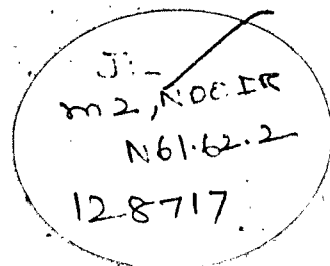
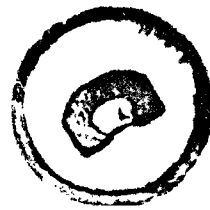


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62nd Year

Vol. 62

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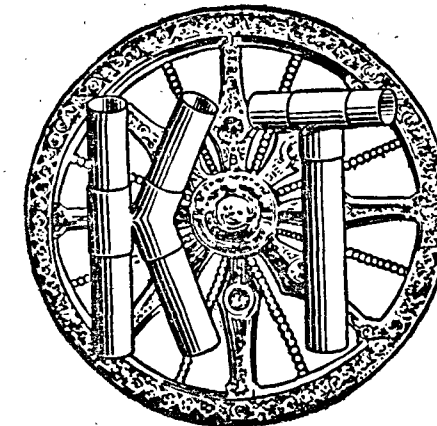
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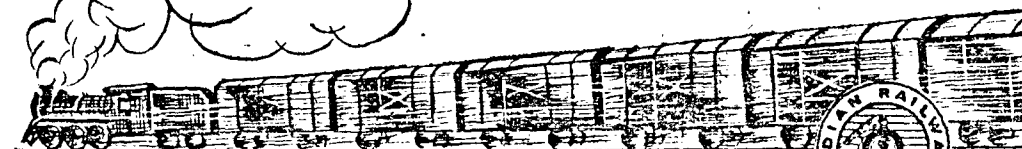
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The Book Classification, by H. K. Majumdar, Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar.

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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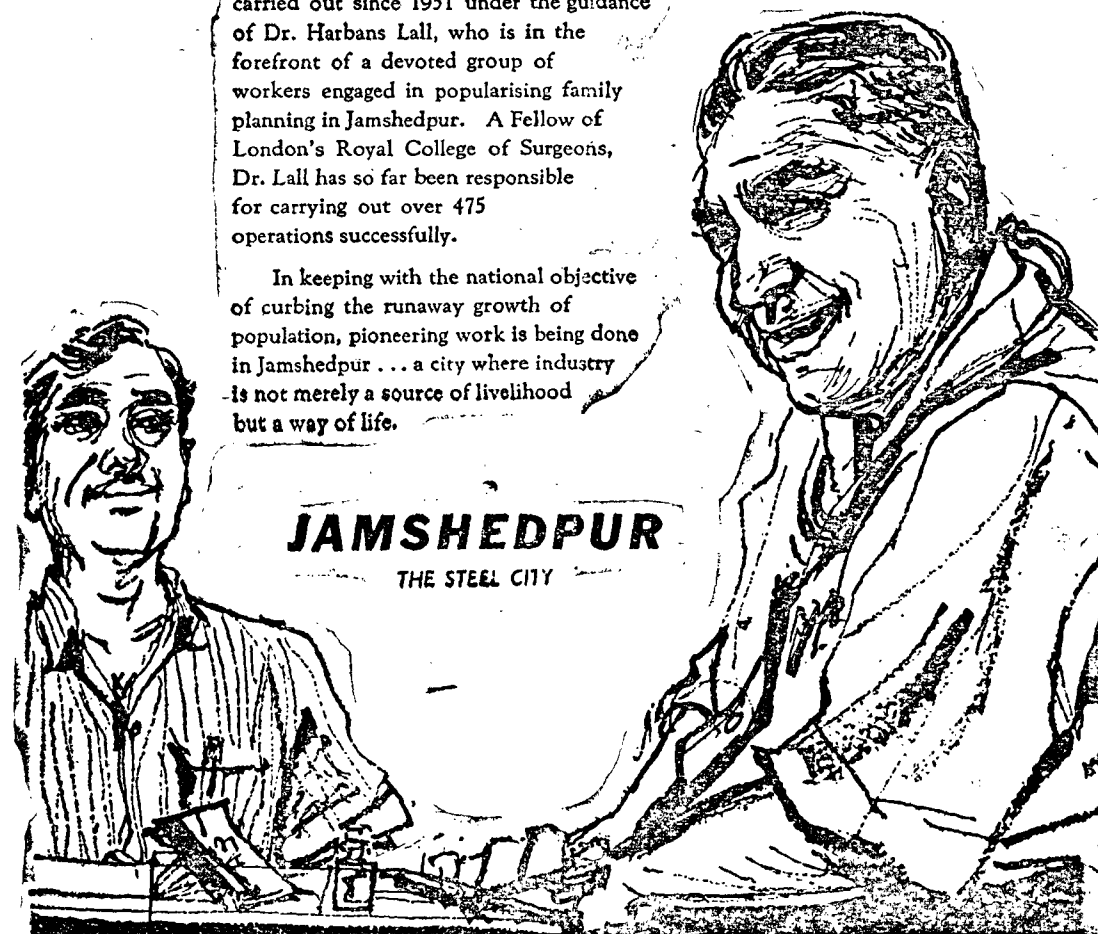


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By

Mr. GABRIEL GERSH

WHAT Tibet is to Asia, Ethiopia is to Africa —an ancient, remote, conservative and xenophobic State, isolated in the mountains. Ethiopia, however, has had far more contacts with the West than her Asian counter-part. Twice invaded by Europeans, she has by diplomacy and courage preserved her integrity continuously, except for a short period under Italian colonial rule. Today she faces a new situation and new problems. Instead of being a solitary independent native State, surrounded by colonial Powers, Ethiopia is now competing with an ever increasing number of other independent African States. She has, therefore, to adjust herself to the idea of being one among equals instead of being an historical anomaly.

Ethiopia is twice the size of France, with a population of about eighteen million. The political structure is based historically on the domination of a Christian Amharic minority over a number of other tribes many of which are Moslem or pagan. However, modern developments have to some extent blurred the edges of these tribal distinctions. The present Emperor, Haile Selassie, who is by any comparison one of the most remarkable figures of present day Africa, is the architect of Ethiopia's present unity. He is a feudal chief who had to struggle to get where he is. Politically, Ethiopia is very clearly in the stage in which most European countries found themselves in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Haile Selassie has substituted a strong central monarchy, ruling through a centrally controlled imperial civil service, for the old system of feudal chiefs owing a loose obedience to the Emperor. By a strange irony the vicissitudes through which he has passed have helped him to accomplish his aim, for at the time of the Italian invasion he was by no means so universally accepted as he now is. Although a feudal chief in origin, Haile Selassie is modern in thought. Very tentatively he has begun to move the country forwards once again. General elections have been held, and there is an elected assembly which is given legislative work to do. There is as yet no system of responsible government but the Emperor accepts the proposition that "if you take the first step you must take the last."

Today, however, it is still very definitely personal loyalty to him which makes Ethiopia "tick."

The Army, too, is an important factor. Nearly 30,000 strong, it includes a few artillery and armored units and the Imperial Guard of 10,000, which served with distinction in Korea and is fanatically devoted to the Emperor. At present the officers are trained by the Indians, and the U.S. provides a technical mission to train the troops in the use of American arms and transportation. The U.S. is also supplying the Air Force with jets.

In so vast a country it is hard to generalize about conditions of life among the people. I travelled by train from Addis Ababa to Dire-dawa and then by bus and jeep to Harrar and through Jijiga into Somaliland. The Ethiopians may be xenophobic, but they are unfailingly

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

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

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

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

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

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

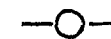
The United States is carrying out Point Four assistance on a wide scale. Agricultural schools have been set up, teachers are being trained and a malarial scheme has been started. U.S. experts do not claim that Point Four is an unqualified success, but they are confident that it will yield some promising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

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

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

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

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



Powers of the President of India

By

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

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

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

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

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

Now let us reflect what are the reasons (which

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Futility of the Cult of Repression and Violence

By

PROF. RADHA KRISHNA SHARMA, M.A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tory in effect. Under many governments wrongdoers and law-breakers like thieves and robbers are subjected to various kinds of torture. In many homes and schools most of the parents and teachers behave oppressively with their children and pupils in the name of discipline and character. But the very purpose of doing so is defeated. An ordinary criminal when out of jail commits the same offence or the other with all the more courage and determination. An ordinary pick-pocket is gradually transformed into a thief, a beaten child or pupil becomes all the more indisciplined. Moreover, some bad human elements like anger and hatred are born. Nothing constructive or positive in the form of Education, love and kindness, is done to change the mind and heart of the lawbreaker, wayward child or pupil by the state, parent or teacher. So effect is only in appearance and not in reality. As an American writer rightly observes, "Men cannot be tortured into greatness or goodness. He who is forced upon his knees has the attitude, but never the feeling or prayer." The fact is that there is no real reforming and moralizing power in barbarous and inhuman practices which, rather produce most harmful effects. As the same writer says, "A punishment that degrades the punished will degrade the man who inflicts the punishment and the government that procures the infliction." So in some modern civilised countries the tendency is growing to treat the lunatic asylum as the mental hospital and jails as reformatories.

But unfortunately this Modern World, though

materially too much advanced, is spiritually too much behind. The side of matter is far heavier than the side of spirit. On all sides there is fear and violence. The strong rule of attempt to rule over the weak. Peace has become cherished ideal to be attained. The first great world war was fought to end all wars but the peace that was concluded was to end all peace. Many conferences on disarmament have been held since then, but very meagre or no success has been attained so far. The world moves in a vicious circle. Its method of approach to the problem of peace is quite wrong. Whoever lives by the sword, by the sword shall die—says the maxim. Mud can never be washed off with mud but only with clear water; darkness can never be removed by darkness but only by light; hatred can never end hatred but only love can end hatred. So violence cannot end violence and bring peace; but in order to end it and achieve permanent peace, the best way is to take recourse to non-violence. The world requires not the material statesmen but it requires the philosopher statesmen like the Asokas and the Tolstoys and, above all, the Gandhis. When the world will adopt Gandhism, the essence of which is Truth and Non-violence all its ills will be off and it will be a fit place for human habitation because peace, progress and prosperity, instead of shame, sorrow and suffering, will be the chief features of human society. Only faith is lacking. With the increasing faith will grow tradition and both faith and tradition will create clear atmosphere for the success of pure Gandhism.

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The First Russian Radical

By

Prof. P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

AFTER the Russian revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union there has been a feeling that for anything radical one has to look to Russia. But the fact is that the first real radical in Russia was seen only a hundred years back; and he was to a large extent the product of the French Revolution. Not only that, there were fundamental differences between his ideas and the ideas that have prevailed and do still prevail in the Soviet Union.

For Alexander Radishchef was really a fighter for safeguarding individual freedom and the dignity of individual men and women; and it was against the despotism and cruelty of the rulers that he raised his voice, suffered and died. And these are not what the radicals that make the Soviet Union stand for.

The son of a Square who had 3,000 serfs (and eleven children), Radishchef rebelled against serf ownership at a time when it was considered to be nothing but normal. He said: "I

joked around me—and my soul was afflicted with the sufferings of mankind.....and I felt that every man might contribute to the welfare of his fellows."

How did these feelings arise in him? Apart from his natural bent of mind and the influence of his home, he was one of the early students of Moscow, the first Russian university, which was founded in 1755. From 14 to 17 he had served as one of the forty pages in the court of Catherine the Great, who had at one time been in contact with Voltaire, Diderot and other leaders of French radical thought. Radishchef himself understood and appreciated the points of view of the French encyclopaedists. Naturally he was astounded by notices for sale, like "Domestics and skilled craftsmen of good behaviour, two tailors, a watchmaker and others who may be inspected and their price ascertained," or of, "A maker of shoes for women, wife of thirty-two, pregnant, and a daughter three years old....." Along with such notices were also advertisements of race horses and other things. A sensitive and progressive mind like that of Radishchef revolted against inhumanity of such an attitude to human beings.

He belonged to the serf owning class, and he had been one of the six young men specially chosen by Catherine the Great in 1766 to be sent to Leipzig for advanced study. But his sympathies developed on the side of the under dogs. This became more pronounced when for fourteen months he served on the Senate and heard about village misdeeds and the sufferings of the people in general. For, as shown by David Marshall Lang in his well written biography of Alexander Radishchef, though Catherine the Great had done much to civilize the people, as by forbidding spitting on the floor in public, picking lice from the scalp, and beating up wives to pulp, the condition of the serfs and common people remained no better than it ever had been. A serf Smirnov, for example, was knouted and his

nostrils torn merely for attempting to gain knowledge by going outside the country.

Radishchef was working in the Board of Trade as a ministerial assessor. But the ideas of the French encyclopaedists were seething within his mind. He gave expression to some of it in his ODE TO LIBERTY. Then in a LETTER TO A FRIEND reflecting on the statue of Peter the Great by Falconet he said certain things most hazardous to say in Tsarist Russia. For he said that during Peter's time he was surrounded by hypocritical courtiers who never dared to tell him the truth, but now he was less powerful than any ordinary, common man. Again, his Discourse on WHAT IS A PATRIOT? did contain dangerous sentiments. He declared: "Not all born within the fatherland are worthy of the exalted title of son of the fatherland or patriot. Those who live beneath the yoke of servitude are unworthy to be adored with this title." Soon there followed his life of Ushakov, whom he described as "a finer patriot than the courtly favourites and sycophants prospering by pandering to the monarch's caprices."

These writings of Radishchef showed clearly the way in which his mind was working. People interested in him felt anxious for him. His departmental boss and his patron through all his life, Count Vorontsov, and his sister, an able journalist of the time, Princess Dashkov, saw the danger ahead, and the Princess even said that the young man would ruin himself by some fatal writing.

That came in 1790 with the publication of Radishchef's "Journey From St. Petersburg To Moscow." In bitter and powerful words the author described the sufferings of the common people, and especially the serfs. The iniquities and cruelties of the Squires, one squire alone seducing as many as sixty peasant girls, the many injustices so flagrant as to be repugnant to human nature itself, and the consequent need for the liberation of the serfs—all these are emphatically driven home by arguments and illustrations.

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

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

manuscript copies of the book have come down to us.

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

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



Medical Uses of Television

By

Mr. ROSEMARIE CLARK

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

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

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

In 1955 the Upjohn Pharmaceutical Company started sponsoring a series entitled the "Grand Rounds." For the first programme, presented by Tufts University School of Medicine and the New England Medical Center, a subject was selected that was purposely one that would be of interest to the general practitioner as well as to the specialist: "acute abdominal problems." Finding patients as case illustrations was not easy. The television company moved ten tons of equipment into Boston City Hospital and waited. After four days, during which time

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

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

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

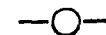
doubts, the television company cancelled the plan. Two days before the date of the scheduled telecast, a third patient was found.

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

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

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

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



A History of the Freedom Movement

By
DR. R. C. MAZUMDAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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further back beyond the foundation of the Indian National Congress. Another view was to begin from the very beginnings of known Indian history, going back to the remote Hindu period. The second view seems to be an absurd one and need not be seriously considered. I have always held the view that when today we talk of the freedom from the British yoke its history goes back to the beginning of British rule in India and not earlier. But it does not also begin later. For the course of events that led to the freedom of India from the British yoke may be carried back, through distinct stages, to the beginnings of British rule, and these stages are so logically connected, that you cannot understand any of them without the preceding one that almost inevitably led to it. Besides, some of the vital forces and movements, like those which gave rise to Hindu-Muslim problem leading to Pakistan, are not of sudden growth in the twentieth or even late nineteenth century, but their origin goes back to the beginning of the British rule and is largely conditioned by it. It is impossible to write the history of the French Revolution without taking into account the intellectual and emotional background prepared for it, partly by writers like Voltaire and Rousseau—to name only two—and partly by the regime of the Grand Monarch a century earlier. So it is impossible to write the history of Indian freedom without taking into account the growth of Western ideas—such as rationalism, patriotism, nationality etc.—due to English education, and the forces unleashed by them which so worked upon the religious, social, and political ideas of India that was transformed from the medieval to modern age. It would be unhistorical to study the growth of political ideas and movements by themselves, without any reference to the growth of social and religious ideas or of the literature which sustained them all. Human mind does not work in isolated compartments. It is an organic whole and its work has to be looked upon in its totality. The same spirit which revolted at the tyranny of superstitious

dogmas and the authority of the priests and scriptures in religious and social fields, was manifest in the political field in trying to throw off the tyranny of foreign rule. The growth of this spirit, from stage to stage, in different fields, is therefore an essential part of the history of the freedom movement. We must view the picture as whole in order to understand the causes and true significance of the evolution of political ideas and organizations, even though these must necessarily form the principal part of that history.

The most important part of the history of freedom movement is to trace the different stages of this evolution. There is a current belief that the organized political movement began with the Indian National Congress. Even the Chief Minister of a Province has expressed this view in one of his recent publications. But nothing can be a greater mistake than this. There were political associations and organized political movements in Bengal for more than half a century before the Congress came into existence. The ideas of reform enunciated by them were not less advanced than those advocated by the Congress during the first twenty years of its existence. In some directions they were even far more advanced. There were also important political associations in Bombay earlier than the Congress. The conception of an all-India political organization with regular meetings of delegates from different parts of India also took definite shape before the foundation of the Congress. In a sense the Indian National Congress was the culmination, not the beginning, of a process of evolution. A clear delineation of this must form the central pivot of the history of freedom movement.

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

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

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

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

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

Technology and Planning: An Analysis

By

Prof. MADAN GOPAL BHASIN

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

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

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

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

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

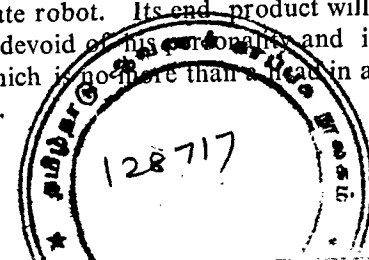
centuries of scientific labour and the age or epoch so dawned is known as 'The Machine Age' or 'The Technological Epoch'.

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

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

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

The third wave came in our own life-time. The frontiers closed and the world witnessed two Great Global wars. Economic revalries and political ideologies have become most acute and stake struggle for survival. This wave seeks to mechanise life itself, and transform man into an insensate robot. Its end product will thus be a man devoid of his personality and individuality which is more than a head in a flock or a herd.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

All inventions in science, engineering or medicine are focussed and measured in terms of human use. These are either labour-saving or time-saving or material-saving devices. Their aim is beauty and variety, economy and efficiency. The problems, for example, faced by American inventors in the 19th century were labour-scarcity, excess of space and its natural corollary, scarcity of time. As a result, the American inventor concentrated on the instruments of transportation and communication. That is why, the mechanical reaper, the calculating machine, the telephone and the air-brake rank supreme among American inventions. Crowded Europe suffered from the inadequacy of raw-materials. Therefore she concentrated on conservation of raw-materials i.e. material-saving devices viz., indigo from coal, nitrogen from air, blast furnaces, Bessemer converter, fuelsaving and Open Hearth furnace for using the scrap. The emphasis in India on the Multipurpose Projects, Community Development Projects and Gramdan is a natural response to modernise her underdeveloped agrarian economy. Similarly, the Russians have concentrated most on Sputniks because of their innate desire to paralyse the American Foreign policy of 'Containment' and 'Negotiations from Strength'. Deserts, for this very reason, have good astronomers.

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

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

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

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

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

The resultant machine age, in brief, is accompanied by the three big problems :— (1) Inflation—slow and fast, (ii) Unemployment—educated as well as uneducated, and (iii) and the problem of poverty and ignorance. It is also necessary to remember here that our resources—human and physical are more often misused and abused, and are very rarely properly used. The present unrest may also be attributed to the fact there are square pegs in the round holes.

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

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

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

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

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

Fifteen Years of United Nations

By
"A STUDENT OF POLITICS"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Vexed Question of Recognition

By
PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *Recognition in the Law of Nations* :—S. R. Patel, N. M. Tripathy & Co. Bombay. Price Rs. 15/- \$ 4/50.



The Dealer in Gram turns Believer in 'Ram'

By

SRI HAR KRISHAN SINGH

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

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

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

What humility, what candidness!

"I would in humble and complete
Submission fall at Guru's Feet;
For he alone can make me meet
My Lord by his compassion sweet."

"No man the Lord Divine can find
By obstinacy of his mind,
Many devices men have tried
And tired themselves unsatisfied;
By scores of wisdom-ways pursued
This bare-blank mind cannot be hued.
The Lord no man can hope to meet
By means of falsehood and deceit.
Whatever seed the man shall sow,
Of that he shall the harvest grow."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And is it not that as their meed,
"Thou hast been down the ages keeping
Thy servitors, full of their need,
On them, O Lord, O Wonder, heaping
Thy bounties. 'Tis Thy Grace indeed."
Guru Ram Das wanted his relation with
'Ram,' the Divine, entire and inseparable:
"Hari alone my life and friend
And He alone my being's Lord;
O let my body and my mind
Be bound to Him with own-ness cord."

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

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

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

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

“ Hands that are withheld
Never can receive,
Those who live with doubt
Never can believe.”

Although he found that
“ Rare are men, whose life is stirred
By Guru's Wisdom-way and word,”

yet he knew categorically that
“ All beings' hope but in Thee dwell'th
Thine are all creatures, thou their
wealth.

There is, O Lord, no single spot
In world where Thou abidest not.”
That is why he says :
“ Hurrah and glory great for those
Who are to Guru turned and close.”
His prayer is eternal to the Divine and his
compassion for His children immeasurable :
“ From drowning in the waters dark
Of venomous ignorance and dread,
Says Nanak, save Thy men ; O hark
The prayers by Thy servants said.”

Demographic Training and Research

By

DR. C. CHANDRASEKARAN*

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

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

* Director, Demographic Training and Research Centre, Bombay.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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John Dewey: A Centennial Review

By

MARTIN S. DWORKIN

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

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

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

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

influences probably reflects a degree of wishful observation on the part of a professional philosopher. And we may well wonder at the meaning of an "accident" that is intentional. But the paradox, at least, that is suggested introduces the consideration of the place of Dewey's writings on education in the whole of his work. And this consideration leads further to the fundamental problem of the actual nature of his influence upon American education. To what extent, we must ask, was Dewey's impact unique, novel, truly innovative? And to what extent was it a product or expression of larger, ultimately determinant forces in American life? In dealing with these questions, more is involved than the inescapable task of understanding Dewey's work in order to criticize it. For, Dewey's "responsibility" for the form and substance of American education has been one of the most persistent expletives of the bitter brawling over the schools, especially in the last decade. Was Dewey's influence accidental? Or was it inevitable? In either case, was it crucial?

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

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

association in large measure accounted for the dominance of the Scottish philosophy of common sense realism, which reinforced religious faith against the tendencies towards doubt encouraged by the British empiricism it had supplanted. A strong surge of German idealism, particularly derived from Hegel, and reinterpreted under the leadership of William Torrey Harris, was challenging proponents of the other schools. The movement reflected the growing influence of the newly fashionable centres of learning in Germany, as well as the impressive scholarship and systematic ingenuity of the German philosophers.

The seemingly remote arguments over whether reality exists independently of sensation or consciousness had immediately urgent implications for the authority of moral principles and the reasonableness of religious doctrine. But looming over the disputations was the enormous shadow of scientific discovery—particularly the mounting evidence for the theory of evolution, and the striking, if often conflicting findings of the new experimental psychologies.

As the University of Vermont, Dewey was exposed to Scottish realism in courses with H.A.P. Torrey. Later in his graduate study at Johns Hopkins, he was profoundly affected by the Hegelian idealism of George Sylvester Morris—an influence that continued when he joined the faculty of the University of Michigan, where Morris had become professor of philosophy. At Michigan, the first chair in education in the United States had already been established, and there were close relations between the faculty and the high schools of the state on matters of teacher preparation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Psalm of Life's Woes

(With apologies to Longfellow)

By
WILFRED E. PEREIRA

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

—○—

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Mr. Kennedy's Inaugural Address

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Future of Algeria

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

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

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

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

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

That negotiations will come soon is now taken for granted by every-one, including the extremists on the European side.

U.S.A. Budget

On Jan. 16 President Eisenhower presented to Congress the U.S. Budget for fiscal year 1961-62, the highest in U.S. history, demanding an outlay of some 80,000 million dollars including 47,392 million for national defence.

Of the Budget 42,900 million dollars were allocated for Defence Department functions, 1,750 million dollars for foreign military aid, 2,680 million dollars to the Atomic Energy Commission and more than 50 million for setting up stocks of war material.

The Presidential Budget called for 9,400 million dollars for space research of which 7,400 million dollars would go to the Defence Department for division among the three services, and the remainder to the civilian National Aeronautics and Space Administrations.

Other major categories were aid to under-developed countries (425 million dollars), social services (4,800 million) and agriculture (5,100 million). The foreign aid figure includes 1,875

million in economic aid and 1,750 million to military aid.

But the largest slice or 58 per cent, went once more for defence as against 57 per cent during the current fiscal year.

U. S. Bases Abroad

President Kennedy has directed his administration to take a new, hard look at some of the American bases abroad and decide whether an offer to abandon them could be used for bargaining with the Soviet Union, the New York "Herald Tribune" said on Jan. 25.

The paper reported Mr. Kennedy has not made a final decision, but has asked his diplomatic and military advisers to give him answers to the following questions.

1. Has the development of submarine-borne "Polaris" missiles reduced the importance of certain American overseas bases?

2. How much longer will overseas bases be needed, in the light of technical progress in weapons?

3. Will mobile missiles make certain bases useless, to the point that they could serve as "pawns" in future negotiations with the Soviet Union?

4. Would it be possible, in some cases, to replace American forces abroad with inter-allied forces, so that the United States' European allies would have an increased share in the Western defence system?

New Govt. in Cambodia

The Cambodian State radio announced on Jan. 25 that Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State, had agreed to form a new Government after leading politicians' refusal to accept the responsibility.

This follows a motion of the Cambodian Parliament giving him executive power because of the situation in neighbouring countries, particularly Laos. The Prince is now choosing members of his Government.

Russia releases U. S. Prisoners

Two American airmen, released by Russia on 25th Jan. arrived in Washington on Jan. 27 raising the prospects of improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The new President of America, Mr. John Kennedy, in his dramatic announcement at his first Press conference at Washington on 25th Jan. said their release removed a "serious obstacle" in the way of peaceful relations between the two countries.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry statement in Moscow on January 25 also reflected the same

sentiment. It said the release of the airmen, shot down over Barents Sea on July 1 last year in an RB-47, was "guided by a sincere desire to lay down a basis for a new stage in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States."

The statement also said the airmen, Captain Freeman B. Olmstead (24), and Captain John R. McKone (28) were released "from criminal responsibility" by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Russian Parliament.

Mr. D. Rusk, Secy. of State said on Feb. 6 that the release by Soviet Union of the American RB-47 fliers had removed a troublesome problem and a constructive relationship could be achieved.

Visit of H. M. Queen Elizabeth II

On January 21, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth of England and the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in New Delhi and they were given a rousing and unprecedented welcome. Hundreds of thousands of Delhi citizens took part in greeting the royal couple. Welcoming the guests at Palam airport President Rajendra Prasad said:

"The United Kingdom and India have had close relations for some two hundred years. This long association between our two countries has left an abiding influence on our minds and on our institutions. You will see the signs of this, perhaps, yourself during your sojourn in our country, and I hope you will feel at home in our midst. As a member of the Commonwealth, India shares with the United Kingdom certain common aims—international goodwill and international peace being, perhaps, the most important of them. We welcome you, to-day, not only as the head of the oldest democracy in the world, but also as the head of a great Commonwealth. It is my earnest hope that your visit will further strengthen the ties of friendship and fellow feeling that exist between the United Kingdom and India."

Replying to the welcome Her Majesty said: "To all in India I bring a greeting of goodwill and affection from the British people. I hope that our visit will demonstrate to the world the respect and friendship which exist between Britain and India, and indeed between all the countries which are joined together in the free partnership of the Commonwealth."

Later a grand State Banquet was held. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, proposing a toast to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, laid stress on many of the ties that bound Britain and India and expressed the hope that the

Queen's visit would strengthen and enrich the friendship between India and the United Kingdom.

Dr. Prasad paid a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in making the people of India never entertain any ill-will or rancour towards their erstwhile rulers. He said "this is due mainly to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who taught us that nationalism should never acquire an exclusive character."

Replying to the toast Queen Elizabeth expressed the hope that "in combining scientific and technological progress with the ancient Indian values of toleration, compassion and wisdom, India will be an example to the world."

"In a larger sense the Commonwealth is a family of nations and this is an apt way to describe the relationship between Britain and India. No other nation knows India so well, and you for your part are well acquainted with the British, their frailties and their strengths, their foibles and their standards. There are in Britain many men and women who served and worked here and who remember India with respect and affection. The welcome I was given this afternoon makes me sure this affection and respect are reciprocated. I hope we will always allow this friendly and personal relationship to to colour all our contacts and transactions."

The State Banquet was the most colourful function that climaxed a day of pageantry and royal reception to the British monarch. Later the Queen and her consort went on a trip to Jaipur where the Maharaja entertained them. They returned to the capital in time to take part in the Republic day celebrations on Jan. 26. They have a long and interesting programme to go through in visiting important places and industrial centres in India and Pakistan.

Mr. Nehru on his Retirement!

Prime Minister Nehru categorically declared on Jan. 24 that "there is no thought in my mind at present or in the foreseeable future of my retiring and so there need be no speculation about it."

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Prime Minister to the Press.

"I find that there is a great deal of speculation about my possible resignation or retirement from the Prime Ministership. This is due to a report of an interview I gave to a representative of a paper in London. I am sorry that some casual remarks about the future that

I made have led to this misunderstanding. There is no thought in my mind at present or in the foreseeable future of my retiring and so there need be no speculation about it. What I said to the newspaper correspondent was that the idea of my retiring from the Prime Ministership and devoting myself to other activities had often come to me. It was present in some corner of my mind and some time in the future it may be given effect to. But there was no such idea with me now. There need, therefore, be no speculation about it. Indeed, I have not mentioned this to any of my colleagues or members of our party because I did not think of it seriously."

China and Bhutan

There are sound reasons to believe that China is trying to get Bhutan to deal direct with her on the three-year-old dispute between them over 300 square miles of border territory. These areas in north and north-east Bhutan are now solely in the possession of Bhutan which has got her check-posts in these areas.

The Chinese claim to these areas has so far been only cartographic and though maps showing these areas as belonging to Peking appeared over three years ago there have, so far, been no incidents. All the same, Bhutan is on pins and needles, and like Burma before her, is anxious to have the issue settled so that she knows where she stands vis-a-vis her powerful northern neighbour. China has so far not bothered to reply to the two protests made by Bhutan over these maps.

Though, there is little active contact between them—even trading activity across the border has ceased—China has let Bhutan understand through unofficial go-betweens that she would rather deal with Bhutan direct. But being obliged to consult and seek India's advice on such matters Bhutan is not happy about this obvious Chinese effort to bypass and thus isolate India. The Maharaja of Bhutan, who has come down to India will have discussions with Nehru on the future line of action.

Nagaland State

The President promulgated on Jan. 24 the Nagaland (Transitional Provisions) Regulation, 1961, to bring into operation a new administrative set-up for Nagaland.

The regulation, which will come into force on a date to be specified by the Government, provided for the setting up of 45-members elected "interim body", to serve as the advisory council to the Governor. The members will

be elected from the tribes in Nagaland—the area comprising Naga Hills and Tuensang area.

The Governor, who is also Governor of Assam, is expected to inaugurate the first meeting of the “interim body,” whose members have already been elected, on February 15.

The regulation lays down the transitional arrangement for Nagaland in accordance with the agreement between the Naga People's Convention and the Government of India concluded on July 30 last year. This arrangement will prepare the ground for the setting up of a separate Nagaland State.

Ceylon Tamils' Action

The seventh annual convention of the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Katchi (Federal Party) as its session at Colombo on Jan. 22 called upon the Tamil speaking people of the Northern Provinces to be ready to launch direct action against the Government, in the form of picketing, satyagraha, non-co-operation etc.

The open session adopted five resolutions unanimously including one on the problem of citizenship of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon.

The first resolution called upon the Tamil people in the two Tamil speaking Northern and Eastern provinces to launch direct action.

The second resolution requested the Tamil investors to withdraw with immediate effect their investments from Sinhalese areas and to invest them in the Tamil areas.

The third resolution demanded the withdrawal of the present Citizenship Act and urged the enactment of a new legislation in conformity with international conventions and standards. It also requested the Government to confer full citizenship rights on plantation workers of Indian origin who knew no other home than the country in which they were living. The resolution added that the citizenship problem of persons of Indian origin was Ceylon's problem and it was in no way a problem between India and Ceylon.

Another resolution requested the Tamils to rid the Tamil areas of social disabilities and throw open temples, hostels, and other public places to the so-called “untouchables.” A vigorous campaign to eradicate the social evil of untouchability is to be launched simultaneously with the “independence struggle.”

The last resolution called upon the Tamil people to launch an “All Tamil” campaign and to transact all their business in Tamil only.

Canada-India Reactor in Trombay

Prime Minister Nehru said at Bombay on Jan. 15 that the benefits of nuclear power which would be available as a result of the new facilities being provided at the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay, would serve a useful purpose in expediting the changes being brought about in India.

The Prime Minister was inaugurating the Rs. 10-crores Canada-India Reactor at Trombay.

Referring to the criticisms levelled against the Government in setting up atomic power projects particularly in the present conditions with relative lack of resources, the Prime Minister said that the question should be considered in a realistic way. They were engaged in the tremendous task of raising the standard of living of the people of India and while they were planning, they had to look into the future of India, 15 or 20 years hence. They could do it only by hard thinking, hard work, hard planning and co-operative work. They had to look ahead for many things and possibly the most important thing was power. Power was the symbol of progress. They had various ways of utilising and relating them but the crux of the problem was whether the solution would be adequate to meet the demands of the people in the coming years. They would have to tap new sources for relating power for they could not take the risk of relying on something which might prove inadequate for the future. Therefore it was of vital importance that they built up atomic power for peaceful uses.

Mr. Gordon Churchill, Canadian Minister, and leader of the Government in the Canadian House of Commons, speaking on the occasion, and that the inauguration symbolised “India's coming of age in the atomic era.”

India, renowned for its ancient wisdom, was now numbered among the select few nations of the world which were learned in ancient physics, the most recent offshoot of the tree of knowledge, he added.

Describing the venture as “a shining example of international collaboration in the field of science and technology,” Mr. Churchill said that the reactor and the scientists who will work with it “most surely have great potentialities for the future peace and prosperity of India.”

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Annexation of Upper Burma. By D. P. Singhal, University of Malaya, Singapore. pp. 128. Price Straits Dollars 3.50. Eastern Universities Press. Macdonald House, Singapore-9.

The morality and background of the Second Burmese War have been the subject of much discussion and the consensus of opinion is that it was a piece of rascality but a humane and useful piece of rascality as Sir Charles Napier described the Annexation of Sind. The Burmese King insisting on the Resident removing his shoes was made a casus belli. It is amusing to note that till 1947 all Indian Government Educational Institutions insisted on no footwear or shoes of English pattern with socks and even now some Government Colleges under Congress Raj insist on shoes with socks.

The real trouble was that the French stole a march by an independent commercial treaty and the only remedy was an invasion and “mass executions by the Provost Marshall” to terrorise the people. The annexation was dictated by “international jealousy and commercial and political greed” as the Indian papers pointed out and the mollification was offered to Liberal and International Public Opinion that Thibaw was a cruel tyrant and the Burmese people turned in relief to the British Invaders. That the trouble started with Sir Arthur Phayre who made the false accusation against the Gaekwar that His Highness tried to poison his drink is not without significance.

A clear and concise account but not altogether free from bias in favour of the British.

Vishva Dharma. By Acharya Visheshanand. Tr. by M. S. Bhatia. Price Rupees Five. Vishva Dharma Mission, New Delhi 3.

This is an aphoristic exposition of the quintessence underlying all religions. Some of the gems are the following: “Action performed by a man of scrupulous and *deluded* nature is *always harmful* to human life.” “You should first purify your worldly conduct and bodily actions.” “Forcible restraint on the body courts dreadful and tempestuous reaction.” “Dharma is to perform our duties as *human beings*.” “Lust, anger, avariciousness, are the chief enemies of Man.” “The Vishva Dharma Mission shall try to salvage the World.” May it succeed.

Petronius; The Satyricon. Translated by William Arrowsmith. Mentor Book. American Library, New York 22. 50 cents.

This is a daring attempt by Professor Arrowsmith to recapture for us not only the *ipsissima verba* but also the exciting elegance of Menippean Satire of Protocol in the Profligate Court of Nero. All know that Nymphomania really means not mania for nymphs but uncontrollable morbid sexual desire in women. Few know that Satyriasis means Excessive sexual Desire in Males. Amidst a mass of stark pornography like descriptions of poor novice tools of eunuchs, analerotics, etc. we get Irony of the Greek variety as in the following. “What good are the Laws when Money is King, where the poor are always wrong, And even the Mockers who scoff at the Times will sell the truth for a Song; and the Courts are an Auction where Justice is sold, and the Judge who presides bangs a Gavel of Gold.” Modern American White Caps and Purity Leagues are anticipated in the tirade against pearls on Matrons who raise shameless legs and cries of shame against brides that dress in flimsy gossamer and gauze to gloze their nakedness. There are yet in India people who feel that they would rather have continued to be British slaves than tax-oppressed freemen like Scylltus's freedman who would rather be a Roman slave than a tax-paying savage. The people drowning in a double-sea, by Debt pulled down, by Usury. Again, this narrative is interrupted by tales of raw onions followed by snails' heads as powerful aphrodisiacs and scenes of and description of what Galsworthy called the supreme act of Property. Kicking some dung in the dark or kicking a corpse by the cross-road at night is said to literally unman a man, and again you switch to the theme that Jupiter is money in the Bank. There are echoes of the confused varied decadent reading of the degenerate Roman in the concluding tale of Eumolpus who died rich and made it a condition of the legacies in his will that the inheritors must slice up his body and eat it in public. Herodotus mentions a tribe on Xerxes' far-flung host who so dispose of their dead bodies.

Yoga: A Scientific Evaluation. By K. T. Dr. Behanan. Dover Publications, Inc. 180, Varik Street, New York 14 N. Y. Price \$ 1.65.

What is yoga? In a new book, a scholar and psychologist explains what yoga really is and why it has been generally misunderstood in the West.

Dr. Kovoort T. Behanan examines the philosophical and physiological aspects of yoga. Dr. Behanan, a Hindu by birth who studied at Calcutta University and at Yale, has based much of his study on his own first-hand experiences with yoga theory and practices in India.

One of the oldest philosophical and religious systems of India, yoga has commonly been associated in the West with magic and mysticism. Dr. Behanan, who studied yoga as a disciple of one of the foremost teachers in India, considers that yoga is above all a practical philosophy involving years of strenuous study and mental and physical exercises designed to help the individual gain control of his unconscious processes. Traditionally, yoga techniques in breathing and mental concentration are said to produce a high degree of emotional stability. As part of his research project conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University, Dr. Behanan was able to test some of yoga's therapeutic claims and found that yoga discipline tended to "develop a healthy emotional equilibrium."

Evaluating yoga from the Western point of view, Dr. Behanan remarks that yoga has many similarities with modern therapeutic methods, especially those used in psychoanalysis. A scientific and objective approach to yoga, Dr. Behanan claims, can dispel much of the mystery that still surrounds this Eastern philosophy.

Gandhi's view of Life. By Chandrashanker Shukla, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Price Rs. 2.

Shukla, like Mahadeo Desai and Pyarilal, was closely associated with Gandhi for the best part of his life. He therefore writes of Gandhi's views on many topics with complete sympathy and understanding. The book under review contains chapters on Truth and Non-violence, Satyagraha, Rights vs. Duties, Hinduism, Art, life and Beauty and a multitude of subjects in which Gandhi was deeply interested, and he interprets Gandhi's views as far as possible in Gandhi's own words. Mr. Shukla's book offers such pleasant and instinctive reading that it is no wonder it has gone through four editions.

Hindu America? By Chaman Lal. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

This book now reprinted by Vidya Bhavan was originally published in 1940. The statements made by Chaman Lal were so startling that Mahatma Gandhi did not hesitate to write to him, though with his customary caution in matters on which he could not claim personal knowledge, that "if they were true you have made no mean contribution to research work." Twenty years have gone by and yet a government headed by Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru—scholars with a trenchant for history—have done nothing to verify the findings at governmental level.

Fortified by the authority of some great names in Indo-American and European scholarship, Chaman Lal contends that even in the years before Columbus there were cultural contacts between India and America. "If the identity of culture, philosophy, educational system, birth and death ceremonies (including cremation and Satee) belief in the transmigration of soul, coronation ceremonial, kindling of sacred fires and numberless customs and manners of two countries, then America is certainly indebted to India" And his thesis is supported by well documented extracts from official records and appropriate illustrations. Here, certainly, if anywhere, is work for a team of researchers under a national government. Such astounding discoveries, supported by dispassionate authorities which Chaman Lal adduces can hardly be left unprobed and unconfirmed at the highest level.

Kasturba. A Personal Reminiscence. By Sushila Nayer, Navajiyani Publishing House, Ahmedabad Rs. 1-50.

Dr. Sushila Nayer chose to share the prison life of the Gandhis in the Aga Khan palace. She was with Kasturba nursing her during her last fatal illness and she records her reminiscences of Ba and Gandhiji with moving simplicity and devotion. Ba, as every one knew, lost herself in service to Gandhiji and roused public interest in her by her complete self-abnegation. Here are some striking incidents narrated with first hand knowledge by one who was in close association with the Gandhi family. The book, originally part of a Hindi biography of Ba, was subsequently translated and published in U. S. as a Pendle Hill publication. A book of charming interest.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

SOUTH AFRICA

SEPARATE COLLEGE FOR INDIANS

Seldom has the Indian community in South Africa, numbering nearly half a million, been as united on any issue as on its resolve now to resist the Government's introduction of racial segregation in university education.

Plans are being worked out to give effect to a resolution unanimously approved by a conference of leading members of the Indian community held in Durban, calling for non-co-operation" with the Government's new Indian University College on Salisbury Island, in Durban Bay.

Similar segregated colleges have been established already for African and coloured (mixed descent) students. The coloured college is in Capetown and the three African colleges are in the Cape, Natal and Transvaal.

DAG TO VISIT AGAIN

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, announced in Parliament at Cape Town on Jan. 23 that the Government had decided to ask Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to visit South Africa again in view of the considerable value of the personal contact made during his recent visit with regard to S. Africa's *apartheid* policy.

MALAYA

INDIANS AND TODDY

Mr. Sambanthan, President of the Malayan Indian Congress, addressing the annual meeting of the Congress at Kuala Lumpur held recently said Indians in Malaya wasted 20 million dollars (about Rs. 3 crores) on toddy every year and this must be stopped. The Congress passed a resolution reiterating its stand over the abolition of toddy shops and requesting the Government to consider the matter seriously.

GENERAL

Mr. NEHRU'S ADVICE

Prime Minister Nehru advises Indians abroad to keep emotional contacts with India and not to lose their roots while trying to adjust themselves to their new environments.

Mr. Nehru said he wanted the Indians, wherever they lived, to mix with local people and serve the cause of India through such contacts.

In India to-day, Mr. Nehru said, basic revolutionary changes were taking place in spite of all controversies, conflicts and arguments that one heard about. The texture of Indian life was changing through educational, industrial and other processes. Indians as a whole were becoming interested in the world.

CEYLON

TAMILS IN CEYLON

According to the statement made on Jan. 22 by a correspondent of the local daily the implications of the political resolution adopted at the annual session of the party recently were far-reaching, in that, the Tamil people should now on be in readiness for every kind of sacrifice. They had to pursue a policy of non-co-operation and wage a bitter struggle against the Sinhala domination as all other persuasive methods had failed with the Government. In fact, the main political resolution moved by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, seconded by Mr. M. Ahambaram and unanimously adopted at the session had fully explained the circumstances in which they were forced to launch the satyagraha campaign.

The main political resolution after giving a detailed analysis of the history of the struggle since 1948 for "Tamil Freedom" states "this convocation takes into consideration its history of repeated betrayal and the utter futility of negotiation and parliamentary methods in the present Governmental set-up, resolves that the only course open to the Tamil-speaking people to protect their national freedom is to resort to non-violent direct action and ratifies the following course of action set out on the directive of the party's action committee.

The resolution on citizenship stated that while they welcomed the Ceylon Premier's invitation to Mr. Nehru to assist her in the settlement of the citizenship problem declared that the problem of Stateless workers on the plantation areas was purely an internal one. "The convocation called upon the Government to repeal the reactionary and discriminatory citizenship laws and replace them with legislation based on the principles of citizenship accepted by all civilised nations."

KENYA

FIRST INDIAN JUDGE

Mr. Chunilal Bhagwandas Madan, Q. C., has been appointed Puisne Judge of the Kenya Supreme Court. Mr. Madan will be the first Asian Judge in the history of Kenya.

The Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, has accordingly accepted Mr. Madan's resignation as Minister without portfolio, a post which he has held since 1956 in the Kenya Cabinet.

Born in Kenya in 1912, Mr. Madan has been President of the Nairobi Indian Association several times and was elected to the Legislative Council in 1948.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 1. Invasion of Kivu (Congo) by Mobutu's forces : Grave situation in Laos is reported.
- Jan. 2. SEATO Council is convened to discuss developments.
- U.S. Warships and transport planes are alerted.
- Chou-en-lai arrives in Rangoon.
- Jan. 3. Congress Working Committee meets in Sardarnagar. (Bhavnagar)
- Indian Science Congress meets in Roorkee : Dr. Rajendra Prasad delivers the inaugural address.
- Jan. 4. America breaks off diplomatic and Consular relations with Cuba.
- The 66th Session of Indian National Congress opens.
- Jan. 5. Prof. Galbraith is appointed U.S. Ambassador in India.
- Jan. 6. President De Gaulle broadcasts a solemn warning to Algerians on the eve of Referendum : Referendum in Algeria begins.
- Jan. 7. Bhavnagar Session of the Congress concludes.
- Jan. 8. President-elect John Kennedy receives a special report examining the problems and prospects for economic development in India.
- Jan. 9. Fateh Singh breaks fast : Shiromani Akali Dal gives up agitation but decides to pursue constitutional means.
- Jan. 10. Fighting in Laos continues : Leftist forces claim capture of Royal Capital.
- Jan. 11. U.N. rushes troops to Northern Katanga : U.N. takes steps to prevent outbreak of Civil War.
- Jan. 12. H.E. Emperor of Ethiopia grants pardon to all soldiers who took part in revolt.
- Katanga Forces clash with Baluba Tribesmen in Congo.
- Godse's Petition for release is dismissed by Supreme Court.
- Jan. 13. Lumumba freed from prison.
- India-Pakistan cricket 4th Test at Madras.
- Lumumba is put back in prison after a few hours of release.
- Jan. 14. C.D. Deshmukh relinquishes chairmanship of UGC.
- Cambodian Govt. resigns—Study Mission for Laos—India, Britain and Canada to take part.
- Jan. 15. Harassment of Indian Embassy officials in China—Preventive measures by India in Indian Territory.
- Army day is celebrated in India.
- Jan. 16. President Ike presents his last Budget for 1961—62 to the Congress.
- Jan. 17. Exchange of territories along India—W. Pakistan border near Ferozepur District is completed.
- Jan. 18. President Rajendra Prasad inaugurates the First Asian-African Conference on rural reconstruction at New Delhi.
- Jan. 19. Tamilnad Muslim Convention meets in Madras.
- Madras State Legislature meets.
- Jan. 20. Kennedy assumes office as President of U.S.A.
- Jan. 21. H.M. Queen Elizabeth II arrives in New Delhi.
- Jan. 22. Mali Republic asks French Government to withdraw all military bases on its territory.
- Belgian Socialists decide to withdraw their strike.
- Jan. 23. Katanga Government refuses to allow U.N. Conciliation Body for meeting Lumumba.
- Jan. 24. Armed rebels seize Portuguese Liner in Carrebean waters.
- Jan. 25. Queen Elizabeth and Duke of Edinburgh return to New Delhi after enjoying a holiday in Rajasthan.
- Jan. 26. Republic Day Celebrations throughout India : Queen Elizabeth takes part.
- Jan. 27. Queen Elizabeth declares open All India Institute of Medical Science at New Delhi.
- Dr. B.C. Roy and Purushotham Das Tandon are awarded "Bharata Ratna".
- Jan. 28. S. Africa's Lower House of Parliament rejects by 91 to 50 the no-Confidence motion on Verwoerd's Govt.
- Jan. 29. Ceylon Tamils launch Satyagraha against Govt's imposition of Sinhala language on the Tamil people.
- Jan. 30. Japan announces her willingness to advance a loan of 200 million United States dollars to India.
- Jan. 31. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar is dead.

READERS' DIGEST

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Prime Minister Nehru has expressed doubts about the usefulness of any world economic conference as a means of lessening international tension through strengthening of economic relations between the East and West. However, He is "all in favour of every attempt being made to remove the present tensions and work for peace."

Mr. Nehru's views were given in response to an "Appeal to the World for Peace" sponsored by the well-known Japanese newspaper, *Yomiuri Shimbun* and drafted by three noted Japanese scholars. The appeal had been sent to political, cultural, academic business and religious leaders throughout the world and replies from some of them already received were published in the newspaper.

The appeal was drafted by Mr. Masatoshi Matsushita, President of the Rekkyo University Tokyo, Mr. Michitaro Tanaka, Professor of Kyoto University, and Mr. Ichiro Nakayama, Professor of the Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo. In it the scholars had made the following three points : "The free world and the Communist camp must adopt a spirit of tolerance and accept the existence of creeds different to their own. It is necessary to deepen mutual understanding and appreciation to achieve a state of tolerance. And in order to create opportunities for mutual understanding and appreciation, it is necessary to intensify programmes for exchange of persons, cultural interchange and co-operation in academic research between the East and West. It is desirable to hold a form of world economic conference as soon as possible in order to ease international tensions by strengthening economic relations between the East and West."

Mr. Nehru's reactions to the appeal were contained in a letter received by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* from the Prime Minister's principal Private Secretary.

Mr. Nehru declined to comment on the appeal because, according to the letter, this "cannot be done in a few sentences as it will require a fairly full analysis of the present day conflicts." Mr. Nehru, however, agreed that freedom of travel and freedom of information "are desirable things to aim at". He is all in favour of every attempt being made to remove the present tensions and to work for peace". As regards the proposed world economic conference, the letter said, Mr. Nehru

doubted "if a conference limited to the subject mentioned would be worthwhile".

Among others, who replied to the appeal were Vice-President Radhakrishnan, the British Philosopher, Earl Bertrand Russell, and the British M.P., Mr. Philip Noel Baker. Dr. Radhakrishnan merely said: "I agree with the general sentiments expressed by the three scholars in their appeal and I hope you will have a successful response". Earl Russell wrote that he read the appeal with "warm approval" and was glad that there was such a strong movement in Japan in favour of peace.

BRITAIN'S GLOBAL AIR BASES

Britain is to set up a chain of strategic island bases encircling the world, the London paper, *Evening Standard* reported on Jan. 19.

The newspaper said: Mr. Harold Watkins, the Defence Minister, and the Air Staff hope by this means to enable Royal Air Force transport and bomber commands to operate globally without relying on the politically threatened bases in Kenya, Aden and Singapore.

The Government has no intention of abandoning the massive bases in Kenya, Aden and Singapore. It sees the chain of air shadow bases both as a means of ensuring the global mobility of the Army's strategic reserve and of enabling the force to threaten the Soviet Union with nuclear retaliation from the south and east as well as the west, it said.

MR. MACDONALD'S APPEAL

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British High Commissioner in India from 1955-60, wrote in the *Observer* on Jan. 22 that it was imperative in the present situation that the Western democracies should do all in their power to sustain India in particular and the rest of free Asia in general.

The inevitable competition between India—thriving parliamentary democracy on the British model—and China—national development by Communist means—was a momentous world event, Mr. MacDonald said.

"Much will depend on its outcome. If China is far more successful than India in achieving economic and social progress, the Indians may well feel they were mistaken in adopting democratic methods and decide to abandon them in favour of a Communist model.

"Alternatively, if the Indians are evidently more successful than the Chinese, Communism may tend to lose its grip in China."

RACIALISM IN S. AFRICA

The International Commission of Jurists, said in a report published at Geneva on Dec. 16 that the South African Government's policy of racial discrimination "creates a potentially explosive situation which might soon lead to even more widespread internal violence than has already been experienced."

In pursuit of a systematic policy of racial separation in all spheres of life, the Government "has established a rigid and all-embracing network of legislation which denies to a vast majority of the population those opportunities without which the legitimate aspirations and dignity of a human being cannot be realised."

The International Commission is a non-Governmental, non-political body, which draws its support from 37,000 judges, lawyers and teachers of law in more than 80 countries and has consultative status with the United Nations. The report, entitled "South Africa and the rule of law," is being sent to the U.N. and also to Governments and lawyers throughout the world.

The 239-page report is divided into 11 chapters describing the effects of the application of *apartheid* in various fields.

The report said: "Rigid racial classification provides the basis upon which all movement and residence of non-whites is controlled and determined according to the labour needs of industry and agriculture. Real freedom of selection and change of employment or improvement of status is virtually non-existent, and collective representation of this massive labour force is strictly limited."

Denied the right to vote in general elections or plebiscites, more than 10 million non-whites were to all intents and purposes precluded from having any effective political voice or organisation, the report said. "Moreover, the very expression of opposition to or protest against the present policy of *apartheid* constitutes a criminal offence. The non-white is, therefore, by law relegated to a permanently unequal status."

The report said that the pass law system had resulted in "flagrant abuses of the law, involving arbitrary arrest and detention" and had carried a situation "of which certain aspects can be described only as legalised slavery."

South Africa's judiciary had up to now always enjoyed a high reputation for independence, impartiality and concern for fundamental human rights, the report said. "Yet, the judge can only apply and interpret the law as he finds

it. If then there exists little justice for many in South Africa to-day, it is primarily because the laws themselves are not just."

The report recalled that the South African Minister of justice, Mr. Francois Erasmus, told Parliament last April that he had instructed his department to inquire into and make recommendations on how admission of lawyers to the profession could be more strictly controlled. "This statement has sinister implications," the report said. "It may foreshadow a direct challenge to the independence of the bar as well as an attempt to restrict the right of the individual to be represented by counsel of his own choice."

South Africa is thus a country where "law" is perverted to evil ends: and it is significant that the government takes measures to destroy the independence of the judiciary.

SINO-SOVIET DIFFERENCES

Full support to the Moscow declaration of the 81 Communist parties was voiced in an editorial recently by the *People's Daily* the official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, which for the first time departed from the traditional Chinese line that war with the "imperialist camp" was inevitable to bring about the victory of the Communist camp.

"No socialist country or any Communist Party has ever held that the victory of Socialism required war between States" declared the lengthy editorial. The editorial added that the Socialist countries had "steadfastly pursued a policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition with capitalist countries and will exert every effort to prevent the catastrophe of a new war,"

However, it did not rule out the possibility of war entirely, standing, "should imperialist war maniacs needless of all consequences insist on imposing a global war" then as pointed out in the Moscow declaration, world people would "sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it."

But while the danger of "Imperialism unleashing a new world war," had not passed, a new world war can be averted "in view of the change in the balance of class forces in the world," the editorial added.

The editorial described the declaration as of "great historic significance" for strengthening the unity of Socialist camp and said while all the Communists of all countries should "resolutely oppose revisionism which departs from

Marxism-Leninism especially Yugoslav revisionism." It added, revisionism remained the "chief dangerous trend" in the international Communist movement.

At the same time, the editorial also called for waging a struggle against "tendencies of dogmatism and sectarianism which are a severance from reality and the masses."

Emphasising solidarity and unity between the Soviet Union and China and the Communist parties of the two countries, the *People's Daily* acknowledged the Soviet leadership of the Communist world. It said the Soviet Communist Party, was the "acknowledged vanguard with the longest history" in the world Communist movement and was the "most experienced." The Chinese Communist Party the editorial said has always held in high esteem the greatest role played by the Communist Party and the people of the Soviet Union in the anti-imperialist struggle and activities in defence of peace.

The editorial said "imperialists and reactionaries" in various countries were "especially keen on scheming to undermine by every mean the close friendship" between the Soviet Union and China and the Communist parties of the two countries but declared the outcome of Moscow meeting had utterly smashed the day dreams of imperialists and reactionaries. It has once again borne out what Mr. Mao Tse-tung has said that "the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples is eternal and unbreakable."

The editorial concluded with the pledge that the Chinese Communist Party would abide by the Moscow agreements.

THE THREAT TO THE HUMANITIES

A condensed version of Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar's paper on the above subject is published in the *Aryanpath*. In this "sputnik Age" we are apt to be preoccupied with technological and Scientific achievements and there is a decided bias in the direction of regimentation. While science and technology have their own value in the economy of life and society, the place of the humanities in any scheme can hardly be overestimated.

The main value of life, says Dr. Ramaswamy Aiyar, is to secure richness and variety of experience to acquire that true freedom which can be equated with an exhilarating sense of personal incentive and the development of individuality for this the best training is through the humanities.

"So far as India is concerned, its poets and its sages have, during several centuries, worked uninterruptedly to construct an ideal differing completely from the totalitarian thought processes. They have insisted on and practised liberty of thought and investigation; and besides, they insisted on charity and tolerance of differences not only in thought but in conviction, practice and daily life.

There is the danger today that, in our attempts to achieve economic and political progress quickly, we are apt to be captivated by the methods of regimented discipline which are stridently proclaimed successful in many parts of the world."

True culture is impossible without the consciousness that there is always some truth on the other side.

The study of the humanities is perhaps the best corrective to the domination of controversial politics and dogmas, and through that study alone shall we be able to avoid the intolerance which leads so often to pervasive hypocrisies and apparent conformity to the programmes of powerful ruling groups. In no other way can the importance of individuality be sensed and implemented. The dragooning of the masses through propaganda and methods like brainwashing into social or political conformity is the very opposite of the ideal of true culture.

S. AFRICA AND COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, South African Prime Minister, may walk out of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, in March, come home and call an immediate general election, the political correspondent of the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* said on Jan. 21.

This was being discussed among members of the ruling Nationalist Party, he said.

Should a crisis develop over the Union's continued membership of the Commonwealth, the correspondent added, an early election would serve to give sanction to a Republic outside the Commonwealth.

"This uncompromising attitude will place the British Government, which has been acting as South Africa's 'protector' in Commonwealth discussions, in an extremely difficult position," the correspondent said.

"The situation is that Mr. MacMillan is believed to have persuaded, or almost persuaded, other Commonwealth Prime Ministers that they should not expel South Africa from the Commonwealth when it becomes a Republic."

WEST GERMAN WAY TO PROSPERITY

It is said that seven million foreign tourists are visiting West Germany every year. Foreigners are naturally impressed by the phenomenal picture of plenty and prosperity presented by a country so completely devastated by war. Not a few of these are Indians, mainly students of technology and businessmen keen on obtaining machine tools and technicians. Only in 1950 Germany was in shambles. What is the secret of its quick recovery and how was it brought about?

That is the burden of a broadcast talk by Mr. Homi J. H. Talayarkhan of Bombay who returned from a study tour of the Federal Republic sometime ago. Good food, and plenty where there was starvation, excellent housing settlements in bombed-out areas, schools, theaters, concert halls and all the comforts and amenities of high social life—nothing is wanting to make life worth living. The figures he gives of German progress are impressive.

Where workers used to beg only for food—as their wages, they earn today anything between Rs. 400/- and Rs. 700/- per month. Where all industries were flattened out after the War there is today an overflow of all varieties of flourishing industries big and small, producing to the maximum, providing employment to the maximum.

He attributes this success to three principal reasons; timely financial assistance from America, the indefatigable industry and patriotism of the people and the helpful climate which does not sap energy. As a result of this happy combination of conditions.

They have built four and a half million flats. They have started a new or fresh 100,000 industries. They have constructed or repaired over a lakh and a half class rooms in some 40,000 schools. They have restored or erected other splendid institutional buildings, including universities, hospitals, hostels, hotels, theatres, opera houses, concert halls, permanent exhibition centres. They have laid out most attractive gardens and parks and have rebuilt and enlarged much of their nearly 20,000 miles of road of which their famous 'autobahns'—straight stretches of sometimes as much as a hundred miles at a time—designed for fastest possible moving traffic, are a wonder in road construction history.

These are impressive figures but much remains to be done and Germans are fully conscious about it.

They have still to build some three million more flats for accommodating their people, they still require 30,000 class rooms; they still retain quite a number of the scars from their war wounds; they have been struggling with their political problems, but not allowing it to interfere with the pace of their economic reconstruction.

How do they find the money for all this. American aid and foreign loans alone cannot carry them far. So they tax themselves heavily and they save. Way back in 1913 only 11% of the total income used to come from taxes. Today over 45% comes from taxation. And the annual amount of saving comes to over Rs. 3,000 crores. Of course this includes all kinds of savings—"and 42% of the population are regular savers"—and altogether 85% of their revenue comes from taxes.

How similar are the problems in Germany to those in India. Both the countries may be said to start almost from scratch; India, because she was almost razed to the ground as a result of the catastrophic war from which she is just emerging like Japan after Hiroshima. And there in the refugees too—

"13 million refugees out of its population of 52 million and they are still coming in at the rate of 200 per day. Here with loans advanced by Government, many refugees have not set up small industries like jewellery factories and workshops, silverware, shoe-making, watchmakers, carpenters and a hundred and one varieties.

RIGHTS MORE MORAL THAN LEGAL

In the course of an article in the new issue of *Look Magazine* former Vice-President Nixon declared that he strongly feels that civil rights "is primarily a moral than a legal question." Mr. Nixon contended that it is "unrealistic to assume that passing a law or handing down a court decision will solve this problem.

"Where human relations are concerned," Nixon declared, "a law isn't worth the paper it is written on unless it has the moral support of the majority of the people."

Commenting on the school de-segregation issue, Nixon said in the article:

"The moderate approaches which have been put into effect in Nashville and Louisville are sensible and provide a possible formula which might spread all over the South in a way that would be workable and realistic."

BUREAUCRATS ARE HUMAN

One of the great dangers of organisation is that it inhibits spontaneity, observes Sidney Hook in the *Saturday Review* (reproduced in the *American Review*).

There are areas of human experience, especially personal relations, in which there can be no compensation for the loss of spontaneity, of fresh, natural response.

"Even educational institutions may be over-organized to a point where the mastery of the syllabus becomes more important than cultivation of the power of independent judgment and the capacity for self-education. But there are other areas of common activity in which we cannot safely rely on spontaneity and must prepare in advance the mechanisms to channel spontaneity. For example, whoever would wait for an enemy attack before establishing a civil-defence organization overlooks the fact.

The number of men in the world, their quest for plenty and leisure, their unangelic nature, and the necessity for just distribution in a technological age compel us to conclude that the multiplication of organisations in society is inescapable.

"Repining will not reverse the trend. There are some who see in this the eclipse of individual freedom and justice which they seek to avoid or attenuate by setting up still other organizations which in time exhibit the disease they would combat. I make so bold as to contend that by and large, so far as the great masses of individuals are concerned, our world of giant organization, despite its bureaucratic deformations, has more effectively widened the scope of individual freedom, the freedom to develop one's powers and talents, the freedom to move, the freedom to learn, to think, and to dissent than was possible in the world of smaller organizations it has replaced. This subject, of course, to some important qualifications, but I think it is wrong to say or imply that the individual has become helpless in the face of huge aggregates of power, a creature utterly dependent upon forces beyond control or modification, and that he can survive only becoming a compliant "organization man." One can be a person in a bureaucratic age. It requires courage, but it always required courage to be a person, a courage which in the past, because of the absence of appropriate means and conditions, was not sufficient except for the privileged.

LIFE ON MARS

Writing in a recent issue of magazine, *Science Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dr. William Sinton says that he has evidence of widespread plant life on Mars greatly different from earthly plants and perhaps superior in yield, but that evidence is indirect and tentative.

But he says his work with the 200-inch "Big Eye" telescope of Mr. Wilson observatory suggested the presence of organic molecules on Mars.

"Growth of vegetation certainly seems to be the most logical explanation for the appearance of organic molecules," he says.

His findings suggest that much of Mars was covered with plant life, notably the large triangular-shaped area known as Syrits Major, or "the great bog."

Dr. Sinton says that his new findings had been made in October last year, during the close approach of Mars to the earth.

INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS

A cloudless sky—this is how the Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. K. P. S. Menon described Indian-Soviet relations in an interview given to the *Ogonyok* magazine on the occasion of India's Republic Day celebrations, *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, reported.

Mr. Menon said: A cloudless sky—this is the comparison which I feel adequately describes the relations between our countries.

"The strengthening of friendship between the Soviet Union and India is one of the most remarkable events of the second half of the twentieth century. This friendship is manifested everywhere."

The Ambassador characterised as "exceptionally important" the Soviet Union's assistance in the prospecting and development of oil-bearing areas in India.

He said: "Soviet credit will enable India to build and enlarge many major industrial installations including a heavy machine building works, a hydro-power plant and a steam power station.

Among the events of 1960 which brought the two countries still closer to each other. Mr. Menon gave the first place to Mr. Khrushchev's visit to India, *Tass* reported.

PRIESTS IN INDIA

The old generation of priests in India is steadily declining in number. The profession is not paying enough for present standard of living. The sons of priests are taking to new ways of livelihood. The Hindu religious life is more or less unplanned. What will be the future of priests in the coming generation? Will they disappear in course of time? The *Vedanta Kesari* discusses their problem and suggests we should plan for the conference of the priestly order.

Christianity is a highly organized religion. It does not have the hereditary priests. Whereas the Catholics have monks as their priests, the Protestants and others have married priests. But in both the groups, priests are organised. Will Hinduism have to follow the same, in case the hereditary system dies? The Hindu ideal of sannyasa does not allow the monk to take part in the dasakarmas, the different religious ceremonies connected with a man's life beginning with his birth. Though that would be cheaper, it will be difficult to change the pattern even though there is a great effort at present in India to harness the sadhus for various purposes.

A correspondent to a leading newspaper of Madras suggested that priestly duties should be done by volunteers in their spare time and it should cease to be a profession. It is doubtful whether this will meet the demand.

So the other alternative will be the organized Protestant pattern. But we already have the married priests. Only instead of being hereditary, it will have to be vocational. But that will require tremendous organization for which Hindu society is as yet not prepared. Complete change of the social pattern is not envisaged by people and this consideration may look alarmist. But we have taken for granted that caste must go. It is time to think whether with caste the hereditary divisions of duty should also completely go or only the privileges attached to birth. The leaders at least should have the vision of the future pattern and if shaping the whole future of society is left to the non-religious people alone, what will happen to the Hindu method of worship and other ceremonies? It is time, we repeat, that there should be clear thinking among the Hindu leaders about the future pattern of society, especially its religious life about the value of which no doubt is entertained by them.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, has again stressed that "the reunification of Germany is necessitated by morals and by international law as an expression of the people's right of self-determination."

In an interview with the American news magazine, *U. S. News and World Report*, the Chancellor said:

"That right is valid for all nations. It is part of the fundamental principles of democracy. We are witnessing a historical evolution that, on the basis of that right, is bringing national independence to many young and, so far dependent nations. Should that right be denied to the German people in regard to reunification, then the confidence in the sincerity of democratic principles would be shaken all over the world, not only Germany..... Moreover, reunification also is a political necessity. A nation arbitrarily torn apart is a dangerous source of unrest and tension."

The Chancellor strongly rejected the impression that many Germans do not care much about reunification. He said:

"To some extent that impression has gained ground because the fight for reunification is being led with moderation and patience and without loud-voiced rhetoric. That attitude born out of the memory of our unfortunate past with its many loud-voiced national claims should not be misread as lukewarmness. Rather it is the manifestation of a feeling of responsibility toward the European community of nations."

EUROPE'S RESURGENCE

Raymond Aron contends in the columns of *Thought* that Europe is no more "like an invalid kept going by infections." It is quite virile and growing strong.

The truth is that if life is characterized by the ability to adapt itself to new situations. Europe does not at all present the appearance of an invalid, but one of youth and vigour: and it is the "new" States, which are so ready to despise "old Europe" that have still to prove their fitness.

That their task is more difficult than ours I willingly admit. And that Europeans are, in part, responsible for the under-development of the newer States, I emphatically agree. But whatever be the merits and demerits on one side and the other, we should do better not to confuse the facts and the values. Europe has lost her military power; she has not lost her power to live."

THE CHINESE WAY

Mr. Nehru held that Chinese Communists are different from the aggressive Russian Communists. Now the roles have been changed. China is now the aggressor and Russia, mellowed by prosperity and achievement, is playing a different role. But has Chinese expansionism nothing to do with Communism, asks S. R. Mohan Das in *Freedom First*. Is there no such thing as international questions different from the Chinese?

If Chinese expansionism was essentially Chinese in character and not communist, there has been no expansionist tendencies shown by China towards north, towards its former Mongolian territories grabbed by the Soviet Union. "Chinese" expansionism seems to be exclusively directed only towards non-communist territories and China's record in the Korean War, Viet Nam, Burma, Tibet, India and Indonesia is eloquent testimony to this. Secondly, China, has restrained its expansionism towards countries having even symbolic ties with military aid arrangements under pacts. In fact Mr. Nehru gave an unconscious acknowledgement of the significance of this when he sadly commented in Parliament that wherever India had been alert in guarding her frontiers like in U.P., Himachal Pradesh and NEFA, Chinese incursions have been negligible. Only in Ladakh where we were complacent and not alert have there been large-scale incursions by the Chinese. The simple moral involved in this has been lost on Mr. Nehru. Whichever country was alert about protecting itself from Chinese threat, China has not dared to undertake adventures against it. In Thailand, South Viet Nam, Malaya or Pakistan, China has not been tempted to embark on adventures. Towards Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos and the "giant" India, all of whom have been genuinely sympathetic to "New China," China has shown the bayonets.

Nor would China dare tackle Formosa, Thailand, South Viet Nam and Malaya where she knows she would have to face the forces of U.S.A.

The Tass official release on Soviet attitude to China dispute, which Mr. Nehru described in a Press Conference as an "objective and fair" document, was a very revealing document.

"In its first three paragraphs, it was a severe indictment of the Western powers for "exploiting the present Sino-Indian dispute." In the last paragraph the statement distinguishes bet-

ween the "unbreakable bonds of friendship with Communist China" and the "growing friendship with the Indian Government and people" and then hopes for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. This was the "objective and fair" attitude of the Soviet Union which Mr. Nehru hailed.

ISRAEL'S DEMOCRACY

Israel's parliamentary institution has become the focal point of its democratic life, says Moshe Rosetli in the *Jewish Frontier*. It is the center of news and, as is inevitable, the target of criticism and the butt of the caricaturist and wits; but there has undeniably been clear and defined progress and development.

"Its members have learned the art of debate: they have acquired responsibility in government; they have developed their own form of parliamentary life, learning from and blending the experience of other parliaments of the world. Daily contact between men and women of widely divergent views has softened the sharpness of political controversy and the necessity for compromise has prevented national rifts.

The job is by no means complete. They will go on learning; they will perfect the parliamentary system; they will improve their legislation and they will strive, as a real parliament should, to reflect the aim and the purpose of the nation which they represent.

The three parliaments can be proud of their record and the Fourth which has just been elected begins its life with a high tradition upon which to draw and with a task which will tax its resourcefulness and its wisdom. "Modern parliamentary government is undergoing a severe test. The vast field which modern government covers has imposed a severe strain on many of the older democratic bodies. In the last few years some of the new countries, particularly in Asia and in Africa, have broken down under the strain and reverted to some form of dictatorship. From what we have seen in the three preceding parliaments, the reverse is true of Israel.

The prestige of parliament far from being on the wane is increasing daily, says the writer.

In a country which began its parliamentary life under such difficult circumstances and which has a citizenship drawn from so many backgrounds, this is no mean achievement.

THE LAW OF KARMA

The law of Karma operates in the individual life, in the collective life of the group or nation, and in the universal life. The whole creation from the highest to the lowest form of first life are all bound by Dharma and the Law of Karma observes Sri S. Subramania Iyer in *Bhavan's Journal*.

"What we sow, we reap. This principle holds true in all the planes of existence. Every wrong motive sows a psychological seed in the subconscious in the form of an impression, nurtures and grows in the shape of habits and reacts with full impact at a given opportunity. Every act of ours in motive, thought and action has a direct bearing on our individual and collective life. All our past Karma cumulatively moulds into a complex of *gunas*—*Sattwa*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*—and we inherit it as our *Swabhava*—inherent nature. Our temperament, tendencies and propensities are based on the play of the play of the *gunas* in *Swabhava*. We respond to various stimuli in tune with our nature. The nature of work and duties in life in tune with one's *Swabhava* is one's *Swadharma*."

The Law of Karma is not fatalistic, and man is not helpless. Though its effect is inexorable, the cause is in our own hands.

"We are endowed with rational and discriminating faculty. We can study, analyse and discern its laws and respond, rightly and sanely to various stimuli in life.

When the impact of our past Karma propels through our *Swabhava*, we can consciously bifurcate our responsibility and avoid its rebinding, attributing it to the natural play of the *gunas* with the sense of non-doer in detachment.

"When Karma is done motivated by egotistic desires, the fruits thereof good or bad bind the individual souls. But when Karma is performed in dedication to the universal cause in the spirit of *yagna*, then that Karma does not bind us. If our actions are consciously in tune with Dharma, then the Karma does not affect our soul. We can consciously grip the causes and give them a benevolent turn."

BRITAIN AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

British Government has been engaged in the re-examination of its policies towards the European continent summarising some of the basic political and economic arguments which have been evoked in British discussions concerning participation in a common market or free trade area of Western Europe, the "Political Science Quarterly" observes:

Politically, there was the realisation on the part of the United Kingdom that the common market idea had assumed a significance in continental minds as the new symbol of European Union. Outright opposition not only would have been resented by the "Europeans", but might easily have damaged the wider cause of Western unity. Moreover, Britain's association with such a scheme might yet enable her to guide its precepts and to influence its operations in such a way as to provide for her own world-wide interests. Politically and economically, the fear of increased German influence on the continent of Europe has added to the dangers of a policy of isolation. Among the economic arguments for association, the most effective is the admitted possibility of eventual exclusion from a market of continental proportions barred to British exports by a common tariff wall. In view of these factors, the free trade area was proposed as a means of avoiding the Scylla of complete isolation and the Charybdis of full participation by the intermediary path of "close association". Even if the free trade area is completely abandoned, it will not necessarily mean the end of any association whatsoever, for such has been the consistent compromise approach followed by both parties in their post-war policies toward European Union—political military and economic.

SUCCESSFUL CURE FOR EPILEPSY

Surgeons of the Okayama University in Southern Japan have claimed success in completely curing three epilepsy patients by destroying a paralysing brain circuit.

According to reports published in Japanese newspapers on Feb. 3, the new surgical cure for epilepsy is free from any side effects. The new method was developed by a group led by Dr. Akira Nishimoto, Lecturer at the University, and supervised by Prof. Dennonosuke Jinnai.

Conventional methods of treating epilepsy consist of administering a drug or removing by surgery the cortex outer skin of the part of the cerebrum believed to be causing trouble. But these methods are limited in their effectiveness because they cannot be applied when the diseased part is too widespread or elusive.

The new surgical method developed after ten years of research consists in destroying a paralysis conducting field called "force field" deep in the cerebrum by injecting 0.5 cubic centimetres of oily wax into it through a special deep surgery process.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

KENNEDY'S READINESS TO CO-OPERATE WITH RUSSIA

President John Kennedy, in a cable on Jan. 22 to the Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, said the United States was "ready and deeply anxious to co-operate with all those prepared to take part in a common and sincere effort aimed at assuring a peaceful future and a more fruitful life for mankind."

The cable was in reply to a cordial message of good wishes from Mr. Khrushchev and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev on the occasion of Mr. Kennedy's inauguration as President of the United States on 20th Jan.

Mr. Kennedy's message, addressed to both the Soviet head of State and the Prime Minister said:

"Please accept this expression my appreciation for your message of congratulations on the occasion of my inauguration as President of the United States of America.

"I welcome your expression of hope for a fundamental improvement in relations between our two countries and in the world situation as a whole. It is a hope which we share.

"We are ready and anxious to co-operate with all who are prepared to join in genuine dedication to the assurance of a peaceful and more fruitful life for all mankind.

"Speaking on behalf of the Government and people of the United States of America, as well as on my own behalf, I can assure you that the efforts of the United State Government will be directed towards the imperative goal."

President Kennedy expected to take a cautious approach to a "new quest for peace" with the Soviet Union.

Diplomatic observers expect his offer in his historic inaugural address to resume negotiations to be followed by a thorough review of Soviet American relations.

If President Kennedy takes the advice of senior State Department career officers, he will probably recall home for consultations Mr. Lewellyn Thompson, the Ambassador to Moscow, who had a long talk with Mr. Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow on Jan. 21.

It was thought that Mr. Khrushchev probably wanted to impress on Mr. Thompson his desire for a Summit meeting in the spring.

All the indications are that the new administration will eventually specify the condition under which it would be prepared to undertake formal talks with the Russians. But the feeling is that President Kennedy is unlikely to rush into any new Summit meeting with the Soviet Prime Minister.

Disarmament is the priority subject in Mr. Kennedy's mind. He called on both sides to formulate—perhaps, as is said for the first time—precise proposals for the inspection and control of armaments.

A special task force has already recommended to the President a delay in any policy pronouncements on disarmament until a thorough enquiry has been made.

A "Summit" meeting between President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev now seems probable if the Soviet leader attends the resumed U.N. General Assembly Session in March—and he is almost certain to come to New York, according to Eastern European diplomats.

THE COMMONWEALTH P.M.'s CONFERENCE

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference opening at London on March 8 will seek a new approach to the problem of world disarmament negotiations.

We understand that disarmament would be one of the key topics of the week-long Commonwealth meetings—to be presided over by Mr. Harold Macmillan, United Kingdom Prime Minister.

The Commonwealth talks will virtually coincide with the reconvening of the United Nations General Assembly in New York to discuss what many international figures consider the outstanding current world issue—disarmament.

Politicians speculate whether Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister, and some other top world figures might not again converge on New York for the General Assembly's disarmament discussion.

Some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers who will attend the London conference have already discussed the disarmament issue with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, during his recent short visits to India, Pakistan and Malaya.

Utterances of the Day

PRESIDENT'S REPUBLIC DAY

MESSAGE

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, asked the people of India to dedicate themselves afresh to the service of the country and said: "Let everyone feel that his personal contribution is as important as the collective effort for our national regeneration."

The President, who was broadcasting to the nation on the eve of the 11th anniversary of the Republic on Jan. 25 said that the task ahead was great "but so also can our national will be mighty". All they had to do was to inspire a sense of belonging, a sense of comradeship in the people.

He said that they were all engaged in the glorious adventure of building a better India of tomorrow—an India, which would count as a force of peace, progress, freedom and happiness for all mankind.

The President said: "A fresh dedication to the service of the country, an all-India vision and a general social awareness are the imperative needs of today. Let us draw inspiration from our past achievements but let us also guard against old mistakes. "And let us apply ourselves, heart and soul, to the task which awaits us."

KENNEDY'S EXHORTATION

When he assumed office as U.S. President on 20th of last month Mr. Kennedy appealed to all the nation of the world as follows:

"Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

"We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

"But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from their present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

"So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate."

EISENHOWER'S HOPE

President Eisenhower said in an address to the nation on 19th Jan. that he was retiring from office "with a definite sense of disappointment" at the failure of East and West to resolve their sharp differences over disarmament.

The President whose term ended on 20th Jan. urged the world to avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect. "Such a confederation must be one of equals."

The President summed up "Americans" pryerful and continuing aspirations" to the world in these words: "We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full, that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that those who have freedom will understand also, its heavy responsibilities, that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love."

ADLAI STEVENSON ON NON-ALIGNMENT

Mr. Adlai Stevenson at his first Press conference on Jan. 27 since his appointment as United States Ambassador to the United Nations, declared that the United States Government "respects neutrality and non-alignment."

He was answering a correspondent who asked whether under the new administration one could look forward to shedding distrust towards non-aligned countries.

Mr. Stevenson said he desired "as cordial a relationship as possible with members of the United Nations both aligned and non-aligned" and added: "I hope in course of time all of us would find ourselves enjoying a degree of mutuality, sincerity and confidence which would permit us to discuss matters that affect the world and threaten its security regardless of our political identifications with systems or blocs that have unfortunately divided the world so sharply."

Mr. Stevenson added he always attached "greatest importance" to Prime Minister Nehru's views and recalled he met Mr. Nehru on several occasions.

Political

NEW GOVT. IN U. S.

President Kennedy's inauguration has been welcomed throughout the world with what may be described as above all a sense of relief because it puts an end to a long period of suspense and uncertainty about the direction of American policy.

His inaugural address (extracts from it are published elsewhere in this issue) has therefore been studied with special care for clues to the kind of leadership he is likely to provide. One thing about it which has struck observers most is that in spite of the gravity of America's domestic problems, the President chose to deal almost exclusively with foreign affairs and the international situation and that in his reference to the Communist countries he adopted a new conciliatory tone, phrasing even his challenge in terms of a request for a fresh start. These and other points in the speech have made a wholly good impression.

INDIA'S DISPUTE WITH CHINA

A reappraisal of India's relations with China from the long-term point of view is now in progress in New Delhi.

A careful examination of the officials' report on the border negotiations on the one side and a close study of the trend and character of Chinese activity in the countries lying on India's border on the other, have forced the conclusion that even a settlement of the border dispute, if it is at all possible, would not restore normal friendly relations with China. For the unprovoked harassment inflicted on the Indian Embassy staff in Peking and the opportunist policies exhibited in recent months towards India's neighbours reveal not only Chinese anger towards India but also a burning desire to score a point against India regardless of consistency or professions of ideological puritanism.

The conclusion of border agreements with Burma and Nepal, the acceptance of Pakistan's invitation for talks for the demarcation of the common frontier and the anti-Indian propaganda in Bhutan and Sikkim are to be taken one co-ordinated campaign to present India to the world as an unreasonable country with whom it is difficult to do business.

AYUB KHAN ON KASHMIR

"President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan, who was on a State visit to West Germany in January referred briefly to the Kashmir question at an official function held at Bonn.

Speaking at a dinner given by President Heinrich Luebke of West Germany at the Presidential residence, Field Marshal Ayub Khan said it was a sad commentary on the culture of the modern age which claimed to be so advanced in many ways that the right of self-determination was still not fully recognised by everyone everywhere. He said:

In Pakistan we are passing through a similar experience in the case of Kashmir. There are some other areas also where this fundamental right is being denied to oppressed peoples. The continued existence of these pockets of tyranny and injustice constitutes a standing menace to world peace. We hope and pray that sooner, rather than later, these dangerous sores will disappear and the world of to-day will be able to match its material progress with its moral and ethical conduct."

PRESIDENT PRASAD'S MESSAGE TO ARMY

On the occasion of the Army Day, which was celebrated on Jan. 15 the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, sent a message of greetings to all army officers and other ranks wishing them "personal happiness and the continued progress of the force which they are serving with such loyalty and distinction."

The message from the President said: "On the occasion of the Army Day, I am happy to greet all officers and other ranks of our army which is the oldest of our three services. It has an enviable tradition which is inspiring not only for those who man the army but also for others; for, the Indian Army has distinguished itself by rendering valuable service in times of peace no less than during war. It can legitimately feel proud of its role in other countries for the preservation of peace."

AIMS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

Mr. Khrushchev declared in a report published last month that peaceful co-existence is "a form of intensive struggle, economic, political and ideological, between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism on the world sense".

In a report issued at Moscow on Jan. 17. by the Soviet information Bureau, the Soviet Premier gave what was undoubtedly the clearest and frankest exposition on the immediate and long-term objectives of World Communism ever made by a Soviet leader.

INSTRUCTION MEDIUM IN
UNIVERSITIES

The working group appointed by the University Grants Commission to go into the question of medium of instruction in universities has expressed the view that colleges should have complete freedom to choose English as the sole medium or as one of the alternative media.

In the opinion of the working group, this choice should not be restricted or influenced in any manner.

The committee does not want the medium of English to be changed at present for post-graduate and professional schemes. Even in the under-graduate course the committee is of the view that it is desirable not to change the medium now for science subjects.

For competitive examinations, the committee has suggested that either English alone should be the medium or all the languages of India, English being a permitted medium.

In the report released to press on Jan 24 of the committee English should continue to be the medium of inter-university communication.

PRE-PRIMARY EDUCATION

The Central Advisory Board of Education recommended that greater attention should be given to the provision of schemes in the Third Five-year Plan for pre-primary education.

The Board which concluded its session on Jan. 17 under the chairmanship of the Union Education Minister Dr. K.L. Shrimali, emphasised the need for formulating schemes to promote the total development of the child and recommended that the Central and State Governments should allocate resources in their plans to enable a comprehensive programme in this field to be developed and implemented in a co-ordinated way.

Every assistance and encouragement, the Board recommended, should be given to voluntary organisations in the promotion of this programme and emphasised the need for the Central Government assuming a greater measure of responsibility.

VICE-CHANCELLORS IN U.P.

Mr. C.B. Gupta, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, said at Meerut on Jan. 21 that a Bill would be introduced in the coming session of the State Legislature for substituting the "system of election" for appointment of Vice-Chancellors in the State.

Mr. Gupta who was delivering the convocation address of the Meerut College said that it was being done as the indirect right of vote given to the staff of the colleges for the election of Vice-Chancellor had led to the formation of groups and parties. This had adversely affected not only the choice of Vice-Chancellor but also the administration of the universities.

MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S STEPS
TO END CASTEISM

Grant of educational concessions based on economic and such other considerations is one of the proposals now under consideration by the Madras State Government towards ending casteism.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance, outlined during question time in the Legislative Assembly on Jan 20 the steps taken to eradicate casteism. He referred to the various steps taken by the Government for the amelioration of the lot of backward classes and said that in addition to these positive measures, three proposals were under consideration.

They were: (1) The question whether candidates belonging to classes other than Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or Anglo-Indians, such as Backward classes should be asked to give particulars relating to religion and caste in the forms in use in the Employment Exchanges; (2) Proposals relating to the grant of educational concessions based on economic and other such considerations instead of on considerations based on religion, community and caste; and (3) abolition of reference to caste, sect, religion, etc. in all official records.

AYURVEDA IN MEDICAL COLLEGES

The Union Government has decided to set up departments of Ayurveda in six medical colleges to begin with, Mr. B.R. Tandan, Secretary of Health, told the third meeting of the Council Ayurvedic Research, at new Delhi on Jan. 24.

These departments, he said would be in charge of an ayurvedic professor with beds allotted to him for conducting clinical research and teaching the principles and practice of ayurveda to interneer students of medical colleges for six months.

Mr. Tandan added that the Health Ministry had approved the proposal for literal translation of "Sushruta Samitha" and Vagbhata's "Ashtanga Hridaya" in English and Hindi. The work was expected to be completed in a year and cheap editions would be available to the public.

SELECTION OF JUDGES

One important question which prominently figured in the discussion which the Home Minister Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant, had with the Chief Ministers of States at New Delhi on Jan. 18 were the appointment of persons from outside a State as Judges of the State High Courts.

The State Reorganisation Commission had recommended that in order to inspire confidence in the judiciary, one-third the number of Judges of a High Court should be recruited from outside the State. After some discussion, the Chief Ministers agreed that there should be an all-India panel of judicial officers prepared and from whom judges could be chosen.

The SRC's recommendation had been accepted by the Government of India and Parliament later endorsed it. Difficulties however, arose in regard to its implementation. The Centre's suggestion for the formation of an all-India panel of advocates, qualified to be judges, from amongst whom selections could be made was opposed by the Chief Justices of High Courts. The Chief Justices, however, agreed to the formation of an all-India panel of judicial officers who were qualified to be appointed High Court Judges. The question of preparing an all-India panel of advocates was also discussed but no decision was taken.

GODSE'S PETITION

The Supreme Court on Jan. 12 dismissed a *habeas corpus* petition by Gopal Vinayak Godse, who is under transportation for life for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi.

Godse, who had argued his petition in person, had pleaded that he has earned certain remissions in his sentence—totalling to 2,963 days—and in view of these remissions he had completed the term of life imprisonment, 15 years according to Maharashtra prison rules, or even 20 years according to Punjab prison rules. His further detention, he had claimed, was illegal and he should, therefore, be set at liberty.

Mr. Justice Subba Rao, who delivered the judgment, after examining various provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code and the relevant jail rules held that the rules could not be construed as a statutory equation of 15 years' actual imprisonment for transportation for life. The equation was only for a particular purpose, namely for the purpose of "remission system" and not for all purposes.

SENTENCE ON PAKISTAN OFFICIAL

A full bench of the West Pakistan High Court on Jan. 9 held the Central Law Secretary, Sir Edward Snelson, guilty of contempt of court and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 2,000 or undergo one month's simple imprisonment.

The judgment was unanimous. The Judges held that the Law Secretary's speech at the Section Officers' meeting on February 15 last contained matter which was calculated to lower the High Court in the eyes of the public and undermine the authority of the court.

The West Pakistan Governor, however suspended execution of the sentence against Snelson under Section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

FILM CENSORSHIP IN U. S.

The film industry's long fight against censorship suffered a severe set-back on Jan. 24 when the U. S. Supreme Court ruled by five to four majority that movie censorship is permissible and films are not entitled to the same freedom as guaranteed to the Press and speech under the Constitution. The First Amendment to the constitution guarantees both freedom of speech and freedom of the Press and the movie industry has been contending that films are media of expression and therefore censorship is a violation of the constitutional guarantee of free speech.

In the U. S. movie censorship exists only in the four States of New York, Kansas, Maryland and Virginia and 18 cities including Chicago. The Supreme Court has in the past thrown out many censor's bans in particular cases but this is the first time it has pronounced in favour of censorship as such.

SECTION 144 OF CR. P. C.

The Supreme Court on Jan. 12 held that Section 144 of the Cr. P. C. was constitutional and not violative of the fundamental rights of freedom of speech and expression and assembly as recognised under Article 19 of the Constitution.

The Court said that the validity of the section could not be challenged on the ground that it was vague and placed unreasonable restrictions on those fundamental rights.

The decision was given by the Court while dismissing a writ petition workers of Nagpur against whom a case is pending for violating an order under Section 144, Cr. P.C., banning assembly of more than five persons in January 1956.

WORK OF THE FINANCE COMMISSION

"A minimum of good Government" is what the Third Finance Commission will look for in the States in making its recommendations for the distribution of certain Central tax revenues among the States and grants-in-aid to them from the Consolidated Fund of India. Mr. A.K. Chanda, the Chairman of the Commission, who emphasised this point in a talk with Pressmen at New Delhi on Jan. 12, said that the commission would also take interest in the various public sector projects in the States to see if they are being executed with maximum effort and economy.

Another important problem which the Third Finance Commission will tackle is that of co-ordinating its work as a constitutional body with the Planning Commission which is continuously engaged, in some way or other, with determining the resources for development as between the Centre and the States. Though the Finance Commission is primarily concerned with the principles of distribution and the Planning Commission is concerned rather with the quantum of distribution, Mr. Chanda observed that there was now some overlapping of judgment in this regard and the present Finance Commission would examine the position.

SIZE OF THE 3RD PLAN

After a two-day discussion on the Third Plan the National Development Council arrived at a compromise on Jan. 15 between the States on the one side which refused to have their plans cut and the Central Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission on the other which considered it impossible to raise resources in excess of Rs. 7,500 crores for the public sector.

There will now be a "physical target" of development programmes with the total outlay of the order of Rs. 8,000 crores, of which the share of the States would be Rs. 3,847 crores.

At the same time, "the financial target" will be Rs. 7,500 crores based on the estimates of resources, internal and external, that may be expected to be raised during the Plan period.

In effect, the size of the Third Plan would remain as in the draft outline. The idea is that the States should first proceed to implement the programmes in accordance with a strict scheme of priorities having regard to the resources actually available. If adequate resources cannot be raised then inevitably some of the programmes must be left out.

FOREIGN AIDS

India has received about Rs. 2,727 crores of of foreign assistance (Rs. 2,091 crores as loans and the rest as grants) since the commencement of the First Plan in 1951, of which Rs. 1,617 crores are meant to be utilised for the Second Five Year Plan.

By March-end, 1960 however, marking the completion of four years of the Second Plan, only Rs. 691 crores were utilised leaving a balance of Rs. 925 crores, both in terms of loans and grants.

The total assistance (Rs. 2,727 crores) includes the aid so far given by various countries and agencies for the Third Plan.

The following are the loans received by India country-wise, with the amounts of grants shown in brackets:—U.S.A. Rs. 974.64 crores (Rs. 505.66 crores), U.S.S.R. Rs. 383.41 crores (Rs. 115 lakhs) United Kingdom—Rs. 162.66 crores (Rs. 47 lakhs) Canada—Rs. 15.71 crores (Rs. 90.57 crores) Australia (Rs. 12.27 crores as grants). New Zealand—(Rs. 343 lakhs grants) West Germany—Rs. 150.58 crores (Rs. 2.00 crores) Japan Rs. 27.61 crores, Yugoslavia—Rs. 19.05 crores, Norway (Rs. 2.19 crores grants), Poland—Rs. 14.30 crores, World Bank—Rs. 219.44 crores for the public sector and Rs. 95.84 crores for the private sector, Ford Foundation—(Rs. 14.20 crores grants), and the United Nations Special fund—(Rs. 4.16 crores grants).

UTILISATION OF U.K. CREDIT

Sir Dennis Rickett of the British Treasury met the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, at New Delhi on Jan. 12 and is understood have assured him of Britain's continued co-operation in the economic development of India.

The utilisation of the initial credit of Rs. 40 crores by Britain to India for the Third Plan was also discussed. This credit is proposed to be utilised for the heavy electricals in Bhopal, the fertiliser factory in Nohorkatiya (Assam) and a few other power and transport projects. In addition to this sum, Britain has also promised Rs. 26 crores for the expansion of the Durgapur steel plant.

MERGER OF BANKS

The Government of India have promulgated an Ordinance on Feb. 4 called the Banking Companies (Amendment) Ordinance, 1961, to facilitate the speedy amalgamation of smaller banks with bigger ones. Several of these banks are now under moratorium, the periods of which will be expiring shortly.

MRS. BANDARAINAIKE ON INDIA

The sense of national consciousness and patriotism of the Indian people has deeply impressed Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, who returned to Colombo on Jan. 6 after a 16-day holiday and pilgrimage in India.

In an exclusive statement to the PTI she said: "My visit, made primarily as a pilgrimage, has made me aware of the great achievements of our Indian neighbours. There are many important points I have been able to pick up which should prove of special significance and use in this country."

DR. EDITH SUMMERSKILL

Queen Elizabeth created Dr. Edith Summerskill, the Labour politician, a life Peeress in the New Year honours list.

The list, issued from the Prime Minister's office, also named five other "life" Peers—members of the House of Lords whose title dies with them.

Four had been recommended by Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Labour leader, to Mr. Harold Macmillan.

Dr. Summerskill (59), a Doctor of Medicine, is a former Labour Party Chairman and former Minister of National Insurance.

WOMEN PORTERS AT BHAVNAGAR

Almost the first thing that greets and even shocks a visitor on arrival at Bhavnagar railway station is the presence of women porters.

There are, of course, women workers all over the country, but generally speaking, women are given light work which does not involve too much of physical strain. It distressed many to see in Bhavnagar old women offering to carry heavy baggages on their heads. The Railway authorities have supplied red saris as the uniform for these women porters.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S TOURS

Since her first journey overseas in 1947, Queen Elizabeth has paid various official visits abroad, several of them before her accession.

Her Majesty was crowned Queen in Westminster Abbey on June 2, 1953. In the autumn of the following year Queen Elizabeth set out to accomplish as Queen the Commonwealth tour which she had begun with the Duke of Edinburgh just before her accession. Between November 1953 and May 1954 the Queen and the Duke visited Bermuda, Jamaica, Fiji, Tonga, New Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, Uganda, Malta and Gibraltar.

WOMEN IN GRAM PANCHAYATS

Over thirteen thousand women panches and sarpanches were administered the oath of allegiance on Jan. 16 at centres in Punjab by Ministers and Deputy Ministers.

Glowing tributes were paid to the Indian women especially to those who played historic roles in the social and political life of the country.

Various Punjab leaders, while administering the oath to the newly co-opted women member of the gram panchayats, advised them to take active part in their rural life and take upon themselves to educate their less fortunate sisters.

The Punjab State is claimed to be the first in the country to accord recognition and confer equal rights of participation in public affairs to such a huge number of women panches and sarpanches, to whom the oath of allegiance was administered.

WAR ON BIGAMY

Bigamy among Hindus is statutorily abolished in most States but such surreptitious marriages continue to take place, leading to much unhappiness for the first wife and unhealthy effect on the minds of the children. Equality of the sexes cannot become a reality unless monogamy is established. Where the marriage has proved a failure, both parties are now enabled to ask for divorce on certain well-defined grounds.

It is right this essential social reform is furthered by every possible means. The creation of public opinion against bigamy is, of course, necessary, but it must be implemented by positive action wherever possible. The Government of India, therefore, deserves credit for tightening the rules against the employment of bigamous persons.

Under the amended rules, no person who has more than one wife living shall be eligible for appointment to government service. A woman who marries a man with a wife living is similarly debarred. It is true that this rule might have to be invoked only in rare cases, but the fact that it is there should itself serve as a corrective to the bigamous propensities of those who are in or seek government service.

General

THE LATE SRI KRISHNA SINHA

We record with regret the death of Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, at his residence in Patna on 31st January.

A man singularly free from provincial or communal bias and known for his deep human sympathies and catholicity, Dr. Sinha started his legislative career in 1927 when he was elected to the Bihar Legislative Council and acted as the Leader of the Opposition Party from 1927-29. He was elected a member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1935, and in 1936 became a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly. When the Congress came to power, he was elected Leader of the Congress Legislature Party and became the Chief Minister of Bihar in 1937 and has been holding that office since then except during the Section 93 regime.

Dr. Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar, summoned members of Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha's Cabinet at the Raj Bhavan, on 1st Feb. and after consultations with them, appointed Mr. Dip Narain Sinha, Chief Minister and administered the oath of office and secrecy to him.

GANDHI STAMPS IN U. S.

Four cent and eight cent stamps in "Champion of Liberty" series dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi were issued by the United States Postal Department at a solemn ceremony on India's Republic Day according to a report received in India.

The newly appointed Postmaster-General, Mr. Edward May, expressed pleasure that among his first duties as Postmaster-General of the United States he had the opportunity to join in marking India's Republic Day. "We dedicate the 'Mahatma Gandhi Champion of Liberty' stamps to a man who has become a symbol of courage and moral strength to all peoples of the world," he added.

Responding to the Postmaster-General's speech, Mr. M. C. Chagla, Ambassador of India to the United States of America, said, "I deem it a great privilege to be associated in this ceremony. I think it is not only a good omen for your own administration which, I am sure, will be most successful, but it is a good omen for the new administration which has taken office on the 20th January."

One hundred and sixty million Gandhi stamps have been printed, and there was a great rush for first day covers.

KENNEDY'S OFFER

President Kennedy said that his country would be glad to consider the export of surplus food to Communist China if he thought that people's lives were involved or if there was a real desire to receive such food. He stressed, however, that Peking was exporting food to Africa and Cuba, and said his Government was not anxious to offer any if this should be constructed as a propaganda move.

MR. S. PARTHASARATHY

We regret to record the untimely death of Mr. Srinivasan Parthasarathy, Publisher, "The Hindu," and Director, Kasturi and Sons, Limited, Madras, on the 3rd of this month. After graduating from the Presidency College in 1911, he joined the *Hindu*. He was in charge of the weekly magazine section in which he introduced several new features.

He became the publisher of "The Hindu" in 1959. In addition to the weekly magazine section, he was in over-all charge of the circulation and advertisement departments of the paper.

A good mixer, Mr. Parthasarathy had a wide circle of friends in different walks of life. We offer our sincerest condolences to the members of his family.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH

Since the accession of Queen Elizabeth II, the Duke of Edinburgh has played an increasingly important part in the nation's life, and has interested himself in many of its aspects, particularly those associated with scientific and industrial development, and with sport.

His interest in science is outstanding. The British Association for the Advancement of Science invited him to be its President in 1951, the year of the Festival of Britain.

The Duke of Edinburgh is the Patron or President of a large number of bodies. He is President of the English-Speaking Union, a position held by her Majesty the Queen before her accession. He was from 1949 to 1950 President of the M.C.C., the famous Marylebone Cricket Club.

Early in 1959 His Royal Highness represented the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Scientific meetings in India and Pakistan—the first visit by a member of the Royal Family to either of the countries since Independence.

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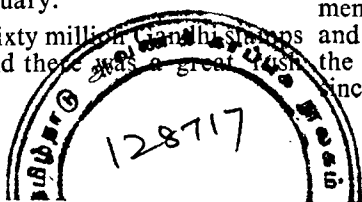
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VOICES FROM THE PAST

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

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