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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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62nd Year

Vol. 62 JANUARY 1961 No. 1

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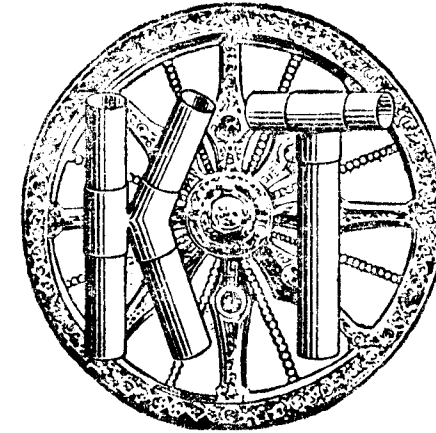
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Book Selection for the Public Library of the Underdeveloped Countries, by A. C. Ray, Indian Central Jute Committee, Calcutta.

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

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

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

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

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JANUARY 1961

[No. 1

Revolt of The Hill Tribes in Assam

By

Shri K. C. CHAKRAVARTI

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

Ninety-nine per cent of the Asamiyas live in the six districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. In the remaining five districts their number is less than one per cent. Outside Assam, they seldom go and settle. In some of the largest towns of India one will come across a good number of Bengalees, Madrasis, Marwaris or Punjabis. But seldom one meets an Assamese. No Assamese is known to have shone outside Assam in law, medicine, science or business. No Assamese has ever become a President of the Indian National Congress. Seldom one is a member of its Working Committee. No Assamese has ever competed successfully in the I.C.S. or the I.A.S. Living in their own State, they consider Assam to be their exclusive homeland. All non-Assamese in Assam are regarded as foreigners and intruders, and they are tolerated so long as they do not stand in their way. They do not like to go to other areas nor do they like others to come to their homeland. They have in this sense developed a peculiar sort of narrowness and parochialism. The intensity with which they love their homeland, Assam, can only be compared with the patriotism of the Nagas for their Nagaland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

supported the Assamese against the Nagas. The Nagas then revolted and fought.

The Nagas are not the only Hill Tribe in Assam. There are other Hill Tribes and the basic question is the same. If Assamese language is made sole official language in the whole of Assam by law, is there any chance for the language and culture of the Hill Tribes, Khasis, Garos etc. to thrive? If the State patronises Assamese, will not the Hill Tribes be culturally wiped out of existence. If the apprehension by the Assamese against the Bengalees be real and genuine, is not the apprehension by the Hill Tribes against the Assamese also real and genuine? If the Official Language Bill is a question of life and death for the Assamese, its opposition by the Hill Tribes is also a life and death question for the Hill Tribes. The dilemma before the Congress High Command is this: if the Assamese are not supported, the Chaliha Cabinet will resign, President's rule will become inevitable and the Congress Party will be completely routed in the next election. If the Assamese are supported, like the Nagas in the past, the other Hill Tribes will revolt and fight. Violence, bitterness and blood-shed can be avoided if the Hill Tribes are allowed to form a separate State and this seems inevitable. But in that case, all the units, Nagaland, Brahmaputra Valley, Union of Hill Tribes, will remain poor, weak and backward.

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The Army as a Career

By

Gen. K. S. THIMAYYA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So, you see, the army offers you a wide horizon of choice on the professional side. It gives you opportunities to learn languages. You may do various courses, both in India and abroad and you have opportunities of travelling. Since independence, we have provided officers and men in Korea, Indo-China, the Gaza Strip and Lebanon and now we go to the Congo. In addition to this, individual officers have served as Military Attachees or on the staff in all the big countries of the world. So, these ample opportunities are open to each one of you dependent on your efficiency. If, however, all you look forward to is a safe and comfortable job, with a big fat salary with no other intention but to save money for your future, then we do not require you in the army.

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

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

(AIR. Delhi)

Gandhian Humanism

By

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Managerial and Administrative Training for Industries

By

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Where goes our National Income ?

By

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

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

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

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

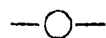
If the Committee's labours are to be fruitful, it should not merely dot the 'i's and cross the 't's of the information already collected on the subject and published by the C. S. O. (Central Statistical Organisation) and N. S. S. (National Sample Survey). What is required is not mere diagnosis but prescriptions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

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

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

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

Again other recent studies of the distribution of incomes between 1948-49 and 1954-55 show that the number of assessee in the first bracket up to Rs. 5,000 a year declined by 53%, while all other income ranges showed a steep rise for example income brackets between Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 70,000 and Rs. 150,000 to Rs. 200,000 increased by 39% and 14% respectively; while Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 rose by as much as 65% and 55% respectively. In fact income distribution has been going on against income earners up to Rs. 5,000 a year; a serious diversion of resources has been going on for the benefit of the upper classes and it has been assisted by the inequality in distribution of incomes resulting from planned investment. The upper class with its effective demand (note for instance the consumption of steel, cement, sugar etc. by a small section) is controlling the market forces toward its own benefit. With the growing tempo of investment contemplated in the Third Plan, this sector will emerge as still more powerful and what is required is a curb on its activities for the purpose of ensuring an equitable distribution of income.



Education in France

By

Prof. JACQUES POULIQUEN

(Université de Paris)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(b) Education should be divided into three grades:

- (i) from six to eleven years; elementary course, same programme in all schools.
- (ii) from eleven to thirteen years; orientation course common to all French children, including obligatory teaching in handicrafts, and trial lessons in Latin, modern languages, mathematics and technical subjects which would help in the second year to show the aptitude of each child.
- (iii) above thirteen years; at the end of the orientation course, the pupils would specialize according to their abilities. The very weak ones would prepare themselves within three years to become specialized workers in professional institutes. The others would enter either the cadre of secondary schooling or technical training, the latter presenting many choices.

The years of schooling would continue up to the age of sixteen years for sales-girls, hairdressers, and shop-assistants, for example; and up to the age of eighteen years and beyond, for secretaries, technicians, and engineers.

The study of languages and literature would be given more importance in technical education, and likewise, technical subjects would be given a much larger place in secondary education. Higher education would hardly be subjected to any change under the new project, except to decentralization all over France.

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

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

system; this subject having been taught from a very tender age. The objection that the gifted students would be wasting their time in orientation classes may have more serious value, but every experienced teacher is able to state that today, in the fifth and sixth years, there are many students who slow down in the progress of their best subjects. A good student would not, therefore, be more handicapped under the new system than he is under the system as applied today.

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

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

general remodeling of the form of scholarships and stipends (study grants) would be necessary. There should be a subsidy for educational

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Significance of Kennedy's Presidency

By
"ARGUS"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

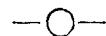
Something must be done to lesson the tensions in Africa, and America should try to free herself from the ties of her European allies, who are branded in Africa with the tar of colonialism. The *New York Herald Tribune* remarks:

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

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

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

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



Life and Work of Tolstoy

By

Sri D. ANJANEYULU

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

Count Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy belonged to an old Russian family (of German origin) of landed aristocrats. He was born on 9th September 1828 in the ancestral countryhouse at

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

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

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

immense help to her husband in deciphering his manuscripts and copying them for the press and in looking after the sundry mechanics of the publishing trade. Minor pieces like 'A Prisoner in the Caucasus,' 'God sees the Truth,' 'ABC Book' and 'On Popular Education' were published in the interregnum before he started on his other great work. 'Anna Karenina' saw the light of day between the years, 1874 and 1876. It brought him a great fortune besides putting the coping stone on his fame as a novelist.

While he seemed to have, at this stage, everything a man could want in this life—a loving wife, a large family and all the good things of life, in addition to literary success, the sensitive nature of Tolstoy felt a sort of rift in the lute beneath the apparent harmony of his worldly existence. The grinding poverty and man-made suffering of the serfs around him had all along been to him an ugly reminder of the iniquity that made his luxury possible. He had, in theory, been reconciled to a much simpler mode of living for himself at least, and was in a kind of uneasy truce with the lavishness of the family tradition. But now began with him an unending quest for a religious justification of his life, side by side with a preoccupation with the mystery of death. The stirrings of his conscience are faithfully reflected in some of the powerful works of this period like 'Confession' (in some ways moving like St. Augustine's 'Confessions'), 'The Death of Ivan Ilyich' and 'The Memoirs of a Madman.' His wife and most of the family had little sympathy with this trend in the development of his personality. The Countess, who bore him thirteen children and loved him with a fierce possessiveness and jealousy, typical of a tigress, was positively hostile to his philosophic proclivities which threatened to upset the apple cart of family security. She fought him tooth and nail and not much peace of mind was left to him till the day of his death.

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

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

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

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

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

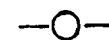
It would, however, be a perversion of facts to treat him as only a political philosopher or a social reformer. He was perhaps more of an original thinker who challenged the accepted canons of Christian faith by going back to the gospels of Christ. He accepted the truth of the gospels not because he believed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

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

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

values in literature. Even his condemnation of Shakespeare's plays for their supposedly corrupt influence cannot relegate him to the frigid category of purely didactic writers. He was no less an artist than a moralist. "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina" mark the highest point reached in the evolution of the modern realistic novel. With his genius for characterisation, he began to give a new dimension to the Russian novel. While his predecessors were content with describing action, it was left to him to lay bare the mainspring of that action. He was more concerned with why his characters do than with what they do. This transforms them so miraculously that the reader looks upon them less as the shadowy characters in a novel than as men and women in flesh and blood. This is what makes Natasha linger in our hearts and Anna Karenina live in our memories. The range of the backdrop is large as life in either of his great novels. Against the background of Russian society, and in the context of European history, is told the story of man's eternal loves and passions, struggles and survivals. The adequacy of the verbal pattern to the living reality is achieved by a narrative and descriptive alchemy peculiar to Tolstoy.

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



Academic Thinkers on Asia

By

Mr. WILLIAM D. ALLEN,
Editor, *World in Brief*, New York.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Founders of the Schools of Thought

By

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Family Planning

By
LT.-COL. B. L. RAINA

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

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

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

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

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

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

test basic material and methods for the masses, to carry the message. They have done and do community, groups and individuals. The valuable work. Family Planning orientation studies at Ramanagaram and Delhi showed that camps for leaders of different localities especially villages are also being held. The response favour of family planning. The Bangalore study is enthusiastic and exhilarating. indicated that 32.8 per cent males and 27.7 per cent females knew some method of family planning. They did not seem to have adequate knowledge of physiology of human reproduction and family limitation. Other studies revealed that they did not have sufficiently strong motivation to continue an initially accepted method. Well designed studies without an education programme did not yield the desired results.

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

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

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

to carry the message. They have done and do community, groups and individuals. The valuable work. Family Planning orientation studies at Ramanagaram and Delhi showed that camps for leaders of different localities especially villages are also being held. The response favour of family planning. The Bangalore study is enthusiastic and exhilarating. indicated that 32.8 per cent males and 27.7 per cent females knew some method of family planning. They did not seem to have adequate knowledge of physiology of human reproduction and family limitation. Other studies revealed that they did not have sufficiently strong motivation to continue an initially accepted method. Well designed studies without an education programme did not yield the desired results.

The training programme for family planning workers began with ad hoc courses. The two centres, one for potential instruction at Bombay and another at Ramanagaram were developed. New regional training centres are being opened. About sixteen are functioning. In the field of services, we started with research on safe periods. Soon after foam tablets were offered. Now all available methods, including sterilisation, are available. The decision to accept one or the other method is entirely of the family. The point of view of conscientious objectors is respected and appreciated. The programme is being developed as people's programme with Government assistance seeking co-operation of all parties and religious groups and steering clear of religious, ideological and political controversies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The Indian National Congress

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Powers of the President

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nepal—

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

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

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

Panchayat Raj in Andhra

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

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

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

New U.S.A. Appointments

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

Algeria

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

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

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

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

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

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

Saudi Arabia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ethiopia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union

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

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

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

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

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

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

Congo

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

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

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

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

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

It is impossible to predict what will happen finally.

Buganda

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

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

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

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

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

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

Laos

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

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

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

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

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

Paramount Ruler of Malaya

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

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

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

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

America and Cuba

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Democracy in the New States. *Rhodes Seminar Papers. Published by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. New Delhi 1.*

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

The Spirit of Asoka. *By Tuvuu Geelblum, Maha Bodhi Society of India, Calcutta 12.*

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

Towards the Liberally Educated Executive. *By Robert A. Goldwin and Charles A. Nelson (Editors). Mentor New American Library New York, 22.50 cents.*

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

The Reality of Religion. *By Jehangir M. Shah poorjee, Price Rs. Six. Genesh and Co Madras 17.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

GENERAL

INDIANS GOING ABROAD

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

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

PHILIPPINES

REFUSAL TO FIGHT APARTHEID

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

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

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

SINGAPORE

TAMILS IN SINGAPORE

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

This assurance was given by the Government in the Legislative Assembly during question hour last month.

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

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

CEYLON

ILLICIT IMMIGRATION

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

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

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

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

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

CEYLON INDIAN QUESTION

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

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

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

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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

READERS' DIGEST

BRITAIN'S DEATH-RAY

The "Daily Mail" of 28th December reported that British radar scientists were perfecting a "big brother" device transmitting beams of intense light which would revolutionise world-wide television reception and transmission, simplifying long-range sky-spying, and which could be turned into a "death ray."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE NEPAL BREAK-DOWN

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

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

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

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

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

THE ROLE OF NEUTRALS IN U.N.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

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

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

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

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

THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

INDIANS IN AFRICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CRISIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BERUBARI WITHOUT PASSION

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

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

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

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

nor in terms of wealth or population. Besides, the Asians have a vast investment in property, especially in the growing, modern cities of the future of the which sub-continent, the area Nairobi, Kampala, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam. Now seemingly yielded to Pakistan is a concession to sanity and history."

THE REVOLT OF AFRICA

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

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

ASIANS IN EAST AFRICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ISRAEL AND THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

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

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

PEKING, LHASA AND NEW DELHI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RAJAJI AT EIGHTY-THREE

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

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

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

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

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

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

"NO WAR" WITH ANY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Utterances of the Day

MR. NEHRU ON WORLD SITUATION

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

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

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

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

J. P.'s PLEA

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

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

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

CHURCHILL'S APPEAL

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

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

LYNDON JOHNSON ON DISARMAMENT

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

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

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

POPE'S X'MAS MESSAGE

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

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

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

Political

TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

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

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

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

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

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

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

IKE-KENNEDY STATEMENT

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

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

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

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

RELEASE OF TARA SINGH

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

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

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

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

REPRESSION IN GOA

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

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

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

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

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

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

BRITISH AID FOR INDIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHARING OF INDUS WATERS

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

U. S. BUDGET

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

AID FROM D.L.F. TO INDIA

The Governments of India and the United States on Dec. 5 signed agreements covering loans to this country totalling 114.1 million dollars (Rs. 51.3 crores) by the U. S. Development Loan Fund. The loans are repayable in rupees. These rupee payments are not earmarked to pay for export of goods from India and will not be a charge against India's balance of payments.

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

FLOW OF CAPITAL TO BACKWARD AREAS

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

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

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

U. S. BANK'S AID TO INDIA

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

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

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

ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

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

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

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

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

MRS. SUCHETA KRIPALANI

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

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

MRS. BANDARANAIKE

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

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

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

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

MRS. M. N. ROY

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

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

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

MRS. T. S. KUNJITHAM

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

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

CONFUCIUS GIRL MARRIES AMERICAN

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

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

General

LT. GEN. THAPAR

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

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

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

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

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

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

QUEEN ELIZABETH

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

Late Dr. P. K. ACHARYA

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

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

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

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

WORLD ALTITUDE RECORD

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

The Vigilance Attack fighter (A-3J) reached an altitude of 27,873 meters to crack the record set last year by a Soviet plane with an altitude of 20,150 meters (67,096 feet).

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

POET LAUREATE OF ANDHRA

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

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

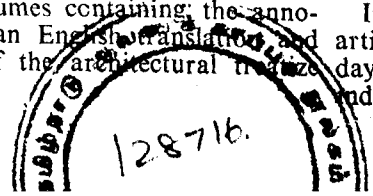
MILLIONAIRES IN INDIA

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

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

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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



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(Andrew Lang)

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VOICES FROM THE PAST

(Excerpts from articles contributed to the *Indian Review*)

They reveal the sagacity and vision of the men who tried to instruct and entertain their generation; but whose words written round about the first decade of the century have lost none of their power to touch the imagination of readers today.

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