also has awarded an £ 11,500 sterling prize for biology to Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, formerly of London University and now working in India.

P.U.C. COURSE IN PONDICHERRY

It is learnt that a Pre-University course, affiliated to the Madras University, will be started in Pondicherry from the next academic year.

Mr. P. V. RAJAMANNAR

Dr. Rajamannar was the first Indian Chief Justice to preside over the destinies of Madras High Court for nearly 13 years. He came to the Bar after an outstanding academic career, in which he not only never stood second but always had a scholarship to cover his school and college fees right up to the Law College. At the Bar he soon made his mark, and on the retirement from Advocate-Generalship of Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, was appointed to that post in 1944. In 1945 at the height of his legal career, he sacrificed his most lucrative practice to accept a post on the Bench of the High Court. And it was in the fitness of things that in 1948 after India became independent, he should have been appointed the first Indian Chief Justice. And from that time he had reigned supreme over the Madras High court till he retired on May 10.

THE NEW MADRAS CHIEF JUSTICE

Mr. Justice S. Ramachandra Ayyar of the Madras High Court has been appointed by the President to perform the duties of the Chief Justice of the High Court on the retirement of Mr. Justice P. V. Rajamannar from May 10 until further orders.

Mr. Ramachandra Ayyar was appointed a permanent judge of the High Court towards the end of January 1958.

Born in 1904 in Kumbakonam, Mr. Ramachandra Ayyar was educated at the Pachaiyappa's College and the Madras Law College and was enrolled as advocate in 1927. He practised in the chamber of Mr. K. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, a former judge of the High Court.

INCOME TAX LAW AND LAYMAN

Can the income tax law with all its complications be made simple so that the layman can easily understand it?

The Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, answered this question in the Lok Sabha by saying that a law which had to cover a wide variety of incomes—salaries and business incomes of individuals and companies—could not but be complicated.

He also quoted the observation of the Codification Committee in England and referred to by the Indian Law Commission that "to expect a codification of the law of income-tax which the layman can easily read and understand is a vain hope."

BANDARANAIKE MURDER CASE

The Supreme Court of Ceylon on May 12 sentenced to death the Reverend Buddhakkhita Thero, the chief incumbent of the Kelaniya Buddhist temple, Somarama Thero, and H. P. Jayawardene for conspiracy to murder the late Prime Minister Bandaranaike. Somarama Thero, a Buddhist monk, shot the Prime Minister in his house on September 25, 1959. Mr. Bandaranaike died the following day.

The three men sentenced to death in the Bandaranaike assassination case filed appeals on May 23, against their conviction. They were Buddhakkhita Thero, chief high priest of the Kalaniya Buddhist temple, Somarama Thero and H. P. Jayawardene.

They were due to be hanged between June 23 and 22, but the executions would now be delayed pending disposal of the appeals. The appeals will be heard by a panel of three Judges in the Court of Criminal Appeals. No date has yet been fixed for the hearing.

PROFESSION TAX ON PENSION

A Division Bench of the Madras High Court, consisting of Their Lordships Mr. Justice S. Ramachandra Aiyar, and Mr. Justice P. Ramakrishnan, dismissed on May 1, the writ petition filed on behalf of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, questioning the constitutional validity of the provisions in the City Municipal Act under which the profession tax assessment was made on pensions. Their Lordships held that the profession tax levied under the City Municipal Act was a perfect and valid one.

'TRIAL BY JURY' IN MAHARASHTRA

With the abolition of trial by jury in Greater Bombay—through a bill to which the President has given assent—Maharashtra joins ten other States that are without this system.

The ten States are: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Bihar has also decided to abolish the jury system, and Mysore and West Bengal are considering this question.

CALCUTTA HIGH COURT

Mr. Justice Himansu Kumar Bose, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, has been appointed to be the Chief Justice of that High Court upon the retirement of Mr. Justice Surajit Chandra Lahiri with effect from June 10, 1961, the Ministry of Home Affairs announced in a Press communique.

Trade and Finance

INSURANCE OF DEPOSITS

A bill to set-up a statutory corporation to administer the deposit insurance scheme will be introduced in the next session of Parliament.

The corporation will have a board of directors consisting of representatives of the Reserve Bank, the State Bank of India, scheduled banks and officials of the Union Finance Ministry. The question as to who should be the chairman of the corporation—a senior civilian or an officer from a bank, or the Governor of the Reserve Bank itself as ex-officio chairman—is not yet decided.

Premium for the insurance will be paid by banks. The Finance Ministry suggested that deposits up to Rs. 1,000 should be covered by the scheme. But the banks wanted this raised to Rs. 1,500.

ASSESSMENT OF INCOME-TAX

What has now come to be known as the "Tyagi Formula" for the assessment of income tax of small assesseees with annual incomes up to Rs. 7,500 has been accepted by Government and instructions have been issued to the Income-tax Officers to give effect to it on May 11.

The formula proposes a simplified procedure for calculating income-tax in such cases doing away with a detailed examination of accounts of the assesseees by the Income Tax Department as hitherto. The new procedure will lighten the work of the officers enabling them to devote greater attention to the assessment and collection of tax from those belonging to higher income groups.

MANAGING AGENTS

The number of managing agencies in India has fallen from about 4,000 on the eve of the new Companies Act of 1956 to less than a thousand to-day. Under the Act, those managing agencies that had not sought reappointment before August 15, 1960 lapsed automatically. Since on that date only 919 managing agencies were left (including a small number of fresh appointments), the vast majority of the members of this historic institution which is peculiar to India must have preferred other forms of company management for which the Act provided. Subsequent to last August the Department of Company Law Administration has agreed to the appointment of managing agents in some cases.

U. K. LOANS TO INDIA

Two agreements for a credit of Rs. 53 crores (£ 40 million) from the U.K. Government to the Government of India for the Third Plan as well as to strengthen India's dwindling Sterling balances, were signed at New Delhi on May 1.

The agreements were signed by Sir Paul Gore-Booth, U.K. High Commissioner, on behalf of the U. K. Government, and Mr. L.K. Jha, Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs, for the Government of India.

NATIONAL INCOME

The national income of India (at 1948-49 prices) was Rs. 11,760 crores in 1959-60 and Rs. 11,650 crores in 1958-59 compared to Rs. 10,480 crores in 1955-56, at the beginning of the Second Five-year Plan. The *per capita* income at 1948-49 prices has been placed at Rs. 291.6, Rs. 292.6 and Rs. 273.6 in the years 1959-60, 1958-59 and 1955-56, respectively.

This is revealed by the eighth issue of the annual paper on National Income just released by the Central Statistical Organisation, says a Press note issued by the Cabinet Secretariat.

The estimates for 1958-59 included in this paper are based on the methods of estimation followed for the earlier years and show a slight downward revision over the preliminary estimates published last year. The estimates for 1959-60, which are preliminary have also undergone a slight upward change compared to the 'quick' estimates released in August last year.

CENTRE-OWNED INDUSTRIES

The Union Government's total investment in the Centrally-owned industrial undertakings has amounted to Rs. 605 crores up to the end of March 1961, according to official figures.

The amount is spread over a wide complex of heavy and basic industries which are either in the process of construction or have gone into partial production.

SHIPPING BOARD

The Government of India have reconstituted the National Shipping Board for a period of two years from May 1, 1961. Mr. G. L. Mehta continues to be Chairman.

Women's Page

Smt. PADMINI WEDS

The marriage of Padmini, the famous South Indian film artiste with Dr. T. K. Ramachandran of Tellicherry took place at the famous Guruvayur temple (Kerala) on 25th May. Several thousands attended the function. Numerous messages were received and prominent among those were from the President of India, Prime Minister Nehru, Their Majesties King & Queen of Nepal, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, Prince Philip, Earl Mountbatten, Governors of States, Chief Ministers, and several distinguished men and Film stars all over the world wishing them all happiness and prosperity.

In connection with the marriage, Srimathi Saraswathy Amma, mother of Padmini gave a reception at Madras on the 30th followed by Music by Smt. Vasanta Kumari and later on at a Dinner at Oceanic Hotel where the well known Sitar artiste Ravi Shankar of Delhi entertained the guests.

POLYTECHNICS FOR GIRLS

The Government of India have decided to set up some polytechnics exclusively for girl students in different parts of the country during the Third Five-year Plan, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, said while laying the foundation-stone of Jagadish Chandra Bose Polytechnique at Debalaya in 24 Parganas district about 30 miles from Calcutta on April 30.

He said women students were good at making certain things such as telephone apparatus and electronics, which required tremendous patience. Like men, women candidates were also showing eagerness to have engineering education and they should be given proper opportunity, he said.

SHOOTING TRAINING FOR WOMEN

South Africa's Defence Minister, Mr. Frans Erasmus, told Parliament that women must learn how to shoot to protect themselves against attacks while their husbands were at work.

Mr. Erasmus said he had decided that police officers at the various police stations of the Union should be available to help women to set up shooting clubs and provide instruction.

SAKUNTALA RAO SASTRI

Dr. Sakuntala Rao Sastri (55) Indian scholar and editor, died in hospital at New York on May 5. Founder of the East-West Institute, she received her education at Oxford and Calcutta Universities and established and directed the Sanskrit Academy of Japan. She went to the U. S. A. in 1947.

WHERE WOMEN DOMINATE

Acharya Kripalani complained of women dominating men not only in the homes but also in Parliament.

Referring to the zeal with which the Dowry Prohibition Bill was being championed by women members, Acharya Kripalani told the joint session of Parliament "Anybody who opposes the Bill, would be called reactionary. I have not seen in the whole world people who are more under the thumb of their women than in India."

'SCHOOL MOTHERS'

West Bengal welcomes women with "mother's heart" for the post of "school mothers" in their Primary schools.

During the discussions at the third meeting of the National Council for Women's Education, at New Delhi on May 10 Mrs. Karuna Gupta, Assistant Director of Public Instruction of West Bengal, said that in her State women between 20 and 40 years of age were employed in primary schools to look after young children, to keep the schools tidy and to act as a link between the school and the parents.

FIRST WOMAN 'HEADMAN'

For the first time, perhaps, in the annals of village officers, a woman has been chosen for the job of a headman.

Miss P. Alamelumangai, daughter of Mr. K. M. Paramaswami Ambalam, has been appointed "headman" of Kallandiri village near Madurai with effect from April 2.

WOMEN AT THE HAIRDRESSER'S

British women are letting money go to their heads—and this is making a fortune for hairdressers.

A recent census revealed that in 1960, women in U. K. spent seventy million pounds on their hair—double what of they spent ten years ago.

There are thirty-five thousand hairdressing establishments.

WOMEN TAX COLLECTORS

Women have proved to be so good at helping the Government to collect taxes that the Inland Revenue now has hopes of taking on more at Kuala Lumpur.

A spokesman of the department stressed, however, this was not to indicate that partiality would be shown to women applicants. But they would have an equal chance with men for the posts. He added that experience over the past year had shown women were very adaptable to the work and were patient, conscientious and good at detail.

General

THE LATE R. P. SETHU PILLAI

Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, the well-known Tamil scholar and former Professor of Tamil, Madras University died on April 25 after a short illness.

Dr. Sethu Pillai was awarded the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of Madras University. He was the author of a number of books in Tamil. His literary work, *Tamil Inbam*, received the President's Award. He also wrote a number of papers. His greatest research contribution is stated to be on *Kamba Ramayanam*. In collaboration with the Heads of Departments of other languages in the Madras University, Dr. Sethu Pillai brought out the Comparative Vocabulary of Dravidian Languages. Dr. Sethu Pillai was a good speaker and was called by Tamil lovers *Sollin Selvar* (Prince of words).

MR. VASUDEVACHARYA

We regret to record the death of Sangeetha Kalanidhi Mysore Vasudevacharya, well-known composer and musician, at his residence in Adyar, Madras, on May 17. He was 96 and the end was almost sudden. Till the last moment, he was speaking to his friends and musicians who were with him. He is survived by his only son.

Smt. Rukmini Devi, President of Kalakshetra called at his residence to pay her respects to the great musician.

Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, former Chief Justice of Madras and President of the Sangita Natak Academy, in a message spoke of him as follows: The Grand Old Man of Carnatic Music has passed away leaving a void which can never be filled. He was not only a great musician, but he was also one of the most versatile composers of recent times."

MOHANLAL SAXENA

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, M.P., a former Union Minister, has resigned from the Congress on May 16.

In a letter addressed to the members of the UPCC, Mr. Saxena said the Congress organisation, instead of remaining the most powerful instrument of public service, had become "a machine for capturing power and holding on to it somehow."

MR. K. BALARAMAN

Mr. K. Balaraman, New York correspondent of *The Hindu*, has been named first recipient of a newly-instituted award by the Journalistic Fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, for excellence of United Nations reporting.

MR. A. S. DE MELLO

Mr. A. S. de Mello, former President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, died at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences Hospital on May 24 at New Delhi.

Mr. de Mello was a great lover of sports especially cricket. The Cricket Club of India and the Brabourne Stadium owe their existence to him. When he embarked upon the work of the Stadium he had hardly any financial support but with his personal influence and unflagging enthusiasm he completed a gigantic task. To him the cricket public indeed owe a large debt of gratitude.

A BIG NUFFIELD GIFT

Lord Nuffield, British motor magnate, has made over all his shares in Morris Garage Limited to the Nuffield Foundation he set up in 1943, it was announced on May 22.

The gift, unofficially believed to be worth more than £500,000 (about Rs. 67 lakhs) is to be known as the Viscount Nuffield Auxiliary Fund.

It will help the blind, deaf-mutes and children's homes. Other charities may be included later.

The Nuffield Foundation for the promotion of health, education and social work within the Commonwealth, had an initial capital of £10,000,000 (about Rs. 14 crores).

MR. C. R. PATTABHIRAMAN

Mr. C. R. Pattabhiraman has been nominated as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee in place of Mr. Upendranath Burman.

Mr. Pattabhiraman's appointment has been welcomed in lobby circles. A Congress front benchman, he has been a member of a number of Select Committees on Bills, like the Wealth Tax Bill, Estates Duty Bill and the Legal Practitioners' Amendment Bill.

MR. M. C. CHAGLA

Mr. M.C. Chagla, retiring Indian Ambassador to the United States, confirmed at United Nations last month that he wished to enter politics and would stand for the Indian Parliament in next year's general elections.

MR. S. K. DATTA

Mr. S. K. Datta, till now Chief Secretary to Assam Govt. has been appointed Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry.



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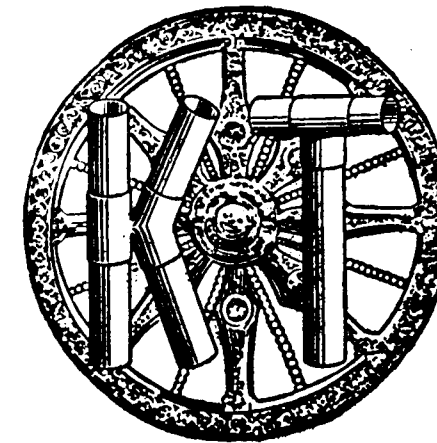
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Why Dictatorships Emerge ?

By

Mr. J. C. JOHARI, M.A., LL.B.

THE emergence of dictatorships is largely a thing of the early decades of the present century. The malady grew and developed in the soils of Europe but its conflagration touched the other continents in a very short time. The European developments saw their vigorous repetition in the countries of Latin and Central Americas. But the disease caught the soils of Asia and Africa in the post-war epoch and so the fifties of this century have noticed the emergence of these dictatorships in several countries of the two continents almost like a mushroom growth. Today the entire area of Middle East, South East Asia and Far East stands in the grip of this epidemic.

Democracy is a product of the seventeenth century England and Eighteenth century France and America. The three great revolutions of England, France and America deserve the credit of bringing democracy in the world. The absolute monarchies that held their sway over mankind for hundreds of years met their banishment when the seventeenth century England rose against the Stuart regimes whose climax reached neither in the execution of Charles I, nor in the establishment of the Protectorate, nor in the restoration of Charles II but in the abdication of James II in 1688. Likewise the days of French monarchy breathed their last in 1789 when the nation drew inspiration from the teachings of Locke, Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau and declared emphatically that Louis was no more 'a state' and the ultimate triumph came the day when the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* came into being.

Thus the nineteenth century Europe was a greatly changed thing and 'the winds of change' celebrated a very auspicious day when Napoleon's forces met a total defeat in the battle of Waterloo. The changed winds had upto this

time gained so much force that the velocity of their stormy march could not be challenged even by the Pashas of Turkey and Czars of Russia but they took almost about a century in breaking all those things away that were proving detrimental to the cause of democracy in the remaining parts of the world.

Democracy, which is the religion of the day, is that political system which has a very long history of ceaseless fights for centuries. It is a result of continuous fight between the arbitrary despots and the subjected citizens. Every country has made remarkable sacrifices for its achievement and we have neither courage nor that deserving ability to measure the depth or value of those sacrifices that our ancestors made for its noble cause.

If our beloved political system is thus out-placed by some such system which constitutes a return to the days of same political despotism, naturally we should feel serious to discover those factors that harbinge or even invite the situations that ultimately lead to the existence of dictatorship at the cost of democracy. They may be summed up as under :

The constitution is the fundamental law of the land and every political organisation comes into being and discharges its functions according to its provisions. It thus becomes indispensable at the very outset that the national constitution must be drawn up on those lines that exhibit a very happy compromise between the national urges, cultural traditions, political sentiments of the people and the contemporary historical conditions of the country on the one hand and the shape of the political institutions on the other. Unless the constitution-makers attempt to bring such coincidence after a very wise and deliberate thinking; until they succeed in envisaging a political system

embracing such checks and balances that deepen the roots of democracy; so long as they do not fall in making a most up-to-date and correct assessment of national sentiments and situations, in short, till they do not emerge victorious in synthesising the democratic institutions with their national urges and circumstances, the fundamental law of their land can never bear fruitful results in this direction.

The Weimer constitution was lamentably massacred owing to this very reason. A nation that was so involuntarily paying to the aftermaths of war and which was subjected to severe humiliations under the Treaty of Versailles (a thing that was quite notorious in the eye of the Germans) did not require such a democratic constitution and thus the nation gave its verdict in favour of the Nazis at the polls though they could devise their independent judgment over the future attitudes of this party, for they loved *Mein Kampf* and hated their constitution. The same tragedy happened with Pakistan where the constitution (which was a product of several feuds and turmoils) was sacked owing to "dangerous compromises."

The actual working of modern democracies owes much responsibility of its own death. Where democracy is no more for the people though it may be of them or by them; where it becomes an instrument of exploitation and oppression by one class over the others; where it becomes an agency that subserves the needs and benefits of the elite; in short, where it gets corrupt with the view to disclose the truth of the dictum of Lord Acton, the nation swallows a big draught of frustration which inevitably leads to the drought of democracy itself. The nation gets satisfied with the things that its popular assemblies are mere "talking shops," that the popular ministers and the unpopular bureaucrats are enjoying heaven-like pleasures at the cost of their humble dishes and coarse skin-covers and, finally, when it sees a naked picture of luxuriant luxuriousness effected by high-handed activities and corrupt practices of the regime, it naturally finds favour with a system that may uproot in wholesale all that elite and powerful popular and unpopular bureaucracy. Gross failures of democracy in countries like Argentina, Egypt, China, etc. testifies to this fact.

Another serious thing that precipitates the downfall of democratic system is the instability of political conditions of a country. The

electorate owing to its ignorance, illiteracy and non-training in the working of democracy fails in giving its verdict in favour of those political parties that stabilise the constitutional system. A mushroom growth of the political parties disturbs the judgment of the masses that naturally casts its sad repercussions on the actual working of the political system. The non-existence of the organised government on the one hand and an united opposition on the other *ipso facto* signifies the non-existence of the very fact that, according to Macaulay, constitutes the forehead and the hind legs of a democratic stage. Moreover the internal bickerings in the powerful party aggravate the situation to the extent that the collapse of the democracy becomes quite natural and for this we should see the cases of Italy, France, Pakistan and Burma.

The rise of military dictatorships finds its origin in the incompetence of the administrators who display a total failure of their activities in regard to the maintenance of balance between civil and military population. When the growing potency of their inherent weaknesses is coupled with their infirm and inefficient discharge of responsibilities or when the popular government shoulders the responsibility of the loss of empire or humiliating national defeats or when its influence is overshadowed by the 'auxiliary guardians,' a rise of military dictatorship becomes a certainty. The dictatorship of Gen. Franco in Spain, Col. Nasser in Egypt, Gen. Kassem in Iraq, Gen. Ayub Khan in Pakistan, Gen. Ne Win in Burma, Gen. Abboud in Sudan, Gen. Naustion in Indonesia, Gen. Sarit Thanarat in Thailand, Gen. Castro in Cuba, etc. owe their genesis to this very fact.

The great mistakes of the popular leaders sometimes assume blunderous shapes which ultimately encourage the breakdown of their democratic systems. Such blunders not only bring a substitution of democracy by dictatorship, rather they consequent the substitution of one dictatorship by the other as well. The repeated experiments of the revolutionary democratic administration of Michael Karoly which met abortive ends, yielded place to the first communist government in Hungary. Czar's panaceas added to the aggravation of situation to the extent that Bolsheviks achieved unprecedented success in October Revolution. The overthrow of democratic government in China and Indochina by the communists owes much

inspiration to this very fact. Likewise the downfall of Fuhrer, Duce II, Peron, Shishakli, Bakr Sidki and Batista in Germany, Italy, Argentina, Syria, Iraq and Cuba respectively may be attributed to the same factor.

Certain democracies have been conditioned by the economic stagnation of the country. When the democratic administration speaks of its inability to weather away the economic crises and the people become convinced with this fact, they feel a very deep frustration over their democratic administration. They even forget their national heroes and begin to derive inspiration from the achievements of those systems (dictatorships) which have changed the shapes of their countries in the course of few decades. Thus economic backwardness is responsible for fomenting the collapse of democracy in certain countries of Europe (now under the heels of communism) and of Asia and Africa (now under the heels of military leaders).

The social conditions also play their part in hastening the arrival of dictatorships. If the society becomes unable to retain the balance between democratic oligarchy at the top and feudal peasantry at the bottom or if the social institutions fail to cope up with the ultra modern democratic institutions of West or when the established democratic administration causes such a radical change in the existing pattern of society whose shock becomes unbearable, in short, when there disappears the harmonious synthesis between the actual conditions of the society and the actual working of democracy, there is bound to come a 'baleful hour' which implies the total extinction of the existing democratic institutions. Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and the countries of Arab world have specially been prey to this very malady.

Democracy may be the substituteless form of political system, yet it is not necessary that its premises will appeal to every nation in equal degrees. Of course, the national sentiments of John Bull or Jonathan will ever cling to the traditional systems, yet the same truth will never apply in equal degrees to the fellahs or mandarins. Hence, where democracy is established without giving due consideration to the national sentiments or where national urges and whims are forcefully suppressed in order to appreciate

the imitations of White House and White Hall, the actual existence of democracy and its actual working becomes nothing else save a protean-like show whose real colours do not take time to appear. The Sudanese democracy could not last long as its soil proved essentially undemocratic. The Arab Federation soon disappeared with the appearance of Gen. Kassem in Iraq.

Finally, eternal vigilance is the price of freedom and thus several dictatorships have been brought to life by national slumber. This thing is very obvious in the history of those countries where dictatorship has come through the channel of democracy. The nation enjoyed great pleasure over the non-existence of dictatorship in their own country by giving power to one party at the polls but their faithful leaders gradually cut the foundations of their liberties and a time came when they saw that their power of giving verdict at the polls remained no more with them. Nazi dictatorship in Germany came into effect through the polls. Similarly, Salazar's administration in Portugal, De Gaulle's government in France and even Nehru's democracy in India are not only pro-dictatorship systems rather, with full modesty and humility, it may be alleged that they are pre-dictatorships.

But this study of ours does not ask a reader to take into admission that dictatorships have been conditioned by one particular factor alone. In each country where dictatorship has come to exist or vanish, there has happened a confluence of various factors in various degrees. The individual weight of one factor assumed substantial weight when it received the lending support of others and thus there occurred the emergence of dictatorial systems. As there is the pool of the effects of various factors, there is the eruption of their accumulated weight that finally parades the destruction of democracy and the construction of dictatorship.

We in India must derive lessons out of this, since our democracy is in a state of infancy and our land is not free from those tendencies that have caused a decline of democracy in other parts of the world. We must keep in mind the words of Dr. Ambedkar which he gave in the Constituent Assembly that democracy is merely a top-dressing for us while our soil is essentially undemocratic.

Trade Unions and Strikes

By
PRINCIPAL P. C. MALHOTRA

A strike is an organised cessation of work on the part of the 'workmen' to force attention of the employer, the public, the State to pay attention to the needs of the workers and provide them redress. The term 'workmen' means all persons employed in trade or industry whether or not in the employment of the employer with whom the trade dispute arises.

We have been accustomed to hear of industrial workers go on strike, lately persons engaged in transport have also gone on strike and more recently non-manual workers engaged in insurance, banking and administrative offices have been resorting to strike through their organisations known as Unions. The British Ministry of Labour has described trade unions as 'All Organisations of employees including those of salaried and professional workers as well as those of manual wage-earners.'

Economic development of nations has passed through the cycle of extractive (agriculture, fishing, mining etc.), manufacturing and tertiary industries. In the agricultural stage production was on scattered lands, the producer was also the owner of means of production, the worker therefore was his own employer; labour as a distinct factor of production separate from the capitalist employer did not exist.

The social, political and economic systems prevailing at the time did not permit a worker the right of organisation on the basis of the trade he followed for furtherance of his economic interests.

Under feudalism the manor lord held full sway over the villeins (tenant serfs). The Black Death-fierce plague or epidemic raged all over Europe in the 14th century. In England the Black Death wiped out whole villages. This created a scarcity of labour and gave the land slave his chance. Labour was commuted into service and the thin end of the wedge into land labour slavery was introduced.

The Enclosure Movements, that is the policy of enclosing small strips of lands and thereby converting them into big blocks led to the dispossession of the land owners and created a class of landless workers. Conversion of arable land into pasture farming released labour

from land as pasture farming did not require that much labour which cereal growing did.

Then came the industrial revolution the main feature of which was the starting of big factories at one place, the use of machinery and the herding of workers under one roof. The worker had to leave his home to work in the factory, he neither owned the raw material nor the tools to work with and therefore had no interest how the product of the factory was sold. He had to work for fixed hours on a settled wage. From an independent worker or self-employed he became merely seller of physical work.

With the Industrial Revolution came the use of power machinery of the factory system and the complete triumph of laissez-faire; i.e., the policy of the State was not to interfere in economic matters, and conditions of economic exploitation and social anarchy therefore prevailed.

The population grew rapidly, workers crowded into towns which were dirty and congested hovels. The treatment of children in the factories was inhuman. Hours in the cotton factories in England were any thing upto sixteen a day and rarely below twelve, wages for a grown up man were very low.

The factories which were made out of dwelling houses to make money were dirty, ill-ventilated, insanitary and often dangerous. There were no laws to enforce safety measures and the employers saw no reason or necessity to spend money on them.

Productivity rose very high. So great fortunes were made by a few, but the vast majority of the working people became the slaves of the new machines and lived in misery. The Governing classes, found in the laissez-faire doctrine an intellectual and moral justification for amassing enormous pecuniary profits.

The French Revolution made the governing class in England fear and hate the new proletariat. Legislation was passed by combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 to suppress trade union activity.

The odds were against the workers; the policy of the state gave free the factory scope to

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owners to neglect and exploit the labourers. The humanitarian conscience had not yet been awakened to meet the dire needs of the situation. The only remedy was self-help on the part of the workers themselves which prompted and called for this organisation into some sort of trade unions.

Early unions in Great Britain took the form of organisation among wage earners in the form of local trade clubs. These bodies depended upon appeals to parliament to protect the wage standards of their members. They also showed hostility to machinery and restriction of entrance to trade.

Both these methods were against the march of time. The recognition of trade unions with the right to strike was achieved as a result of long struggle against vested interests repressive legislation and difficulties of bringing the workers together in the face of these obstacles.

The main reason for collective action on the part of early labour organisation was that individually a worker was no match to his employer. The exact circumstances under which trade unionism first took root differed from country to country, but in all cases it was the product of industrialisation.

The industrial Revolution in England brought about a complete transformation of the economy of the country and in Europe the Industrial Revolution occurred first in England; the labour movement here became the model for other countries. Trade unionism rose in Germany at the end of the 19th century by which time industrialism had caught sufficient strength in the country.

The weakness of French and Italian trade unions reflected the partial triumph of industry over agriculture. There was little connection between the medieval gild system prevailing in England in the medieval period of British history and the modern trade unionism in that country. But in the rest of Europe labour movement had its origins in the gilds as these institutions continued under Mercantilism during the 19th century.

Labour movement in different countries has been inspired by a number of political ideologies. The French and the Italian trade unions are in open hostility to the existing governments. The Soviet state has completely absorbed the Russian trade unions and has used these as an instrument of state machinery.

In Norway and Sweden the trade unions co-operate fully with their governments. In Britain and Australia, the trade unions are in loyal opposition to their Governments. In India, the most important labour Organization viz. the Indian National Trade Union Congress may be said to be in loyal opposition to the government outside legislatures; inside the legislature their representatives belong to the party in power i.e. Congress.

Industrialisation has come in India at a time when the "welfare state" idea has been embodied in our Constitution. So the exploitation of labour by the capitalist is impossible and is ruled out. The labourer is the political master having been given the right of adult franchise.

Strike as weapon of trade unions is recognised. It is the eventual sanction behind the trade union movement. The labour leaders have to use this weapon with a surgeon's skill and not with a child's frolicsomeness. The need of the hour in our country is more production, which alone can permit the actual realisation of the welfare state.

Sound and strong trade unions will win victories without the actual warfare. Time is on the side of labour. Collective bargaining through negotiations, conciliations, arbitration, should be able to avoid the use of strikes.

The present situation throws a difficult challenge to the capitalists and enterprisers. A big mental adjustment on their part is also called for. They must understand not money, markets and material but also men.

When the requisite mental adjustment takes place in both labourers and employers, strikes may cease to be the obstructive, the destructive and the corrosive force that these tend to be in a degenerated situation.

Should strikes be permitted in the Public Sector? This has become an important and an urgent question since the Public Sector is growing and expanding and casting its long shadows which trails its onward march. The answer to this question must be given on the basis of practical consideration.

The Public Sector in its broad sense may be split into (i) the Public-Servant Sector which comprises civil servants including personnel in Defence Administration of the Country (ii) the Public Utility sector covering essential services like transport, water, electricity

etc. (iii) the Public Commercial Sector including the industrial and trade activities of the state. With respect to the Public-Servant Sector, it may be said that the State as employer should see to it that conditions giving rise to unrest and grounds for agitation do not arise. The joint negotiating machinery representing the public servants and the Heads of Departments representing the state as employer at different levels accompanied by settlement of disputes by arbitration if the joint machinery fails to resolve them would leave no scope for strikes here. When this is done the Right of Strike in the Public-Servant sector cannot be conceded. No State can permit rights which paralyse the functioning of the administrative machinery. The democratic Government in which we are living compels the State to be alert about its responsibilities in the matter of maintaining the personnel of satisfied employees.

In the Public-Utility sector, lightning strikes could not be permitted as this would suddenly paralyse social life of our society. The Right to Strike has however cannot be denied.

In the Public-Commercial Sector however no categorical answer regarding the conditions under which strike is to be permitted can be given. The Private Sector can certainly insist that conditions regarding payment to labour and other minimum welfare facilities etc. imposed on industries in private sector must be applied to the Public Sector as well. There is neither any excuse nor any possibility of the Public Sector seeking exemption from these. If

the implementation of minimum conditions of work for labour based on the welfare-state concept is not done due to the red-tape, the private sector will get the handle for not carrying the same out honestly in their industries. Further, what is sauce for the goose (Private Sector) should be sauce for the gander (Public Sector) also and differential standards of labour conditions in the two sectors will neither be possible nor work. If the enforcement of the labour conditions in the private sector raises the cost of production which reduces their competitive power and the public sector avoids bearing this 'welfare idea' cost, the artificial production of this additional cost will further tend to keep the efficiency in the Public Sector low. If this additional cost of 'welfare idea' cannot be just now borne by the industry, there might be a case to do rethinking about the phasing of this additional cost of the 'welfare idea,' on industry. In any case at the present 'critical period' of economic development in the country, it is necessary to concentrate on all measures which will increase production at competitive productive efficiency level. Idealism would necessarily have to be tempered with realism.

As strikes mean stoppage of work, production suffers, capital is wasted and working days are lost. A developing country cannot afford this luxury. It is only prosperity that the country wants to be shared with the workers. In creating conditions for this prosperity the role of the labour will be great and the attitude of cutting one's nose to spite another man's face must be fought.

Whither National Unity ?

By

Mr. AJIT KUMAR HALDER, M.A.

THE language issue is playing to-day the same role in the national politics as religion played in the pre-independence era. Beginning with the Andhra episode which prompted the Govt. to institute the States' Reorganisation Commission, its force is being increasingly prominent through various movements like Punjabi Subha agitation, Nag-Bidharbha movement and Assam riots.

But after all for a country like India it is but natural. In the psychological make-up and spiritual heritage and culture, India has been a single entity. But her people lacked national consciousness. The latter came with the British period, with the spread of education and with the freedom movement. All the animosities in the country on language or religion are only the birthpangs of a new nation shaping itself distinctly from a hoary past.

These historical theorisings are beautiful. But to think of a practical solution to come out of this apparent impasse is to deal with the ominous potentialities and contradictions.

Yet we badly need the national unity, both passive and active. This unity we may conceive in spiritual as well as material aspects. The factor which we call 'national character' connotes both these two aspects. The institutions like constitution, legal system or economic structure may form a nation and in the long-run may create a spirit of national unity. But for a nation to be firm in its unity, these material factors are not enough. It is more so for the present political objective of the leaders who aim at an emotional integration in the shortest possible time. Therefore more than these material aspects, the spiritual factors responsible for the creation of the nation become important to us.

In this background it is clear that a mere change of constitution is not enough. A suggestion for changing the constitution from federal to unitary is being mooted in several quarters of the country, a former Chief Justice of India being its main advocate. In the context of current linguistic bickerings, the suggestion is noteworthy no doubt, but it does not satisfy the criteria which go for the emotional integration of the country. The peculiarity of the Indian culture stands for unity in diversity and if a proper unity is to be achieved, it must be achieved through a federal or at most a quasi-federal framework as we have at present. A unitary administration in the circumstances is only a semblance of artificial unity imposed upon a federal plinth.

After all, the solution towards the emotional integration awaits spiritual unity of the masses. When people feel themselves as one in spite of their diversities of religion, language and customs, it is a surer and a firmer ground for the national unity. And for a country like India, it is not difficult to achieve. The national character of a people has some permanent factors despite outward differences, and an approach from these permanent factors inevitably leads to the goal.

In India these permanent factors are latent in our approach towards life, in our attitude towards others of diverse character. Throughout the ages she has been a land of toleration and has shown the outstanding capacity to integrate even foreigners into her fold. With no serious ethnic problem to deal with, with geo-

graphical unity and growing economic closeness, can we not utilise this peculiar genius of the country in our favour ?

Admittedly, our approach towards these permanent factors has been a half-hearted or at least a weak one. As the situation stands to-day, there is a definite breach of mutual understanding between different language groups. It is not at all a rare thing to see a young man more interested in the foreign language than an Indian one. A Bengali graduate knows more of English literature than of Tamil or Gujarati literature. Even a feeling of malignity or pity is not rare. This attitude may be due to the utility of foreign languages in our prosperous life and also their superiority over the Indian ones. But surely this is not a way to achieve national unity. If our students in the schools and colleges know more of English or Russian life than of the common life in other States, we can hardly deny the existence of drawback in the process of emotional unity.

Whatever solution we may advance in the national sphere, there must be a solution spiritual in character. Since the inception of our independence, various institutions like Sahitya Academy etc. have been established. But they are concerned more with some stereo-typed activities than with an active programme which brings mutual understandings and cordiality. Now it may conveniently publish an annual edition of best literary work in different languages, may prescribe for the schools and colleges books that inform the literary developments and common life in different regions. Likewise, a University may be established for this purpose, and conference among the literary men, students and common people may be encouraged at both Govt. and private levels. Without denying the importance of studying English in our national and international life, the teaching of an Indian language other than mother tongue may be adopted in every area. (Here there should be no exception for the Hindi-speaking people).

Not less harm has been inflicted on the feeling of national unity by attempting to make India as an impact uniformity. When some people in the country dream to make Hindi as the sole language of the people, naturally the feeling of unity receives a severe jolt. In the questions like this, the problems of superiority and inferiority come in, suspicion pervades the scene and the atmosphere is queerly vitiated. Before we suggest or do something, we should

first admit the diversities of life and the necessity of its continuance. The integration of India must be sought through its survival and so it is largely a question of deliberate adjustments and proper reconciliation between sub-units of a unitary one. Our work must be a difficult one, particularly as we lack the monolithic party-structure and one-idea state of the U.S.S.R. to which the Indian conditions largely resemble. Having democracy and freedom of thinking as our means, the spirit of national consciousness cannot largely depend on national unity only. The psychological akinness, emotional similarity and the genius for toleration and understanding should therefore be given a real shape in practice.

Shaw's Concept of Happiness

By

PROF. R. N. ROY, M.A.

GEORGE Bernard Shaw is a phenomenon. There is not a subject in which he has not had something to say—philosophy, science, theology, economics, music, art, drama, novel, criticism, politics, education, health and what not. He is one of the most voluminous writers in English literature and like other prolific writers he has occasionally been inconsistent. His concept of happiness, for example, lacks consistency. At the beginning of his career he looked upon happiness as an essential element for betterment. He speaks of the marriage of Cashel and Lydia as 'a happy one,' and in the first edition of *Quintessence of Ibsenism* he says: "Conduct must justify itself by its effect upon happiness."¹ He wanted his plays to be printed as well as acted 'for the unhappy prisoners of the home.' The importance of happiness and the necessity of the removal of unhappiness thus occupied Shaw's attention. But soon he chuckled happiness as a sentimental commodity which, as John Tanner says in the *Revolutionist's Handbook*, 'never matters to Nature.' Charteris, who philanders only for the sake of enjoying 'some hours of exquisite happiness,' is an object of Shaw's contempt. Marchbanks is his first character to repudiate happiness which he envied in the days of his blindness. Candida by choosing to remain with her husband chooses to live in happiness without nobility and the poet, who flies into the dark night, chooses a life of nobility without happiness. Shaw finds fault with the American Constitution which specifies the pursuit of happiness as a natural right, because 'the pursuit of happiness is the nearest way to frustration and suicide, happiness being a by-product of beneficial activity and comfortable circumstances.'² People can be happy in their degradation as their betters are in their exaltation. In the *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* Shaw tells us, "A drunken man is happier than a sober one: that is why unhappy people take to drink. There are drugs that will make you ecstatically happy while ruining your body and soul. It is our quality that matters: take care of that, and our happiness will take care of itself. People of the right sort are never easy until they get things straight; but they are too healthy and too much taken up with their occupations to bother about happiness." Captain Shotover dreaded happiness all his life but now, when he is too old to keep his senses without run, he feels nothing but 'accursed happiness'—the happiness that comes as life goes, the happiness of yielding and dreaming instead of resisting and doing, the sweetness of the fruit that is going rotten.' As one of Shaw's philosophers, he tells Mrs. Hushaby that 'happiness is no good. You can be happy when you are only half alive. I am happier now I am half dead than ever I was in my prime. But there is no blessing on my happiness.' All that clearly emerges is that happiness has not only no connexion with quality but it is often degrading. Shaw is a believer in Creative Evolution, and his principal ground for objection to happiness is that it is absolutely unconnected with the evolutionary appetite³ and that its pursuit impedes the evolution of the race. But although he repudiates happiness as a thing of no account in human life, in "Too True to Be Good" he, inconsistently, wants, as he says in the preface, to 'plead for a science of happiness to cure us of the miserable delusion that we can achieve it by becoming richer than our neighbours.'

1. Later on Shaw changed this into "Conduct must justify itself by its effect upon life."

2. Everybody's Political What's What, P. 284.

Commercial Policy in Third Plan

By

Sri V. R. NATARAJAN

INCREASED emphasis on export promotion, rapid development of export industries, continuation of the present screening and control of imports and a widening of our commercial relations with different countries—these will be the main features of India's commercial policy in the Third Plan period. India's balance of payments is likely to continue to be under pressure during the coming few years, due to the import needs of development projects. It has been estimated in the Draft outline of the 3rd Plan that the total import bill over the Third Plan period may be around Rs. 1,100 crores. During the Third Plan period, top priority will be given for import of raw materials and for capital goods and equipment essential for the plan projects. At the same time, the country will have to make sustained efforts to make maximum use of indigenous resources. While every effort will have to be made to expand traditional exports, there will have to be increasing reliance on new exports such as the products of the engineering, chemical and pharmaceutical industries. In practice however, there are numerous difficulties. The buyer abroad has to be convinced that it would be worthwhile to buy the export products offered by India. To a certain extent, the import policies followed in the rest of the world influence the course of our exports also. Partly, it will also depend on our salesmanship, quality of our products, and on our success in organising our trade better and acquiring greater expertise in the art of selling abroad. There is vital need for developing our production capacity in directions where there is world demand.

An important aim of our commercial policy has been to diversify our trade through trade agreements with various countries. These agreements foster trade through an increased knowledge about the availability of goods in the signatory countries. Today India has agreements with as many as 28 countries and it has been found that the value of trade with these countries has increased at a faster rate than our overall trade. For instance, between 1957 and 1959, exports to the 'Agreement Countries' rose from 67% to 72%. In 1959, the total value of

exports to these countries was as much as Rs. 449 crores, out of a total of Rs. 623 crores. India has, in the coming years, to expand exports not only to Commonwealth countries but to other countries as well within the East and in the West. The possibilities of closer commercial relations with neighbouring countries in Asia and Africa as also with Latin America have also to be kept in mind while formulating commercial policies.

It is now being increasingly recognised that in order to help the underdeveloped countries to improve their living standards, more aid in the form of short-term loans by the advanced countries is not enough. It is necessary for them to give long-term aid on terms that may not entirely be satisfactory purely from a commercial point of view. Equally important is the need for them to adopt liberal import policies which would facilitate increase in exports from the underdeveloped countries.

The Three-Man Team sent by the International Bank to India sometime ago stressed this fact when it underlined the need for advanced countries to assist the course of development in the developing economies "by removing the kind of barriers which restrict the export opportunities of developing countries." Without such an enlightened policy, which will be mutually beneficial, there will be no means by which the developing countries can repay their foreign debts.

What is required in order to bring about a better balance in the country's external accounts is sustained and systematic effort to increase exports. This is not a matter of only commercial policy: it links up with investment policy, pricing policy, as well as fiscal policy. In its immediate aspect, the problem is one of creating a larger export surplus even at the cost of domestic consumption. From a long-range point of views, the essential task is to strengthen the economy at the base, to develop capital goods and machine-building industries.

The programmes of development both in agriculture and in industry have to be oriented not only to the needs of domestic consumption but to the no less urgent needs of exports.

Anti-Colonialism

By

PROF. GORACHAND PATNAIK, M.A., O.E.S.

BY the beginning of the 16th century, the type of life called Medieval was waning. Feudalism had given way to strong national states. Closely associated with it was empire building, a nationalistic pursuit of many a European Power. The urge for adventure, the need for land and food, and the ambition to conquer were the dominating factors in Europeanising the world. And, in this, the Governments realised the great possibilities of increasing their power and wealth by assisting their merchants in search of profits, the missionaries in search of converts, and the navigators in search of adventure. Thus started the slow, elaborate and opportunistic process of expansion culminating in the building up of large overseas possessions.

Kings and Emperors of Europe vied with one another for colonies. Their acquisition was hailed as a national glory. The Industrial Revolution of the 19th century only enhanced the rivalry. Enormous over-production and the necessity to drain off the surplus made search for new markets inevitable and, as a result, led to international ill-will and competition. Also, as an outlet for the expanding populations, it was found necessary to extend and develop the colonial enterprises. Within a brief period of three decades, from 1878 to 1914, the Imperial powers partitioned the world among themselves and brought under their tutelage the vast continent of Asia, raped the dark continent of Africa, and cut the Chinese melon.

In some respects these colonial activities served some useful purposes. They civilised the backward people, brought light to the benighted humanity and worked for their political and material development. The motives, good in themselves, however, were often made excuses for selfish greed and exploitation. Colonial people "were maltreated, repressed, and plundered." It is no surprise then they voiced "taxation without representation is a tyranny." The ambitions of the rulers also became a prolific and potent cause of wars—both internal and international. These were the underlying causes of the war of U.S.A. against Spain in 1898, Great Britain against the Boers in 1899-1902, Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, and the First World War.

In due course, colonialism degenerated into imperialism, and when it outgrew its usefulness, the seeds of its decay began to germinate. These manifested themselves in the revolt of the supposedly illiterate and ignorant natives bent upon destroying the fetters of the country's slavery, there being a limit to any endurance. Thus we find the growth of Anti-Colonial sentiment which is opposed to the desire and policy of the advanced nations to rule over the weaker and backward people. In positive terms, it stands for a support of all the people who strive to eliminate the last vestiges of colonial rule.

The American declaration of Independence of 4th July 1776 marks the first great break in the process. It signalled and strengthened the idea of revolution in the 18th century. The example was followed by the Latin American colonies of Spain in their resentment against the exploitation and stiff-necked despotism of Madrid. Great Britain, wisest and foremost among the colonial powers, however was careful and drew a lesson from its American crisis. To lesson the danger of losing another colony it amended her colonial policy in response to Canadian demands for reform. Thus the Durham Report for Canada was submitted to the British Parliament in 1839 and formed the basis for the grant of self-government to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Demands for self-determination and independence became particularly insistent during World War I. President Woodrow Wilson emphasized the "right of small nations" and invoked the principle of national self-determination in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The hope was general that the principle might now be applied. This however was not to be. The lofty idealism of President Wilson was thrown to the winds. Like the Principle of Legitimacy of the last European Congress (Vienna: 1814-15) it was one of the rhetorical shibboleths to be applied only capriciously as it suited the interests of the great powers. The subject nations cried in vain for self-determination.

The territories which were inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves, were, for their well-being and political development, kept under the stewardship of advanced

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ced nations giving rise to the mandate system. The original principles behind this arrangement were "mutilated in details and sullied by the spirit of barter." The powers seemed to regard mandates as outright annexations. The wishes of the population were ignored in Palestine and Syria and not even consulted elsewhere. For many years the European powers had denounced Germany for respecting neither the rights of princes nor those of peoples. Now they paid it the flattery of hearty imitation. Nevertheless the system represented a significant device in international supervision over backward areas. The replacement of the League by the United Nations was accompanied by the substitution of a new International Trusteeship system for the old Mandate arrangements. But the improvement was more formal than factual.

Nationalistic inspirations which were taking shape at the beginning of the Second World War got the impetus from the liberal ideas of the great powers. In August 1941, in the Atlantic Charter, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to respect the rights of all people to choose the form of government under which they live. It was endorsed next year by the Russian dictator Joseph Stalin and the other Governments at War with Germany. It was reaffirmed again in their declaration on liberated Europe.

As the War wore on, the nationalistic movements in Asia and Africa gained momentum. The leaders, imbued with the Western ideas of nationalism, kept active the struggles throughout the War and brought about a decline in Western imperialism. The people of the Far East were greatly encouraged by the sweeping victory of a non-European Japan and its slogan "Asia for Asians." The imperial powers, exhausted and almost reduced to impotence at the end of the War, could not profit from the annihilation of Japan. They found it difficult to resist successfully the persistent and militant demands of subject peoples for national independence.

Nationalism was mainly anti-colonial and for the communists it provided a golden opportunity. These demands were utilised by the Soviet Union to satisfy its proselytising zeal and to weaken its rivals in the cold war. Everywhere among colonial people Red propaganda identified communism with nationalism. Since nationalism in Asia and Africa was directed mainly against political and economic domi-

nation by Western powers, the U.S.S.R. by ceaselessly denouncing Western imperialism furthered its own interests. It cherishes an ulterior ambition of its own but such a consideration is beyond the grasp of the people constantly absorbed in emancipating themselves.

The United States of America which reacted first against imperialism emerged after the Second World War as a champion of native rights and native rule. It honoured its pre-War promise by granting independence to Philippines in 1946. To counteract the Soviet influence and as a defence against communism, the U.S.A. encouraged native nationalists and conducts far flung counter democratic propaganda. United Kingdom, under the Labour government, granted independence to large segments of its empire in 1947. The attainment of Indian independence undoubtedly represented a major step in the liquidation of colonial empire and hastened the dawn of freedom throughout Asia. As the best organised nationalist movement in the East, the Indian National Congress served as a model for Asia and Africa. In the Middle East, nationalism had less of a smooth story and a possible clash between Israel and the Arab League states is almost embarrassing and a sore point to the Western powers. Dangers and fears without end were presented as Israel prepared for statehood. Because of its imperialist tinge and geographic location as the sole Zionist state amidst Arab states, it opened a veritable Pandora's box of troubles. Nationalism is vaguely directed but growing fast in Africa. Indeed, the political awakening and resurgence of Africa is a striking feature of the present century. This has been amply demonstrated by the Bandung Conference of twenty-nine Afro-Asian nations held in 1955. It seems clearer day by day that the white man's burden in the twentieth century will finally cause the break in the back of its bearer.

As the cruder forms of colonialism are fading away, a new form of imperialism is emerging. The world is polarised between two great powers, emerged triumphant after the Second World War. The world is dedicated to a planetary struggle for hegemony between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. through money, diplomacy and military missions. Accusing fingers are pointed at each other and a state of tension short of actual or hot war continues to persist. In spite of its long record as a cham-

pion of causes of subject nations and inspite of the suppression of the Hungarian revolt standing as an argument against the U.S.S.R. the U.S.A. is being made out as a new imperialist power. Reasons are not far to seek. The appeal of communism is greatest to the world's peasantry. And Russia is presented as an example of a backward country which in a short space of time has been transformed, under communist rule, into one of the great powers.

Colonialism as it stands now is a discredited creed. It has fallen into disrepute. Colonies held by force are precariously held. To win the loyalty of the conquered is well-nigh impossible. Great concessions of a liberal nature may be made but nothing short of self-determination would be satisfactory. Withholding self-government can only increase the irritation

and widen the gap of misunderstanding as has happened in Algeria. Material benefits may be increased and distributed to induce acquiescence but are always received with suspicion rather than with gratitude. There is always the firm belief that the amelioration of the conditions of subject peoples is incompatible with the idea of imperialism. No colonial power can maintain itself by repression and force. It may not be on the verge of collapse but its collapse is certain.

There would be no end to the hateful drama of imperialism and shameful exploitation save in one world based upon the ideals of U.N. shorn of all hypocrisies and subscribing to peaceful coexistence on equal terms. In such a world only can a semblance of Liberty and Justice to all be guaranteed.

The Seven-Year Plan of the German Democratic Republic

By

Mr. ERHARD BEIRAU

IN the course of the past ten years war damage was extensively eliminated in the German Democratic Republic and the necessary steps were taken to assure a favourable economic development, which by far exceeds the highest pre-war level and offers great advantages to the population. Compared with the pre-war standard industrial production was trebled and agricultural production increased 1.7 times compared with 1949. During the same period the average wages and salaries increased by more than 60%.

Large sums were spent on the satisfaction of social and cultural needs of the population, new modern factories and flats were constructed. Increased production rendered possible an extension of foreign trade with socialist countries as well as with countries like India, Burma, Indonesia and Pakistan. The German Democratic Republic is particularly interested in the extension of trade with these countries because the improvement of their economies create favourable conditions for trade relations and support industrialisation in those countries. Also from this angle the Seven-Year Plan which was passed by the GDR Parliament on Octo-

ber 1st, 1959, is of great importance. Compared with 1958, industrial gross production in 1965 is scheduled to increase by 88% and to reach a total of 11,000 crore Marks. Extensive measures for the application of the latest perceptions in science and engineering for the purpose of mechanisation and automation of production as well as a consequent specialisation of the factories will create the conditions for the realisation of this goal. From 1959 until 1965 about 14,200 crore Marks will be invested which will be shared between industry (6,000 crore Marks), communications (1,400 crore Marks), construction of flats and town construction (3,000 crore Marks) and agriculture (1,400 crore Marks). 7,72,000 new flats are scheduled to be constructed. Compared with the present figure of 6,300 crore Marks per year, national income will increase to 10,000 crore Marks in 1965. While 3,960 crore Marks worth of goods were produced for the home market in 1958, this figure will rise to 6,600 crore Marks in 1965. During the same period, real wages are scheduled to increase by 65%. Furthermore, it is planned to increase old-age pensions and make higher funds availa-

ble for social and cultural expenses, particularly for educational purposes.

The Seven-Year Plan provides for GDR foreign trade an increase from 1,450 crore Marks in 1958 to at least 2,500 crore Marks in 1965. Increased imports of raw materials, goods, products of the metal-processing industry as well as foodstuffs and coffee, tea, tobacco and spirits serve a quick development of production and improved living standard. Here is a literal quotation from the Seven-Year Plan dealing with this subject: "Apart from the planned increase of the volume of trade with the socialist countries, trade relations with the capitalist countries and particularly with the anti-imperialist national States must also be steadily developed on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence."

Therefore, one can say, that the Seven-Year Plan opens up favourable perspectives for the trade with the German Democratic Republic as a trade of mutual benefit.

This great economic programme and its realisation are a peace work which can only

advance in peace. The German Democratic Republic does not spend any money on atomic armament, on war preparations, which would threaten the security of other peoples. She resolutely opposes any measures increasing international tension and furthering the armament race. Everybody knows that rearmament swallows tremendous amounts of money which is lost to peaceful construction, handicaps economic development and lowers the living standard of the population.

On the other hand, the magnificent perspectives offered by the Seven-Year Plan of German Democratic Republic prove that the German people can very well live in peace, prosperity and happiness without atomic armament without threatening other peoples. By putting this plan into practice the German Democratic Republic renders a contribution to the preservation of peace, to understanding and economic collaboration on the basis of equality of the peoples. The realisation of this plan is the continuation of the consistent peace policy pursued by the German Democratic Republic ever since her foundation.

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College Life in America

By

USHA DEVI

THOUGH the American and Indian Universities are based on the older British universities, there is much difference between the two, especially in the atmosphere, as there is much difference in the way of life. At the State University of Iowa and the Chicago universities, to which my husband was attached, we came into contact with students from all over America, in fact from all over the world and with Americans who had studied or taught at many universities.

I did not hear of students' strikes in the nearly three years I studied in America. When the students did get excited, as it happened once after a basket ball game, when they marched to the girl's dormitory, the University authorities and the police handled the situation so tactfully, that nothing serious happened. The students have much freedom and whatever grouse they have, they ventilate them freely in the student's

daily paper and their time is so absorbed by various extra-curricular activities, work and dating, that they do not have enough time even to study. Even I was so caught up in the whirl that I always had a feeling of being rushed.

Theirs was a horizontal society, the foreign student adviser's wife told the new foreign students, in which they paid the same respect to the President as well as to the grocery store keeper, and this was reflected in college life also. Small children addressed their President, "Hi, Ike," and I have seen students greet their professors, "Hi." I rarely heard words like high placed, V.I.P.s, big wigs nor had I seen any American obsequious as Americans usually do not consider themselves as low placed, unimportant or small wigs. I heard sarcastic words like big gun and big shot more often. I was surprised to note that even the Iowa Governor's home was smaller than the Madras Governor's

home and it was not much bigger than the other homes in the street, though Iowa has the richest farm land in the world and even their cattle have better habitations than the streets and mud huts in which millions live in Madras. The President's home and garden are smaller than their counterparts in India, and I didn't even know who the cabinet ministers were, as they and their President do not make so many speeches and long ones too, nor run around the country opening this or closing that. Their journalism is not just reporting the speeches of politicians, and the people and students are not obsessed by politics. Their newspapers and magazines write a lot about what is happening in the community, to many interesting events and people.

In Iowa city and the smaller cities, the movie houses and the theatres have only one priced tickets; one student asked me what was a III class; as they have only coaches, in which one sits and travels, and pullmans in which one can lie down too for which one pays more but even the coaches are streamlined. Since the minimum standard is high and even the well-to-do dress soberly and because of universal education and the administration being carried in their own language, outwardly one does not see much difference between the classes.

At first I was surprised to see students, including girls smoke in class—this is not done in all the universities though and sit raising their legs on chairs in front. Sir is not used much either in or outside college, other than at shops or public utility concerns where they are asked to do so. The professors also stand in line with the students at cafeterias. One day I noticed the S.U.I. president sitting unassumingly in a back seat at an University concert and I met his wife on the bus. He was the second highest paid official in the state. Once when he drove me home, along with his friend's daughter, he walked across the street to leave me at my door and how many times the head of my department, a famous man in America, had driven me home or to his house for supper!

Even small children asked me many questions when I spoke to them at schools and churches, and college students discussed freely with the members of the faculty in class, restaurants and parties. The student enters college after twelve years of school—the state schools are co-educational—apart from pre-school and kinder-

garden and are about eighteen years of age; being taller and having better constitutions than Indian students, they look like grown ups; the girls especially are more mature; they have gone about alone and with boys and worked outside from their high school days and even I felt like an innocent among them many times. "What did they exactly mean by sex appeal or sexy?" which was used casually, I asked my friend. To my embarrassment she asked a man to explain it to me. What were the three dimensions mentioned very often about a woman, I asked. "Even a school boy knew the dimensions of the stars," I was told. So the faculty members treated the students as adults with a sense of responsibility. There was no supervision of their studies in the dormitories. A Freshman had an I. Q. test, and if he got F. repeatedly after warning, he was dismissed.

The first year students were called Freshmen, the second Sophomores, the third Juniors, the fourth Seniors. If the summer course of eight weeks, which was equal to half a semester, was taken, a student could graduate in less than four years. Then there was a four weeks Independent unit for Graduate students, after which there was intermission of two weeks. A student, could enrol in September or February when all the students registered for new courses.

The word graduated was used even when one finished high school, when it was celebrated with graduation dress and presents. The city high school had only the four senior classes, though it had more than thousand students. Even grade schools in tiny towns were made inviting by building them nowadays in glass and they were being provided with psychiatrists and teachers who took interest in the children's activities even outside school. The interest of the pupil was aroused by pictorial books, even on Arithmetic and by reference books, cuttings from newspapers, magazines and charts on basic information. A student's initiative and independent thinking was encouraged. At our fiction workshop the instructor only criticized the whole work, then the class discussed it once, that happened once or twice in three years; a student's creative power was encouraged and the child found out for himself from the encyclopedia rather than memorise.

An orientation week was held for new students before the classes started, when some older students acting as big brother and sisters,

conducted them around the campus, then they were welcomed in batches at faculty homes and attend a reception at the President's home. The new foreign students were taken around the city, past the air port, to West Branch, to the tiny home in which President Hoover was born, by faculty members at whose homes they dined. The various sororities and fraternities with Greek names staged welcome shows at the Union, a play night was sponsored at the Field

House where the students could play and watch gymnastic events like jumping on tarpaulins. The University Women's Club, to which the faculty member's wives and the women members of the faculty belonged, welcomed the new foreign students to a party at the Union, when a movie of Iowa was shown, and a book on Iowa presented. On Sunday evening the new student was welcomed by his church organisation.

Later Sangam Poets of Tamilagam

By

Prof. V. SHANMUGA SUNDARAM, B.A. (Hons.) Econ. M.A. (Pol. Sc.) F.R.ECONS., M.L.H.

THE traditional account has it that three Sangams, Talaichangam (the First Sangam) in Southern Madurai, Idaichangan (the Second Sangam) at Kapatapuram and the Kadaichangam (the Third Sangam) at Mathurai constitute the Sangam Age of Tamils. The Pandyan rulers whose Kingdom comprised the area of the modern districts of Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Mathurai were great patrons of language and arts. They consistently promoted the ideals of the Three Sangams. However, the most ancient literary creations of the First and Second Sangams are not fully available. And much of the hoary past of Tamil Culture we know of, relates to the work of the members of the Third Sangam—the period of which is said to be "fabulously long" extending over a thousand years cutting across the 1st century A.D. In this article the poets of the later period—Nakkirar, Kapilar, Parinar, Avvaiyar, Illango Adigal and Sattanar—are all too briefly referred to. One should read V. Kanakasabhai's "Tamils—1800 Years ago" and V. R. R. Dikshitar's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* to get a connected account of this period.

Nakkirar: He was the pre-eminent celebrity of the period. The Pandyan King Vamsa Sudamani Maran invited this prince of poets to preside over the assembly of poets. He was given the highest honour which could be given to poets. His work *Tirumurugatruppada* gets a place of honour in the collection called *Patthupattu*. He was well known for his retorts and boldness. He was said to have challenged the God poet.

Kapilar: Nakkirar is all praise for Kapilar who was a popular poet. He enjoyed royal patronage. He is the author of *Kurinchippattu*, the eighth in the pathupattu collection. It is said that a northern king *Pirakattan* or *Brahathathan* who visited the Royal Court at Madurai, revealed both his ignorance and lack of regard for the beauty of Tamil Poetry. Kapilar composed a poem, *Kurinchippattu*, to impart to this Aryan King all about the life and language of the people and about the flora and fauna of the Tamil country. Soon, it appears, Brahathathan became a devoted student of Tamil and a poem in *Kurunthogai* (St. 184) was composed by him. Kapilar made an extensive tour of the country. *Pari* of Parambunadu was the dearest friend of Kapilar. *Pari* is well known as a great philanthropist. And the great service which Kapilar in turn rendered to the family of *Pari* after his demise, is given in the Tiruchendur inscriptions. The humane qualities of the eminent poet is made known by the fact that according to the Jain custom, he starved himself to death having decided not to survive his much lamented friend *Pari*. We find the valuable poetic pieces of Kapilar in the collections known as *Aghananuru*, *Purananuru*, *Kurunthogai* and *Natrinai*.

Parinar: He is a contemporary of Kapilar. These two poets have worked and travelled together. Verses 401 and 402 of *Purananuru* are ascribed to Parinar. *Athigaman Neduman Anchi* was his chief patron. He gives an eye-witness account of the battle between the Chola and the Cheras in his immortal poems. His

use of imaginative and metaphorical language is admirable. He compares a battle-field to a paddy-field: the elephants to dark coloured clouds; the swift-footed horses to winds; the chariots to the ploughing machines; the shower of arrows to drops of rain, the river of blood and flesh in the field of battle to the muddy water of the paddy field, and the chopped off heads of the soldiers to the weeds that are ploughed off. Parinar was the poet Laureate of the Great *Senguttuvan* whose naval might and strength of huge army, trade by land and sea, love of language and arts are well known.

Avvaiyar: She is an eminent poetess known for her poems which are rich in morals. She spent the major part of her life in the Court of Adigaman Neduman Anchi, Chieftain of Thakadoor, which is now known as Dharmapuri in Salem District. She also acted as a plenipotentiary of Neduman Anchi in the Court of Thondaiman, the King of Kanchi. After the death of Neduman Anchi she travelled all over the country and finally returned to Thakadoor.

Ilango-Adigal: He is the celebrated author of *Chilappadikaram*. He was the second son of King Cheralathan. He renounced Royal life and assumed holy orders. He wanted to write both *Chilappadikaram* and *Manimekalai*, but having heard that Sattanar had taken up the work of writing *Manimekalai*, he wrote only "*Chilappadikaram*." His work is a treasure house of information on the history of the ancient Tamils. The unique position he enjoyed as a member the Royal household, gave him insight into the relations between states of Tamil Nad not excluding the North Indian States, like Avanthi and Magatha. Being the Son of King Cheralatan, connected with the Cholas by marriage alliance, monk by choice scholar of rare distinction, and Prince-poet Ilango-Adigal, will ever be known, so long as Tamils are known,—as the author of the great Epic *Chilappadikaram*.

Sattanar: Seethalai Sattanar, son of a paddy merchant was otherwise known as Kulavanigan Sattanar. In the Sangam Age every work before publication should be approved by the

Sangam members. Sattanar was an important member of the Sangam and he insisted on very high standard of literary work. He struck himself on his head whenever he found a fault in the writings of new poets. Hence the epithet,—Seethalai, indicates that his head was full of sores and bruises. This is only a literary tradition. There are others who say that he hailed from a village known as "Seethalai." What is beyond doubt is that he was a native of the Madurai and his rank and status were that of the Poet-Prince Ilango-Adigal. Besides his classic work, *Manimekalai*, his contributions found in *Nattrinai* and *Ettuthokai*, show his mastery of metaphysics and logic. The story in *Manimekalai* is a continuation of that in *Chilappadikaram*. The venue of events in his work — *Kavaripoompatinam* — is significant as a centre of far flung ocean-trade of the Tamils. The Buddhist philosophy permeating this work is of very high order. Sattanar was a poet-laureate of *Senguttuvan*, and he gave the story of Kovalan and Kannagi in all its details to the King and his Poet-brother Ilango-Adigal. The King built a temple and installed Kannagi as deity. Ilango perpetuated the memory of the personification of ideal womanhood—that was Kannagi in the minds of men—in the pages of epic *Chilappadikaram*.

Such in brief is the legacy of the later poets of the Sangam Age. They are a string of pearls. Their works are unsurpassed in the literary domain of the Dravidian group of languages, not only for the excellence of grammar, exuberance of thought, purity of expression but also for their remarkable antiquity, which make men of later ages think, how much they are indebted to the past. Rightly did a former Head of the Dept. of History at the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, Prof. T.R. Sesha Iyengar say: "The special feature and peculiar genius of Tamil literature which accurately photographed the characteristics of the Tamils arrested the attention of the Aryans with the result that the latter seriously commenced studying all about the Tamils and their culture even in the early centuries of the Christian era."—*DRAVIDIAN INDIA* published in 1925 (Madras) (P. 58).

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Israel and Tanganyika

By

Mr. JOSEPH K. NYERERE

ISRRAEL is a small country, only 8,000 square miles in area, but it can offer a lot to a country like mine. We can learn a great deal because the problems of Tanganyika are similar to Israel's the only difference being that Israel is solving hers, while Tanganyika has not yet started.

What are our problems? Tanganyika, like many other countries on the African Continent has two major tasks: building the nation and changing the face of the land, physically and economically. Similar difficulties are being resolved by Israel—today!

It must be hard for one living outside Tanganyika to understand what we mean when we say that we have the task of building our nation, especially when that task is compared to Israel's need to build the Jewish nation on its soil. Though most of the nine million people of Tanganyika have been there for ages, we have not been united into one nation but are divided into scores of tribes. These divisions have been encouraged and accentuated by the two imperial powers which have ruled the country, the Germans and now the British. The present desire of everybody in Tanganyika is to see a nation formed out of the 123 tribes. This nation must be one—a people of which our sons and daughters will be proud. It is not at all easy to do this when the tribes have different traditions, different cultures and so many dialects. We are lucky that we have one common language—Swahili, the *lingua franca* of East Africa.

Israel has settled a similar problem. The Israelis are people from more than a hundred different countries. About half of them came within the last ten years. They brought with them different languages, different customs, different educational backgrounds, different almost everything—though they share a common religion and ancient history. Yet these people now have one language (their ancient Hebrew, tongue, revived), one culture, and their children have practically the same standard of education. Except for certain external characteristics, one can hardly differentiate between a Yemenite *sabra* and a European *sabra*! How is this made possible? There are two factors: the Israelis' strong and determined will to re-

build their country, and the formation of Israel's youth movements.

The people of Israel have one quality which I admire very much: their will to surmount whatever stands in their way. It is this will which is working miracles in Israel and is further developed every day in the hearts of her youths. The Israel youth movements are not only movements to keep their members occupied—they are meant to build up the Israel nation, to prepare its future citizens. I was amazed when I was asked this question by a 13-year-old boy: "How do you like our country and people?" I could not imagine that a boy of that age had his country and people in mind all the time!

At once I realized what sort of a boy he was—once who knew what his country was and what his people were—and I also realized that if my answer had been: "I don't like the country—it is a bad country—and the people are also not quite good," that boy would have suffered very much and for a long time.

The individual Israeli knows his responsibilities towards his country and nation. He knows very well that if there is something wrong with either the country or the nation, there is no one to be blamed but himself. I can only admire a nation which has such people—this is the sort of nation we want to build in Tanganyika.

The second problem confronting us in Tanganyika is changing the face of the land. Tanganyika has an area of 362,688 square miles, it has plenty of good soil and it has more than 32,000 square miles of water. Apart from this, it has plenty of mineral resources, including the richest diamond mine in the world!

A country like this, with 9 million people, can be one of the most beautiful in the world if only we can find the right technique to build it.

During my stay in Israel, I managed to visit most of the country, from Kfar Blum in the north to Eilat in the south. I was awe-struck by the work done by the Israelis. Almost all the land was until recently barren desert or swamps. Now it is turning very rapidly into a green territory: they are planting and sowing, and the desert is becoming a garden. "We have about a million trees now," said the Mayor of Beersheba, a town in the heart of the

desert, "and we hope to get more." And when *kib-butz*—a communal agricultural settlement; we of the Seminar visited Eilat we had a long the *moshav*—a smallholder's settlement; and discussion with its Mayor on land problems—the *moshav shitufi*—a cooperative smallholder's and I remember his words: "We don't need settlement. any more land in order to absorb more people—the only thing we want is water and peace: if we get these, the desert you have crossed will be inhabited by more than two million people."

The face of Israel is being transformed by two things: the will of the people, which I have mentioned before, and agricultural settlement planning. There are several types of settlements, including the private farming village; the

In these settlements—and especially in the *kibbutz*—a technique has been developed of utilizing manpower to the fullest extent for the development of the country.

Though we in Tanganyika face different problems from those that confront the Israel farmer, there is much that we can learn from Israel's method of organizing the people and making use of manpower for the agricultural development of the country.

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Evolution and Hindu Thought

By

PRINCIPAL RAGHUVIR SAHAI NIGAM

THE theory of Evolution has always been denounced by Christian theology and early protagonists were even persecuted.

The Hindus believe in cataclysms partial (geological) and complete. There is new creation and development in between.

Starting from Phallic apparatus (Shiva) there is Brahma buoyed up on placental cushion (lotus). The foetal stages are pronounced as Avatars. Matsya is fish-like stage with even gill-slits. Kurma (tortoise is the embryo made up of dividing cells in a solid matrix. It means living both in fluid and solid. There is a stage when the foetus may be looking like a boar. This is Shookar avatar.

Narsimha (half man, half lion) represents the ape man or the missing link. Vaman is the pigmy just evolved into Homo.

Parashuram is the early man armed with a stone axe, fierce but ethically being disciplined.

Our Avatars are also evolving till Krishna consists of sixteen units, a combination of all the possible 16 human qualities or human virtues. Even in individual life Krishna's boyhood represents the unsophisticated child-like

early life of humanity. He takes up the responsibilities of adulthood and sagehood later on till he shows Himself to the enlightened (Arjun) as the very quintessence of cosmos, and the centre of all that is, was, and will be.

The four-fold division of an individual's life represents what even the Westerners as a result of varied experience of Life find to be summum bonum of a happy life with a happy end.

The four-fold division into castes in its original fluidity represented an evolutionary scale. It is its freezing down that has made it a course.

This four-fold division arranges for the evolution of civilized human mind and soul muddling through endeavours for Possession and sublimating into the thoughts for Non-possession. One may aspire, if he cares to, for a state of vision of "Tuttwam asi." Evolution leads into blind alleys as wall of truncated growth away from main process.

The very nerve ganglia and the nervous system of man can give an intellectual and aesthetic Vision of the ultimate if developed and evolved by Yogic culture.

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Battle Against Advancing Age

By

MR. Y. DOSKACH

ALTHOUGH many scientists consider the very idea of restoring youth as a mere fantasy, there already exists a special branch of science called gerontology which treats of the causes of aging and the means of prolonging human life.

Within the last few decades facts have accumulated in world science which show that old age can be "treated," that its onset can be impeded even by very simple means such as a rational daily routine, good living conditions, regular physical training. It is now an indisputable fact that early aging is caused in equal measure by all kinds of excesses and by deprivations, by great nervous shocks, constant malnutrition, overwork, insomnia and diseases that disturb the normal functioning of this or that organ.

One of these diseases is atherosclerosis, an ailment associated with old age. Though young people also sometimes suffer from it it is usually connected with old age because more frequently it develops in persons over forty. What is atherosclerosis? As a result of metabolic disturbances (lipid and fat metabolism) surplus cholesterol begins to accumulate in human blood. The cholesterol content of blood in individuals suffering from this disease is by 3-4 times above normal. But even if the amount is not very great surplus cholesterol is nevertheless deposited in the walls of blood vessels, which consequently, lose their elasticity and become stenosed, hard, brittle. They expand and contract with difficulty under the pressure of blood. This leads to deficient blood supply of the tissues, to their malnutrition and hypoxidosis. Tissues gradually degenerate and the individual ages, loses his former mobility and efficiency. His brain gets easily fatigued and the work of his nervous system is impaired. If atherosclerosis develops on the basis of high blood pressure there is danger of rupture of blood vessels, a condition particularly menacing if it occurs in the area of the heart of brain.

Until recently medicine lacked radical means of treating atherosclerosis. Usually such patients are prescribed iodides, a cholesterolless diet, plenty of fresh air and more sleep. However, these are only half-measures. The only radical remedy would be a preparation posses-

sing the property of reducing the amount of cholesterol in human blood.

Recently we learnt that something has already been done in this field.

Several years ago a preparation belonging to the group of steroid saponins was produced in the All-Union Research Institute of Medicinal and Aromatic Plants. The initiative in this respect was taken by Professor A.D. Turova who proceeded in her researches from the fact (already established by Ronson and Windays) that saponins combine with cholesterol. She, therefore, decided to find out whether these substances could be used to normalize cholesterol metabolism in the blood in cases of atherosclerosis. Rostotsky, a senior research worker of the Institute, isolated a preparation from the Caucasian yam (*dioscorea*). After long-term experiments on animals conducted by L.N. Sokolova the saponin was tested in the clinics. Its effect in cases of cerebral atherosclerosis was studied in the laboratory of the pathophysiology and therapy of human higher nervous activity in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

For a period of two years Professor I. Strelchuk, head of the laboratory, and his assistant Dr. D.V. Pankov tested the action of the new preparation on 100 patients of different ages (from 43 to 78 years). The doses of the preparation, depending for a period of three months in courses of 7-10 days with intervals of the same length between them.

What are the results? Three years ago a 67-year old woman applied to the clinic where the pathophysiology laboratory conducted its work. She complained of constant insomnia, headaches and depression. The patient was fretful, lost the power of clearly expressing her thoughts and suffered from loss of memory. Dr. Pankov proposed to try the new preparation to which the patient consented. After a short period of reaction (similar to a common cold) assays showed a drop in the cholesterol content of the blood. Soon its amount became almost normal. As the treatment proceeded the patient gave up dieting. Her blood pressure was finally restored to normal and her headaches stopped. She began to sleep better and her memory improved. After a three

months' course of treatment she was able to resume her former research and teaching work.

Such was the effect of the new preparation. However, it cannot work wonders. It does not restore youth and beauty. It can only correct functional disorders. We were shown two patients—two aged women who had previously suffered from cerebral hemorrhage. In these cases the action of the new preparation was considerably less effective. In other words, the preparation is not an "elixir of youth." It gives the best effect if applied in time when atherosclerosis is not too far advanced and has not caused irreversible changes in the organism.

The action of the new preparation has not been thoroughly studied as yet. So far it was tested in the clinic only in cases of cerebral atherosclerosis. However, judging by the results of experiments with animals the action of the dioscorea saponin should be much broader. For instance, in rabbits this preparation had a good effect on the work of the cardiovascular system, it reduced cholesterol infiltration of the sorta, dilated the peripheral vessels, increased the force of cardiac contractions and normalized the rhythm of the heart. From this we may conclude that the dioscorea saponin offers great possibilities for the treatment of such an old age disease as atherosclerosis.

The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs

By
PROF. ARNOLD TOYNBEE

THIS translation is the first that has made the Adi Granth accessible, in more than short extracts, to the English-speaking public. Its publication is therefore an important event in the history of the now rapidly increasing contact between different peoples and civilizations in the fields of literature, religion, and other provinces of spiritual life. The Adi Granth is part of mankind's common spiritual treasure. It is important that it should be brought within the direct reach of as many people as possible. Few readers of English will have had the opportunity of hearing the Adi Granth being chanted in the Golden Temple of the Sikh religion at Amritsar; and few, again, of those who have heard the chanting have been in a position to understand its meaning. Here is the book in English. Readers of English can now not merely read it but ponder over it. A book that has meant, and means, so much to such a notable community as the Sikh Khalsa deserves close study from the rest of the world.

The Adi Granth is remarkable for several reasons. Of all known religious scriptures, this book is the most highly venerated. It means more to Sikhs than even the Quran means to Muslims, the Bible to Christians, and the Torah to Jews. The Adi Granth is the Sikhs' perpetual guru (spiritual guide). It was formally invested with this function by the last in the series of the human gurus that began with the founder of the Sikh religion, Nanak.

Perhaps Nanak himself would have modestly disclaimed the title of 'founder.' He might have preferred to say that he was merely bringing to light, and gathering together, the cardinal religious truths and precepts that had been scattered, in explicit form or implicitly, through the religious legacies of a number of forerunners of his. For Nanak the fundamental truth was that, for a human being, the approach to God lies through self-abnegation; and this is indeed the chief message of most of the higher religions that have made their appearance up to date.

Nearly all the higher religions that count in the world today—in fact, all of them except Zoroastrianism—have originated in one or other of two regions: India and South-West Asia. The Indian and the Judaic religions are notoriously different in spirit; and, where they have met, they have sometimes behaved like oil and vinegar. Their principal meeting-ground has been India, where Islam has impinged on Hinduism violently. On the whole, the story of the relations between these two great religions on Indian ground has been an unhappy tale of mutual misunderstanding and hostility. Yet, on both sides of this religious barrier, there has been a minority of discerning spirits who have seen that, at bottom-Hinduism and Islam are each an expression of the same fundamental religious truth, and that these two expressions are therefore reconcilable with each other

and are of supreme value when brought into harmony. The Sikh religion might be described, not inaccurately, as a vision of this Hindu-Muslim common ground. To have discovered and embraced the deep harmony underlying the historic Hindu-Muslim discord has been a noble spiritual triumph; and Sikhs may well be proud of their religion's ethos and origin.

This religion is the creation of ex-Hindu religious inquirers who adopted monotheism and rejected caste under the inspiration of Islam. The greater part of the Adi Granth consists of hymns written by Nanak and the gurus who succeeded him until the succession of human gurus was closed in favour of their holy book. But the Adi Granth is a catholic anthology. It also includes hymns written by earlier Indian seers in whom Nanak and his successors recognized kindred spirits; and some of these contributors to the Granth are Hindus, while others are Muslims. Their writings have found a place in the Adi Granth because the compilers

of it held, and this surely with good reason, that these seers were Sikhs in fact, though they lived and wrote before the Sikh religion took institutional form. They were Sikhs because they brought out and emphasized the universal spiritual truth contained in their respective religious traditions; and these truths belong to all ages and to all faiths.

Mankind's religious futures may be obscure; yet one thing can be foreseen: the living higher religions are going to influence each other more than ever before, in these days of increasing communication between all parts of the world and all branches of the human race. In this coming religious debate, the Sikh religion, and its scriptures the Adi Granth, will have something of special value to say to the rest of the world. This religion is itself a monument of creative spiritual intercourse between two traditional religions whose relations have otherwise been unhappy. This is a good augury.

—UNESCO.

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The Commonwealth and South Africa's Withdrawal as a Republic

By
SRI ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M. A.

ON March 15 last Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, withdrew his application for South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth as a republic. The final communique issued in London on the authority of Dr. Verwoerd said that the Prime Minister of South Africa had informed the other Prime Ministers that in the light of the views expressed on behalf of other member Governments and the indications of their future intentions regarding the racial policy of the Union Government, he had decided to withdraw his application. It was, however, presumed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference sources that South Africa would remain in the Commonwealth until May 31 i.e. the date on which she would become a republic. This presumption appears to have been confirmed by the fact that Dr. Verwoerd had not walked out, though a spokesman for the South African Prime Minister made it clear that the communique meant that South Africa was "out of the Commonwealth." On March 16 last Dr. Verwoerd himself announced in London that his country would remain a member of the sterling area after her leaving the Commonwealth on May 31.

Mr. Eric Louw is South Africa's External Affairs Minister. He also thinks that there is no possibility of the present trade relations between Britain and South Africa, based on a bilateral agreement, being affected in any way by South Africa becoming a republic outside the orbit of the Commonwealth. He believes that both countries are desirous of maintaining and expanding trade between two governments.

Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India told the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference that since independence India had no formal relations either political or economic, with South Africa. He felt that the Commonwealth

should rest on the fellowship of man. Not only that. According to him the Commonwealth itself would eventually disintegrate if racialism was maintained in South Africa. Besides some other leaders also criticized apartheid strongly. President Ayub Khan seemed to argue that South Africa was a handicap to the "club" and should resign. It is clear from the messages supplied by the news agencies that the strongest criticism of apartheid came from India, Pakistan, Canada, Malaya, Ceylon, Nigeria and Ghana. President Nkrumah of Ghana and some other delegates held the view that the problem of apartheid could in no circumstances be isolated from the question of South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth, if she refused to modify her discrimination policy. But on the other hand Britain, Australia, and New Zealand pleaded for South Africa's continuance in the Commonwealth though they attacked apartheid. Here Mr. Diefenbaker's proposal may be specially mentioned. He proposed that there should be a Commonwealth declaration of human rights. His suggestion was that the question of South African membership should be raised only after her becoming a republic. But that suggestion found little support.

Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye is the Ghanaian High Commissioner in London. He explained clearly on March 12 last the attitude which President Nkrumah's delegation would take at the conference in respect of the controversial issue of South Africa continuing in the Commonwealth after her becoming a republic. To quote his words "Ghana is opposed to apartheid and it is hoped that after she presents her point of view to the conference the South African Government may perhaps feel it necessary to consider its policy with a view to modification." The official view of Ghana was that the problem of apartheid should be linked with the question of a republican South Africa remaining in the Commonwealth. The position would be changed totally and there would have to be a reappraisal of the situation by Ghana in case South Africa refused to modify its apartheid policies. But Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye did not say categorically that Ghana might consider leaving the Commonwealth if its apartheid policies were not modified by South Africa. He said "that is a contingency which has not arisen. It would be premature to jump the hurdle. I would not like to

prejudge the issue. One must hope for the best."

On March 12 last two Labour Members of Parliament i.e. Mr. Anthony Greenwood, a member of his party's National Executive Committee, and Mrs. Judith Hart called at Chequers, country residence of Mr. Macmillan in Buckinghamshire and delivered to a private secretary a letter signed by thirty-eight Labour M.P.'s urging the Prime Minister to cast his vote for the suspension of South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth until it abandoned apartheid. In that letter the Labour M.P.'s said "we, as members of Parliament believe that when South Africa applies for readmission as a Republic to the Commonwealth, this should be refused and that she should not be readmitted until she has abolished apartheid in that country." "Readmission" the letter reads further "will be taken by the South African Government as an endorsement of apartheid, however much it is made subject to conditions. The non-white people of South Africa want readmission to be refused as another non-violent means of forcing their Government to abandon apartheid." It is reported that on March 19 last about two thousand supporters of the anti-apartheid movement held a silent March through London Streets. Their object was to mark the shootings in the South African towns of Sharpeville and Langa on 21, March 1960 in which seventy-two Africans died. The procession was led from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square by Mr. Jo Grimond, leader of the British Labour Party and a coloured man. They carried a banner with the words "Remember Sharpeville."

It was once suggested by the leader of an African delegation that the question of South Africa's membership after her becoming a republic should be left over for some time. But the majority of the delegates attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference were not in favour of it. Dr. Verwoerd "argued" Other countries have remained in the Commonwealth after becoming republics. Why should South Africa be singled out? There is much that can be criticized in the policy of some other members." On March 14 last Mr. Macmillan, Prime Minister of Britain, appeared to make a dramatic bid to resolve the issue of a republican South Africa's continuation in the Commonwealth. In other words he placed before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference the draft of a formula aimed at re-

taining the Union in the Commonwealth. That formula had two striking aspects. Firstly it visualised a declaration accepting a republican South Africa. Secondly it registered in no unmistakable terms the abhorrence which many of the Commonwealth leaders felt at South Africa's racial discrimination policies. But Dr. Verwoerd, South Africa's Prime Minister, raised objections to some of the wordings in the draft. His standpoint was that continued membership of the Commonwealth should be unconditional.

Reuter States that the decision of South Africa to withdraw her membership took the delegates by surprise. While announcing withdrawal of his application Dr. Verwoerd attacked other members because in his opinion they were interfering in the internal affairs of his country. He declared further that such interference "is the beginning of the disintegration of the Commonwealth." Dr. Verwoerd particularly singled out India, Ghana, Malaya and Nigeria for alleged aggressive policies within their own countries. While breaking the news of withdrawal of his application he observed "I am sure that a great majority of the people of my country will appreciate that in the circumstances no other course was open to us. National pride and self-respect are the attributes of any sovereign independent State." In the House of Commons Mr. Macmillan expressed on March 16 last his deep regret that Commonwealth ties with South Africa, which had endured for fifty years were shortly to be severed. On this date Queen Elizabeth received Verwoerd in audience at Buckingham Palace.

Dr. Verwoerd formally conveyed to the queen his country's decision to withdraw its application to remain in the Commonwealth after becoming a republic. Commenting on Dr. Verwoerd's decision to withdraw Mr. Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister said "personally I do not think he had any choice. I would have withdrawn the application if I had been in his place." "To have a member of the Commonwealth" he continued, virtually excluded on a matter of domestic policy presents in my opinion, a rather disagreeable vista of possibilities for the future." After arrival from London Dr. Verwoerd to a big crowd at Jan Smuts airfield said: "we have released ourselves from the pressure of the Afro-Asians who have been taking over the Commonwealth. We are not prepared to let them dictate to us."

In New Delhi the decision of South Africa to quit the Commonwealth after its becoming a republic has caused little surprise. It has in fact been received with a measure of satisfaction. Long before Mr. Nehru's departure for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference it was visualized that possibly South Africa might walk out of the "club." Here it may be made clear that India did not take the lead in terminating South Africa's link with the Commonwealth. In other words her attitude was not militant. She placed greater emphasis on reforming South Africa than expelling it from the Commonwealth. But for some time past things had been moving in a way that the authorities in New Delhi realized that South Africa's association would become impossible.

Military Training

By

SRI K. M. CARIAPPA

First Commander-in-Chief of Free India's Armed Forces

I have been saying for quite some time since Independence that every able bodied man of our Land between the ages of 20 and 40 years, must receive Military Training compulsorily. It is not to raise an army of millions to fight wars with bullets and baynets but to 'fight' many wars of other kinds on the economic, industrial, mental, moral and health battlefields.

What we have been lacking in for some considerable time, and lacking very sadly, are mass

discipline and a national character. We are lacking also in many other attributes of a good soldier—quality of team spirit, loyalty, sense of duty, value of time, dignity of labour, selflessness, and a spirit of good fellowship regardless of our communities. All these qualities which are so essentially required in every man to build a nation of people of sterling character are developed in one by Military Training. Look at the difference between a soldier's way

of life and his way of doing things, and those of one who is not a soldier. They are as different as chalk from cheese. The former does things in a disciplined and orderly manner whilst not all of the latter do so, and our Country needs people to work as soldiers do. It is for this reason that I have been for long advocating compulsory Military Training.

Military Training teaches one to obey and to command. It teaches one to lead and to be led. It teaches one to be prepared to make any self-sacrifice—even the supreme one of being ready to give one's life, for a cause, to his people and to his comrades-in-arms. It teaches one to place service above self. To the soldier it is duty first and then his food and rest and so on. He does not go in quest of opportunities to gain personal power, not to amass wealth, both of which, alas, are the real curse of our Land today. Instead he goes in quest of opportunities to serve his people and his country, in the noble career he has voluntarily chosen to serve in.

I know this compulsory training will take time to complete—and it will cost a fortune—but look at the rich dividends the nation will get from a disciplined people working in farms and factories and in other vocations in the huge machinery of India's life. People will then have the qualities of a good soldier, and these qualities will goad him to get on with his work instead of just talking. It will make him put duty first and then personal comfort, to think of Country's progress subordinating his own personal gains. The output in our factories will treble or quadruple, the produce in our fields will leap forward, the transactions in business, the civil administration of the country—and of a host of other human activities in this glorious adventure of nation-building work—will be galvanised. There will be less corruption and less nepotism. Men will move about like men should do, and there will be no idle lounging and hanging about during working hours for coffee and tea breaks and gossip. Every one will be hard at work. The atmosphere will be vibrant with activity. This is *not* a mere fantasy it is a reality.

The kind of Military Training—and *not* Military Service—I am thinking of is *not* to teach men to drive tanks, fire guns and shoot rifles in peace time. That is the job for our regular Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen, but the shape of training I visualize embrace the following:—

(1) Put all such people into some kind of military uniform. It is amazing how a man

throws his chest up the moment he gets into such a uniform.

(2) Put them through rigorous Barrack Square Drill;

(3) They should do Guards and Sentry duties by day and by night;

(4) Camp Life—pitching and striking tents, loading and unloading transport of all types, digging, cleaning up camps and so on;

(5) Do some toughening exercises;

(6) Long distance marches progressively raised to, say, upto 20 miles a day, on occasions, on reduced rations;

(7) Handling and firing, revolvers and rifles;

(8) Vehicle, man and equipment management;

(9) Play team games;

(10) Take part in community singing—singing songs that raise one's spirit and morale.

The initial training would be for three days in the week, at 5 hours a day, for 30 working days, finishing up with a ten days camp living in bivouacs and tents, when every one will fire five rounds of ball ammunition with his rifle and revolver. Thereafter on the last Saturday of every month, for half a day, doing general training—marching, ceremonial, bayonet fighting and so on for one year.

I know this will be a gigantic undertaking for any country, but it has got to be done to stir up and awaken the sleeping "realman" in our people, to help get a virile nation to build up India more rapidly and more profitably alround to form a reserve of disciplined and tough men ready to take up arms in times of threats to our National Security; to defend our frontiers and our independence against unprovoked aggression. As a subject race for a long time, we have lost our spirit, initiative and the spirit of enterprise and adventure. We want everything done for us by some one else, more often than not by the government. It is from this lethargy that we must be woken up or else we will be left far behind in the race of progress in this highly technical and scientific world of today. Military Training will do this 'waking up.'

So let us give this matter of national importance a serious thought. This training will be carried out on a carefully worked out phased programme. It may take some five years or so to get through the first round but it has got to be got through. A small high powered committee of some active and earnest minded persons could make a thorough study of this matter and prepare a National Plan. This article is food for thought.

Marriage in Ethiopia

IN Ethiopia, as in most countries, there are three forms of marriage—Church marriage, Civil Law, and Common Law marriage. However, whereas in some countries only one form of marriage is legal, and in others two, in Ethiopia all three are legal.

Marriage in Church is not common in Ethiopia for the reason that the Ethiopian Orthodox Monophysite Church, like the Roman Catholic Church, is very strict in such matters and a marriage once performed may never be dissolved. The marriage ties extend even beyond the grave, for if either one of the married couple dies, the other may not again marry in the Church, without its special dispensation. No divorce is possible. While the influence of the Church has grown in recent years and the younger generation of Ethiopians are leaning toward Church weddings, in the main such a ceremony is still only practised by older people, who lived some years together under a Civil Law marriage, and are quite sure they will never want a divorce nor their marriage dissolved.

This is the form of marriage used by the majority of Christian Ethiopians. It may take place either in the home or in a Municipal or District Court, but in any event the persons desiring to be married must present themselves before a Municipal or District Judge and enter into a marriage contract in the presence of five witnesses and a "Marriage Guardian." Once the legal formalities of the marriage contract are completed, the subsequent wedding ceremony and reception are similar to those in the Western world.

Ethiopia is traditionally a Christian nation, and while the Civil Law marriage is not usually performed in the Church, nevertheless it is customary for a Priest of the Church to be invited to the ceremony to bless the union.

In olden times, of course, and to some extent even today, it was customary for a betrothal arrangement to be made by the parents when the girl was scarcely more than a child. The parents of the bride and bridegroom would take them to either the Municipal or District Court when, in the presence of five witnesses and a "Marriage Guardian," the terms of the marriage arrangement were read and legalised by the Judge. The bride was then returned to her parent's home to await a time when she should

physically have reached the age of maturity, at which time her husband was invited to her home and three days of celebration took place. After spending one night in the bride's home, the groom took his wife to his own home, then becoming truly man and wife and starting their married life together. Thereafter, it became the duty of the "Marriage Guardian," as it is today, to see that all went well with the marriage and to settle any difficulties of adjustment that might arise.

Whilst this type of marriage is frowned upon by the Ethiopian Church, nevertheless it is recognised in Ethiopia, as in other countries, that there may be extenuating circumstances which preclude marriage in the normal fashion and therefore so-called "marriage of convenience" are permitted and legal. In Ethiopia, however, such unions have one interesting and unusual feature in that they are, in reality, a legally recognised business arrangement between a man and a woman, usually on a monthly salary basis for the woman. This arrangement may be automatically broken by either party at any time but at all times the woman's salary must be paid, and upon dissolution of the union any arrears in salary must be paid to her. The same is true in case of death of the man while such an arrangement is in effect—any current and/or back salary due to her must be paid from the man's estate. Under the law she is entitled to inherit nothing else.

A Civil Law marriage in Ethiopia may be dissolved by divorce or by the will of either party, but this can never apply to a Church marriage.

Children of divorced parents under Ethiopian Law are given into the custody of the mother until they are aged four to seven years, and the father is required to pay for their maintenance. When they reach the age of four to seven years, the father is entitled to their custody. Should he fail to take them, they remain in the custody of the mother but the father is required to continue to pay for their maintenance until, in the case of a girl, she marries, or in the case of a boy, he becomes of age.

All funds, assets, and properties belonging respectively to the bride and groom at the time of their marriage, remain separate individual assets and property even after marriage, and neither one therefore has control or authority

over the assets or properties of the other. In the case of divorce under the law any increase which may have accrued in the interim of marriage to their separate and individual estates must be divided equally between them. Any loss, however, sustained by either his or her individual assets or properties is not shared full.

Some Physically Handicapped Geniuses

By

Mr. SHAIB SINGH AHUJA

LIVES of great men inspire us to be brave in face of all difficulties and that human intelligence can shatter all barriers of physical handicap and deformity. In what follows is an account in brief of those geniuses, who, though handicapped physically, overcame that shortcoming to express their natural talents and earned for themselves an ever-lasting reputation and position in society.

John Milton (1608-74), who is considered in English literature to be a peer of Shakespeare so far as poetry is concerned, became completely blind in 1652 at the age of 44 years. Though handicapped physically by his blindness, he gave to the world 'Paradise Lost,' 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes,' which are amongst the greatest literary works of all time. Homer, the great narrator of the Iliad and the Odyssey, was also blind. The vivid and living accounts of the great Greek Wars were all his mental creations.

Helen Keller, one of the world's most remarkable women, is considered to be an outstanding example of a person, who overcame physical handicaps. Two years after her birth at Albahama, U.S.A., in 1880, illness deprived her of sight and hearing and soon thereafter she lost the power of speech.

Helen learnt from Anne Sullivan from the Perkins institute for the Blind, the deaf and dumb language by touch and to read by the Braille system. Anne Sullivan devoted her life to Helen and patiently developed her to a sensitive and radiant personality. How Helen has travelled both the hemispheres, instituting programmes for the handicapped everywhere, and leaving behind her new schools, printing press and new workshops for the blind.

Retirement to her is unthinkable. President Eisenhower sent her the message, "it is hearte-

ning to see you set out so generally to assist the handicapped of whatever race, creed, colour or territory."

At the age nearly of 80 Helen Keller is still amazingly active, constantly directing her efforts towards the rehabilitation of the afflicted. She has opened a happier and brighter world for thousands of people born to walk in darkness. No woman has contributed more to the cause of human welfare. Sir Clutha Mackenzie, who was rendered blind in the World War I, is a living example of indomitable courage and perseverance. He has done a pioneering work for the rehabilitation of the deaf, dumb and blind.

Bhakta Surdas, who above everything else is the poet of the longing heart, composed a song everyday on some aspect of Shri Krishna's life. This blind poet has a range of lyric emotion unparalleled in the World's literature. His world-pictures are homely. Cows coming and awaiting Sri Krishna; Cowherdresses anxious to churn milk; Naughty Krishna stealing butter; the sports of Shri Krishna and the Gopis. With loving delicate touches Surdas drew the portrait of Sri Krishna as a child, as a boy, as a lover, and as the mighty hero in Dawarka pining for his Gokula.

The famous poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge became an addict to opium at the age of 30. Although as a consequence his energies were sapped and his health greatly impaired, he did outstanding work in the field of English Literature both as a poet and a critic.

John Keats over whom England went crazy, suffered from consumption. Toulouse-Lautric, who was a cripple and badly deformed, created Moulin Rouge, a masterpiece for all times. The celebrated poet, Lord Byron, who was the stormy petrel of the English social and literary

life, was lame and limpid. Sir Walter Scott, popularly known as the father of the historical novel and equally a great poet, even though struck by paralysis, faced hostile fate like a colossus, went assiduously into writing in the midst of pain, sorrow and ruin and turned out some of his best works, which are considered as landmarks in the English Literature.

The famous English writer R. L. Stevenson, though a constant invalid, created wonderful characters in Treasure Island. The famous Russian Writer Fyodor Dostoevsky was an epileptic and yet his vivid, living characterisations in Crime and Punishment and Brothers Karmazov are still a must for the study of a serious student of literature.

Emily Bronte, the creator of the immortal 'Wuthering Heights' suffered from tuberculosis; so did her other sister Charlotte, another great writer. Schopenhauer was a victim of the same malady. Karl Marx suffered from a carbuncle on his back, which caused terrific spasms of pain.

The famous Indian short-story and novel writer Munshi Prem Chand, who suffered from chronic dysentery for long nine years, wrote best works during that period.

Paul Cezanne, the celebrated artist, is regarded as the Messiah of Modern Painting. It was he who came out with the theory that nature was basically geometric, and in contemplating his paintings one comes to the conclusion that they are all based on simple geometric constructions. The great artist painted his works while suffering from T.B. It was in 1907 (i.e. one year after his death) when his works were

exhibited in Paris, that Cezanne was accepted as the foremost modern painter.

Early on Christmas Day in 1642 a premature and wonderfully weak baby boy was born in a stone farmhouse in Lincolnshire. The two midwives at the delivery sadly predicted that the tiny infant would not live through the day. And so the baby lived 85 years, and the "poor little weak head" that had to be supported by a special leather collar early in life proved to contain the finest scientific brain the world had ever known. Its owner was knighted, heaped with honours, made a fortune and was buried in West Minster Abbey. His name was Isaac Newton.

The name of Louis Braille (1809-52), the inventor of the famous Braille system, a kind of type in relief for the blind, having arbitrary signs consisting of 6 dots, lives for ever. He was struck blind at the early age of 3 while playing with an owl in his father's workshop. Though handicapped by his blindness, he perfected his system, which has showed light to the millions of blind people by enabling them to read and write.

Today's greatest living author, W. Somerset Maugham, who has created such famous works as Razor's edge, Cakes and Ale, of Human Bondage and Moon and Sixpence, is a stammerer and cannot speak without stuttering. Leaving aside these geniuses, we also come across brilliant blind singers etc. in our daily life. Can there be any better example in our modern time than the famous blind singer C. K. Dey of the New Theatres fame, Calcutta in this respect?

The Changing Pattern of Bengali Culture

By

DR. SRI KUMAR BANERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

CULTURE is a word which is apt to be very frequently used without a precise idea of its connotation. It should mean a fixed and special attitude to life developed almost into an instinct, generated by long centuries of discipline and practice, which is peculiar to each race or racial group. In the history of the evolution of each race a central core of feeling, a unique sense of the ultimate purpose of life

special experiences or aptitude of mind. It is round this that its other faculties, its social and moral obligations, its aesthetic impulses, its enjoyments of life, its manners and customs tend to group themselves and in their cumulative effect constitute the culture of the nation. This culture, therefore, though the product of a long and almost unconscious assimilation of

diverse influences and reactions to many kinds till they melted into soft clay. Sri Chaitanya, of thoughts, feeling and sense-impressions, with his religion of love and forgiveness, his makes itself an indissoluble unit of life purpose, an instinctive growth of the entire being, which imparts an arrowy directness, a central direction to the complex human faculties, an integrating harmony of rhythmic movement to life as a whole. All ancient nations, possessed of a distinctive culture had this centralising vision, co-ordinating their manifold activities of the body and the mind. The Greeks found it in their immaculate sense of physical harmony which regulated not only their sculpture and architecture, the marvellous symmetry of their limbs, but their very sense of the divine mystery which operated to curb excess in any form and to indicate the eternal balance. The Romans had this central meaning in the universal prevalence of orderliness and justice, their deification of manhood being the sovereign instrument for the achievement of this end. The Indian mind had its culture and civilisation deep-rooted in its religious beliefs and convictions and bound every movement of its mind to this pivot of the Will Divine manifesting itself in all human affairs.

In a country like India, particularly Bengal, with which we are mainly concerned in this article, the culture that eventually grew up, being the contribution of many tribes and forms of life, was of a rather mixed and composite pattern. The original background, supplied by the remote Vedic and Upanishadic periods, was overlaid by many elements derived from the subsequent experiences of the people. These later accretions, however, were imbedded so deeply in the original texture as to form an inseparable part of it and to obliterate all traces of their later advent and sometimes of their alien source. In the Middle ages in the history of Bengal when a comprehensive Aryanisation of her many aboriginal tribes and racial groups was in rapid progress, a number of new influences, mostly religious, began to permeate the life of the people of this eastern-most fringe of the Indian continent.

The first of these influences was a strong devotional current that penetrated into the rather hard philosophical and doctrinal core of its religious belief. It refined and humanised the general view of life, making it particularly inclined to tender emotions, delicate sensitivity to beauty and a tear-soaked, sentimental excess that drenched the hard facts of experience

The Puranas and their Bengali versions in particular, the Ramayana of Krittibas and the Mahabharat of Kasiram Das, with their dominant emphasis on Bhakti and their absolute faith in miraculous divine intervention in human affairs reinforced the same bias in the Bengali outlook on life. Gradually under the influence of these overmastering religious emotions, a code of manner and conduct was evolved, which regulated every day life in its social relations. Aesthetic tastes and aptitudes also developed from the same source, and poetry, painting and the fine arts based on religious motive and inspiration showed how deeply and fruitfully the religious influence had penetrated into life. Household decorations and figures artistically smeared on walls and courtyards on auspicious festive occasions bore a similar testimony. Moreover, popular amusements and recreations, in spite of evidence of crude tastes and a pronounced sex-appeal, were leavened by the same finer spirit of religious aspiration. Secular interests were drawn more and more within the orbit of this all-pervasive spiritual awareness. Agricultural festivities natural to a people mainly subsisting on the cultivation of land and production of crops took on a religious colouring, and every phase of work in the fields, the sowing, the transplanting the pre-ripening stage, and finally the harvesting had each its appropriate ceremonial and ritual of worship. The revolving cycle of the seasons for which also there are festivals turned to the spirit of

joy in man and Nature provided further occasion for imparting a touch of religious sanctity to what is at bottom an upsurge of human emotions. In fact the religious impulse operating to every sphere of life transformed the character of occupational and seasonal enjoyments leading to a more intimate fusion between human concerns and the everpresent consciousness of a divine presence pervading them all. The great Autumn Festival of Beagal is the most consummate example of this synthesis, every product of the soil, every impulse and desire of the human mind, all its conception of pomp and splendour, its crude and materialistic homage to every local and tribal deity being woven into a magnificent unity of adoration and worship, a single hymn of impassioned religious fervour offered to the great cosmic principle of the universe realised with superb philosophical generalisation as the one Supreme Mother. If one analyses with care the complex and elaborate ritualism of this worship, one can have an insight into the diverse strands of the Bengali mind all harmonised and melted into one under the overarching influence of religion.

The vitality of the Hindu religion showed itself in its quiet, effortless absorption of many Pre-Aryan members and customs, with their laxity of social relations and of marriage ties containing elements which now impress as most repugnant to later Hindu ideals. Some of the characters of the Ramayana and Mahabharat bear unmistakable traces of the culture and civilisation of a ruder and remoter antiquity, but they have been made to fit in a new context with all signs of incongruity all but obliterated. The Hindu religion and way of life swallowed up wholesale whole hordes of barbarian invaders like the Huns and the countless small hill-tribes which made up the population of the more backward areas, until no trace of them was discernible. It is only a strong and virile culture that is capable of assimilating such diverse alien elements and of transforming them into the stuff of its own substance. A similar process of assimilation has taken place in the northeast frontier areas, where various Mongolian tribes were admitted into the fold of Hinduism and showed themselves as the staunchest champions of the orthodox religion. The princes of Cooch Behar and Tripura have outdone even the pure-blooded Aryans in their zeal for the faith and culture of their adoption.

Thus the rigid exclusiveness which was such a marked feature of Hinduism in the recent past has been a comparative innovation and gives no true index of the wide liberality and hospitable nature of the religion while it was a dynamic force grappling with the flowing currents of life.

Nor was Islam entirely without any influence upon this composite culture, though the open and often bitter conflict between these rival ways of life tended to obscure the nature of this influence. This influence made itself felt in two spheres—the life of the courtiers and of Zemindars who imitated Moslem manners and etiquette and the very common people of both religions who were thrown into intimate contact by similarity of vocations and pursuits. The golden age of this synthesis of cultures lay in the seventeenth century, when Moslem practitioners of the Vaishnava poetic tradition flourished and when in the Court of the Arakan kings courtier poets wrote on Rajput chivalry and Persian romances in a style closely modelled on the current rhetorical devices and flights of fancy derived from Sanskrit sources. Poets like Alaol also followed the mystical faith and the spiritual discipline of the yogic practices so common in their Hindu compatriots. It is rather curious that it was in the courts of Arakan Kings who occupied a sort of neutral ground between Hinduism and Islam and followed a policy of liberal tolerance towards both adopting Moslem titles and emulating Islamic ceremonials and courtly manners, that the closest possible approximation was reached between the two faiths.

The question may be pertinently asked: What was the value of this culture rooted in religion and growing through the slow process of the assimilation of diverse elements and heterogeneous ways of life? It was obviously a rather narrow and rigid form of mental discipline, excluding broad phases of human experience and touched in its general outlook on life with something of a fanatical intolerance. The answer may very well be that this represented rather a warped and distorted development than a healthy outcome of the initial impulses. But even admitting all this, it may be reasonably claimed that this culture was a perpetual and effective reminder to man that the highest function of his life was to dedicate to the service of God, that every breath that he inhaled and every step that he took was a ritual of divine

worship. This culture so thoroughly organised all his thoughts and feelings, all mental faculties and physical activities round a common centre that it served as a highly effective instrument for giving a direction and purpose to his life. It disciplined his way of living, curbed unrestrained individualism and raised his habitual thoughts above the immediate needs of the hour. Above all, it forged a social link among various sections and made them feel that they belonged to a common order. Even the lowliest of men, the vagrants and derelicts of society, the day-labourer, the so-called untouchables, whose rights to democratic equality we are at such pains to champion, were conscious of a common inheritance and felt the sense of dignity born of such consciousness. The wandering minstrels, the rude painters on canvas, the Kaviwals and Yatrawallahs, the Bauls and Fakirs and Sannyasis—all bore upon them the distinctive mark of high culture and even in their unlettered ignorance could give utterance to the highest spiritual truths and inculcate the noblest ideals of conduct.

The new culture when it was first ushered in was wafted on the waves of a high hope. At first it seemed that there would be not only a widening but a deepening of the stream. The earliest sponsors of Western thought and learning imbibed the new ideas only to engraft them on the old stock of culture. Western education primarily served as the lever to reform long-standing abuses and corruptions and to restore the old culture to a reinvigorated new life. Rammohan Roy used the rationalism of the West as a light to rekindle the old flames of inspiration, to burn away the dross and to release the pure essence of our immemorial spiritual ideals. He never swallowed more than he could digest: the new acquisitions were not cumbrous enough to disturb the old equipoise. What Rammohan began in the field of theological thought was carried forward by Madhusudan and Bankim Chandra into the deeper stratum of creative literature. Neither Madhusudan nor Bankim Chandra ever conceived the possibility of an entire break with past: they wanted to build a new and more imposing structure on the traditional foundations. Madhusudan did not consciously think of the new springs of social conduct and mental constitution that would emerge from the assimilation of the alien ideas. But his whole creative effort breathes the devotional fervour of the old social order and his images almost entirely derived from the rich treasure-house of our older literature,

secular as well as religious, are steeped in their spirit of traditional piety, the resigned pathos of a life tranquilly accepting the decrees of an inscrutable divine order. Even his most impetuous character, Ravana, mingles with no sense of incongruity the patriotism of West with the time-honoured fatalism of the East.

Bankim Chandra, a more conscious reformer, was haunted by the vision of a puissant and resuscitated Hinduism which would play its part in the modern world and reconcile its ethical idealism with the lure of wealth and power and the tortuous diplomacy of the new age. He fully hoped that Indian culture would not only retain its individuality but strengthen its inherent powers by contact with Western ideas. Rabindranath has carried this synthesis to the finest point of perfection.

After Saratchandra our old protective bulwarks of conduct and an indefeasible sense of life-value have almost completely given way and a flood-tide of unknown experiments with life has literally swept us off our feet. The impact of the last two world-wars has accentuated this process of disintegration. We have become so morbidly conscious of the evils of society that we are seeking to dispense with it altogether and to emphasise the self-sufficiency of the individual. We gulp down new ideas without correlating them to the whole of life. We seem to have forgotten the fact that the true value of ideas lies in their power to influence conduct and to modify the very groundwork of life. A miscellaneous assortment of ideas drawn from the most diverse ideologies of the world no more prepares us to present a cohesive front to the complexities of life than a casual sipping of different kinds of drink would build up a sustaining nutrition for our physical system. Our tastes are more refined, our observations of life much more subtle, our sense of its discords and complexities more pronounced than ever before. Beyond doubt we know more about life, including its hidden springs and inexplicable by-processes: only we do not know how to live it. We flit so quickly from thought to thought, we make so many uneasy experiments with the process of living, we turn it round and round in such a restless whirl in order to observe its many facets that somehow its last ruminative sweetness, its rounded perfection of enjoyment tends to escape us. The philosopher among us has not the quiet certitude of conviction of a Marcus Aurelius, the impassioned idealism of a Carlyle or an Emer-

son, the settled serenity of wisdom as in a Buddha or a Confucius: he is frantically running forward to catch up with the latest shattering discoveries of Science. After all to taste many experiences and be titillated by many sensations, to feel momentary thrills and hug to the bosom subtle transient emotions is not to penetrate into the red-ripe core of life. In getting the utmost out of life we must reverse the maxim of Browning: our grasp must be surer than our reach. We may scale sudden heights but we do not dwell on the hill-tops. It is only by long practice and rigorous discipline that we may transform our latest acquisitions into the stuff of our culture. Culture is our intuitive reaction of our blood and bones.

We may graze and browse in the far-stretching pasture lands of internationalism, but will have to chew the cud under the shade of the immemorial banyan tree of our national culture. That is the only way in which we can transform whatever we have taken in from all our diverse sources into the inner substance of our blood and bones.

Society and the Individual

By

SRI R. K. RAGHAVAN

MAN is a pronounced gregarious animal in the sense, that by nature, he wishes to live with his fellowmen in a society, which signifies a system of complex social relationships. Society is a necessary condition for human existence and many sociologists have often striven to elucidate its primary aspects. It is the 'web of social relationships, the relationship being determined by mutual awareness. There is in it a sense of 'belonging together' that binds its members to a unified whole. With the growing complexities of the modern world the Society comes more and more into contact with the Individual. Conflicts between the Individual and the Society rear more prominently as the contact between the two becomes closer and more intimate, as is the case with our present society. These are of particular interest to political thinkers who are confronted with the problem of the State versus the Individual. There are many approaches to this type of situation among which the Sociological and utilitarian and the Libertarian's stand out prominently.

Man is, by nature, a "social animal" and he cannot but be born into a society. Society develops in him the essential attributes of human personality which he cannot acquire in isolation. The inevitable conflict that arises when both the Society and the Individual attempt to assert their essential qualities emphasises the need for group controls. Man is first born into a Family, a group that might

be viewed as a Society in miniature. The family is the best place for training the child in proper social behaviour. It is where the child learns the implications of living in Society and the need required for self-effacement in a wider sphere. The efficacy of making sacrifice for the common good, the need for adjustment to the habits of others and a spirit of sportsmanship are inculcated in him only in the family group. The School and the Play groups further nurture these norms so that it is an easy transit for the individual, when he enters the society as an adult and thus its full-fledged member. If this is to be the 'modus vivendi' there ought to be no grudging relationship between the individual and the society. But human nature is not often Arcadian for it is often led into the labyrinths of radical political ideas.

Individualism as a radical doctrine flourished in the late eighteenth century and gave new impetus to the movement for the 'emancipation' of man from the "afflicting shackles of society." Individuality as a dogma asserts with authority that men are 'born free and equal.' As a theory particularly in our century, it seems only a chimera or a will-of-the-wisp. Its emphasis that the individual is all-important and that he need not necessarily play the underling cannot be readily said as rational. The proponents of this doctrine probably forgot the fact that the individual acquires his attributes only within a Society and not without. He does not become an individual first and then

the member of the Society. Without the latter the former is truly inconceivable. Hence it is evident that the Individual and the Society are not two incompatible elements, but there is a viable order possible in which the two can play complementary roles.

For John Stuart Mill, a staunch Utilitarian, next only to Jeremy Bentham this problem of the conflict between the Individual and the Society was of considerable interest. He was fully convinced that liberty was an essential requisite for the happiness of the Individual. Mill particularly concerned himself with the 'tyranny' which the individual is subjected to by the 'prevailing opinion,' namely 'the collective opinion of the Society.' To individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested; to society the part which chiefly interests society. This is his cut-and-dry solution to the ever present problem. It is the ring of the Utilitarian that is heard when Mill says, that "everyone who receives the protection of society owes a return for the benefit" and to "observe a certain line of conduct towards the rest."

However all thinkers on the Individual are of the consensus that he should prove himself to be the least nuisance to the Society. He should have the highest regard for the rights of his fellow-beings. He should cultivate the virtue of restraining his self-regarding interests in enough measure to foster the interests of others. He should not injure the feelings of others by his inconsiderateness. The individual should see to it that there is the proper development of the personalities of others too along with his own. Instead of being one of apathy his aspirations should be channelled in such a way to increase the happiness of others, a promotion of the common weal. The inculcation of such an ideal in the individual is possible only through a system of liberal education.

An advanced or well-developed society is one which fosters the individual, at the same time making him feel that he is a member within it. It should have an appreciable regard for individuality and offers the fullest scope for the inner enrichment. Society should be aware that an atmosphere of freedom only is conducive to the development of personality. Liberty should be the watch-word for otherwise the individual may feel the environment miasmic. So Mill is on the right track when he believed, "Considerations to aid his judgement, exhorta-

tions to strengthen his will, may be offered to him, even obtruded on him, by others; but he himself is the final judge." Mill as well as other political thinkers who followed him had always a particular sanctity for the liberty of the individual; without liberty there is no individual.

Again, if it is asked what Liberty is, Laski answers; "Liberty is the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves. Liberty, therefore, is a 'product of rights.'" Hence a genuine society will be one in which the individual is recognised as endowed with certain rights. These include the right to express any opinion on any matter. Society will be doing the greatest injustice if it treats him with rigour and antipathy just because his view differs from its own. This is what leads Mill to say, "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion and only one person were of contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."

Many modern writers out of hasty and incoherent thinking have identified the State with the Society. It is an unintentional blunder, and a proper analysis in this regard requires congenial elucidation. Only calm and clear thinking would lead a person to discern the subtle distinction that exists between the two. As Laski says: 'The State may set the key-note of the social order, but it is not identical with it! The Society and the State are somewhat complementary in their functions. Yet at times the former has to play the underling to the latter. Society receives from the State the pattern of conduct for each of its citizens in the form of legislation. It puts into shape the modes of life as enunciated by the state. Thus the Society and the State need each other for the fulfilment of their respective function'. The one cannot survive without the other. When there is the cohesion between the two there is no reason at all why a conflict between the State and the Individual should occur. This harmony in the relation between them is not easy to arrive at unless, both the State and the Society know their respective roles, taking clear cognisance of their limitations. The State, while enacting and lucid understanding of the feelings and opinions of Society. This ultimately means the consideration for the individual's personality for it is the individuals who give the final shape to society,

CURRENT AFFAIRS

U. S. Defence Programme

President Kennedy asked Congress on March 28 for a boost of nearly two billion dollars in America's defence programme primarily to strengthen the Polaris missile, submarine and Minuteman missile projects.

President Kennedy said he asked this increase in the defence budget he inherited from the Eisenhower administration, because the United States must continue to have "the ability to survive a first blow and respond with devastating power."

The President said the requests stemmed from the reappraisal of the U. S. defence posture he requested the Secretary of Defence, Mr. Robert S. McNamara, to make last January. While the review is many months short of completion, Mr. Kennedy said, "circumstances do not permit a postponement of all further action."

There was only the briefest mention in Mr. Kennedy's message of comparable U.S. Russian missile strength and whether Russia enjoys a so-called 'missile gap' advantage over the U.S.

"It has been publicly acknowledged for several years," President Kennedy said, "that this nation has not led the world in missile strength."

During last year's Presidential campaign Mr. Kennedy said there was a missile gap. This was challenged by the Republicans. Last month Mr. Kennedy said it would be "premature to reach a judgment as to whether there is a gap or not" until the McNamara study was completed.

President Kennedy's Ten-year Plan

President Kennedy proposed that the American Republics should begin "a vast new ten-year plan" to transform the 1960's into a historic decade of democratic progress."

The President unfolded his plan, containing ten points, in a prepared address at a reception held in the White House for Latin American diplomats and U.S. Congressmen last month.

The President said that "at this very moment of maximum opportunity we confront the same forces which have imperilled America throughout its history—the alien forces which once again seek to impose the despotism of the old world on the people of the new."

He said the unfulfilled task "is to demonstrate to the entire world that man's unsatisfied aspiration for economic progress and social

justice can best be achieved by free men working within a framework of democratic institutions."

The President outlined his ten-point plan as follows.

(1) The opening of the vast new ten-year plan, under which the United States would provide its resources to Latin America "of a scope and magnitude sufficient to make this bold development programme a success—just as we helped provide resources adequate to help rebuild the economies of Western Europe."

(2) A Ministerial meeting, which he would shortly request, of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to begin the massive planning effort which he said would be the heart of an "alliance for progress."

(3) A request to Congress, which he said he had just signed, for the appropriation of 500 million dollars to implement the aid programme pledged by previous Eisenhower Administration.

(4) Support by the United States of economic integration in South America, which he described as a genuine step towards larger markets and greater competitive opportunity.

(4) Readiness by the United States to co-operate in detailed examination of commodity market problems so as to end the frequent and violent changes in prices which seriously injure the economies of many Latin nations.

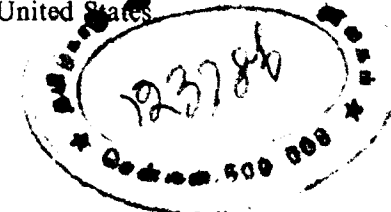
(6) The immediate stepping up of the U.S. food-for-peace programme to feed hungry men and women who could not wait for economic discussion or diplomatic conferences.

(7) The sharing by all people in the Western Hemisphere in the "expanding wonders of modern science" to improve the lot of man.

(8) The rapid expansion of the training of the peace corps and other technicians who will work to improve the economies of rapidly developing countries in Latin America.

(9) A reaffirmation of the United States pledge to come to the defence of any American nation whose independence was endangered.

(10) The participation of Latin America in contributions to the enrichment of life and culture in the United States.



No tax laws in Cyprus

Cyprus became a tax haven—with no customs duties, no car registration tax and strictly speaking, no charge for postage stamps.

This unprecedented situation was explained by Mr. Glafcos Clerides, President of the House of Representatives, soon after the defeat of a Government move to extend the tax laws for three months.

The move was voted down by Turkish members soon after the old laws expired at midnight on March 31.

The Turks had refused to back the Greeks on the issue without a guarantee that the 70-30 ratio of Greeks to Turks in the civil service—provided for under the Zurich agreement which gave Cyprus independence—would be implemented without further delay.

Mr. Clerides, speaking as an ordinary member, told the Turks the two issues were totally unconnected and “we are not prepared to yield to intimidation of this sort.”

The Turkish side denied it was intimidation and said it would agree to an initial two months extension, which should be long enough to get the new tax bill through Parliament. Mr. Clerides said 76 bills were involved and it would be “physically impossible” to pass them in two months.

The Turks—who under the constitution vote separately on tax laws—then defeated the extension and Cyprus was a without any legal basis for her system of taxation.

Dean Rusk's Warning about China

Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, said at a Press conference at Washington on Mar. 9 that if the Chinese Communist Government were seated in the United Nations next September and the Nationalist Government was excluded, there would be a very serious problem indeed.

He said the question of seating Communist China had far-reaching political ramifications which went far beyond the technical question of credentials. It was a problem on which he said the United States would have to be in constant consultation with other Governments between now and next September.

Russia's offer to U.S.A.

It is reported that the Soviet Union had said privately that it would drop charges of alleged American “aggression” at the General Assembly session, which resumed this month provided the U.S.A. did not push the Hungarian issue.

This is one of the suggestions made through diplomatic channels in an effort to ease tension between the countries.

The “aggression” charges follow last year's U-2 flight and the RB-47 flight. The Hungarian issue arises from the 1956 revolt.

The U.S. Government is also understood to have been informed privately that Mr. Khrushchev does not intend to attend the U. N. session.

There has been no indication that the Kennedy administration will agree to drop the Hungarian question from the Assembly agenda. But it is determined to do whatever it can to remove sore points between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, so that worthwhile negotiations can take place on such issues as a nuclear test ban agreement and disarmament.

Evidence of this is the attempt being made by the U.S. Ambassador to Moscow to give Mr. Khrushchev a message from President Kennedy.

U.N. Action against S. Africa

The General Assembly's Special Political Committee on April 10 recommended punitive measures against South Africa over apartheid, but not by a large enough majority to ensure endorsement by the plenary forum. Seven members including South Africa were absent.

Recommendations included the rupture of diplomatic relations between U. N. member States and the Union, closure of ports to South African ships, a boycott of all South African goods and a ban on the export of goods to the Union; and refusal of landing and passage facilities to South African aircraft.

In a vote by division the key operative paragraph of an African-sponsored resolution containing these points, was adopted by 41 to 32 with 21 nations.

The resolution as a whole was adopted by a simple majority of 47 to 29 with 18 abstentions.

Earlier, the Committee adopted all the preambular paragraphs of the same resolution in the vote by division paragraph by paragraph.

The committee also had before it a draft jointly sponsored by India, Afghanistan, Ceylon, the Federation of Malaya and Indonesia which would request “all States to consider taking such separate and collective action as is open to them, in conformity with the U.N. Charter, to bring about the abandonment of these policies” of apartheid.

It would also have the Assembly note “with grave concern that these policies have led to friction and that their continuance endangers international peace and security.”

De Jure Transfer of Pondicherry

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said in the Lok Sabha that the Indian Ambassador in Paris had taken up the question of *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry. A number of letters had been exchanged and several discussions had also taken place.

The ‘latest position’ was that at the “earliest opportunity” the *de jure* ratification of cession would be made by the French Government.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon was replying to a question by Mr. M.L. Dwivedi last month.

Mrs. Menon added that no definite date had been fixed for the *de jure* transfer so far.

Mr. S.C. Gupta asked whether Government would proceed with the integration of Pondicherry now that France had accepted in principle that Pondicherry belonged to India.

Mrs. Menon replied that the integration of Pondicherry with Madras depended on the wishes of the people. The Prime Minister had given an assurance that the wishes of the people of Pondicherry would be taken into consideration before any step was taken.

Conference of Chief Justices

The formation of an all-India judicial service and the raising of the retirement age of high court judges to 65 were two of the important recommendations of a three-day conference of Chief Justices of the High Courts which concluded at New Delhi on 23rd March.

The conference, which was attended by the Chief Justices of all the 15 high courts in the country, was presided over by the Chief Justice of India, Mr. B.P. Sinha.

The conference, by a majority, was in favour of the creation of an all-India judicial service. It recommended that up to one-third of the superior judicial service in each State should be filled for the present by competition on an all-India basis.

On the question whether each high court should have one-third of its judges from other States, the conference was of the view that “it was neither desirable nor feasible to enforce a rule making it obligatory for a high court to have a certain proportion of its strength from outside the State.”

The conference was also of the opinion that in view of its recommendation in respect of the recruitment by competition of certain propor-

tion of the higher judicial service on an all-India basis, “it is not necessary to have a panel of names for appointment as high court judges either from amongst the members of the bar or from amongst the members of the State judicial services.”

The appointment of one-third of judges in the high courts from other States and the formation of an all-India judicial service were recommended by the States Re-organisation Commission and the Law Commission.

West Germany's help to India

West Germany has decided to grant 400,000,000 D-Marks (Rs. 47,60,00,000) to India to help finance the first year of its Third Plan.

This amount would break down as follows:

1. An immediate long-term loan of 100,000,000 D-Marks carrying no obligation for India to purchase West German goods. Arrangements for this credit will be settled shortly and it will probably extend over a 15-year period with no repayments due for the first five years.

2. A 70,000,000 D-Mark loan, the details of which are to be discussed during the current year.

3. A postponement of the repayment of the Indian debt deriving from West German participation in the building of the Rourkela steel plant.

About half this debt totalling 230,000,000 D-Marks could be repaid within eight years and the remainder within 12 years, the sources said. In addition, it was understood, the West German Government would continue to guarantee German Industrial exports to India.

German circles stressed that West Germany now ranked fourth among the Powers which have supplied India with economic and financial help besides the U.S.A., Britain and the U.S.S.R.

World Peace Council

Problems of peace, co-existence, disarmament and colonialism were discussed at the five-day session of the World Council of Peace, which met at New Delhi, on March 24.

The session, which was held in the auditorium of the Vigyan Bhavan was attended by about 200 delegates and observers from about 50 countries. Notable among the absentee countries is Yugoslavia. This is the second time that the Council met in an Asian country, the first being in Ceylon in 1957.

The common theme of almost all the speakers was the need for total and universal disarmament.

mament and peaceful co-existence. While touching upon specific problems, many delegates condemned the U.N. action in Congo and criticised the way Mr. Hammarkjoeld conducted the U.N. operation in that country.

The bitterest attack on Mr. Hammarkjoeld came from Mr. Nikolai Tiknonov (USSR) who was followed in by the delegates from China and Congo, Mr. Liu Ning-yi and Mr. Wage Tchiteya respectively.

Tibet as part of China

Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha on March 24 that the Government of India's policies towards Tibet flowed from the basic stand that Tibet was an autonomous part of the larger Chinese State.

Earlier, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for External Affairs Mr. J. N. Hazarika, said that Government's attitude to the resolution that was likely to come up before the present session of the U.N. on Tibet would be decided as and when it came up before the General Assembly.

Replying to Mr. Hem Barua, the Parliamentary Secretary said that Government had seen the recent statement issued by the Dalai Lama. In the statement, the Dalai Lama had asked members of the U.N. to support the resolution that will be jointly sponsored by some member nations.

Mr. Barua asked whether Government considered the occupation of Tibet by China as a normal extension of Chinese administration or as a conquest of Tibet by China.

Mr. Nehru replied that all along Government considered Tibet as an autonomous part of the Chinese State. At some periods, the autonomy enjoyed by Tibet gave it the right to make treaties. Nevertheless Tibet was part of the large Chinese State. From this basic stand, various policies of the Government of India flowed in relation to Tibet.

Mr. Barua said that Mr. Nehru in his autobiography, had stated that Tibet was independent. He wanted to know on what grounds the Prime Minister had withdrawn from that position.

Mr. Nehru said that the book dealt chiefly with other matters and he did not remember in what connection Tibet came up in that book. If he had made any such remark as alleged by Mr. Barua, it was due to absence of full knowledge, Mr. Nehru said.

Communal Parties and the Coming Election

Prime Minister Nehru expressed the view that the suggestion to ban parties and organisations bearing communal and religious denominations from contesting the elections in the interests of rooting out the evil of communalism in the country should be considered. Mr. Nehru was participating in a discussion of the Congress Parliamentary Party of the ways and means of rooting out communal and other fissiparous tendencies manifesting themselves in the country, at New Delhi on March 30.

Stressing the need for thinking in a modern way, Mr. Nehru said that in India unfortunately people seemed to be thinking "in terms of different centuries." To-day the greatest danger to the country was communalism. If it was to be rooted out the suggestion made by one member, Mr. Jagannatha Pahadi, in the form of a resolution seeking to ban organisations with communal and religious denominations should be considered. He was glad that all the members who participated in the discussion though speaking in different languages had expressed the same view.

One of the members, Mr. Tariq, was critical of the party for encouraging the Muslim League in entering into an alliance with them in Kerala.

The Communist Congress

The most important feature of the Communist Party Congress which met at Vijayawada is the open presentation of two rival programmes and policies by the leadership. The presence of Mr. Suslov Secretary of the Russian Communist Party and close associate of Mr. Khrushchev, showed the importance attached abroad to the discussions at Vijayawada. Mr. Suslov has stated that his country is now passing from Socialism to the third and final stage of building a Communist society, the first stage was "the dictatorship of the proletariat". He tactfully refrained from commenting on the resolutions before the congress. Dange-Ghosh resolution supports the foreign policy of Mr. Nehru and calls for a united front of leftists including the leftists in the Congress. The Ranadive-Bhupesh Gupta resolution calls for a leftist united front against the Congress to capture power to implement socialism. However debate on these policies has been postponed in favour of discussing the two detailed programmes of objectives only at the next session. We shall watch and see!

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Rule of Law in a Free Society, A report on the International Congress of Jurists held in New Delhi, 1959, 15. sh. Geneva.

This is an account of the Congress held in New Delhi in January 1959. It would be sheer impertinence on the part of the reviewer to play the part of *Advocatus Diaboli* against so many eminent jurists and judges who have conferred and crystallised their conclusions. The act of Athens that Judges and Lawyers should protect and enforce the Rule of Law against encroachments of political parties and military dictators is, alas, only a pious sentimental hope when people are in preventive detention without open public trial even in India. Judges of the High Court on the verge of retirement were threatened with contempt proceedings and arrest by an Advocate-General and one risen from the dead in a State Legislature. As one proposal said, it is not sufficient that the Executive should be compelled by the Courts to carry out its duties and refrain from illegal acts—the Citizen should have the right to get damages against the State. But people in India who have been wrongfully convicted or injured have to wait five years and more even for adjudication of their cases or gain a pious hope that the Prosecutor should in particular inform the Accused in due time "of any evidence not being used by the Prosecution which might benefit the Accused." Even within the last triennium a Public Prosecutor refused to allow a prison authority to put such evidence to the Court and the Accused went to transportation for life and in another case, the Public Prosecutor resisted the plea on behalf of an immature adolescent minor of seventeen who had been to jail on the false representation of the Police that the boy was nineteen to be sent to a Senior Certified School on the wicked instructions that the boy might corrupt the other inmates of the School. The only bother is Parliament in India has not made rules for preferring and verifying such complaints and a Chief Justice of India even indulged in hanging a man without hearing him or his counsel and only the ingenuity of an Inspector-General of Prisons saved the poor devil's life by getting him cited as a witness in another case which took three years more to close and in India, we do not keep a man waiting that, long to hang him finally.

Altogether an authoritative, comprehensive add thought provoking book.

Shri Krishna: His Philosophy and his spiritual path. By Bahadur Mal. V.V.R. Institute, P.O. Sadhu Ashram. Hoshiarpur. Rs. 5/

This follows the traditional sources for the study of the SAGE, the Warrior, the Statesman, the Philosopher, and the Poorna Avatar of Maha Vishnu Incarnate, with the individual charm and eclectic erudition of Ex. Principal Bahadur Mal of the D.A.V. College, Ambala. He confirms with cogent reasons the date of Shri Krishna as at least as early as 1400 B.C. He confounds Western Scholars who would deny the Unity and sole authorship of the Bhagavad Gita. He justly praises Krishna's unashamed delight in *Joie De Vivre* or Healthy Enjoyment of Life. As Matthew Arnold once pointed out, now and then frustrated individuals make little children chant hypocritically "I shall be glad to go. For the World at best is a Weary Place, and life is getting Low" and Undisciplined Individuals chatter "Eat, Drink, and Sport, All else is Worthless" but the Man of Culture avoids both Hypocrisy and Anarchy, and delights in Sweetness and Light. So Professor Mal has proved that Shri Krishna the Darling of the Gopis was also the Darling of Humanity including Saints and Sinners.

Bhagavat Gita and Modern Life. By K.M. Munshi. **The Art of Life in the Bhagavad Gita.** By H.V. Divatia. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 2 each.

Of the making of books on the Gita there is no end. Originally delivered as lectures, this 5th edition of Sri Munshi's book presents a completely rewritten book with some additional chapters. Sri Munshi offers a guide to modern life and its problems, and discusses various aspects of social life in the light of its teachings. He discusses different types of readers and suggests the right frame of mind with which it should be read, if it is to be of any real use in shaping our lines. The Gita is not a race-card with which to secure winnings on the race course, he says.

Sri Divatia's book opens with a luminous Introduction from the pen of the late B. G. Kerr. In ten short chapters he discusses the Gita as a treatise in the art of life. He deals with the psychology, epistemology, Cosmology, metaphysics and ethics of the Gita and concludes with a chapter in which he points out how far modern science confirms the teachings of the philosophy behind the Gita.

Subways are for Sleeping. By Edmund G. Love. Signet Book Price 50 cents. New American Library, New York 22.

As the blurb says "Martha Grant wore no clothes in order to avoid eviction, Sam Victor had six wives, Knuten had no fixed address etc. Like Thackeray's Becky Sharp they live gloriously on nothing per year. Living on one's wits is a very old game as the Man in Black of Goldsmith pointed out long ago. A farrago in some parts and a phantasmagoria in others, it is justly described as dealing with Twilight People with a rare combination of sympathetic laughter and sardonic humour as where the cheat cutie is finally sheltered by the clever cop.

As Byron says "We madly smile when we should groan, Delirium is our best deceiver." For delightful delirium and soothing slumbers to follow, we cannot recommend a better book and at such a cheap price.

War is a Private Affair. By Edmund G. Love. Price 35 cents. New American Library, New York 22.

This fascinating little volume consists ten frantically funny true accounts of the private affairs of American Officers in the Pacific. War is a Private Affair which gives the collection its title is a revealing account of Private Adolescent Prosnik and how he won a battle and collected a Samurai sword. The adventure of Colonel Fricke who overplanned, the Old School Tie, the baby who survived a diet of morphine and milk are some of the rare titbits to savour. How some got the worst of rations and quarters and others wallowed in the lap of luxury and so had nothing to complain about is an old, old, story in all armies and institutions, but even such lucky devils like Adolplus Lamp finally approach a log to give it a heave and it turns out to be a big rough tough Panamanian Alligator which would not let go. Very instructive and amusing reading for about a third of a dollar.

The Indian Awakening and Bengal. By N. S. Bose, Lecturer in History, Jadavpur University, Calcutta. pp. 260. Price Rs. 10. K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 6/1/A Bancharam Akur Lane, Calcutta 12.

As the blurb says, the author has with an eagle's width of vision and a serpent's wisdom seen and condensed the Emotional and Intellectual Renaissance which began with Ram Mohun

reached lofty heights under Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore and is continuing to flower and give good fruit even to-day.

The book is a mine of information on early pioneers like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore (1817-1905), Micheal Madhusudan Datta—1824-1873) Rajnarayan Bose (1826-1899) to mention only a small percentage, selecting those not so well-remembered now. The chapter headings are judiciously and aptly chosen like Background, Western Education, Religious Movements, Social Reform Movements, Political Consciousness, and Literature. Useful appendices give not only a Bibliography but also a catalogue of Public Organizations and Newspapers and Journals.

How to tell the birds from the flowers. By R.B. Wood. Dover Publications, Inc. 180 Varick street, New York 14, N.Y.

Anyone who has ever confused the parrot with the carrot, the plover with the clover, or the pecan with the toucan will welcome this booklet. This collection of verses and woodcuts is designed to help the nature lover find his way through a world of flora and fauna. Audubon never dreamed of. For all those who are "Not...always able to recognize a vegetable," Mr. Wood points out the signs by which anyone can tell the P-cock from the Q-cumber, the ape from the grape, the cantelope from the antelope. The author was one of America's foremost physicists as well as a humorist whose special brand of nonsense has made this book a classic of American humor.

The Foreign Policy of Warren Hastings. By Ram Prakash M.A. Woolner Indological Series No. 1 Price Rs. Four. V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, Punjab (Ind.)

This is a rapid survey in condensed form of the spider-like activities of Warren Hastings in his relations with the Mughal Emperor, the Princes of Oudh, the Rohillas, the Marathas, the Rajas of Banaras, the Tibetan Anarchy and Hyder Ali Khan of Mysore. He was an Anglo-Indian Protestant Soldier and Statesman who in the hot and secret countries and Courts of India tortures witnesses, amassed gold, and in the words of the House of Commons in the case of the more lucky Lord Clive "did at the same time render great and meritorious services to His Country." On the whole a well-documented readable equitable description and assess-

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

GENERAL

INDIANS OVERSEAS

It is not known whether, simultaneously with the decennial census, which was completed recently, attempts are being made to hold a census of Indian Overseas. This is overdue as no reliable statistics of our nationals abroad are available. According to a recent estimate of a British journal, however, there are four million people of Indian origin abroad, although this number also includes Pakistanis.

Three-fourths of them live in the Commonwealth, those in Britain numbering about 80,000. The recent illicit emigration is not expected to have appreciably affected this estimate. Among foreign countries, Burma claimed the largest number of people of Indian origin, nearly 700,000 two years ago. The Congo had a little more than a thousand, while Portuguese East Africa had nearly 13,000 Indians.

The proportion of Indians to the total population was the highest in Mauritius being 67 per cent, most of them being employed in sugar factories and plantations. Indians make almost half of the multi-racial society of the Fiji islands, forming its most progressive and prosperous section.

S. AFRICA

INDIAN TRADERS

The South African Minister of Interior, Mr. Jan de Klerk, has told a deputation of Indian businessmen that the Indian community in the country "concentrates too much on commerce." This position should change and the Government would encourage Indians to enter other occupations, he said.

This statement by the Minister followed a recent statement by a Government Senator that Indian "monopoly" of trade in Natal would be "broken up gradually."

The deputation pointed out to the Minister that an overwhelming majority of the 475,000 Indians in South Africa were poorly paid workers in unskilled occupations. Only Indians in small rural towns were engaged in commerce and that too because other occupations were closed to them by colour bar.

The Minister also told the deputation, which met him that the Government was determined to enforce residential segregation of Indian population under the Group Areas Act.

CEYLON

ILLICIT ENTRY INTO THE ISLAND

On the recommendation of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Government of Ceylon have decided to introduce legislation giving every Ceylonese citizen the right to arrest illegal immigrants.

According to the present law, the power to arrest can be exercised only when an illicit immigrant is caught in the act of landing in Ceylon.

These methods to check illegal immigration into Ceylon from South India were being considered, presumably because of reported increase in the influx of illicit immigrants in recent months.

The Government have already decided to deploy from one-half to one-third of its Armed Forces along the northern coastline to prevent landing of illegal immigrants.

NON-NATIONALS IN CEYLON

A system of identity cards for non-nationals may be introduced in Ceylon shortly. To begin with, a register is to be compiled.

The Government had earlier decided to issue identity cards to all citizens with the dual object of preventing impersonation at elections and of keeping check on illegal immigrants. This proposal is reported to have been shelved temporarily.

NEPAL

INDIANS IN TRISULI

Indian personnel and property at Trisuli, in Nepal, were reported to be safe and the work on the Indian-aided hydro-electric project there was progressing at the normal way. Mr. Sadat Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the External Affairs Minister, told the Lok Sabha on April 4.

Replying to a "call attention" notice by Mr. N. G. Goray and others, he said that Trisuli itself was quiet and had remained unaffected by the disturbances in parts of the district in which the township was situated. There was never any question of evacuation of Indian personnel and their families from Trisuli and work on the project had not been suspended as reported. One or two Indian families had left for Kathmandu of their own volition, but they were now believed to be returning to Trisuli.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Mar. 1. Police and Military use force on anti-Sinhala Satyagrahis in Ceylon.
—Pakistan agrees to pay compensation for damage caused to Indian Chancellory in Karachi.
- Mar. 2. Queen Elizabeth leaves India for Teheran.
- Mar. 3. Master Tara Singh is re-elected President of the Shiromani Akali Dal.
—Congolese troops and U. N. troops exchange fire at the naval base of Banana near Leopoldville.
- Mar. 4. India agrees to send a brigade of 3,000 men to U. N. forces in the Congo.
- Mar. 5. Mass arrests in Angola are reported.
—Queen Elizabeth returns home.
- Mar. 6. President of Pakistan promulgates ordinance curtailing his own powers with regard to the framing of Constitution.
- Mar. 7. Pt. Nehru arrives in London to attend Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.
—Pt. Govind Vallabha Pant is dead.
- Mar. 8. The ECAFE session meets in New Delhi: President Rajendra Prasad inaugurates the Conference.
—Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference meets in London.
- Mar. 9. No-confidence Motion against Jatty Ministry is defeated in the Mysore Assembly.
- Mar. 10. Reign of terror in Angola is reported:
—Brig K. A. S. Raja Commander of 3,000 Indian troops at Congo leaves Bombay for Leopoldville.
- Mar. 11. Compromise formula reached by rival groups in Andhra Pradesh Congress.
- Mar. 12. Conference of Bankers meets in New Delhi.
- Mar. 13. The Island Republic of Cyprus is admitted as the 13th member of Commonwealth.
- Mar. 14. First batch of 300 Indian soldiers leave India for Congo by air.
- Mar. 15. S. Africa's Premier Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd withdraws his application for S. Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth.
- Mar. 16. President Kennedy appoints Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith as the new United States Ambassador for India.
—Pt. Nehru and President Ayub Khan confer at London.
- Mar. 17. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London ends in an atmosphere of satisfaction.
- Mar. 18. The Soviet Foreign Minister and U. S. Secretary of State discuss pressing world problems—Congo and Laos at Washington.
- Mar. 19. South Africa is bitterly divided on Vervoerd's decision.
—Pt. Nehru leaves for Cairo enroute to India.
- Mar. 20. The Congo conciliation commission in submitting its report blames Belgium for crisis in Congo.
—The 17th session of ECAFE concludes.
—Nehru and Nasser confer in Cairo.
- Mar. 21. Mr. Ellis Bunker, Ambassador of U. S. A. in India leaves Delhi after four years' service in India.
- Mar. 22. Pandit Nehru returns to New Delhi after attending Commonwealth Conference.
—Tshombe threatens to attack Indian Troops.
—President Kennedy's special Envoy Mr. Harriman meets and hands over message to Nehru at Delhi.
- Mar. 23. Kennedy warns communists against intervention in Laos.
- Mar. 24. World Peace Council meets in New Delhi.
- Mar. 25. Pt. Nehru inaugurates 34th session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce at Delhi.
—Soviet spaceship got back after successful test.
—Tamil agitation continues in Ceylon.
- Mar. 26. President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan confer at Key West, Florida, on Laos problem.
- Mar. 27. Russia to submit new compromise plan on Laos problem.
—Pitched battle in Angola—Troop concentration by Portuguese.
- Mar. 28. A three Judge Tribunal (4 years' hearing) acquitted all the accused in S. Africa.
- Mar. 29. Chief Minister of Kerala State, Thanupillai offers to face inquiry charges against him.
- Mar. 30. Mysore Chief Minister informs the Assembly that if Union Government did not agree to continue financial assistance to Kolar Gold Field Mines it will have to be closed or handed over to the centre.
—Police Firing in Nagpur against Vidharbha Demonstrators.
- Mar. 31. Use of Russian Planes—Soviet pilots train Indians on Border Flights.

READERS' DIGEST

THE CENTRAL BUDGET

"In the form of presentation, the Central Budget for 1961-62 differs little from that of five or even ten years ago," says the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay. In consequence, "reconciliation of the budget figures with those given in the Plan documents remains as complicated an operation as it was in the initial years of the First Plan. This is in many ways a pity since it renders the budget a clumsy instrument for evaluating 'performance.' The principal object of the budget being traditionally to summarise the 'ways and means' position of Government, it treats Government as distinct from agencies or institutions which form part of the public sector in the planning sense. A good many of the entries in the budget do not, therefore, involve transaction with any agency outside the public sector, and this is apt to obscure the true magnitude of some elements in the budget. Straightforward inter-budgetary comparisons do not, therefore, clarify relative changes in Government's role as a saver or an investor or even as a purchaser of goods and services over the years. Nonetheless, they may bring out the dimensional changes in terms of certain broad categories which, though not strictly economic are yet distinct enough to be significant at a rudimentary level."

"In his budget speech the Finance Minister derived considerable satisfaction. For he took care to point out that in the five-year period 1956-1961, over Rs. 130 crores of capital expenditure had been financed from the excess of revenue receipts over revenue expenditure. He also emphasised that the budget deficit for the five-year period was well under the limit of Rs. 1,200 crores specified in the Second Five-year Plan."

These claims of the Finance Minister, says the journal, are supported by the Budget figures. "But in respect of the extent to which the targets of developmental expenditure, and, more importantly, the investment targets, have been fulfilled, and on the accord between Plan anticipation and actualities under the different types of resources, the Finance Minister's assessments are not easily verified. It is, of course, arguable that these are matters about which only the specialist need worry. If the Plan targets on the expenditure side have not been reached, it is because of the pruning of the Second Plan, consequent upon the foreign exchange crisis in 1957-1958. It is also arguable that it is

immaterial whether, on the resources side, the actual distribution amongst various categories conforms to the anticipated distribution or not so long as the overall deficit is under control. Such arguments might be valid if one viewed the budget as no more than accounting statements. But, in actual fact, the manner in which Government has raised or spent its resources is often more important than how much it has received or spent in the aggregate. It is on such details that the budget in the form in which it is presented gives only partial information."

The weekly is of opinion that "in the Central budget's capital account, the position in respect of both long-term borrowing and small savings seems to improve continuously. As is well known, the loan figures have to be further processed to get a clearer idea of the volume of genuine private savings transferred annually to Government through the purchase of securities. The new item appearing this year—investment of U. S. Government counterpart funds—further complicates the picture. That apart, from the strict 'ways and means' point of view, it is obvious that debt operations are today vastly more important than they were at the beginning of the Second Plan. And this makes public debt policy one of far-reaching consequence."

By and large, therefore, it seems that imperfect as it is, the Budget does raise questions which lie uppermost in the field of development financing. Even so, public appreciation of these questions would be greatly enhanced if the form of the budget were adapted in such a way as to mirror clearly emerging changes in the economic functions of the State. But this depends on our revolutionising the accounting procedures in Government." The journal concludes by saying that there is perhaps no vested interest in the country stronger than that of accountants and auditors; and the longer the reformation of the budget is delayed the more difficult will intelligent planning become.

"THE EASTERN ECONOMIST"

The Budget Number 1961-62 priced Rs. 4 is replete with many interesting articles on various aspects of the Budget, with a supplement on the Third Plan. The ten special articles written by eminent men are indeed informing and instructive. Altogether a fine bumper

MONEY IN AMERICAN POLITICS

About \$200 million was spent by American political parties and candidates on the recent election campaigns, writes Prof. Herbert Garfin Kel in the *New Leader*. Reviewing Alexander Heard's new book, "The costs of Democracy," he says that millions of people contribute, not just a few "fat cats."

"There are tens of thousands who donate several hundred dollars each. In 1952, for example, 150,000 people each gave at least \$100; 20,000 each gave at least \$500; 200 each gave at least \$10,000. Altogether, there were about 3,000,000 persons who donated money to a party or candidate in the 1952 election."

Contrary to the underdog image of the Democratic party, "big givers show up importantly in both parties and on behalf of many opposing candidates." Democrats do fare poorly at the apex of the business world where corporation officials are almost unanimously Republicans. At the base, the money divides more evenly, and in some business areas Democrats obtain a larger proportion of the donations. Gifts to Democrats of \$1,000 or more tend to come from people in merchandising, hard and soft drinks, construction materials, publishing, radio, advertising, professions and public office holders. Republicans are favored with gifts of \$1,000 or more by bankers, brokers, manufacturers, oil, mining, utilities, transportation, real estate and insurance people."

Does money win elections? Prior to the victories of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman historical experience strikingly supported the conclusion that elections are won by candidates who spend the most money.

"In every Presidential election from 1904 through 1928 this correlation held, including the 1912 and 1916 Democratic victories, which were the only times that Democrats spent more than Republicans. However, like slogan, "As Maine goes, so goes the nation," this generalization collapsed in the five Roosevelt-Truman elections, each of which the Democrats won despite greater expenditures by their rivals."

Money clearly is important in influencing a number of "controllable campaign activities" like organizational work and propaganda efforts. However, many influences on elections, such as the candidates' personal qualities, the context of issues and the predispositions of voters, are not crucially determined by moderate differences in campaign expenditures.

Heard's conclusion is that money has more influence on party nominations than it does on the outcome of electoral contests."

Why do donors give? Heard finds that corrupt practices regulations and investigations have greatly improved the situation since the 9th century.

"The sometimes sordid record is not disputed, but Heard assails the naive cynicism which grossly over-simplifies the motivations of politicians. They are rarely for sale to the highest monetary bidder if only because "politicians prize votes more than dollars." Dollars are badly needed for vote-attracting campaigns; however, politicians cannot afford to accept donations tied to vote-losing policies."

The motivations of donors are also complex, and there is no sharp and clear division between selfishness and altruism in political contributing anymore than elsewhere.

"Giving money to political campaigns is a form of political action. It is a way of furthering ideological beliefs and policies, of identifying with a candidate or a party, of conforming to group mores that giving, like voting, is a mark of civic virtue. The incentive to give as a means to influence is also manifold rather than singular. Some give hoping for specific governmental favors (patronage, franchises, etc.); some more generally use money as a ticket of admission to the political world (entre and good will); some give because they are dunned by business or professional clients or associates. The latter donate not to obtain political privileges but to remain in the private business world. And a few take out "insurance by donating to both parties and to competing candidates."

Heard's conclusion is that, in politics, "he who pays the piper does not call the tune."

INDIAN THINKING TODAY

Indian thinking today, as manifest in the writings appearing in journals and current literature is marked by one thing more than any other, observes Mr. J.M. Ganguli in the January *Aryan Path*: and that is "the absence of independent thinking and personal reflection."

"In the Indian thought that has endured through ages, in books and scriptures, in memory and hearsay, what is remarkable is newness and boldness of thinking. "Because it is written in that book, or is said to have been uttered by a *Rishi*, it must be true and I must accept it"—such an attitude is not native to this land, and that is why in India there has been

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PARTY-LESS DEMOCRACY

not only a wide diversity in thought and belief, but also a free response to them from different quarters. But that keenness and responsiveness have been wearing off as drowsiness has been creeping into the Indian mind, and therefore in its evening twilight it seems to seek light from outside to stimulate it."

In what one reads today are not found the writer's intuitive reactions to things around him or his detached reflections, but only a re-statement or re-writing in different language, or a re-interpretation in the light of some textbook theories, of a question of topical interest.

"Writing is full of boring quotations and disconcerting references. When a *Rishi* is quoted it is forgotten that what made him a *Rishi* was his freedom of thought, his following after his own questioning, doubting, arguing mind. Who would have heard of Kapila and Patanjali and Manu and Vyasa and others if they had followed a blind way behind their Gurus or the authority of the Vedas? The present-day followers of these *Rishis* do not see the distinctiveness in their thought and approach, and therefore in their devotional admiration for all of them they think and say that they all mean essentially the same thing. So they juxtapose Sankhya and Vedanta, push the Upanishads into the Vedas and so on and so forth, in an attempt to satisfy themselves that they are all one, that they all point to the same thing and comprise one philosophy and one religion. This attempt and the placid faith behind it only show a feeble mind grasping at any support it can find."

"If instead of trying to find a compromise between Sankhya with Vedanta, or tying the Vedas and the Upanishads into one or taking the *Gita* as uncontroversial, one takes any of these texts as it is and follows the mental stimulation it causes, he will come to realizations truer to himself than the *Gita* or the Vedanta could give."

"This world, this universe, this creation, in the infinite nature of it is such that there can be no one way of comprehending it: for, whatever the way be, it starts from a certain reaction to a certain experience through which the individual passes. It is those who have become dull and insensitive to their actual experience and lost their eagerness of appreciation for the manifold manifestations appearing in divers ways and forms who seek the authority of a scripture or the force of a doctrine to justify their mental inaction."

The party system has been so ingrained everywhere in the world where democracy prevails that an alternative way of electing and supervising leaders of government seems unthinkable. But, says Mr. M.A. Venkata Rao in *Freedom First*, there is nothing unthinkable or contrary to human nature in the idea of democracy without parties.

"It is suggested that voters' association be formed in each polling booth area. Voters in such areas will meet some time before the elections and discuss the several ideas, principles and policies before the public mind from the standpoint of immediate realisation by the next government to be elected. Teachers, political thinkers and men of experience in every line—doctors, lawyers, cooperators, merchants, industrialists and workers sufficiently awake to the appeal of public questions and good government will bring their minds and experience to bear on current ideas."

The small community of the polling booth district will revive the primary community corresponding to the village panchayat community.

They may function like a club with departments to cater to the other interests of culture and develop a face-to-face community in which members get interested in each other as full persons and not merely representations of a narrow line of business or occupation. Democracy in government by public discussion and the voters' association can provide a forum for discussion and healthy clash of ideas from all points of view. Abstract ideas from books and accounts of experience from other countries may be tested in the light of common sense, experience and current needs of the country as they appear to the voters."

The function performed by the party of formulating clear-cut programmes out of the floating welter of ideas and proposals may be performed by leading members of the voters' association.

"Voters' associations from all the different districts of the city may meet periodically for discussion so that ideas could be pooled and current of public opinion may prevade the whole city in all the constituencies. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan envisages full discussion and the canvass of all of all relevant ideas but without the distorting influence of party. Ideas will be discussed and entertained on their own merit as affording guidance to policy."

THE CUBAN CAULDRON

The Sino-Soviet intrusion into the Western hemisphere is one reason for the fevered tension between Havana and Washington, says Mr. Edward B. Glick in an impartial review of Cuban-American relations in *Midstream*.

"Cuba welcomed Khrushchev's offer to rain rockets on us if we attacked her, and Castro unilaterally denounced the Rio hemisphere mutual defense pact because 'the revolution did not sign the pact.'"

Another reason is the expropriation without compensation of more than a billion dollars of American-owned property in Cuba as well as the emotional impact of such acts as flights by Floridabased planes over Cuban territory, and the summary execution of American mercenaries caught by Castro's soldiers."

There are, of course, other factors that fostered the estrangement some of the most respected figures in American history have echoed Jefferson's sentiments against Cuban independence.

"John Quincy Adams, for instance, felt that Cuba would have to be annexed to the United States in accordance with what he termed the 'law of political gravitation.' At the end of the Mexican War, President James K. Polk offered the Spanish Crown \$100,000,000 for the island. And Secretary of War Elihu Root, author of the hated Platt Amendment which made of Cuba a virtual colony of the United States, is on record as declaring:

"It would be a most lame and impotent conclusion if after all the expenditure of blood and treasure by the people of the United States for the freedom of Cuba.....we should, through the constitution of the new government, by inadvertence or otherwise, be placed in a worse position in regard to our vital interests than we were while Spain was in possession."

The Cuban historian, Herminio Portell Vila, listed twenty years ago every American President from Jefferson to Theodore Roosevelt, with the exception of Lincoln, as an open or covert annexationist.

CONTROLS IN A FREE ECONOMY

Sri M.A. Srinivasan, Ex-Minister for Food and Civil Supplies in Mysore, recounts in *Thought* his experiences of controls and licenses and permits in War time. This bewildering maze of controls has since multiplied many-fold, recent years since independence and in peace time. He writes:

"My officers and I controlled and rationed foodgrains of every kind, from rice, ragi and wheat, to all sorts of pulses and grams. We controlled steel, cement, coal and petrol and kerosene, timber and railway wagons. There was control over cotton and cloth, and wool and silk. One control speedily gave birth to another. Control of foodgrains led to control of fuel, and then to sugar and jaggery, and on to potatoes, and to groundnuts and then to tamarind, and from tamarind to chillies to onions. Every complaint of a shortage or high price of any particular thing became the excuse for imposing control on that thing. Seekers of permits and licences crowded the multiply-offices; and the queues got longer and longer."

It will take long to describe the ingenuity, investiveness and plain unvarnished mendacity with which people sought to evade the controls that sprang up around them or, at least, to dull their edge.

"It was quite usual to find what were called ghosts in food ration cards—the ghosts being imaginary members of a household. And so it was in one form or another with each thing that was controlled. Control begat hardship, hardship begat resentment, resentment begat evasion, evasion begat blackmarket, blackmarket begat corruption. It was a dismal business."

To defend our health and our morals against ourselves, the Government has imposed prohibition.

"So far, no one is sure if this post-independence control has improved either the health or the morals of the controlled. But no one has any doubt that it has not improved the morals of the controllers."

A more striking example of the effect of years of control and regimentation on the mind not of the ruled, but of the rulers, is the statement recently made by the Prime Minister that the Government were thinking of controlling prices as a means of preventing them from going up.

"One would have thought that a whole decade of experience in administering price-controls would have been enough to bring home the lesson that, so long as inflation continues unchecked, one can as effectively hold the price line by clamping on a fresh set of price-controls as he can bring a fever, down by breaking thermometer."

WORKING IN CO-OPERATION

Sri Vaikunth L. Mehta calls for real co-operation in *Khadhi-Gramodyog*. The first lesson that a co-operator has to learn before he presumes to teach, he says, is to learn to work together in harmony with those he chooses to work for promoting a common endeavour.

"A factious spirit and co-operation obviously go ill together. But besides emphasising points of disagreement, rather than of agreement, pandering to rivalries and attempting to domineer are traits equally reprehensible in a cooperator. Just as in the field of international relations, in our own little sphere also, we must cultivate the qualities that foster harmony—such as sanity, kindness, tolerance and a sense of justice. There is in relation to day-to-day affairs as great a need for bringing these qualities into play as in much wider field."

The recognition in personal behaviour and public conduct of a sense of equality is a distinguishing feature of the democratic order.

"For cooperation the personal aspect is as important as the public aspect, since in a decentralized economy, such as cooperation seeks to promote, success depends considerably on the personal contribution that each constituent makes. In the conduct of the affairs of the organisation with which a cooperator is connected, the interests of all should rank the same irrespective of their political or religious persuasion—without any distinction based on caste, creed or status, etc."

It is only then that a sense of active participation can be evoked. It is such understanding, willing, active participation that alone makes for success.

"Hence the paramount need for anyone who attempts to serve society to bring out the best that is in others. As has been well observed, the art of leadership consists in making common men do common things. It is such leaders alone that the cooperative movement wants."

THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH

The current number of *Mankind* is devoted to a discussion of the teen ager in Britain, Australia, Africa and elsewhere Mr. R. Osborn. Discussing the youth in Britain that in a relative simple society, "a boy or girl is expected to take their place in the community almost as soon as they are physically capable of doing so. When the boy is physically strong enough to

take part in the hunting or fishing or agricultural activities of the group and the girl is physically ready for child-bearing, they are conducted into the full life of the community through initiation ceremonies. The important point is that, in many cases, the introduction of the child to the responsibilities of adult life coincides fairly accurately with the physical readiness of the child to take part in this life. When, i.e., the child is biologically ready for adult life he is automatically socially ready for it too.

In our society, however, biological readiness for adult status is not considered sufficient qualification for the young person to take his place as an independent adult.

"For example, while a girl may be physically ready to bear children at the age of 13 and younger, our society considers that she is not ready for the social function of rearing a family until considerably later. Similarly, earning a living has become so complex a matter that many of the jobs that bring in a reasonable amount of money, ensuring a reasonable degree of comfort, require a level of education and training that takes young people well beyond their point biological maturity. There is a gap between the biological readiness to perform adult functions and the social opportunities to do so, a gap which grows continuously. To put it briefly; underlying much of the teenager problem in our complex society is this simple fact: that teenagers are not considered to be ready socially to do the things that they are ready, biologically, to do."

The tragedy is that youth in the Western World has little positive sense of revolt. It can express its resentment of adult domination in a variety of ways that involve no decisive challenge. It can scandalise the adult world with its free and easy morals, shock it with its bizarre clothing and strident music. But nothing changes: for these things dissipate the energy of revolt.

"I see the problem of youth as part of the larger problem of social reconstruction. While striving for educational reforms and a more enlightened attitude to young people particularly those dubbed delinquents, we should not forget the primary task of recasting our social values along humanist lines. I do not see any easy way of tackling the problem nor any quick solution of it."

GANDHI'S LAST LETTER

Mankind publishes the English version of a letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Shri Anusuya Prasad Pathak which was probably one of his last letters. In the course of the letter he says :

"You know that propagation of Hindi is one of the 18 items of work which I like, and I am of the opinion that India's Independence is worthless without a national language. With regard to language, India is slave as before. So I do not consider her fully independent. It is my opinion that so long as English remains as the national language of India, India will be slave. Before Independence I had many things in mind : (1) The national language will be the nation's heritage and the nations work will be done through it. (2) Khadi dress will be the national dress. (3) Harijans will get equal rights. The monster of untouchability will go. (4) There will be love among men. (5) All programmes will be based on and worked through non-violence. (6) Hindus and Muslims will maintain fraternal relations, and the like. But where are they? Consequently, I have given up my desire to live for 120 years and prayed to God to take me away soon. You do not know after experiencing what pain, I took this decision. Leaders who have always supported me, began to disregard my wishes after reaching seats of power. They began to call it the ravings of old age. What I said was laughed at. Then I saw that it is not good to remain here. It is another matter that if I wanted, I could overthrow all the leaders, but they were mine, the people were mine. They also belonged to the people. If I too become like them, I lose faith in God like them. I left their company and came away. I see everything, but time will do this work, not me. You should be patient. When fate begins to work, it will work in a day and these leaders will remain gaping. They won't even understand as to what is happening. So, you go on working with full energy. Your duty is only to work, leave the results to God. I wish you success in your work."

INDO-PAKISTAN: INDIA'S TERRIBLE DILEMMA

This is the title of an article in the *New Leader*, taken from a chapter in Louis Fischers' recent book, "Russia, America and the World" (Harper). Fischer points out the advantages of an India-Pakistan, confederation primarily to form a force strong enough to meet Commu-

nist China's challenge. He calls from Indo-Pakistan and indicates how both countries would benefit politically and economically by such a confederation. "The important thing according to him is that the rivers and canals say "Unite." Commonsense says, "Unite" China's policy says, "Unite." Survival says, "Unite."

"China's advance to the mountain passes that open into the Indian plains may, enlighten the Indian Government and people on the rude reality of world affairs. After China's penetration into Tibet and India, Nehru wrote in an article published by the *New York Times* on March 11, 1956, "Geography made India, in her long past, almost a closed country. Surrounded by the sea and the mighty Himalayas, it was not easy of entry." This is bad history India has been invaded more than 20 times since antiquity. Yet Nehru's foreign policy was moulded, to a considerable extent, by the illusion of inaccessibility. Many Indians have a tendency to escape into the comfort of illusion. Faced with the concrete fact of China's seizure of Indian territory, they can no longer do so. Nehru has drawn some of the consequences of the awakening. Reacting to events and to angry public opinion at home, he has expressed not only disapproval of China's acts but distrust of Chinese words. Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai "told me," Nehru reported in Parliament on April 27, 1959, "that while Tibet has long been a part of the Chinese state, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China." Nehru would not lie about his talks with Chou, who was obviously seeking to mislead. Tibet is today a province under Chou's heel.

The Indian Prime Minister says Mr. Fischer may now accord Western foreign policy a little more understanding.

"It is about time, after their experience with China, that Indians see the light. Western antagonism to Russia is due not to ideology but to Soviet imperialist expansion. During and immediately after the World War II, the Western powers made the same mistakes that India made in relations with China after 1954: They hesitated to assess correctly the ugly facts of life; they appeased; they rearmed reluctantly and haltingly. The Indian Government showed more than tolerance of China's different system of government (as America did of Russia's) and more than tolerance of China's

aggression (as the West did of Moscow's). But Mao and Chou were not deterred. Perhaps they were even encouraged by Nehru's softness and non-alignment.

To retain its posture of nationalism the Indian leadership will be forced, the says, despite strong inhibitions, to compose the differences with Pakistan and oppose Chinese penetration.

THE SPIRITUAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

A writer in the *Prabuddha Bharata*, discussing the spiritual heritage of India, observes that from time immemorial the best minds of India have been pre-occupied with the spiritual quest. Age after age, in almost every country and generation a succession of spiritually keen minds have appeared on the Indian soil and sought on answer to the timeless question: What is that by knowing which everything in the universe is known?

"Whether it is in the hymns of the Vedic sage who praised the deities presiding over the natural phenomena; whether it is in the flashes of spiritual insight of the Upanishadic seer which penetrated into the core of Reality; whether it is in the depiction of mythological personalities who were the embodiments of great moral principles and spiritual truths; whether it is in the devotional fervour that became the dominant feature of the latter-day religious schools, sects, and mystics; whether it is in devotional songs, hymns, or lyrics; whether it is in sculpture, painting, or architecture—in all these, we notice that the mind of India is ever athirst for understanding and expressing the ultimate Truth that underlies everything in this universe. And that is the spiritual heritage of India."

"Every act we do, every word we utter, every thought we think should become conducive to the gradual unfoldment of our inner spiritual being. Religion provides all kinds of aid in this process of the manifestation of the divine within. To outgrow the animal passions lurking in us, to sublimate all our human aspirations, and to become veritable divinities on earth is the message of the spiritual heritage of India. That mighty stream is flowing by. It is for us to have a dip in it and get refreshed, so that its sacred waters may cleanse us of all dross and make us the worthy inheritors of this invaluable spiritual heritage."

PACIFISM AND SATYAGRAHA IN AMERICA

"Discussing the American experiment in Satyagraha David Me-Reynolds writes in *Mankind*.

What America needs most urgently is a radical movement which will "build bridges" between its own radical position and the larger public. For this reason I hope the future will see those of us in this country who are pacifists seek our projects which make sense to the man in the street, projects which are based on American culture, and-most important of all-projects which permit the participation of many non-pacifists, and which are part of a general political program in which the pacifist movement plays a leading role."

There was a time in history when the world could afford a pacifist movement which had no other function than that of being a moral witness.

"But that time is past—what is needed now is not a pacifist movement isolated in its own moral corner, but a pacifist movement which will accept the responsibility building a mass movement for peace, against racism, and for human freedom. This will mean a recognition that morality and politics must ultimately meet in India under the greatest single figure of the Twentieth Century—Gandhiji."

POPULATION TRENDS

According to a United Nations' Report India's population should reach 500 million between 1975 and 1980. China's population may reach the 900 million mark by 1971.

Asia and the Far East, for long the world's most densely populated area, would account for 55 per cent of the global total population by 1970, the report said.

It tentatively estimated population of the region would reach 2,268 million in 1980, compared with 1,317 million in 1950.

South-East Asia was expected to show the most rapid growth—to 348 million in 1980, while large further growth was foreseen for Ceylon, India and Pakistan, despite the operation of birth control clinics.

Distribution figure in the report, which covers the period 1950-1980, showed that in 1957 Asia and the Far East had an average density of 70 persons for square kilometre, compared with nine person each in the Soviet Union, North and Latin America, and 15 persons, on average, elsewhere in the world.

EXPANDING CHINA

A backward and impoverished China could not start a war. But a united and strong China with a population spilling over her frontiers and with no emigration outlets, may be different, observes Dr. Chandrasekhar in *The Population Review*. Even if China were a democracy with an abiding faith in freedom, her population numbers alone might cause concern in the minds of her neighbours. But unfortunately there are two aspects of Communist China which may aggravate her potential role as an aggressor. One is her communist ideology, which attracts the faithful all over the world—and the other is the 11,000,000 overseas Chinese with their ethnic and cultural, if not political and ideological, solidarity with the mainland."

Every Southeast Asian country, with the exception of India, has a sizeable Chinese minority who constitute a potential threat to the political freedom and the various national ways of life in the countries of this region. "Out of Thailand's twenty millions, the Chinese number more than three millions. In Singapore nearly eighty per cent of the total one million people are Chinese. In Malaya proper, the Chinese number more than a million and a half. Indonesia has about two million Chinese, Laos and Cambodia about 500,000, and Burma some 20,000. Only in India do the Chinese constitute a microscopic minority."

Peking runs a Department of Overseas Chinese Affairs. China, through the centuries, has claimed all Chinese as her citizens no matter where they are born or where they make a living. How else can one explain the Chinese national census presenting her total population figures inclusive of the overseas Chinese?

In the last few years, China has begun to build "Chinese Overseas Villages"—neat, modern suburban communities near big cities like Canton and Peking. "I visited the one near Canton. Modern buildings with all the latest amenities and conveniences, their own schools and social services, have been laid out to attract the overseas Chinese. I learnt that Communist China was anxious to attract the savings of the Overseas Chinese who would like to return

to their homeland, invest their savings in the People's Republic, retire and die in the new China. But since these people, accustomed as they are to certain comforts and a free way of life, might not return to China to barter their precious savings for a regimented way of life, the Overseas villages have been made very different from the rest of China. There are cars and refrigerators, books and washing machines in the Overseas Chinese Villages, and the life that the Overseas Chinese can live in them is not dissimilar to the life that they led though it is certainly very different from the life led by the 650 million Chinese "Communists."

The reason for these Overseas Chinese Villages is not only to attract the much needed exchange provided by the savings of these successful Overseas Chinese, but to use the good offices of these repatriates to indoctrinate the others who are still abroad. Those who have returned have of course latent communist sympathies, and they may convert the unconverted overseas.

AN APPROACH TO THE SUMMIT

Oskar Morgenstern is highly critical of the East-West Summit meeting. Writing in the *New Leader* he says that to negotiate seriously requires more of a moral, intellectual, material effort than the West seems inclined to make.

If the policy of summit meetings were not an act of escape born of heedless despair but part of a well-thought-out new foreign policy, it would require more of a national effort—moral, intellectual, material—rather than less. For in order to be prepared to negotiate seriously with the Soviet Union on the outstanding issues that threaten the peace of the world, we would have to marshal all our present strength and increase it drastically in support of our negotiating position. To negotiate at the summit with a feeble head, an unclenched fist and an empty holster is tantamount to one of two alternatives deplorable in different ways: Either we shall negotiate from weakness and, hence, give up what we ought to defend, or else we will only go through the act of negotiating without negotiating at all and, in consequence, will only slide farther down the slope toward all-destructive war."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

CONGRESS AND THE COMING ELECTION

A categorical declaration that the Congress Party would on no account enter into any electoral alliance or understanding with communal reactionary parties but, on the other hand, would fight them ruthlessly, was made by the Congress President, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, on April 8.

Mr. Reddi added that victory or defeat the Congress would fight any party opposed to its ideals of socialism and secularism.

The Congress President, who was addressing a Press conference at New Delhi expressed his personal view that it would be better to fight communalism and communal parties at the political level rather than impose any legal ban as such on communal organisations contesting the elections. However, he did not want to comment further as the legal and constitutional issues involved were under examination. As far as the Communists were concerned, Mr. Reddi made it clear that since they were so fundamentally opposed to them, the Congress could not have any truck with them.

Referring to the coming elections, the Congress President said that he was quite confident that the party would come out successful with a majority.

As for his suggestion that older men should retire after ten years, Mr. Reddi said that this principle had been accepted and it was laid down in the rules that one-third of the sitting members should give room for fresh blood. This would also obviate factions in the party. As a matter of fact many important old Congressmen had written to him agreeing with his suggestion and expressing their desire to retire. But he declined to give their names.

The Congress Parliamentary Party also on April 12 unanimously endorsed the declaration of the Congress President "that the Congress organisation must not come to any electoral arrangement with any party or organisation which is communal in its objectives or its working, or any party or organisation which is socially reactionary and opposed to the basic social and economic policies of the Congress." In a resolution adopted to that effect, the Party decided that communalism must be combated.

KENNEDY—MACMILLAN TALKS

President Kennedy and Mr. Harold Macmillan declared in a joint statement on April 8 that their open and friendly discussion "have served to clarify and confirm our common commitment to those who care for freedom."

"We have reached a very high level of agreement on our estimate of the nature of the problems which we face," the joint statement said.

"We are in complete agreement as to the gravity and depth of the dangers in the present world situation for those nations who wish to retain their independence and the priceless right of choice."

Mr. Macmillan met Mr. Kennedy to wind up their general review of western policy.

The Prime Minister was accompanied to the White House by the Earl of Home, British Foreign Secretary, Sir Harold Caccia, the British Ambassador, and other officials.

The two statesmen said they had discussed how their two countries could help to strengthen the free world as a whole.

They reaffirmed their "vigorous support" of the United Nations; said they had given close attention to South-East Asia and specially to the critical problems of Laos and Viet Nam, said they were agreed upon both the importance and the difficulty of working towards satisfactory relations with the Soviet Union; and re-affirmed their determination to do their utmost to reach a nuclear test ban agreement at the Geneva negotiations.

SOVIET SPACE FEAT

The Soviet feat of sending the first man into outer space and bringing him back alive on April 12 (for details see page 224) has evoked admiration, bitterness and concern in the United States. Both President Kennedy at his Press conference—he had earlier sent his congratulations to Mr. Khrushchev—and Mr. Stevenson at the United Nations formally paid tributes to the Soviet Union on her spectacular accomplishment but of more significance was the President's statement that there could be no doubt about it that Russia was ahead of the United States in space research. That reaction sums up American bitterness and disappointment over the fact that the United States lags behind her principal competitor in the field of scientific endeavour.

Utterances of the Day

ADLAI STEVENSON ON U. N.'S AIMS

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the U. S. Ambassador to U. N. spoke last month on the American attitude on the U. N. and the end of Colonialism. He said:

"What we are attempting to do today at the United Nations is to roll back every one of the great historical fatalities which, in the past have made the ending of empire the most perilous condition for the survival of society. We are trying to end the dreary cycle of imperialism by which the outgoing masters are quickly replaced by new ones who come quickly in to fill the vacuum of power. The principle which President Wilson declared has since become one of mankind's greatest aspirations—the self-determination of peoples.

"Indeed, it was in these United States that the first practical steps were taken to raise the principle of anti-colonialism from a hope to a fact. The shot that echoed round the world from Lexington echoes on to this day. But have we ensured that our new faith can be fully and irrevocably expressed in works? Hitherto, as I have said, the ending of one imperialism has usually spelled for the small and the weak, the beginning of a new. Are we doing better today? The principle may be new. Is the practice equally so?"

MR. NEHRU ON APARTHEID

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, said at London on Mar. 15 that racial inequality and segregation policies were so utterly out of tune with the spirit of the age that he could not see how they could continue for long.

Mr. Nehru, who came straight from the Commonwealth conference to address more than 2,000 people at a meeting organised by the India League, spoke of the new states rising in Africa.

The states, he said, were full of self-respect, pride in their new nationhood and freedom and obviously disliked and resented intensely any slur on their freedom, status or position.

Mr. Nehru said he earnestly hoped that in solving these problems the extremes of hatred and the feelings which normally accompanied them would be avoided.

The whole continent of Africa was in a tremendous ferment.

"Many things are happening there which we do not like—which no one likes."

But the essential thing was not the likes and dislikes, but the fact of "this great continent trying to stand up to find self-respect and become self-reliant."

PRES. PRASAD'S APPEAL TO ARMY

President Rajendra Prasad reminded the Armed forces of their role as "protectors of peace," which in the changing circumstances of to-day, he said, was gradually descending upon them.

Dr. Prasad who was addressing the 4th Battalion while presenting the new colours to them at Ranikhet on April 8 expressed his confidence that the spirit of the regiment "which has triumphed in arduous service of so many years and has endured the grim years of the last two great wars and Jammu and Kashmir operations will continue in the younger generations now in the ranks."

In the course of his speech Dr. Prasad said: "The ceremony to-day has more than usual significance, as you are this year completing 172 years of glorious service. Yours is a long and proud history. Your Battalion has served with distinction in all parts of the world, in Burma, China, Afghanistan, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Iran, Ceylon and East Africa. It is not for me to remind you that the Russel's Lion, which is your badge, was granted as a lasting testimony of the exemplary conduct of your regiment. It is therefore, appropriate that these new colours should be presented by me to act as a link between the past and the present traditions of your Battalion."

The President added: "Your deeds of chivalry whether they relate to events as recent as your peace mission in Gaza or the Jammu and Kashmir operations or the campaigns overseas on the turn of the century have all the qualities of inspired tradition."

PROF. GALBRAITH ON INDIA

Prof. J. K. Galbraith, U. S. Ambassador arrived in New Delhi on March 8. Immediately after his arrival he spoke:

"The cultural maturity of India explains, one imagines, a remarkable phenomenon of modern history. That is the extraordinary international prestige of this nation, so young in years but so old in culture. In the first five years of the American independence George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and peraphs especially Thomas Jefferson were figures of marked interest to the liberally-minded men of the 18th century. But even Jefferson would have marvelled at the concern which latter-day Governments have for the good opinion of India and of Prime Minister Nehru.

Political

PARTY LINE OF C.P.I.

After long hours of discussion on the two drafts of the party programme the Communist Congress which met at Vijayawada early this month failed to reach an agreement on the party programme and again postponed the subject till the next Congress session. The Communist Congress has authorised the new Council to be elected to prepare a single draft on the party programme after studying the two drafts and send it to the party units for their opinion.

The speakers on the draft included Messrs. S.A. Dange, Bupesh Gupta, P. Ramamurthi and Ajoy Ghosh. It is learnt that in view of the ensuing General Election both the groups have agreed to postpone the controversial party programme and continue the status quo as per the Amritsar resolution. The resolution for the postponement of the party programme was moved from the Chair, and passed by a voice vote.

A spokesman of the Party said that on account of the discussion on the party programme, the differences of the two drafts of the programme were narrowed down. He added that there were no differences on the formation of the National Front and on the ideal of the socialistic transformation to bring out correlation of all forces in the country. The Communist Party Congress took up consideration of the political resolution as adopted at the Delhi National Council meeting in February last.

Moving the resolution Mr. Ghosh reviewed the changes in the political situation in the country since the last party Congress at Amritsar.

Mr. Namboodripad's draft resolution is stated to be a compromise formula in comparison to the stands taken by the other two extreme sections namely the Dange and Ranadive groups.

LIBERATION OF GOA

The two-day convention of the National Campaign Committee for Goa which concluded its session at New Delhi on March 26 called upon the Government of India to take all necessary and effective steps to end the vestiges of foreign domination on the Indian soil by liberating the Portuguese colonies before the end of this year.

A resolution adopted by the convention said that the continuation of Portuguese colonial rule on the Indian soil was an indignity to the Indian nation.

The resolution welcomed the repudiation of Portugal's claims by the U.N. Trusteeship Council and the departures in the United States policy towards Portuguese colonies and said in context of changes in the balance of world opinion on colonialism in general and the success of various liberation movements in Africa in particular, the present moment was most opportune for intensifying efforts to complete India's independence.

TILAK PLAQUE IN LONDON

President Nkrumah of Ghana and Mrs. Ban-daranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, unveiled a commemorative plaque in honour of Lokamanya Tilak in London last month.

The plaque at 60, Talbot Road, in the borough of Paddington where the Lokamanya lived during his stay in London in 1919, a year before his death.

The house has been acquired by the Lokamanya Tilak Memorial Trust for conversion into a study centre and library for those interested in India.

WITHDRAWAL FROM CONGO

Belgium announced on April 5, she had told the United Nations she had decided to withdraw her military and para-military personnel and political advisers from the Congo.

An official diplomatic note, delivered to a special envoy of the U.N. in Brussels and published at the U.N. Head Quarters confirmed Belgium's acceptance of the February 21 Security Council resolution demanding such withdrawal.

"The Belgian Government has therefore decided to implement the resolution in question and to withdraw in so far as Belgium is concerned the personnel referred to therein," the note said, adding: "It will assist the U.N. authorities in urging the Congolese authorities to accept the U.N. viewpoints."

EMERGENCY IN CEYLON

The Ceylon Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, proclaimed a state of emergency throughout the island on April 17. Earlier, additional troops were sent to Jaffna by land, following a Cabinet decision to strengthen the armed forces already stationed in the Tamil provinces where the Federal Party is pursuing intensive Civil disobedience campaign.

In gazette notifications issued along with the proclamation, the Governor-General listed the powers he had assumed for the maintenance of essential services and public security, including powers to proscribe parties and impose a curfew and Press censorship.

Educational

RESPECT FOR TEACHERS

Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Union Education Minister, pleaded at Indore on April 3 for the revival of our ancient tradition of respect for teachers. This, he said, was an essential factor if they wanted to enhance the prestige of society.

Dr. Shrimali, who was speaking at a function arranged to honour Mr. Sukhchand Jain, the headmaster of a private school, said that in olden days there was the practice of "guru dakshina." But nowadays there was no such "dakshina" and on the contrary the treatment of teachers was also not good.

Everyone rose to same position thanks to the efforts of his or her teacher and therefore he should be respected. If every educated person thought of respecting his or her teacher, it would favourably react on the coming generation.

INSTITUTE OF PRAKRIT

The construction of the buildings of the research institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa at Vaisali, the ancient capital of the Lichhavi Republic and the birth place of Mahavira, has commenced on a 15-acre site received from a private donor. Mr. Shanthi Prasad Jain, well-known industrialist, has also donated Rs. 5,00,000 for the institute.

Dr. Hiralal Jain, Director of the institute, said that about 50 acres of land would be required for the institute and steps were being taken to secure it.

DR. K. S. KRISHNAN

Prime Minister Nehru, who is also the President of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, presented on March 24 the first Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar Memorial Award to Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Director of the National Physical Laboratory, for his outstanding work in the field of physics in the last five years.

The award of the value of Rs. 10,000, instituted by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1957, in the memory of the late Dr. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, is given to an Indian scientist for "conspicuously important contribution in any field of science during five years preceding the award."

Prof. Humayun Kabir, Minister for Scientific and Cultural Affairs, said the signal service done by the "distinguished scientist" Dr. Krishnan and his band of young scientists to the Indian science would always be appreciated.

SCHEMES IN 3RD PLAN

A comprehensive National Scholarship Scheme will be introduced in the Third Five-Year Plan to give adequate financial assistance to students of merit for higher education.

This was announced in the Lok Sabha by the Minister of Education, while replying to the debate on the demands for grants to the Ministry of Education.

The National Scholarship Scheme will be primarily meant for students with merit whose parents cannot afford higher education for them.

The Minister said that the main selection of students for the scholarships under this scheme would be made on the conclusion of the Matriculation stage. The recipients of these scholarships would be treated as "national scholars." The scheme also envisaged giving of scholarships to students with promising merit in the pre-matriculation stage.

PRIVATELY RUN SCHOOLS

Dr. K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of Education, told the Lok Sabha on April 5 that it was the Government's policy to encourage private educational institutions.

Dr. Shrimali, who was replying to a half-an-hour debate on "commercialisation of education" said he did not agree with the criticism that the education system of the country was being worked on a commercial basis.

He said it would be wrong to suggest that the public schools, which charged high fees, should be closed. By the large, Dr. Shrimali added, institutions like public schools had rendered a distinct service to society by providing better type of education. These schools were independent and did not receive any aid from the Government.

Dr. Shrimali said that the public schools were very much in demand and the high fees these schools charged were necessary to provide better staff and better equipment.

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE

The Government of India have accepted in principle the recommendation of the Second Pay Commission that a scheme of educational assistance similar to the one in operation in the Railways only be introduced for Central Government employees whose salary does not exceed Rs. 300 per mensem.

This is to enable them to send their children to boarding schools of their choice when suitable schooling facilities do not exist at the station where they are posted.

Legal

TREASON TRIAL IN S. AFRICA

On March 29 a three-Judge Tribunal at Pretoria acquitted 28 persons charged with plotting the violent overthrow of the South African Government to establish a Communist regime.

The unanimous verdict brought to an end the longest and costliest trial in the nation's history lasting nearly four years and costing many thousands of dollars. It was a stunning defeat for Prime Minister Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd's Government.

A former synagogue converted into a special court for the trial was jammed as the three Judges announced their decision.

The widely heralded "treason trial" stemmed from the arrest of 156 persons of all races in nation-wide dawn raids in December 1956. A world-wide campaign raised funds for the defence of the accused.

Originally 92 persons were indicted but the Government dropped the charges against 64 soon after the trial began. It was believed the Government, as a result of the verdict, would not try to reindict the other 64.

The defendants claimed they were only seeking an end to the Nationalist Government's policy of *apartheid*.

A crowd in the jammed court room burst into the African freedom song 'God Bless Africa' when the acquittals were announced.

Black, white and Indian women were among those rushing to congratulate the defendants. Court officials quietly watched the jubilant scene.

EICHMANN'S TRIAL

Before the Israeli District Court of Jerusalem the curtain was raised on the acts of the Nazi regime in Europe on 17th April.

The man who goes on the trial is former S.S. Colonel, Adolf Eichmann, accused of having master-minded the liquidation of about six million Jews in Europe between 1941 and 1945.

Israel's Attorney-General, Gideon Hausner, who himself lost his parents in a German concentration camp, has charged Eichmann with mass murder, crimes against humanity, war crimes and intent to exterminate the Jewish people.

Eichmann is defended by a German lawyer, Dr. Robert Servatius from Cologne, who was a member of the defence team for the German war criminals sentenced to death in the Nuremberg trial, before Eichmann's arrest.

PASS LAWS IN S. RHODESIA

Thousands of Africans in Southern Rhodesian towns threw away their passes on April 8. Some tore them up or burned them and they were well within the law.

For Southern Rhodesia's pass legislation has been almost entirely scrapped. New legislation came into force.

From now on Africans can move freely about the country. They can come to urban areas for work without town passes, visit other towns without permits and seek jobs without work passes. Employers will no longer have to give their workers curfew passes to stay out all night.

"OPEN AIR PRISON"

A proposal for the establishment of an "open air prison" in Kerala State is under the consideration of the Government.

It is learnt that Government are considering this proposal as a "new experiment" and prisoners of "good conduct" alone are to be allowed in this prison. The location will be in a farm of about 500 acres in Trivandrum District. Prisoners will be provided with houses and those, who are willing to work alone will be admitted. Habitual offenders will not in any case be admitted. The experiment is the first of its kind.

FREE LEGAL AID TO THE POOR

Mr. B. P. Sinha, Chief Justice of India spoke at Bhopal on March 31 that the proposal for evolving a suitable machinery to make available free legal aid to the poor and deserving litigants was under consideration.

The Chief Justice, who was replying to a civic address presented to him by the Bhopal Municipal Board, did not elaborate on the proposal.

Mr. Sinha said that it would not be feasible to grant exemptions from the payment of court fees because in that case the burden of expenses of the judiciary would have to be borne by all the citizens instead of litigants alone by way of additional taxes.

COMMUNIST M.L.A.'S APOLOGY

Mr. Justice P. Rajagopalan and Mr. Justice G. R. Jagadisan in the Madras High Court found Mr. V. K. Kothandaraman, Communist M.L.A., guilty of contempt of court in his speech which he made at Tambaram sometime ago.

In view however of the apology he had tendered, their Lordships directed him to pay the costs of the proceedings.

Mr. Justice Rajagopalan delivered the judgment on behalf of the Bench.

Trade and Finance

DEPOSIT INSURANCE SCHEME

After a discussion at New Delhi on March 12 between leading bankers on the one side and the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai and the Governor and officials of the Reserve Bank of India on the other, it was decided that a deposit insurance scheme should be instituted as a further measure of strengthening confidence in the country's banking structure.

The Reserve Bank has suggested that the insurance scheme should provide cover for deposits of sums up to Rs. 1,000. The banks were of the view that the figure might be Rs. 1,500. This is one of the details to be discussed further between the Government of India, the Reserve Bank and the bankers. A separate organisation is likely to be set up for administering the scheme. The Ministry of Finance will examine the details.

There seems to have been general agreement among those who participated in meeting that the uneasiness caused by the recent bank failures should be removed and it was hoped that the insurance scheme would help to remove it.

INDIA'S EXPORT TRADE IN 1960

Exports of Indian merchandise were valued at Rs. 622.63 crores during 1960 against Rs. 613.79 crores (revised) in the previous year, showing an increase of about Rs. 9 crores, according to official sources.

This small increase was due to larger export earnings during the first quarter of 1960, the earnings in the remaining three quarters having declined by about Rs. 7 crores.

W. GERMAN LOAN FOR INDIA

West Germany has offered a 400-million-mark loan to India, Mr. Hans Wilhelmi, West German Minister for Federal Assets, told economic journalists of Bonn on Mar. 14.

"We offered India a total of 400 million marks this year. Of this, 230 million marks are earmarked for the extension of the Rourkela steel works, and of the rest, 100 million marks will be available immediately—and without ties—and 70 million marks paid a little later," Mr. Wilhelmi said.

The 100 million marks would probably be paid early next month.

Talking about development aid as a whole, the Minister said: "We may not get our money back in the 10 or 15 years stipulated, but I am sure we shall get it back some time, even if it takes 30 years. I was greatly impressed by what the Indians have done already and have great confidence in them."

U. S. AID FOR SIX PROJECTS

On April 3 representatives of the U.S. and Indian Governments signed six project agreements allocating a total sum of Rs. 46 crores out of the loan portion of PL 480 Counterpart Fund available to India.

The agreements will cover the local costs of thermal power stations at Chandrapura (Rs. 20.5 crores) and Barauni (Rs. 1.3 crores), a hydro-electric project at Barapani (Rs. 6.4 crores), extensions to thermal plants at Durgapur (Rs. 3.4 crores) and Kanpur (Rs. 95 lakhs) and the Trombay fertilizer plant (Rs. 13.4 crores). Repayment will be in rupees.

The agreements were signed by Mr. N. C. Sen Gupta, Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and Mr. John D. Thompson, Deputy Director of the U. S. Technical Co-operation Mission.

The entire estimated costs of all these projects are being financed by the U. S. A. Agreements have already been signed with the U. S. Development Loan Fund for covering the foreign exchange costs of these projects amounting to \$7.9 million dollars.

REMITTANCES TO INDIA

Money remitted to India from out of the accumulated foreign profits, by a person who does not reside in India and is 'non-resident' for the purposes of the Indian Income-tax Act is completely exempt from Indian Income-tax the only exception being the money remitted to the wife residing in India. The Government of India have now decided that if a non-resident remits any amount to his wife in India and is invested in Government securities, that money will not be included in the total income of the wife.

SHIPPING IN THIRD PLAN

The Planning Commission has taken the stand that it will not be possible to increase the present allocation of Rs. 55 crores for shipping in the Third Plan. This was disclosed at its meeting of the Informal Consultative Committee of Parliament for the Department of Transport. The Transport Minister, Dr. P. Subbarayan, presided. This sum was sufficient to add only two lakh tons to the Indian shipping tonnage and carry the total tonnage to 11 lakh tons by the end of the Third Plan.

The question of acquiring ships for the carriage of foodgrains from the United States was also discussed.

Women's Page

WOMEN IN U.K. AND COSMETICS

A survey report on the cosmetics industry just published in London takes a penetrating look at the make-up kit and comes up with some surprising statistics about Women in England.

It shows that five times as many women now regularly use eye-shadow as was the case in 1955. Three times as many use an eyebrow pencil, and more than twice as many use mascara.

Almost every woman in the country who is under the age of 45 uses lipstick as a matter of course. The figure is highest among the 16 to 18 year-olds—95 per cent, which compares with 94 per cent in 1955.

About nine out of 10 women between 35 and 44 are also regular lipstick users today, compared with only eight out of 10 six years ago.

It is only among the over 45's that the regular use of lipstick drops to 61 per cent, though even this is a big advance on 1955, when the figure was only 46 per cent.

Over the last six years home perms have lost a great deal of ground to the professional hairdressers. Customers for professional perms have increased while home perm users have dropped from 29 per cent to 23.

Rouge also has lost ground. Six years ago, 17 women in every 100 said they used it, but now the figure has dropped to 14 in every 100.

Only 12 women in every 100 use nail varnish now, compared with nine in every 100 six years ago.

In spite of a spate recently of new colour preparations for hair rinses, remarkably few girls and women use them. Only eight in every 100 have adopted the colour rinse, compared with four in every 100 in 1955.

Eight women out of 10 regularly use face powder, and one in two uses some kind of foundation or vanishing cream.

WOMEN'S AGE IN U.S.A.

Women live longer than men and for this reason the "weaker" sex is in the majority in the U.S.A., the 1960 U.S. census disclosed.

The census showed that in 1960 there were 91,000,000 women for every 88,300,000 men in the U.S.A. In all the preceding censuses also women were in the majority.

Over the age of 65, women gain an ever longer lead over the men. The 1960 census showed that in this category there were 9,100,000 women for every 7,500,000 men.

MAPAM WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The 4th Conference of Mapam Women's Sector met in Haifa on the occasion of International Women's Day on March 8th. The Conference was attended by hundreds of delegates from every part of the country.

The Conference was opened by Emma Talmi, M. K. who gave expression to the significance of International Women's day to the Israeli woman and sent greetings to all the nations struggling for freedom especially, the freedom fighters of Congo, Algeria and Cuba.

Talks were presented at the Conference on the position of the woman in Israel and its struggle for equality in every phase of life. The discussion was on a high level. The demands of women were put in a strongly worded appeal at the conference as under:

"The women and the mothers are the perpetual army of peace which does not tire in its struggle against war, hunger, ignorance, and discrimination.

The mothers of Israel raise their voice for peace the world over, and for peace with the Arab countries. We demand that all the force for peace support us in our struggle to reach an understanding with the mothers across the borders of our country.

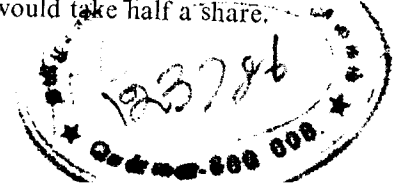
We shall continue to struggle for equal right for the Arab population living in our midst, for the abolition of the Military Rule, in order to promote progress, happiness and justice in Israel.

We shall continue to fight for equal women's rights in practice as well as in theory, to do away with the backward marriage and divorce laws, equal pay for equal work, proper training for the working woman, proper conditions for the education of her children, lighter tasks, organization of the working woman in trade-unions and care of the aged.

PROPERTY RIGHTS FOR WIDOW

On April 7 Lok Sabha debated a non-official Bill which sought to amend Section 14 of the Hindu Succession Act to provide the widow and the daughter equal shares of the property with retrospective effect from before the commencement of the Act in 1956.

Mr. P. Subbiah Ambalam (Cong.) who moved the Bill, explained that under the Succession Act both the widow and the daughter would succeed to the estate on the death of the male owner and would take half a share.



General

MAJOR GAGARIN, THE WORLD'S FIRST SPACE-MAN

The world's first spaceman, 27-year old Soviet Pilot-Major Yuri Aleksevich Gagarin, landed safely in a pre-determined spot in Russia on April 12 after orbiting the earth in a Soviet spaceship named "Vostok" (East). Major Gagarin is married and has two daughters.

Thus, Russia won the gruelling race with America to put the first man into space, Moscow Radio interrupted its programmes to announce the successful launching of the spaceman. The first announcement said the cosmonaut was orbiting the earth every 89 minutes, six seconds at a minimum height of 175 kilometers (about 109 miles) and a maximum height of 302 kilometers (about 187 miles).

Moscow turned out in its millions on 14th April to do honour to the first spaceman. He was laden with flowers, embraced and kissed by the Soviet leaders and by his family.

Hero of the Soviet Union, Order of Lenin, "First Pilot-Cosmonaut in the World," honorary membership of the Young Pioneers, the Communist children's organisation—all these honours were showered on the 27-year-old Major who stood modestly by Mr. Khrushchev's side on the massive Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square.

Countless thousands of Muscovites, who had listened raptly to speeches by the Cosmonaut and Mr. Khrushchev, broke ranks at the end of the ceremony and surged past the Mausoleum with upturned laughing faces while Major Gagarin gave a boxer's salute, waved his arms, and smiled his thanks.

A few minutes earlier, he had bowed his head and swallowed hard as if overcome with emotion, as Mr. Khrushchev said his name would live for ever.

As he drove to Red Square through streets lined 10 deep with cheering Russians, Major Gagarin spoke only briefly to his wife and Mr. Khrushchev.

The national anthem was played as he drove into Red Square and mounted the rostrum and the crowds were momentarily hushed.

Then, they broke into roars of applause as the spaceman turned by the microphone to express his deep gratitude to the Soviet Government and people for being chosen to make the first space flight.

The spaceman, a man of trim military figure with an engaging smile, showed hardly a trace

of nervousness as he walked into the spotlight of history at the airport to be ecstatically hugged and kissed by the Soviet Prime Minister.

In addition to being the first spaceman, Major Yuri Gagarin is also the fastest man alive.

During his space flight, his space-ship achieved speeds of at least 25,000 miles per hour, the speed needed to overcome the pull of earth's gravity and enter an orbit in space. In orbit, the spaceship travelled at 18,000 miles per hour.

"Izvestia" said that as the space vessel passed over South Africa, it was travelling at a speed of eight kilometres (five miles) per second at an altitude of some 200 kilometres (125 miles).

Major Gagarin, circled the earth strapped into a specially-built couch and surrounded by a thin double wall of metal and myriad device designed to keep him alive.

The shell separating him from the radiations, meteorites and temperatureless vacuum of space was designed for him even though it was the same as that used in Russia's earlier experiments with dogs and mice.

Soviet physiologist Ezraz Asratyan, in the *Tass* articles, said the dog-carrying capsules were designed to carry men, and created condition suitable for human being. The whole programme was based on the idea that there was no limit to the speed the human body could stand, provided the acceleration was not too sudden.

So, Major Gagarin, knew as he donned his spacesuit and lay prone for the count-down, that the 43-ton capsule had been tested and double tested under the same condition he was about to face.

INDIA'S POPULATION

India's population has now reached a total of 436 million. This provisional figure the Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri announced in the Lok Sabha on March 27, giving the broad features of the census operations throughout the country early in Feb. of this year.

The increase in population in ten years for the whole country is 21.49 per cent.

The States of Andhra Pradesh Bihar, Jammu, and Kashmir, Madras, Mysore, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh have registered increases below the country's average. All other States have recorded increases above the all-India average.

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