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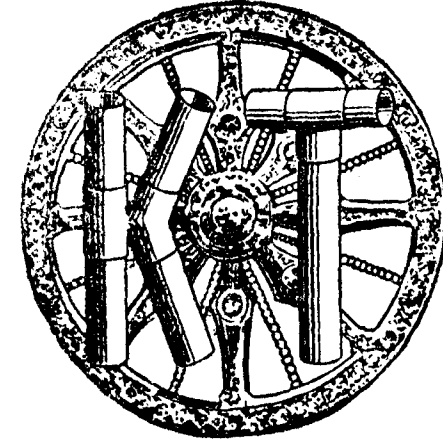
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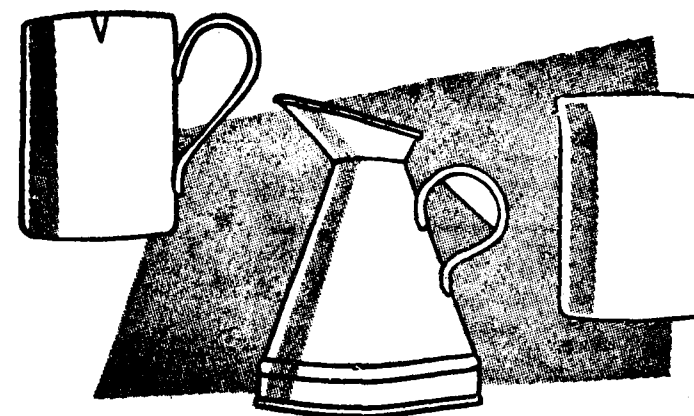
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The Need for Creative Education

By

Sri K. M. MUNSHI

THE creative art of life can best be learned during the early years of a man's life. That is why education—though it goes on all through life—assumes importance when related to this formative period. The main object of such changes was to inculcate a national outlook, a sense of discipline and a moral purpose in the students.

Swami Shraddhanand founded the *gurukul* system; it was inspired by an ambition to impart discipline, strength of character and faith in our Vedic heritage.

There is a vast dissatisfaction with our present-day education in India. Quite a number of remedies are suggested in the addresses which are delivered annually in the country, leaving aside the recommendations of the Reforms Committee and the Vice-Chancellors' conferences. Most of them are forgotten; few of them are tried; fewer still have succeeded. And the universities are slowly turning out generations of young men who have not been armed with character or moral purpose.

I am convinced that no patch-work remedy is likely to succeed; the whole national outlook on education requires to be changed. Education must be looked upon as a training in the creative art of life; in other words, education must be made creative.

Unfortunately for us the problem has been complicated by our authoritarian outlook on education. Its content, method, and even the details are regulated and in many cases, even regimented from above by the universities and the government departments. Very little, if any, freedom is left to the individual institution or teacher to vary the method, alter the goal or infuse a new spirit in the education imparted.

There is a movement to officialise text-books to acquire official control over the recruitment or removal of teachers; to prevent a departure from the prescribed routine methods of teaching, however soulless they may be to find solutions by a change of form rather than change of content. No wonder education has no vitality left to acquire new creativeness.

In the last hundred years, several attempts were made to alter the content, method and

goal of the British-imposed system of education. During the days of the Partition of Bengal, Sri Aurobindo made a short-lived attempt to found an educational system which would develop in the student an ardent nationalism informed by a sense of mission to liberate the country from alien rule.

Another experiment was made by Mahatma Gandhi when he founded the Gujarat Vidyapith. Its aim was to inculcate discipline, simplicity and spirit of service among the students.

None of these experiments took the root. The financial support was attracted to each of them, not in the interest of an educational revolution, but because of people's faith in the founder's religious or political mission.

The latest experiment of this kind is being made by the Mother at the Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. The University, as it is called, has for its object the training of young men and women in the spiritual doctrines of Sri Aurobindo against an international background of unity and harmony.

None of these experiments had or has the least influence on the university education. It has continued to disown—not in words but in deed—all responsibility for being creative, that is, for training the student to develop a sense of discipline, a moral purpose and a spirit of dedication.

The university education has held the Indian mind in its grip primarily because it is a paying one. A degree from a recognised university provides a passport to careers. It also brings

social status to the holder. Therefore, it remains the biggest single factor among the influences on national life, however uncreative it is.

I am convinced that there are two main reasons, more or less interdependent, as to why education has remained so barren: first, its domination by what I call 'Westernism,' and second, our confused thinking on what creative education is.

Westernism is the philosophy of life which for the last seventy-five years and particularly after the World Wars, has been gaining acceptance in many parts of the world. However, it should not be confounded with all that comes from the West. There are many in the West who have escaped its virus and quite a few in this country who have fallen victims to it.

I have called this philosophy of life 'Westernism' because it had its origin in Europe in the 16th century, when modern science began its active career. Then the Christian Church, finding its rigid dogmas slipping from under it, reacted by persecuting the scientists. As a result, the intellectuals of Europe came to be divided into two warring camps—one upholding Religion, the other Science.

Religion, philosophy and mysticism are based on the truth of faith; so is the strength of fundamental values like love, beauty and truth. Because of the antagonism of the Church, however, Science denied the truth of faith and treated the truth of the senses as the only truth. With the truth of senses as its only foundation, the proscience intellectuals were driven towards rearing a philosophy of life which I have ventured to call 'Westernism.'

When the conflict between religion and science in Europe followed the Industrial Revolution, Westernism squarely built itself on the dogma that life is worth living only when it is lived in terms of material values, which Science alone was expected to provide. Even the unbiased protagonists of the new outlook could not perceive that Science was amoral, asocial, aspiritual; that life to be well lived had to be based on the truth of faith and one's readiness to suffer for it.

Once material values were accepted as the ultimate good, material comforts were equated with happiness. Money, success and power became the sole means to fulfil oneself. Hedonism was raised into virtue. Nothing was sacred. No standards—social, ethical or spiritual—were absolute. Even God was to be

accepted only if He was found to have cash value.

Material success in terms of money or power became the goal of life. Those who made money or those who wielded power became demigods. Corruption, however bitterly decried in public, became a well recognised way to gain the end of life, and when the seeker of power failed to make money, he imposed coercion in the name of 'economic justice.'

While the philosophy of life reared on the conflict of Religion and Science led the world towards decadence, it undoubtedly gave a stimulus to science. The bounds of knowledge were widened. Old superstitions and social barriers began to fall away. Diseases, one after the other, were conquered. Distances were annihilated. Thinking man became acutely aware of the economic imbalance between man and man.

These were not the products of Westernism; they were the results of the march of Science. And the truth of senses, on which it was based, would have marched hand in hand with the truth of faith all the way as they did in Ancient India, had not the peculiar conditions of Europe forced a bitter conflict, which fathered the monstrous progeny, Westernism.

In India, when science was fairly developed, the truth of faith and the truth of science were never treated as mutually exclusive. Philosophy, religion, yoga and the sciences—and till about the 16th century India was scientifically more advanced than most countries in the world—were to us aspects of the same truth.

Since we came into contact with the West, many of our intellectuals, dominated by Westernism, have been accepting the truth of the senses as the exclusive truth as implicit in the nature of things. With them money and power have become divinities. Greed has been glorified as the need for higher standards of life. Learning has been thought of only in terms of the money it brings.

Luxurious buildings and costly furniture are held essential to higher education, which naturally make it more and more expensive. As a result, higher education has been placed beyond the reach of the poor student, however deserving he may be.

Westernism, having rejected the truth of faith, accorded to the knowledge of facts a pride of place in the scheme of life, ignoring faith. This led to a theory of education being pro-

pounded, which is sometimes called 'Electivism.' It connotes that all the subjects taught have equal educational value; that the study of the physical and social sciences has the same formative influence on the student as the classical, philosophical, religious or historical studies, that, anyway, studies which form character, sense of discipline and a spirit of dedication, have less importance, if any at all, than the acquisition of scientific knowledge.

Under electivism, multiple courses are provided in several varieties of subjects. A knowledge of elementary chemistry is presumed to have the same formative influence on the student as the study of a literary masterpiece or the history of one's ancient past. The underlying idea behind it is to equip the students for success in life manipulating knowledge and intelligence in the interest of technical progress.

The influence of this outlook on education has even affected the studies in the formative subjects like literature, philosophy, religion and history. The student is not taught to approach these studies in the humble attitude of absorbing the values they enshrine, but in the 'scientific spirit' of criticism, analysis and comparison, thus considerably impairing their formative influence.

No one can legitimately quarrel with the proposition that the study of science and technical knowledge or the development of the creative spirit are indispensable in the modern world. We must have them; survival in the modern world depends upon them. But they are only instruments; survival depends upon the strength provided by courage, tenacity, sacrifice and the urge to live a life consecrated to higher values. And they are only developed when educational system provides and fosters values.

Electivism goes even a step further. It claims that the teacher or the parent can decide whether a child is fit to take up arts, science, commerce or law. Selection of a technical course is now being pushed back to an early stage when the child's mind is so unripe as to make selection impossible. As a result, the organic unity of education, rendered possible by a minimum general course, has been disappearing.

In consequence, modern education has largely ceased to be formative. It fails to teach permanent values to the student at an impressionable age and only arms him with more effective weapons wherewith to satisfy his egoistic ambitions. Such a student could never become a man of culture. His interests are bound to be

narrow. He would be trained to look at life from the angle of the special subject which he has chosen or which is chosen for him. He may be a superdeveloped mechanic, a technological expert or a successful man, but an under-developed human being all the same. He would have the little equipment for a complete life; his sense of moral and spiritual values would be warped.

During the last fifty years, the world had had enough of such men. Lacking moral and spiritual values, they have built up militant organisations of monstrous materialism and developed a characteristic way of life. They have no respect for the sanctity of homes. They find joy of life only in smut and sensation. They stand for easy and swift. They deride self-discipline. They mock at responsibility. They deny the possibility of a high destiny for man. They admit nothing higher than the knowledge which subserves the immediate practical ends of changing externals. Universities, to them, are nothing more than service stations to supply the practical needs of man.

It is forgotten that it is such men who have staged purges, mass murders, Belsen horrors, the wicked displacement of men, women and children by millions. Where such men have not destroyed, they have established soulless regimentation. Thus a spiritual crisis has been forced upon the world. Dr. Sorokin rightly concludes: 'Hence the striking incompetence of the Western Science in performing the task of rendering man's conduct altruistic, of teaching him self-control, of curing his mental and moral disorders, of making him competent and happy.'

In U.S.A., where these new experiments have their field day, there has been a growing conviction of late that in view of this moral crisis, the educational system requires to be remodelled. There is a growing demand that through a change in the educational system the Americans be made 'to stop self-indulgence, to develop a higher degree of personal consciousness, accept great engagements towards common effort looking towards a better civilization both here and in other parts of the world.' However, this change involves setting up an educational system based on values, on training students according to that system and a public life which respects and stimulates those values.

If this crisis is to be tided over, in this country as elsewhere, we must go to creative education.

The Future of Man

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

NEVER before Man was so much worried about his future existence as he is to-day. The entire outlook of Man has been deeply shadowed by the fear of annihilation which necessarily means that the humanity is passing through tremendous stress and strain. If the present conditions of so high suspense and excitement continues any longer then it may mean that life will lose much of its charm and importance. It is necessary therefore that serious thinkers of the world should consider about the real possibilities of danger on the future of man. Whatever the future may be, it is needless to be under so much of uncertainty and indetermined conditions. Very likely, all that Man fears for; is unreal; and if there is any real danger then a correct analysis may lead us to a solution.

The thinkers of the world can be divided in two main schools in this regard. The first school can be named as the optimists who do not believe that Man is in real danger; they are unwilling to accept the proposition that Man is advancing to commit suicide or there can be any large scale attack on human civilization and culture. On the other hand they are of the opinion that Man has been marching dauntlessly irrespective of all dangers and troubles and he will move for an infinite time to come. The optimists quote from the past history and heritage and suggest that the conclusion of the other school based on pessimism is unduly coloured in pathos and gloom. There had been critical periods in history when Man had doubted in his life but the cloud of suspense had always passed over leaving the Man in brighter sunshine. Thus, the present period of tension is bound to pass over and Man can look for more brilliant periods to come. The list of the main advocates of this theory includes names of Bertrand Russell and Prof. A. Toynbee.

The second school which is termed as the Pessimistic School takes a critical view on the problem. They attack on the very basis on which the modern concept of civilization rests. They feel that the present culture based on materialism and political prostitution has deprived Man of the finest instincts without which life becomes a mess of rambles. Life for the common man to-day, has become inglorious

and there is little to be happy about. The more serious critics of this school declare that there is no future for man and his doom is near. Whatever the attempts Man might make he cannot fight against Destiny and he must surrender to the inevitable. These thinkers take a fatalistic attitude and do not believe that Man himself can do much for his own future. They believe in the cyclical nature of History and confirm the opinion that like all earlier species Man also has to finish his term of life in this world. Even such a thinker as Prof. Toynbee has been influenced by such a concept of the sure death of Man. The pessimists are sorry for the fact that Man being so intelligent will live for a much shorter period than what other species had enjoyed. The great reptiles and other prehistoric mammals had lived for more million years and the history of Man can be counted in terms of mere thousands. The leading American philosopher John Dewey opined that Man has come to live in a hostile world possibly not made for him. In his ordinary activities he is marked with dislocation and dissolution for personal and emotional factors. There are senses without meaning and intellect has been devoid of beauty or reality. The more and more Man realizes the actualities of life the more he feels that the present cultural structure is founded on shambles. Every individual is shattered in hopeless and helpless agony and he is covered with a horrible fear of existence and an unpenetrable shadow of suicide.

T. S. Eliot takes a more critical view. He has lost faith in the future of Man. He feels that humanity is not only in a crisis but it is at the end of its march; its last journey in search of the El Dorado. But none can blame any; this is inevitable and the law of nature. Victor Hugo would suggest the example of Napoleon who fell down not due to any other force but by his own weight; similarly, Man will die out of self-pressure and suffocation. Man is in unexplainable and inescapable position.

The disparity between the intellect and outlook is the worst obstacle in human life. Man has created forces which he is unable to control. There is no proportion or balance in the different sectors of feeling, emotion and action. It is all chaotic, frustrated in its own success and unable to create a meaningful life; the perso-

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ality takes its own revenge. From the baser and lower depth of experience comes a regressive form of spontaneity. Unrefined and raw animality forms the counterpoise to the meaningless stimuli. Psychological over-crowding, sexual mania and the phobia of death have robbed Man of the finer instincts and intuition. Thrown as the refuse of the very civilization he has created, he has no other alternative but to accept the facts. As an individual he has no place in this vast world and as a member of a world Community he is unfit to seek his own place and adjust. He has lost the magnetic chain of humanity and human feeling and feels that he is lost in the wilderness; he is led to doubt in any future and feels that the end has come nearer. He may become another brilliant experimental failure of God or Nature he may leave behind a golden heritage to be preserved as the richest relics of the past; yet he himself possibly will have to die.

This approach may seem to be dismal and pathetic. But it is not conclusive in the sense there can be no predictable date on which Man's future comes to the end. Man may take a long period to kill himself. He is capable of fantastic activities, the history of humanity measured in the scale of the inconceivably long vista of time is insignificant; yet the progress he has made in such a short period triumphing as the best biological evolution keeps space to hope that he will be able to realise the position and be rational enough to change the course of degeneration. In such a case of realization, the verdict of the pessimists is sure to fail. Man may rebegin another yet more glorious chapter in his history.

Even if Man continues for a longer period; how long will he do so? Bertrand Russell felt that Man may manage for two or three decades more. Other scientists and philosophers offer different periods for Man; but one thing in common they believe that Man can lengthen this period if he so likes. We agree that Man cannot march towards endless eternity beyond History itself. Man does not differ in biological and psycho-chemical evolution than other species. Possibly he is also meant for death, but he can save the humanity from the present crisis. We are unprepared to conceive that humanity will die because of the high fever and tension of the present civilization. We can hope for a future of Man.

The defects of the modern civilization must be better tested. The role of the individual must be properly recognised. No longer the fate of Man should be left in the hands of the political gamblers. There must be a common world to think about in place of the common world of our sense perception. More important is that more young people should come forward to shoulder the responsibility. Humanity should not be left in the hands of the old people and E. H. Carr emphasised that experience no doubt, is a necessary element; but age carried with dogma and prejudice is essentially a blunder. Social prejudices, sexual taboo and sensual feelings have placed Man between insanity and lunacy. In a 'brave new world' all these maladies should not continue. Acquisition of self-consciousness and a habit of mind should be developed. The faith of all men in the future should be lit. The vision of a resumption of the unfettered march of making to-wards a perfect world should not lose sight of. The feeling of finality and perfection must be forgotten. Man is capable of adjusting to extremely difficult conditions and circumstances. In this sense Man is above all living beings. From this angle it is hoped that History may not repeat itself in making an end of human life.

However, we are unable to offer a definite prediction on the future of Man. Much of the theories are based on hope or fear born out of grossly mis-understood conceptions. Any single man or group of men cannot foresee the future and give a decision on this side or that side. It all depends on mere speculation and speculations are not always correct.

The recent study done in the past history of man in the background of the other species has shed new light. Man has proved himself to be unique. We are unable to explain how does this happen—a sense of enormous power and pathetic weakness, resistless intelligence and clinging stupidity, soft sympathy and refined cruelty all are fused in one and the same being; Man. With all these forces Man will forge for the future; how long we are not bothered about, 'for in the long run we are all dead'. It is not true as Prof. Toynbee believes that we are living in a stupid and exceptionally wicked age; it is not correct as Prof. Zimmeren felt that we are living in a retrograde century. On the other hand we are the most fortunate to live now and experience the thrills and the contributions of the age. It is for Man, the indi-

dual as well as that of the society to accept or cure the malady of mankind; they will be like reject the future. Multi-dimensional as he is, the doses of morphia and Dr. Radhakrishnan he may be able to face this challenge and solve fears will be of no permanent use. the problem.

Mankind is passing through a crisis. A new Man should grow up. He has become inevitably melt all agony and fear. He can comfortable. The birth of such a new man can alone hope for a brilliant future. He will be as save the humanity from the peril and his growth Whitman said 'immense and interminable like will be a big stride towards the revaluation the great rivers', as Emerson said, 'the God in and reorientation of the human values with- ruins', or as Browning put it, 'not yet formed', out which life for the future may be intolerable. or 'the indescribable focus of the universe! as Feeble attempts made here and there will not said Hardy.

Religion, Church, and the Democratic Ideal

By

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'DEMOCRACY' and 'religion' can have so many meanings that in order to make the thesis of this paper clear, I must define the sense in which I shall use both terms. Many States have called themselves democratic and many persons have called themselves religious. Each of us, he uses the terms, may have in mind a particular State or religious tradition, but for our purposes here it is important that we do not allow familiarity with a specific form of political or religious organization to blind us to the requirements of the ideal by which, in the last analysis, we must judge any institution. In what follows I shall refer to aspects of American thought and organization without assuming that American solutions thus far are adequate.

The ideal of democracy, as I see it, involves both a pessimistic and an optimistic thesis. The pessimistic tenet might read: No person, no group, no class, be it vocational, social, or religious, is either good enough or wise enough, to govern other persons. The power to govern must ultimately reside, therefore, in those governed; government must be of the people, by the people, and for the people, not of, by, and for some persons or parties, political, social, or religious. Whatever the other roots of democratic thinking may be, this basic scepticism regarding the goodness or wisdom of any group to govern other persons without representation of those governed is undeniable (although an exception will be mentioned later).

This pessimistic line of thought, however, is linked with what I would call an optimistic tenet which might read thus: Every adult (barring the insane and the idiotic) is sufficiently intelligent and good to participate in the process of government. The assumption here is that every person can make a contribution to the legal processes by which he and his fellow-men are to be governed.

The underlying principle in representative democratic government may thus be stated broadly as the conviction that, in the last analysis, no person is the best and only judge of what is good for him in relation to his fellow-men. It is better therefore, to allow all to express what they believe is best both for themselves and for others. There may be long gaps of ignorance in a man's life, and he may be very self-centred and selfish, but decisions about the common good, the commonwealth in which he is involved, must not be made without allowing him to express his view before final decisions are made.

So much for the statement of basic democratic principles. Implicit in them, however, is a corollary which touches directly upon the relations between religion, Church, and State. The freedom of the individual person to believe in or not to believe in, to think or not to think particular conclusions is to be protected, consistent with the freedom of others. To be sure, in the actual processes of government, indivi-

dual freedom will need to be curtailed for the sake of the larger freedom in the common good. But the fundamental loyalty has been well expressed in the words: 'I disagree with what you say, but I'll die, if necessary, for your right to say it.' Without freedom of conscience, without freedom of speech, democracy is forced to limp along in policy-making without the full consideration of all available insights. Believers of the democratic ideal must therefore protect the freedom of minorities not as an indulgence, but as a necessity for the ultimate good.

It is at this point that we may consider the relation of religion and the Church to democracy. Religion may be defined as the personal belief that one's most important values are sponsored by or are in harmony with the enduring structure of the universe, whether they are sponsored by society or not. A Church is a congregation or a community of persons who, whatever their personal differences from each other, are sufficiently committed to a core of religious beliefs, so that they voluntarily organize their time, meditation, thought, and actions in such a way as to perpetuate and improve a common approach to the realization of the highest values. The loyalty involved in private religion and in organized religion is a loyalty to what the believers hold to be the Source of all that is true, good, beautiful, and holy.

It is now easy to see why there may well be conflict between a person's religious dedication and the loyalty demanded of him by any social community (often including his Church). In the name of their God, of the enduring Source of value, religious persons and prophets in every age have risen to condemn the values of their Church, State, or Society, and to plead for 'first things first'; in the name of their God, Churches have demanded that their State and society conform to 'the things that matter most.' Believers in an ultimate source of value beyond the state are always a thorn in the side of those who would focus social and civic loyalties first and foremost in the body politic.

The persistent problem for the religious person is to combine his primary loyalty to the God in whom he believes, not only with tolerance toward those of other faiths but also with loyalty to the political community. One might suppose that this state of affairs would make for healthy challenge and conflict between the religious and non-religious, between Church and State. However, anyone who views the

concrete course of history must recognize that whatever good has come from such productive conflict has been counterbalanced by evils created when the conflict led to persecution.

Whatever else may be said, historically speaking, bigotry and intolerance have been the monopoly of no one Church or social organization. Our concern here is to understand issues which, provoking intolerance, arise from concerns which undergird the religious belief and belief in the democratic ideal. As we proceed, we shall give concreteness to our discussion by reference to limited aspects of the relation between religion, Church, and State in the history of the United States of America.

The believer in the ideal of democracy makes freedom of speech and conscience basic to the way in which he holds other beliefs. Further, we have held that his scepticism regarding the infallibility of persons or groups knowing the final truth about any matter has been basic to his insistence on tolerance. It must be noted, however, that such scepticism is not of the extreme sort which holds that there is no truth to be known. It is simply the conviction that however much a person may believe that truth of any sort is granted to him, he takes seriously the possibility that others, too, may have insights necessary for the attainment of a final truth.

In other words, personal loyalty to God is consistent with tolerance for the religious and non-religious beliefs of others, provided one allows for the fact that there is no person or group that can properly claim such finality for its revelation as to condemn arbitrarily the claim of others to final revelation. The person who believes that neither he nor anyone else knows any truth has nothing to be tolerant about. It is he that believes that there is truth, and that all may share convictions about its content, who may nevertheless, on occasion, feel tempted to become intolerant of another whose claims seem to him false and harmful.

This struggle to further the promulgation of the truth and values we believe in, and, at the same time, grant to others the opportunities to hold and promulgate their convictions about truth and value, religious and otherwise, contributes to a fascinating and critical phase in the efforts of Americans to embody the democratic ideal. There are economic, political, and social factors which converge on the problem of religious freedom, but, at the risk of serious

oversimplification, the discussion here will be limited to the theoretical issues which underlie the controversy between Protestants and Roman Catholics in America with regard especially to the problem of public education.

No-one who cares to understand the United States can minimize the importance of the religious foundations of her life. From the time of the Pilgrim Father in the seventeenth century and the Founding Fathers in the eighteenth, to the present day, the religious climate has been one of Protestant theistic Christianity. There are 258 religious denominations or sects in America. In 1957, there were about 59.8 million Protestants, 35.8 million Roman Catholics, 5.3 million Jews, and varying numbers of almost every other religious group in the world.

The predominance of the Protestant denominations is important for our purposes for two reasons. As Christians, aware of the sources of their religion in the Old Testament, they could join with Roman Catholics and with Jews in proclaiming the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. This conviction was expressed in the famous words of the Declaration of Independence: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' As Protestants, believing that every man is a priest before God, they were committed in principle to freedom in religious worship, and their desire to 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity' was expressed in just these words in the Preamble to the American Constitution.

However often in practice predominant Protestant groups persecuted other Protestant minorities and non-Protestant groups, they could always be accused of being unfaithful to their fundamental tenet of religious liberty. And one of their basic decisions in 1791, four years after the drafting of the Constitution, was to protect that liberty from any political power by separating Church from State. The first clause in the First Amendment of the American Constitution reads: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

Of course other factors, besides the purely religious, enter into the formation of any law,

for religious convictions are intertwined with others in the lives of men. Many Protestants, and other religious persons, have not been convinced of the wisdom of the 'wall' thus built between Church and State. It may well be that many supporters of this Amendment, had they been able to anticipate the growth of authoritarian ecclesiasticism, or of non-religious secular movements in the last century, might well have taken another view of the matter, especially as it pertained to the education of their children. Certainly, given the religious climate and the religious customs of their day, which were relatively free from secular opposition and competition, they could rest in the assurance that the Church and home would be adequate to the task of the religious education of their children. That they were concerned to provide for a high standard of religious education is evident from the fact that their early interest in collegiate education stemmed from their concern to provide themselves with an educated ministry. How many colleges and universities in America today are developments of institutions concerned initially with the preparation of religious leaders!

Whatever qualms one may have about the way in which the separation of Church and State affected the life of the country, the fact remains that in the First Amendment to the American Constitution, minority, religious and non-religious groups of every sort were legally protected against the political infringement of their rights by any existing majority. It is not improbable that among the considerations which led differing Protestant sects to favour the separation of Church and State was the prudential concern that government should do nothing to favour one Protestant denomination over another.

It is important to realize, however, that given the protection of their religious freedom from encroachment by government, Protestants could confidently adopt a *laissez-faire* policy with regard to religious denominations and education. Also, they could join in the support of the free public school in compliance with the conviction, so well put in the words of Horace Mann, outstanding leader in the struggle for universal public education: '... in a republic, ignorance is a crime.' In 1847, the State of Massachusetts took the lead in the movement for free public education.

The free public school became the backbone of education in America, for through it every child, regardless of economic, social, or religious status, was guaranteed some degree of education. On the other hand, parents who, for whatever reason, be it quality of education or religious preference, wished to establish private schools for their children, were free to do so provided that they gave support, as citizens of the commonwealth, to the establishment of public education. This meant that they were willing to be taxed for their private schools as well as for their public schools. This is the attitude which has dominated American thinking about education.

The story thus told represents the logic permeating the Protestant and non-Catholic majority in the religious communities in America. While, as we have hinted, many of these religiously-minded persons have felt that this establishment actually has militated against adequate religious education of their children, and that, in other words, the public school has been overcome by secular tendencies, the majority of non-Catholic believers have been willing to take their chances with this public school system as basic to democratic institutions and life. They have become increasingly vociferous against groups whose thought and action have seemed to undermine public education, and notably against Roman Catholicism. Because the stand of the Roman Catholic brings into clear light a basic issue in all education, we must stop to understand it in the extent of what might be called a different view of the democratic ideal.

The Roman Catholic holds that in all matters of faith and morals the ultimate, infallible authority is the Pope. This means that where there is conflict between the civil or social moral code and the precept of the Church, the loyal Catholic is to obey the Church, whose authority ultimately stems from religious revelation. The Church cannot be irresponsible about the task laid on its shoulders by God: it must protect its spiritual light and therefore warn its members against all forces which would obscure that light or make it difficult for Catholics to follow it.

When necessary, censorship of religious or moral untruths is the responsibility of the spi-

ritual guardians who would protect the spiritual health of their people. Many conservative Protestants have given similar reasons in favour of censorship, but the centralization of authority in the hierarchy of the Church has been for all Protestants not only theoretically indefensible but, they maintain, it has encouraged religious intolerance in principle and discouraged the growth of religious and moral insight in its adherents. The Roman Catholic can simply stand on his faith; it is not for him to argue why God has revealed himself in a certain way, but to accept full responsibility for protecting and disseminating the truth thus granted him.

Further, the Roman Catholic cannot in principle accept either of the democratic tenets we have asserted as prerequisites for the democratic ideal, for he believes that he does have basic religious and moral truth and that those who do not accept it will be so weakened as to be fundamentally misguided in all other ventures.

In plain language, the roots we have suggested for democracy are the wrong ones, for they presuppose that men are ever floundering in the search for the basic conceptions of truth and goodness. The roots of a proper democracy cannot be in scepticism about the finality of certain religious moral truths, but in the responsible sharing of such truths by the Church, and in charity toward unbelievers. The democratic ideal must spring and develop from Christian love, not from religious and moral scepticism. Tolerance of opposing views in religion and ethics must be guided by a prior respect for truth and goodness.

The corollaries of these views for education are consistently drawn by the Roman Catholic. It is in applying them that he comes into conflict with the theory of the public school as basic to education in American democracy. For, holding that proper education cannot separate fact from moral and religious truth and values, he set up the parochial school which could keep fact and value together in its teaching. He could establish his parochial schools, as his economic situation allowed, by claiming freedom of conscience from the democratic community which had already instituted the public school as its basic form of education.

As we have suggested, many Protestants might well have preferred to keep value and fact together in the education of their children, but

public education was the best compromise they could effect and at the same time protect freedom. However, as long as the Roman Catholic was willing to tax himself for his private parochial school, and at the same time accept taxation for public schools, his position was no more objectionable than that of any other group which established private schools, deeming them superior to public schools. The believer in the religious private school found little serious opposition to his religious establishments so long as he asked no privileges for his schools not accorded to other private schools, religious or secular.

However, recent tension has developed in the American scene because, to emphasize reasons especially relevant here, Catholics began to urge that they were being forced to endure double expenses for education in so far as they were supporting both their private parochial school and the public school system. Put in a different way, to the extent that they had to share in the expense for two school systems they could not adequately improve the quality of their educational institutions which they felt best preserved the values that should be realized in education. If, further, the American Federal Government should aid the public school system, this would force a Catholic to pay for a type of education of which he preferred, in theory, not to avail himself.

From what has been said, it may be clear that important issues divide those Americans who believe that the ultimate values of their State are founded in, and must be judged by the will of God for all men. But despite these differences religiously-minded persons are concerned about the relation of the educational system to religious and moral values, especially in a world where it is so easy for 'things' to be in the saddle, and where sincere philosophical and articulate political movements are challenging the basic tenets of religions. The religious community in America, Christian and non-Christian, is deeply concerned about preserving the freedom of human beings created equal by their Creator. At the same

time, it is anxious to protect its culture, including its educational system, from the decay that would set in, as it believes, once men deleted from their political faith the words 'created equal by their Creator.' They are convinced that when God is dethroned men will worship idols of their own making and commit sins more awful than those committed by religious people in the name of their God. They wish the State to be secular only in the sense that government shall interfere as little as possible with the development of religious institutions. Now, as never before, they are raising the question. How can the public educational programme of the country, including higher institutions of learning, be reshaped so that religious education will not continue to lag behind education in non-religious areas? They are not asking that the school become a church or an adjunct to the Church, but they are seriously raising the question whether education can be wholesome and satisfy the whole person if children and students do not become literate in, and develop appreciation for, the religious ideas and the related values which have inspired so much of human history.

Whether the religious forces will become caught up in an internecine struggle to perpetuate their own parochial denominations, whether they will be so suspicious of the advantages which one group may gain at the possible expense of the other, that they lose out in the larger objectives of improving religious literacy and the understanding of basic religious issues, remains to be seen. We would suggest that these groups will overcome such temptations only if their zeal for the truth, as they see it, is balanced by enough self-criticism and appreciation for the spiritual ventures of other men to accept the responsibility for the freedom of other men along with their own vision of God. For the ideal of democracy is not to be indifferent to religion, but to encourage every facet of the human spirit to develop in mutual concern and mutual criticism.

A lecture delivered at the R. M. Institute of Culture, Calcutta.

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Democracy and Poetic Muse

By

Mr. VICTOR KARUNARATNE

WHO laid the foundations of democracy in Ceylon? Not, as is generally supposed, the political leaders of this country but the poets—Sinhalese Poets. Far from wishing to discount this claim, we would on the contrary like to express the earnest hope that this is not the last we have seen of the poets' contribution to the fartherance of democracy in Ceylon; and turn now to a brief consideration of a much wider, though not unrelated theme—democracy in relation to poetry in general.

But first let us ask ourselves the question: What is democracy? The term "democracy" is not easy to define because it can mean so many things. We think of it, for instance, as a form of Government—government of the people, by the people, for the people. Democracy can also mean a State practising this form of government. The term may also be applied to that class of the people which has no hereditary or special rank or privilege, the common people in short.

We are all familiar with those poets whose hearts have gone out in sympathy to the common people, who have rehearsed their simple joys and sorrows, who have striven to better their lot by rousing the public conscience on their behalf. They are the poets of the people, says Shelley: "Most wretched men are cradled into poetry by wrong:

"They learn in suffering what they teach in song."

Even more striking is Shelley's remark that "poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world," meaning thereby that they possess the ability to stir the imagination: and mould the will: in a word, they change over life.

Of great poets who have been life changers, ancient Greece, cradle of Democracy, furnishes many notable examples. The father of Greek drama is Aeschylus. In him there burns an elemental fire as he chants of gods and the god-like.

At the same time he is a democrat, "an enthusiastic democrat of the early type," as Gilbert Murray calls him. "Listen to the poem about freedom in the 'Persae.' That is the very spirit recorded by Herodotus as having made Athens rise from a commonplace Ionian State to be the model and the leader of Hellas. The

'Persae' is not isolated. The king in the 'Suppliants' is almost grotesquely constitutional, the 'Prometheus' abounds in protests against despotism that breathes the true Athenian spirit; a large part of the 'Agamemnon' is a merciless condemnation of the ideal of the conquering monarch.

The tragedies of Sophocles are representative of an era of democracy and the emancipated individual. Sophocles regarded himself not only as a poet but also as an educator of the people. He typified more fully than either Aeschylus, or Euripides the ideal of moderation and balance repeatedly echoed in Greek ethics from Solon to Aristotle. With harmony, moderation and balance he combined political, religious and personal elements into tragic drama of an intensely moving quality.

"A political leader" said the late Earl Baldwin, "should know his 'knights' by hearts for there is no profounder truth than that the sausage-seller lies ever on the flank of clean." Britain's one time Conservative Premier was referring to two characters in Aristophanes' famous play, "The Knights," a bitter personal attack on the demagogue Cleon, who succeeded Pericles as the leader of the Athenian democracy. In his comedies, Aristophanes assails the democratic institutions of the Athenian people and ridicules their political and intellectual leaders with the object of persuading them to modify their public policies and correct certain tendencies in their cultural life.

A dramatist of a different type was Euripides, a man of studious and retiring disposition, but with radical views on many subjects and a dynamic genius for giving them adequate expression. His voice did more than any other single force to create a new conscience among thinking men about such abuses as slavery and the rights of conquest. The dramas of Euripides had their impact in the political sphere as the motive force for the emergence of two seemingly incompatible things—an empire and a democratic idealism.

To create a new drama that deals with modern world was the task to which Gerhart Hauptmann the German literateur, set himself at the close of the last century. So successfully was it accomplished that he became a household word

in Germany, reaching the hearts of everyone. Hauptmann's influence on German life and letters stretched over a period of almost fifty years. It was in the joy and suffering of the common people that he found his richest material. In 1912 he was awarded the Noble Prize for literature.

The following year Rabindranath Tagore, modern India's greatest poet, joined the select ranks of Noble Laureates in Literature following the publication of "Gitanjali." Though often regarded as a dreamy mystic, he was as versatile and many-sided a writer as ever lived. Acknowledging the inalienable rights of the common-man, Tagore consistently upheld the imperishable principles of democracy, and as a champion of universal freedom, pleaded hard for a world federation of free nations on the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity.

These poets I have chosen are only some of the many that may occur to those who are more competent than myself to handle this inviting theme—democracy and poetic muse. I am keenly conscious of having done no more than merely skimmed its surface. The sole purpose of this limited survey is to show that whatever brings fresh interests and ideas into the life of an age, whatever tends to modify its ways of thought and feeling must necessarily constitute an essential element in the growth of its literature. From its infancy democracy has never been without its bards, some of them among the greatest names in literature. To them we always turn as the interpreters of one of the most dynamic movements in the history of man, the torch-bearers of progress, the paladins of human rights, equality and freedom.

Portugal's Lonely Vigil

BY

Mr. RICHARD PATTEE

IN September, 1960, Nikita Khrushchev included specific mention of the Portuguese provinces of Angola and Mozambique, in Africa, among the territories that were to be liberated and admitted to the United Nations. In a report to the Central Committee of the Roumanian Communist Party, the delegation to the recent General Assembly of the United Nations laid stress on the "terrorism and slavery" that prevailed in Portuguese Africa and demanded the instant liberation of these areas.

The Soviet press, as reported in western Europe, has gone a step further and called for armed uprisings against the "tyrannical regime" that maintains millions of Portuguese Africans in servitude, promising every support in the struggle for emancipation.

It is perhaps logical that the Soviet bloc, both from Europe and within the UN, should seek to undermine the stability of one of the few stable parts of the world today. But this crescendo of invective and denunciation is by no means limited to the communist inspired press and organs of opinion. In the West, and specifically in the United States, the campaign

of denigration of Portugal and its works joins this chorus.

It would be tiresome to quote all of the expressions of hostility to Portugal that have appeared in recent American periodicals. I choose three as an indication of the perfect orchestration that seems to have been achieved between Soviet and non-Soviet expressions in attacking the Portuguese.

The New York Herald Tribune (November 22, 1960) editorialized to the effect that Portugal is now the largest colonial empire extant in the world and that the Portuguese have shown no signs of recognizing the "winds of change" that are presumably blowing over the world. They are accused of standing adamant against the changes in the twentieth century world.

The Milwaukee Journal (January 16, 1961) in an editorial states that "In Lisbon last month we talked with Portuguese about the wind of change. They were as stubborn about it as their leaders. . . . Another colonial power plunges ahead to catastrophe. That the wind of change will sweep Angola and Mozambique is inevitable. Words and blind stubbornness will not halt it."

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Time, in its edition of January 2, 1961, includes a long piece on Portuguese Africa under the significant title of "The Sleeper." The article is filled with the usual truths and half-truths; slavery and authoritarianism; incomprehension of the trend of the times and an archaic, obdurate, unreasoning opposition to the times in which we live. Dr. Oliveira Salazar comes in for the usual analysis which portrays him out of touch with the present century.

For months, the Portuguese delegation at the United Nations has faced a uniformly hostile audience in the General Assembly, in the various committees and very especially in the Trusteeship Council. Portugal has refused point blank to accede to the demands of the Afro-Asian bloc to present reports on the administration of its overseas territories in response to a resolution passed largely through the machinations of this group of states. Today, Portugal stands in the same category with the Union of South Africa and in that occupied a few years ago by Spain: the target of vilification and antagonism from the newly created states and even from its own allies.

The startling thing is that the other members of NATO have not supported Portugal to a man. Greece and Norway, among others, voted against their ally. Others abstained and at no time did the United States or even Great Britain, Portugal's oldest ally, come to the assistance of their beleaguered friend. Portugal stands quite literally alone today in the midst of the anti-colonial storm that has become the *leitmotiv* of the contemporary scene.

Is Portugal's position anachronistic and out of date; a relic of a sentimental past that has no meaning for the times in which we live? I believe the contrary is the truth and that Portugal today represents one of the few oases of sanity in a time that is bent on creating nuclei of weakness and chaos everywhere in the world. We have allowed ourselves to become bemused by the notion that every people everywhere should become independent; that independence is synonymous with freedom and that the welfare of the world depends on granting the strident demands of vocal minorities in obscure places who seek independent status.

We have contributed, by a sort of professional anti-colonialism, a chain of non-viable countries around the world and we are begin-

ning to pay for this folly. Laos is an excellent example. The Congo is the most spectacular of all. Nations such as Mauritania and Somalia illustrate the absurdity of acceding to the craze for precipitating independent status in areas where the natural and human conditions are completely opposed to it.

Suppose we look at some of these cases, Somalia is not a nation in anything but the most theoretical sense of the term. It has no proper written language and few institutions. It is not a geographical unit and no sooner did independence come than there were demands for loans in order to subsist. Moreover, Somalia promptly took its place among the players of power politics by entering into a conflict with Ethiopia over territory belonging to the latter and that allegedly pertains to Somalia.

Mauritania is an even more grotesque case study of the nonsensical insistence on taking a piece of real estate and arbitrarily making it into a nation. Six hundred thousand nomads inhabit this large chunk of desert. It was not even possessed of a capital city when independence came and the celebration in honour of this august occasion had to be organized by the French who flew in everything — wine and food, decorations and lodging and the guests themselves. The whole business had the air of a comic opera arrangement that ill-befits a people entering upon the responsibilities of nationhood.

There is, of course, across the world, a demand on the part of people for change and for betterment. And this demand has to be heard. But there is a substantial difference between demanding a more just participation in the distribution of this world's goods and the extension of a premature, ill-advised and improvised independence that is going to produce far worse effects than any colonialism. Independence, where the conditions are not favourable, does not lead to prosperity or even dignity. It leads almost surely to anarchy and greater impoverishment. The political solution has been looked upon as a kind of *sesame* which once granted, carries with it the seeds of salvation. This is the opposite of the truth.

Britain, France, the Netherlands and Belgium have seen fit to withdraw from their overseas responsibilities. The reasons for this abdication are numerous. The Second World War, economic exhaustion; left wing pressures at home and plain weariness all contributed to

the result. Moreover, there was the moral issue of peoples that no longer felt they could carry the load of obligations that came from far flung empires. And above all there was the anti-colonialism enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the relentless battering against the whole system by the Soviet Union and its minions. The upshot was that nation after nation gave up the ghost and preferred the comparative serenity achieved by Holland after Indonesia went.

Against all of these trends and contradictions, the only European nation to stand firm has been Portugal. Again and again, since the entrance of the country into the United Nations, the Portuguese spokesmen have pointed out that history and reality militate against the idea of withdrawal from the overseas territories. First of all, there is the fact that Portugal's empire is not like the others. The vast holdings today in Africa and Asia are not territories for economic exploitation and enrichment.

Nearly five centuries of a "presence" in Africa and Asia have created profound ties between continental Portugal and the rest of its possessions. Places like the Cape Verde Islands date from the middle of the fifteenth century and on those barren islands the Portuguese genius for mixing with alien races proved itself as it did in Brazil. Portuguese Guinea represents a segment of the long coast of West Africa explored by Portuguese mariners since the days of Henry the Navigator.

Angola is an old Portuguese stronghold which antedates that of any other European claimant in Africa. Goa, in India, was founded by Joao de Almeida and Alfonso de Albuquerque and precedes by centuries the state of India as conceived by Mr. Nehru. Macau, on the China coast, was Portuguese in the early sixteenth century and Timor is testimony to the first navigators who reached the coasts of Australia. This is no recent achievement or sudden historical claim. These areas are part and parcel of Portugal itself.

The overseas possessions are provinces of Portugal and not colonies. In the same way as Alaska and Hawaii are non-contiguous states of the American union, so Mozambique and Angola are part of the Portuguese nation. When the United Nations demands their autonomy it is as though the same claim were advanced for Hawaii because its population is largely Japanese and Chinese.

The Charter of United Nations obviously does not provide for a revision of the constitutional bases of the member states. If this were so there would be absolute international chaos with every national entity subject to intervention from the General Assembly in New York. One of the tragedies of our time is that more and more purely domestic questions have become internationalized," that is, open to comment, discussion and resolutions from an international body. When the Soviet delegate, Zorin, denounced Spain for its presence in the Canary Islands we have the absolute *reductio ad absurdum* of this international meddling.

The Portuguese territories are represented in Lisbon by their spokesmen. All of them have a reasonably high degree of local autonomy. All of them have demonstrated over and over again their will to live within the Portuguese community. In spite of the agitation and efforts to present them as victims of a tyranny there is no sign of disturbance in the Portuguese world.

Angola is populated by four million people, of whom several hundred thousands are white. Its resources and leadership are totally inadequate to enable it to go it alone or even to exist as an independent state. The Portuguese are not looking toward independence since the political solution of the status of these lands has already been determined. They are part of the motherland and inextricably bound to it. There is no place for secession. Is this a challenge to the modern world? It is not preferable to support the one European power that has not given in and does not plan to and maintains in its distant provinces peace and progress?

Portugal does not maintain itself by force of arms. If the half million people of Goa on the coast of India had really wanted to separate from Portugal they could have made life so miserable for the Portuguese that there would have been no solution but the severance of the ties that bound them. Cyprus proved this under conditions more favourable there to Britain than in Goa for the Portuguese. I spent three weeks in Goa and found no evidence of any kind of either discontent or a wish to break the link with Lisbon. The Goans have a far higher standard of living than India and are, moreover, as much Portuguese as they are Indian, with a natural affinity to Europe.

The denunciation of Portugal and the efforts to undermine its work in Africa and Asia is

likely to lead to one or more of several things. Should Portugal lose the provinces in Africa, it would mean a very considerable re-adjustment at home, comparable to what transpired in Belgium after the independence of the Congo. It might easily mean the end of Portugal as an effective member of NATO. Already Belgium is wavering. The Atlantic Alliance could ill afford to lose Portugal with its strategic islands of the Azores. It might lead to the withdrawal of the country from the United Nations and the various organizations attached to it.

One thing is reasonably sure: Portugal will not withdraw from Africa or Asia. There is no disposition whatever to follow the lead of the Belgians or the British. Portugal has always been characterized by an extraordinary tenacity to hold on. More than once in a long history the prediction has been made that the empire is done for. That empire is the only one still existent. I am confident that the forces for

change will not come from within the overseas provinces. The pressures from without are, of course, building up. And with them come infiltration, underground agitation, massive propaganda and all of the ruthless techniques of our time. These may, in the long run, have the effect of placing an almost impossible burden on a small and poor country.

The American public is ill-informed or not informed at all about the Portuguese territories and the Portuguese policy of non-racism. Arnold Toynbee has more than once testified to the absence of race feeling among the Portuguese and their ability to mould and merge the interests of different racial groups. This experience is badly needed in the world today.

Prime Minister Salazar stated it candidly in an address on November 30, 1960, when he pointed out that Africa needs the European as much if not more than Europe needs the African. (Columbia)

Goans are Indian

THOUGH Portuguese colonialism has a given place to new principles that proclaim the record of existence in Goa, where the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination, the old medieval brain seems to find it hard to grasp. Portuguese have exercised that regime now, for over 450 years, yet, it is a colonial regime least known in the modern world. It is, perhaps, because the territory involved is small and also because Portugal itself is an obscure and backward country, but it is, certainly, and above all because the Indian publicity regarding the colonial regime still prevailing on India's soil even after 13 years of its proclamation as a free and sovereign nation has proved inadequate and inefficient.

The so-called *State of Portuguese India* comprises of Goa (1309 sq. miles), Daman (21 sq. miles) and Diu (14 sq. miles), all hundreds of miles apart from each other on the Western Coast of India). Goa, the largest and the most important of the three territories has a population of 5,47,448, Daman 27,482 and Diu 21,138. And these three territories—Indian to any sane man are according to the logic of Dr. Salazar supposed to be integral parts of Portugal; and that, because the Portuguese have through conquest ruled over a part of those territories for centuries. That the world has true also of Daman and Diu.

As all students of history know, no matter what the fairy tales about "civilizing mission" etc. might have to say, what actually brought the Portuguese pirates to India was trade ambitions. It was only after they had snatched it from the Arabs with blood-curdling processes of extermination, that came the inspiration for political domination, which finally, materialized on Nov. 25th, 1510 only due to the active assistance of Indian traitors like Timaya or Timoja as he is called by the Portuguese. Nor should it be supposed that the whole *State of Portuguese India* came under Portuguese domination centuries ago. What came under the colonial yoke those long ages ago, is only a small part of Goa, just 113 sq. miles, which to this day is called *Velhas Conquistas* in contrast to the rest of the 1309 sq. mls. of Goa which is called *Novas Conquistas* (New Conquests) and which came under Portuguese domination only at the close of the 18th century. The same is

After foothold was gained in India, the conquerors set about stabilizing their domination. To achieve this end, they decided on denationalization of the Goan people as the best means of cutting them apart from the rest of India, the better way to control them. For this they made the conversion of the Goan Hindus and Muslims to the Catholic religion, their first step. Accordingly, forced mass conversions were effected without the aid of any religious preaching and with the help of the most barbarous persecutions. In the process, properties were confiscated, and homes and temples destroyed and thousands of people murdered or put to flight. And those who had of a sudden become Christians were forever labelled with Portuguese names, which are now being made use by Dr. Salazar to give the world the impression that the Goans are Portuguese. In the wake of the conversions followed further persecutions. Laws came into force aiming at severing all links between the Christians and their Hindu and Muslim brothers. Language, dress, customs, tradition all came in for persecution: The knowledge of the Portuguese language was imposed—making it impossible for those not knowing it even to contract marriage. All books in Konkani, the local language were destroyed; the Christians were forbidden to dress like the Hindus, the *dhoti* was banned for the men and the Christian women's sari underwent modifications according to the fashions designed and imposed by the Jesuit missionaries; the Christians were forced to cook their food differently from the Hindus and participation in any Hindu social or religious ceremonies and celebrations and in traditional festival was taboo. The religious frenzy of the conquerors went to the extent of the Inquisition itself being transported to Goa to terrorise and tyrannise the resisting Goans—both Hindus and the converted Christians. For two whole centuries the Inquisition reigned in Goa, in its most ferocious form.

Of it no other than the Portuguese Bishop of Evora himself said: If every-where the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however base, however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The Inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instinct and then burning them as heretics."

In short, the Portuguese played havoc with the life of the Goan people with the Sword and the Cross in the past and they are still their only instruments in their efforts to maintain their domination in the present.

It is however, seen that no matter what brutality and tyranny is resorted to, it is not easy to uproot a people from their tradition and culture. Thus, in spite of all the horrors to which they have been subjected, to make them wipe out their culture and customs, the Goan people remain to this day what they have always been—Indian.

To pitch himself against this incontestable fact and in order to uphold his claim to parts of India Dr. Salazar finds nothing better than distortion of facts to mystify world opinion. Thus, we have Portuguese propaganda telling the world that Goans are not Indians but Portuguese by culture, religion and blood. The Portuguese statistics of 1950, however, state that out of a total population of 6,37,591 in the whole of the *Portuguese State of India* there are exactly 336 individuals of Portuguese extraction called *Mestizos* and that out of the total population 6,36,153 are *Indians*. As for Goa being a *Christian Land*, as given to understand by the Salazarist propaganda the same statistics tell us that 60-90% of the Goan population are Hindus, no more than 36-6% Christians and the rest belong to the Muslim and other religions. Regarding culture, in spite of the terrific persecution of the Konkani language and in spite of there being not a single Konkani school in Goa, it is the only language that the entire population understands and speaks. With all the rigid laws to enforce it, only about 2% of the people of Goa can read and write the Portuguese language and not more than 5% can vaguely understand it.

Another widely spread and much chanted myth is about the absence of racialism in Portuguese ruled territories. The fact is that no colonialism is free from it and Portuguese colonialism is no exception. But if in certain periods of the Portuguese domination in Goa it was kept at bay and exercised under a more discreet form, it is precisely in the regime of Dr. Salazar that racialism became a fundamental basis of his colonial policy. After having fully established himself as the Dictator of Portugal Dr. Salazar turned his eyes to the colonies and in 1930 produced his monstrous *Colonial Act* in Art. 2 of which the Dictator declares that it is of Portugal's

"organic essence" to "possess and colonize" overseas territories; following this, came his *Military Recruitment Regulations* where open racial discrimination divided the people under Portuguese rule into three distinct categories, "citizens" (Europeans) "assimilated" (those among the colonial peoples able to read and write Portuguese) and "natives" the colonial people unable to read and write Portuguese. According to this regulation only the "citizen" had access to the normal military career; the "native" was subject to compulsory military service but could not rise above the rank of corporal; the "assimilated" had no right to military service but was bound to pay the Military Tax.

In 1951 in an attempt to circumvent the demand of the Goan nationalists for the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in India and their determination to re-integrate Goa with the rest of India, the *Colonial Act* was incorporated into the Portuguese Dictatorship Constitution after changing the word colony wherever it occurred to "overseas province". In 1953, in a further attempt to fool world opinion and cover up the fascist aspect of his domination, the Dictator introduced what was called a Political Statute to Goa simulating

decentralization, and which introduced a Legislative Council, which is legislative only in name.

The colonial regime in Goa, as in all Portuguese colonies, has remained as primitive in form and processes as the mentality of the Portuguese dictator who refuses to understand the times in which he is living.

Economically and culturally, the Portuguese colonial domination has been the ruin of Goa. Small as the population is 78% are illiterate. The main occupation of the people is agriculture—mainly rice cultivation—carried on in the most primitive form and producing enough of grain sufficient only for 5 months in the year. There is no industry, apart from the mining industry operated by Indian capital since India's independence and which has since then become the main prop of the colonialist economy, bringing the Portuguese Government huge sums of foreign exchange which is almost in its totality drained to Portugal. The economic situation of the great majority of the local population is such that almost a third of the population is forced to emigrate in order to live. The major part of these people come to find employment in India and the rest emigrate to British Africa and the Middle East. "Free Goa"

Civil Rights and the Negro in U. S.

By
Mr. HITINDRA MALIK

THE crowded agenda which President Kennedy has drawn up for Congress precludes the introduction of any new bills or discussion on civil rights for the American Negro during the current session of the legislature.

It would seem that the Administration is concentrating on issues that are more immediate and urgent. It also happens that some of these issues are of vital concern to the Negro on aspects other than civil rights. The economy, for instance, has still to recover. If the recession worsens, massive Negro unemployment will follow on the principle that he is "the first to be fired and the last to be hired." The consequences of this would be far more serious now than in the past for it would add to Negro disgruntlement at a time in history when racial tensions and Negro aspirations run high.

Several competent observers have expressed concern at the growth of a militant and well disciplined faction among the Negroes which preaches the doctrine of violence. It is a fairly large group and its membership extends throughout the United States. No one seriously believes that it could plunge the country into a civil war, but it could do incalculable harm.

This Correspondent has spoken with several office holders of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the premier organisation in the country for the welfare of the Negro, and they unanimously believe that in time of a national crisis this militant faction could provoke racial riots, even in the North, on an unprecedented scale. A worsening or a slowly recovering economy with its implicit unemployment is just the sort of a crisis that

could trigger off violence and undo all the good that has been done for the Negro cause. Responsible Negro leadership is generally apprehensive.

In these circumstances, President Kennedy has perhaps chosen a wise course to make an all-out attempt to wrest from Congress the authority he requires to give effect to his controversial economic measures without antagonising the Southern Senators by introducing fresh legislation on civil rights.

Any new bill would inevitably lead to a hardening of attitude and the temptation to bargain would perhaps prove too much for the Southern element in the Senate to resist. The net result would be delayed watered down legislation on civil rights which would be of no practical value, and compromises on the economic programme which fall short of actual requirements. In both cases the position will be worse than it is now.

The Administration appears to believe that a sound economic base is the most essential requirement of domestic and foreign policy. This is uppermost in their minds.

Meanwhile, Negro leadership continues to urge the Administration for new legislative measures to accelerate the progress of their people. This is understandable on theory that a mass movement can never be allowed to lose its momentum. A burning issue must always be spotlighted for the public and Congressional eye, but even Negro leadership can hardly fail to perceive the order of priorities which the Administration must necessarily follow.

This does not mean that the Kennedy Administration is indifferent towards Negro rights or intends to do nothing. There is existing legislation which has hardly been enforced in the past. There are Supreme Court decrees which have hardly been given effect to. There are executive powers that the Constitution confers on the President which have hardly been used.

Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in charge of Civil Rights, told this writer that the new Administration intends to galvanize all three into action and to take other positive steps that do not require Congressional sanction. He said: "We intend to pursue a positive policy and we intend to pursue it vigorously. We cannot allow a few people to bring the country down to the pre-Civil War level. The conscience of the people has been deeply affected."

The Acts of 1957 and 1960 on voting and registration have never been adequately enforced in some Southern States which means that large numbers of Negroes remain disenfranchised. The existing voting and registration requirements in these States are stringent and are carried to absurd limits in the case of a Negro. For instance, before an intending voter can be registered, he is asked to read a random paragraph from the Constitution and required to repeat and interpret it. To say the least, this calls for a photographic memory and legal aptitude not usually found among any electorate in the world. The result is an automatic deprivation of civil rights.

Then too, there is the intimidation of Negro voters at election time. Mr. Marshall said the Federal Government will use all the authority it has to see that these absurdities disappear and to restore to the Negro the rights he already has. This could have a salutary effect on the intransigence of the Southern Senators. Their colour susceptibilities may soften somewhat if they have to court a Negro electorate protected by the arm of the law against wilful disenfranchisement and intimidation.

Mr. Marshall explained that the Supreme Court order on school desegregation has not been followed up adequately by executive authority.

The controversial Part III of the Civil Rights Bill is another aspect which the Administration is considering. This section of the Bill, which Congress has refused to ratify so far, authorises the Attorney General to investigate desegregation cases and to file suits in civil courts on his own initiative. Under the law as it now stands, the Federal Government cannot appear as a plaintiff in cases of discrimination. A suit must be filed by the person who has been discriminated against or by any other person or by a private organisation such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. The Attorney General's only role is to see that the court order is enforced if it is in favour of the plaintiff. This is clearly unsatisfactory. Litigation is expensive and there is a limit to individual and organisational resources. The result is that many flagrant cases of discrimination do not come before the courts.

The Assistant Attorney General revealed that new and far reaching legislation on civil rights will also be introduced during the next session of the legislature.

Points on Sino-Indian Dispute

By

Sri P. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A.

THERE can be no doubt about the fact that the so called border dispute with China is an important problem that we are facing to-day. A good deal of discussion has taken place with a view to solve the issue and it still remains to be seen whether they may give any positive contribution in arriving at a solution, satisfactory to both the sides. Along with the conferences of statesmen and high officials of both the countries, efforts are also being made to strengthen the army personnel and other equipments in the disputed areas. In this peculiar nature of things one is at a loss to estimate the exact gravity of the situation. For it is often told by our statesmen that they still hope to arrive at a peaceful solution and refutes suggestions to use even the minimum force required to keep the Chinese out; who have forcibly entered into our territory. As has been pointed out, the same persons who shoulder the responsibility of shaping the policies of our country are anxious to tell the people that necessary measures have been taken to ensure the safety of our borders. What does it mean?

It appears that there is a measure of optimism prevails in India's policies towards this major problem. This has been exposed in diplomatic way by our Prime Minister, who is also in charge of the foreign affairs, during the recent discussions on external affairs in the Parliament. Mr. Nehru has emphatically stated that the policy of non-alignment has been a great success. In an attempt to support this contention he cited that both the integrity of purpose and the means we have employed in our work have impressed the two great countries Russia and the U.S.A. and for that matter almost all countries in the world, except Pakistan and China.

One may ask, if our policy is not so much impressive to these two close neighbouring countries, what should have to be done to modify them in such a way as to enlist their friendship, without sacrificing our rights. If winning them to our side seems to be a Gordian knot, is it not necessary to keep at least our rights untampered, borders safeguarded. What happened in our Northern Border is loosing of

the Chinese goodwill and large chunks of Indian territory. Therefore at this stage a thorough reconsideration of the policy hitherto adopted towards China is highly essential.

On two strong grounds we can argue for a reshuffle of the entire policy towards China. Mr. Nehru himself admits that the recent developments had created a wide gulf between our relations. Nevertheless, the Indian Government have avoided taking steps which may create an unbridgeable chasms between these two great countries. Well, we shall examine if the gulf already created is an unbridgeable one.

Another point worth mention, that figured in the Foreign Minister's speech is his belief in the possibility of the strength and correctness of India's stand on the Sino-Indian border issue dawning on the mind of the Chinese government. He did not rule out the possibility that the Chinese would realise that what they had done was wrong and would withdraw.

The very look into the unfortunate incidents took place in the Northern border that took the toll of many precious Indian lives, and the effect produced on the Chinese mind by the various measures taken by the Government of India to put forward the "Strengthness" and "correctness" of our stand clearly show that we cannot have friendly relations with this great neighbour of ours; unless we are prepared to forego, what we have lost. We must remember the fact that we have always had a very friendly relationship with this country. Despite this, the approach to the problem from the beginning by the Chinese does not seem to be in a cordial way. There are many strong evidences to show that the area now occupied by them rightly belongs to India. Various geographical principles, underlying the Indian Alignments and the nature of Indian evidence leave no room for doubt about our stand. It sounds extraordinary that the Chinese have objected the inclusion of their replies to questions put by Indian officials who visited Peking, being included in the reports. The vagueness of the description and replies, and above all their reluctance to include them in our report need no comment for they tell their own tale about the

legitimacy and precision of the ancient boundary claim by China.

With such a meagre and vague data in their hand, the Chinese had attempted to walk in our territory show nothing but atrocity. The Peking Government had acknowledged that the common boundary between India and China was in origin a traditional one. But the exchange of the descriptions confirmed that there was a radical difference regarding the actual alignment of the traditional boundary. Apart from the dependence on tradition, the Indian officials have produced a plethora of documentary evidences to show that we had in these areas administrative authority as well. In fact the traditional boundary with its sanction of treaties of 1684 between Ladakh and Tibet and 1842 between Ladakh on the one hand and China and Tibet on the other hand would have convinced a less avaricious nation. Again a wealth of evidence was quoted for every one of the areas in dispute to establish that the Indian Authorities had always exercised effective administrative and civil jurisdiction over these areas. For every pocket numerous detailed revenue settlements, tax collection records, official village maps, accounts of road construction, were there as manifest proof of our stand. The revenue records cited for Nilang — Jadhong in particular covers a vast period of 1868-1951 and contains information regarding the exact limits of every village, and hamlet, the type of land, the extent of fresh and the most detailed figures of revenue. They mirror the unbroken and continuous exercise of normal governmental authority right down till to-day.

It is interesting to note that the Chinese against our proof, supplied some evidence scanty in number, recent in origin, and imprecise in its indication. They were internally inconsistent both in facts and arguments. Therefore they are totally inconclusive.

in supporting the Chinese case. Unfortunately if it may be said so, we have to suspect their behaviour for their inconsistency is clearly shown during the discussions of the officials of the two governments. In a correspondence between the Government of India and China the former has pointed out that even in Chinese official maps published since the inauguration of the people's Republic of China the delineation of the boundary with India had not been consistent. The 1951 and 1959 maps had for instance showed one alignments while the 1954, 1956 maps had shown a totally different alignments. In reply to our Prime Minister's letter of 26 September 1959 Premier Chou-enlai in his letter of 17 December 1959 stated that the Chinese maps published in 1959 correctly show the boundary between the two countries. It has been reported in the Press that the Indian Team of officials were surprised when it was found that in the face of this categorical and most authoritative statement of the Prime Minister of China, the authenticated map provided at the beginning of their discussions did not tally with the Chinese map of 1956. Curiously enough the map then provided claimed a few thousand square miles more than even the extravagant claim to Indian territory in the 1956 map.

After all, the case with the Chinese, may be that so long as enough printing presses are there in China, that they can print maps, at any time, in any manner, and produce before anybody. If this is the Chinese attitude towards our dispute, is it possible to share with the optimism of our great Prime Minister. Will the Chinese realise at any time, the strength and correctness of our stand? In a country, that is governed by a man who wrote that 'power comes out of the barrels of gun,' the language of reason is sure to play only a small role. What is required is showing our concern in a manner which they can experience!

Liberation of Women

By

Madam LUCIE FAURE

WOMAN lived for centuries in a state of almost complete subordination. Business was none of her business. The working and organization of the world did not concern her. Except for the care of running her house, she had no responsibility. Her power was extremely restricted; as soon as her sons reached adolescence they were closely watched over by the father. Her narrow domain consisted of young children and daughters. Since she took nothing from the outside world, she had to find satisfaction in her man and the proper functioning of her home. Everything was counted out and brought to her by the Master. She was linked to the world only through her husband and her sons. Submissive and giving up her whole time to service, what did she receive in exchange?

Protected by the man, and not yet having achieved anxiety, she was freed from fear. In times of war, she was defended and kept away from the battlefields in places which it did not touch. She trembled for others, never for herself and her young children. In peacetime she received money in proportion to what was available; she did not have to worry about earning, but only about laying it out as judiciously as possible according to the needs of the family. The head of the family kept for himself the sums necessary to pay essential obligations, rent, taxes, etc. Such, until quite recent times, was the condition of woman.

And yet, little by little, and by a very slow process, which was halted from time to time and even on occasion moved backwards, an evolution took place. Ineluctably it followed its course, sometimes violently, sometimes underground, in order to achieve this metamorphosis in the condition of woman.

Today, because of her liberation, because she has entered exterior life, woman has discovered the essential affliction of humanity—*anxiety*. Anxiety is the very shape of awareness of self and woman cannot and must not escape from it—generalized and uniformed anxiety as well as the various forms of disquiet. In times of war she is no longer protected. Whether she is in the services or a civilian, the dangers are great. She trembles for herself and for her little ones. In peacetime she is protected by law in the same measure as man and no more.

The dowry system has fallen into decay, and the financial and legal ties on women are less important, since landed wealth has grown smaller.

Thus, what woman calls her independence is often no more than the word behind which she hides her anxiety. From this is born her desire to ensure her own subsistence independently from a man who no longer protects her entirely, who does not protect her at all. And the man feels less responsible for a woman who has greater responsibility of her own. He will leave her more easily, since his scruples diminish as the weakness of his companion diminishes.

If the need for security, born of anxiety, has driven woman to work, a confused aspiration which is the mask of anxiety also leads her in the same direction.

It is not without interest to note that in France in 1959, 33% of the female population was gainfully employed while in 1919 the figure was 37%, or much the same. This similarity between the two figures will only be surprising if one does not realize that these figures do not refer to the same social classes. It is not the same type of woman who works today; there are fewer working-class wives working and more middle-class ones.

It is a sort of liberation for a woman to leave her home for the whole day, it is a means of proving that she exists and sometimes of expressing her personality. In this exterior life she rubs shoulders with new human beings, often men, and as a result she takes greater care of her appearance, she improves her education and follows events. In the evening, if she comes home tired, she too has acquired the right to complain about the hard day she has put in.

But this accession to a new way of life is not followed, and cannot be followed, as yet by the attainment of all the means to develop it fully. Theoretically today, equality is complete. Few careers are not open to women, the only thing is that for them everything is more difficult. Some obstacle to be overcome always appears, even if it be only prejudice. In order to reach this so called basic equality, woman has to work harder, in spite of possessing less physical strength and being more vulnerable, at any rate when she is pregnant.

Faced with maternity, of which she must continue to bear the burdens, she will have to deal with opposing obligations, she will have to compromise and become a slave to the time table. If she gives up her work she will be dissatisfied and envy her former colleagues who have more freedom. If she goes on working she will be anxious and have a bad conscience, when her work takes her away from the things she feels she ought to do to keep her home in good order. She then feels she must forgive herself for working and do a sort of penance by busying herself with house-hold chores during the evening.

Thus, if she loses her serenity, it is a function of the fact that the more evolved a human being is, the less easily can he achieve happiness. It is also because these contradictions, which perplex her, are the vehicle of instability.

The more satisfied she is, the more anxious she may become in certain cases. The wider her field of action, the greater the number of problems she has to deal with; and these breed new uncertainties as well as wider horizons. Having achieved the right of self-expression and the right to stand on her own, she finds herself beside man in a sort of difficult equality, while remaining, because of her initial weakness, in a state of inferiority. And this leads, as far as she is concerned, to some sort of difficulties about adaptation, even existence, and sometimes to aggressiveness which is merely a mask.

If, however, woman has now acquired those prerogatives which belonged to man, she has not renounced those privileges which compensated her inequality—which has now been abolished. She claims, or at any rate exercises, these privileges completely instinctively, even when competing with man, and this is a primary source of lack of harmony between men and women. Nevertheless, the conquests achieved by woman cannot be put to question, there can be no going backwards. All that can be done is to accept and adapt them.

But how can the problem of this modern Amazon be resolved? What to do about this hermaphrodite whose femininity develops alongside her masculine aspirations? Her desire to be pleasing has never been greater. The proof of this lies ready in the ever mounting curve of cosmetic sales, the fortunes made in beauty treatment and surgery, and the advice sought from her husband, and this aspiration leads from women's papers, whose sales are soaring, to seek work.

What is the nature of this feminine need to seduce? Is it a continuous myth or is it an absolute reality? Men certainly don't make such an effort. Woman wants to win on two fronts at once, the old one which consists of conquering the male and then holding him, and the new one which implies a life of her own separate from the male and a right to express herself and to compete with him in his own sphere. Whilst claiming equality, she wants at the same time to be courted and indeed respected.

However successful, however much her professional achievements may be recognized, no woman will deliberately and without damage give up love. If she can no longer expect happiness from love alone, she cannot find true harmony either, without this essential accomplishment. But to find a remedy for her solitude, she has neither the same audacity, nor the same field of choice as her companion.

There are more women than men. Man has a wider scale of possibilities open to him, which allows for a greater difference in age, in the way most favourable to him. A man can marry a woman from a less well-to-do family and class. The contrary is not true. In one case it is a fairy story (the King and the Shepherdess) and in the other a sordid tale (the eternal gigolo).

Then too, the unmarried woman carries the trace of a stigma which the bachelor escapes, though he is often more sought after than the married man. The single woman sees herself as society sees her, which adds to the real sadness of her fate. She cannot find it amusing to be a solitary individual, she will always consider herself as on the shelf, as the one that man has not chosen. A woman who really wants to remain single, needs an exceptionally vigorous character. For a woman alone is alone; a man alone may never be alone.

We are living in a period of transition. The exterior world has not been furnished in a way suitable to the new problems facing human beings. All love for a free woman, either consciously or unconsciously, must lead to marriage, even today. Once a home is made—and it remains the most profound aim of woman, which few refuse—woman, nevertheless, keeps this need to be and to express herself, apart from her husband, and this aspiration leads

Escaping from solitude, she finds refuge in marriage; lonely in marriage she forgets in work. An incoherent process, as incoherent as life itself. By acquiring awareness not as woman has acquired essential anxiety, but she has not been freed of her nature as a woman, money and freedom, without denying a part of which she must keep with her in loneliness. herself and then she will have won.

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Chinese Festivals

By

Mr. YANG HSIEN-YI

CHINA has three holidays which are everywhere and enthusiastically celebrated by the people. They are: January 1, New Year's Day; May 1, International Labour Day; and October 1, National Day. But China, ancient in history and culture also has many folk festivals dating back hundreds and even thousands of years.

Most important among these are the Spring Festival, the Dragon-Boat Festival and the Mid-Autumn or Moon Festival. Description of Spring Festival deserves a special article. We shall therefore confine ourselves to describing some others.

The Dragon-Boat Festival, the fifth day of the fifth moon according to the old calendar, fell this year on June 2. As usual the people celebrated it by eating the traditional, triangular glutinous rice dumplings made of steamed glutinous rice wrapped in bamboo or other leaves. The dragon-boat is a light, fast craft, its bow shaped like a dragon's head, its stern like a dragon's tail, seating dozens of persons and propelled by paddles. The races, usually accompanied by the beating of drums and gongs, are very gay affairs.

There is a story behind these customs. During the period of the Warring States (403-221 B.C.) there lived in the state of Chu the great poet Chu Yuan. He was a nobleman and very patriotic, but owing to a court intrigue the king banished him to a far place. For more than twenty years he pined in exile. Finally, when the news that came from his homeland led him to despair of its future, he drowned himself in the Milo River (in modern Hunan Province). His death, tradition says, took place on the fifth day of the fifth moon. The dragon-boat race

is supposed to recall the attempts made to find his body, and the dumplings symbolize the food that was thrown into the river to keep the scaly dragon from devouring his body. The persistence of the customs shows how greatly the Chinese people love and respect the memory of their ancient patriot-poet.

The Mid-Autumn Festival is the fifteenth day of the eighth moon (September 8 this year). In the clear air of this season the full moon shines with greater lustre. Long before the celebration, round cakes or moon cakes stuffed with all kinds of sweetmeats are on sale in the market. It has been the tradition to eat moon cakes on the festival day.

One of the legends linked to this festival runs as follows: Long, long ago there was a famous archer who got hold of some pills of the elixir of life. His wife, Chang Ngo, stole and ate them. She flew to the moon and became a fairy there.

Another legend deals with a three-legged toad living on the moon. A third says that a cassia tree grows there and an old man called Wu Kang hews at it incessantly with an axe. But no sooner does he raise the axe than the cleft is joined together again. All these stories, of course are just woven out of the people's imaginative interpretation of the moon's physical features, like the Western "Man in the Moon."

Three comparatively minor festivals bear some resemblance to the European Easter, Mid-Summer's Day and Christmas. They are the Ching Ming (clear and bright), Hsia Chih (summer solstice) and Tung Chih (winter solstice). These festivals are derived from solar terms and hence fall irregularly by the old calendar. So Ching Ming this year fell on the

sixth day of the third moon (April 5), Hsia Chih will fall on the twentyfifth day of the fifth moon (June 22) and Tung Chih on the second day of the eleventh moon (December 22).

As Ching Ming comes in the spring, when the weather is fine and nature is reviving, it is an ideal time for outings or *ta ching* (stepping on the green) as the Chinese call them. According to an old custom, every house is required to hang a willow spring on its door on this day. It is also the season for planting trees. An ancient proverb says: "Whoever does not plant willow on Ching Ming will be a yellow dog in his next life." This was, of course, meant as a warning to the lazy. Today no warning is needed; planting trees in spring-time has become a fixed habit.

To Chinese people spring is the beginning of the year. It is a time when they recall the dear ones who have left them for ever. At Ching Ming they visit the family graves.

In the rural areas in old China, Hsia Chih (summer solstice) was the time to worship Tien Po goddess of the fields. At present this custom has practically died out.

The Tung Chih (winter solstice) used to be a very important occasion. Even now it is widely observed. In north China on this day the people eat hun tun or wheat-flour dumplings stuffed with meat. In south China round rice-flour dumplings are eaten.

Two other autumn festivals are richly coloured with folk-lore. They are the Chi Chiao Chieh (the "Skill-Begging Festival") and the Yu Lan Chieh (Ullambana), which is of Indian origin. The former falls on the seventh day of the seventh moon (August 2 this year), the latter on the fifteenth day (August 10 this year.)

The Chi Chiao, Chieh though an old festival, became popular after the reign of Emperor Hsuan Tsung (713-755) in the Tang dynasty, whose love for Yang Yu-huan has been immortalized in song and drama. According to a Chinese folk-tale the Weaving Maiden, a heavenly fairy, fell in love with a cowherd, whom she married and joined on earth. But the affair unfortunately, came to the knowledge of Hsi Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West) the great goddess of the Taoist pantheon, who had the fairy conveyed back to heaven. The husband followed in hot pursuit, riding his cow which was endowed with magical powers. He was stopped only when the Queen Mother

threw her hairpin across his path and created the Milky Way by which the couple were eternally separated. Standing on either side of the river of stars, the lovers wept. But the magpies took pity on them and decided to fly in formation to build a bridge for them on the seventh moon each year. Ever since then they met once a year on this festival.

Of old, young girls worshipped the Weaving Maiden on the evening of this day, praying for skill in spinning and weaving. They tried to thread needles by moonlight, and those who succeeded were supposed to have their prayers answered. That is the reason for the name of "Skill-Begging Festival."

The connection of this occasion with Emperor Hsuan Tsung (also known as Ming Huang) and Yang Yu-huan, his paramour, came about later. It is said that one year they celebrated the feast together in the Chang Sheng Tien (The Palace of Eternal Youth) in the capital. There they prayed that in heaven they would be like birds flying side by side and on earth like trees with intertwining branches. On this theme Pai Chu-yi (772-846), a great poet of the Tang dynasty, wrote a poem entitled Chang Hen Ko (A Song of Everlasting Sorrow). The story of the Emperor and Lady Yang is also told in a play, The Palace of Eternal Youth, written in the Ching dynasty. These literary elaborations played a great part in the popularization of the festival.

The Yu Lan Chieh (also known as Chung Yuan Chieh) is the time of masses for the Pretas or Hungry Ghosts. It is probably Buddhist in origin. According to tradition the mother of Maudgalyayana, one of Buddha's disciples, committed sins and became a Preta after her death. Maudgalyayana, grieved to see his mother suffer, went into the infernal regions to rescue her, and being gifted with great magical powers he succeeded in his endeavour. The story has been written into plays which are very popular with the people.

Still another autumn holiday is the Chung Yang Chieh or Double-Nine Festival, so called because it occurs on the ninth day of the ninth moon (on October 31 this year). Originally very important, it has long been overshadowed by the Mid-Autumn Festival. The story of its origin is connected with that of Fei Chang-fang, a famous magician of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220). One day he said to his friend Huan Ching: "A great calamity is likely to befall

your family on the ninth day of the ninth moon. To escape it you must tie red bags containing chu yu (dogwood) on your arms, ascend a height and drink chrysanthemum wine." Huan Ching and his family did so. When they came home in the evening they found that all the domestic animals in their house had died. Ever since then people have made this day an occasion for ascending heights, drinking wine and appreciating chrysanthemums which bloom at this season.

Owing to changes in the Chinese people's way of life some of the above festivals have become antiquated. But those most closely connected with poetic traditions have never lost their popularity. Among them are Ching Ming, the Dragon-Boat Festival, the Moon Festival and the Double-Nine Festivals. But China is a multi-national country and has many others.

The Miao people in south-west China, for instance, perform a moon dance, wearing their gayest clothes, around the fifteenth day of the first lunar month.

Roughly at the time of the Spring Festival the Mongolians and Tibetans do a masked dance which is popularly known as Beating the Ghosts and Dancing Before the Gods. Oh the twenty-fifth day of the sixth moon the Yi people of Yunnan Province celebrate their Torch Festival, illuminating all their fields. Tradition says that it commemorates a national hero who lived a thousand years ago.

In the big, joyous and united family of nationalities formed after liberation, the festivals of the minorities, like those of the Hans, continue to play an important part in the people's social life.

Genius Amongst the Tuberculous

BY

Shri K. B. MATHUR

TUBERCULOSIS though a great killer is (Ehrlich spat blood and found acid-fast bacilli sometimes a great creator. It has been argued with a great measure of ingenuity that the toxins responsible for tuberculosis do in fact create certain mental stimulus, a form of intellectual excitability which resolves itself into works of unsurpassed merit. If it should ever be scientifically established beyond doubt that tuberculosis is a direct stimulus to supreme intellectual achievement, we would become involved in a curious dilemma as to whether we should gain by stamping out the white scourge at the price of what might be works of splendid literary or musical genius. It is well-known that some of the tuberculosis patients have created the finest pieces of literature and art and but for them, the world would have been the poorer today.

One can easily find in history one hundred geniuses who were tuberculous and in whom the disease produced an immense mental and emotional uplift. In the literary world this has led to such characteristic exhorting effluvia as "Ode to a Nightingale" (Keats) and "Hassan" (Flecker).

In the arts and sciences, it has given us Raphael's paintings, Spinoza's philosophy, Mozart's music, Laennec's *Traite d'Auscultation Mediate*, and Ehrlich's Side-chain theory.

in his sputum, thereby establishing the definitive method for searching these bacteria in exudates.) The beautiful hymn "Abide With Me" was written by a French clergyman as he lay dying of tuberculosis. It fact he had displayed no such literary talent prior to his illness.

Sydney Lanier believed that his disease had much to do with his artistic creation. During his career he had moments of seemingly good health, during which he worked at white heat. His poem "Sunrise" was composed as he was dying.

John Addington Symond felt that tuberculosis had done much for his writings. When Robert Louis Stevenson was disabled by tuberculosis he wrote "A Child's Garden of Verses", "The Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" and "Kidnapped".

It is now over forty years since Somerset Maugham went to a sanatorium in Scotland where he spent two years mastering tuberculosis. In his book "The Summing Up" Maugham says that he left his bed in the sanatorium with a pang and adds, "I think I learnt a good deal about human nature in that sanatorium that otherwise I should never have known". Indeed, in the sanatorium his "imagination was never

more nimble; it was like a barque under press of sail scudding before the breeze."

W.E. Henley who had one foot amputated for tuberculous disease and was later threatened with the loss of the other foot also, was the author of these inspiring lines:

It matters not how strait the gate!
How charged with punishment the scroll,
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.

He was for 20 months confined in the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, but in spite of his great suffering he was able to write these inspiring lines.

Thomas Mann, undoubtedly one of the really great writers of our century, is particularly arresting to those who have battled against tuberculosis, because his "The Magic Mountain" was the first novel to have its setting in a tuberculosis sanatorium. "The Magic Mountain" was begun in 1912 when the author was at Davos, the famous Swiss sanatorium, with his wife who was being treated for catarrh. "The Magic Mountain" was started as a short story but somehow took possession of its creator and expanded. By the time it was finished in 1924, it was not only a story about tuberculosis but the embodiment of much of the writer's philosophy of life.

Two great Russian writers Chekov, famous for the "Cherry Orchard" and Andrejev who wrote "He Who Gets Slapped", suffered from tuberculosis. The great story-teller Maxim Gorky also told many interesting tales. But the most dramatic which he did not himself tell is the story of the origin of tuberculosis in him. One day, the tramp that he was, he entered a little village in the Nigni-Nevgorod Government and found a crowd of peasants round a cart. Attached by her hair to the cart was a woman and she was being dragged through the village as a punishment for adultery. Gorky's humanitarian feelings were stirred. He asked the peasants to stop. When they refused, he came to blows with them. The villagers had the better of him and left him senseless on the ground. One of his lungs was badly bruised and tuberculosis set in. For many years he lived with one lung only.

Forty years later when he died a famous man, the villagers who had beaten him chartered a special aeroplane to send a deputation headed by two eye-witnesses of the incident to attend his funeral to mark their repentance.

The occasional ecstatic note in some of Whitman's poetry can be ascribed to tuberculosis,

though when the poet died at the age of 74, a post-mortem showed that he was a veritable museum of disease any one of which might have coloured his thinking.

Ernest Bowson was among the saddest and sweetest of verse makers and he too had tuberculosis. His lines concerning his dubious faithfulness to Cynara are probably immortal.

Shelley was indeed telling the truth about himself when, in his "Ode to the West Wind", he says:

".....I would never have striven as thus with thee in my prayer
In my sore need,
Oh, lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!"

And indeed, Shelley did bleed. He suffered from tuberculosis.

Eugene O'Neill would perhaps have been different but for tuberculosis. He was only a tough sailor when he caught tuberculosis. He had to go to a sanatorium for six months. His enforced rest was a blessing in disguise. It gave him time to read voraciously. O'Neill is today known throughout the world as a great dramatist and winner of Nobel Prize.

Alexander Graham Bell is another one of the most famous persons who recovered from tuberculosis. Few people are aware of the fact that it was in an effort to find a way of helping the deaf by conveying vibrations that Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone. It was by teaching a deaf pupil, a young lady who had been deaf by illness at the age of four, that he met his wife. Mrs. Bell was totally deaf but that did not prevent her living a busy, useful and happy life with her husband who survived tuberculosis for 50 years.

Edgar Allan Poe might never have written his famous books had he not suffered from tuberculosis.

From the field of literature alone the following names show the close relationship of tuberculosis with creative effort and accomplishment: Milton, Pope, Hood, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Francis Thompson, Goethe, Schiller, Moliere, Channings, Merimee, Thoreau, Descartes, Locke, Kant, Beaumont, Samuel, Johnson, Sterne, De Quincey, Scott, Jane Austin, the Bronte Sisters — Charlotte, Emily and Ann —, Honore de Blazau, Voltaire, Rousseau, Washington Irving, Hawthorne, Gibson, Kingley, Ruskin, Emerson, Cardinal Manning, Marie Bashkirtteff, Robert Southey, Westcott, Georges de Guein, David Gray, Amiel, John R. Green, Robert Pollock,

Hannah More, James Ryder Sandall, N. P. Willis, Stephen Crane, Katherine Mansfield and Paul Lawrence Dunbar.

We can add to this list Cicero, Demosthenes, Galen and Marcus Aurelius.

Tuberculosis has not spared doctors either. The late Dr. Livingstone Trudeau, pioneer of the sanatorium movement in the U.S.A. and first President of the American National Tuberculosis Association, was himself a tuberculosis patient. In his autobiography he says, "The struggle with tuberculosis has brought me experiences and left me recollections which I never could have known otherwise and which I would not exchange for the wealth of the Indies."

We should not forget Cecil Rhodes who represented the tuberculosis temperament in its most obvious form. All his schemes were vast and his generous system of scholarships is now quite well-known.

Reading all these great names in the fields of literature, science, medicine and philosophy one wonders how poor poetry and literature would have been had not all these great personages contributed their share.

But ultimately we do ask the question; Was it actually tuberculosis which accounted for their achievements? Different people have answered the question differently.

One view is that senses and emotions play the most important part in art. Suffering sharpens the senses and prompts the play of emotions. The tuberculosis germ brings about untold suffering and it is, therefore, not surprising that men and women on whom the germ has left its imprint should also have left an imprint in the realms of art, literature and science.

Another school believes that definite relationship between genius and tuberculosis can be

accounted for by the fact that most tuberculous patients develop a deep inferiority complex and because of this often overcompensate by increased effort and productivity.

Yet another view is that these artistic productions, as shown by their contents and by the relieving effect which they have on the patients, often have an abstractive quality. They are also not infrequently born from the need of a person, unless in his accustomed sphere, to demonstrate to himself and to the world his usefulness is another.

But the truth of the matter seems to be that tuberculosis is a common disease, and, therefore, occurs in persons of genius also. In gifted persons the illness and its handicaps favour productions in the fields of poetry and of painting, and the dreaded limitation of their span of life stimulates their productivity. In other words, the disease intensifies what is there: it does not create genius, but makes it manifest. And we thus know that since tuberculosis only helps in manifestation, it can manifest destructive and creative, dull and numb, perverted and corrupted geniuses as well.

We cannot, therefore argue that tuberculosis is good for it manifests genius. In fact it is hardly worth risk even though we have such drugs as isoniazid and such effective preventive measures as B.C.G. Vaccination. Genius at the expense of suffering and death is intolerable and since tuberculosis is a highly infectious disease it could kill more persons than create prodigies. But this much credit we can give to tuberculosis: that by its havoc and harm it has made us more alive to the need of saving young lives by taking to preventive vaccination, by improving housing and nutrition, and, in short, by bettering the standard of living of our people.

The Great Guru Dignaga

By

THE RIGHT REV. FRIEDRICH V. LUSTIG

ONE of the outstanding figures in Indian Buddhism was the great Guru Dignaga of the city of Sinhavaktra, in the neighbourhood of Kanchi, circa 450 C. E.

As a young man, he received a very good education in a school of worldly sciences. But still in the prime of youth, Dignaga decided to become a Buddhist priest in the Vatsiputriya School. He chose Sihavira Nagadatta as his preceptor.

Nagadatta told his pupil to meditate over the

principle of the Ego (Atman), which from the standpoint of the Vatsiputriyas was inexpressible and was "neither identical with the groups of elements (Skandhas), nor differing from them." Dignaga was assiduous in his practice of meditation and concentration for the removal of the hindrances and besetting sins, which are called in Sanskrit *nivaranani* (obscurations, veils, or hindrances), but he was unable to find any Ego. Profoundly distressed, Dignaga thought that he was possessed of internal and external Obscurations, so he kindled four large fires at the four directions and stripped his body of its monastic dress. Thereupon—so says a Tibetan Buddhist historian—Dignaga "opened his eyes as wide as he could, but in spite of all his searches throughout the ten directions, he did not find the Ego."

Fellow monks saw Dignaga acting in this strange manner and reported about this to Nagadatta. Dignaga was summoned to his teacher's quarters and questioned as to why he was acting in such an unusual way.

"I am searching for the Ego," replied the disciple. Dignaga's Guru could not tolerate such an answer and said: "Thou art overthrowing our philosophical system. Therefore, be gone!"

Now Dignaga reflected as follows: "I have the power of refuting my preceptor by means of Logic, but it does not behove me to do so." And he travelled away.

Having tried many teachers and not being satisfied with their answers, he came to the celebrated Guru Vasubandhu, the twentieth Pope or Patriarch of Buddhism. Under Vasubandhu Dignaga studied to his delight the texts of the Three Vehicles of Buddhism (the Hinayana, the Pratyekabuddhayana, and the Mahayana). He was soon satisfied with his newly elaborated views. Now begins his literary career.

Having made his mind wholly serene, he began to compose works on Buddhism for the benefit of all mankind. Dignaga's style is simple and direct, but carrying great weight.

The great Guru Dignaga composed the *Abhidharmakosha-Marma-Pradipa*, a manual for the use of the students of Buddhism, the *Alambana-Pariksha*, or "The Examination of the Object of Cognition," the *Trikala-Pariksha*, or "The Examination of the Three Times," the *Arya - Prajnaparamitasangraha - Karika*, the *Hastavala-Prakarana*, the *Nyaya-Mukha* (or *Nyaya - Dvara - Tarka-Shastra*). The *Hetu-*

Chakra-Samarthana, or "The Wheel of Logical Reasons," and other fragmentary works, about one hundred in number.

Later on, however, in order to unite all these separate treatises Dignaga composed his celebrated logical *Shastra* called the *Pramana-Samuccaya*, or "The Totality of Means of Correct Knowledge." He wrote this work in the cavern known by the name of Dignaga and situated in the Bhorashaila Mountains, in the kingdom of Odivisha.

The great Guru Dignaga established the edifice of his logic on a foundation of critical realism. But Dignaga's realism was not that naive realism which cancels both introspection and images and stays by the immediate perception of the external things alone, as the Mimamsakas and Vaisheshikas of ancient India had been doing. To Dignaga truth exists on two different planes, the logical and the transcendental. He was realistic in logic and idealist in metaphysics.

Said Hegel, the great European philosopher of the nineteenth century:

"Everything exist first of all only because there exists another. It is what it is through the other, through its own non-existence. Secondly, it exists because the other does not exist. It is what it is through the non-existence of the other. It is a reflection in one's own self."

Dignaga held exactly such view 1,500 years ago. He perceived the twofold possibility of idealism and realism.

Dignaga maintained that one can admit the external Thing-in-Itself and exist in this mental plane without taking into consideration the final dichotomy into subject and object, and that one can take into account and exist in another plane. There will be no contradiction. Subject and object are both internal, the internal world being double. The same idea can be viewed as a cognized object and a process of cognition. There is no difference between the patch of green and the sensation of green.

Dignaga's logic aimed at being equally acceptable to those who deny the existence of the external world and to those who maintain it. To exist meant to the great logician to be efficient. The external object is to him an instantaneous force which excites sensation, and is followed by the construction of an image.

To Dignaga, the knowledge derived from words is indirect knowledge, it is not sensation,

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It is like knowledge through inference. Direct knowledge is perception (sensation), indirect knowledge is inference (conception).

The illustrious Guru Dignaga was the first to draw a clear line between inference and syllogism. Inference was for him a process of cognition, one of the two "sources" of our knowledge, and he called it inference "for one self," or "in one self." Syllogism he called an inference "for others," for it consists of propositions which are resorted to for conveying ready knowledge to others.

Prior to the logical reform of Dignaga there existed in India the theory of a five-membered syllogism established by the philosophical school of the Naiyayikas. The members of such syllogism represented five interrelated steps of an ascending and descending reasoning. These five members were as follows:

1. Thesis. There is fire on the hill.
 2. Reason. Because there is smoke.
 3. Example. As in the kitchen, etc.; wherever there is smoke, there is fire.
 4. Application. And there is such smoke on the hill.
 5. Conclusion. There is fire on the hill.
- The great Guru Dignaga retained only two out of these five members, namely, the general rule including the conclusion. According to Dignaga, the correct syllogism must consist of a general rule and its application to an individual case. This standpoint is perfect agreement with modern European logic.

The Saint of Sinhavaktra maintained that fallacy may be concealed under terms insufficiently clear, and that everything must therefore be properly analysed and made clear beyond the possibility of doubt. In order to establish the number and system of logical fallacies he devised a systematical table called *Hetuchakra*, or "The Wheel of Logical Reasons." In this table Dignaga, placed with amazing precision all the possible positions of the logical reason between similar and dissimilar instances.

The great Guru Dignaga regarded Truth as the quality that characterizes an idea leading to responses.

Dignaga travelled all over India, excluding Kashmir. Nevertheless, Kashmirian representatives of different Buddhist groups came to consult him in South India on many occasions. In the kingdom of Odivisha Dignaga converted to Buddhism the royal treasurer Bhadrपालita, who built in Dignaga's honour sixteen large Buddhist monasteries, with schools of Buddhist logic in each of them.

Dignaga passed away in a lonely forest of Odivisha, and came to be regarded by posterity as one of the "Six Ornaments of the Buddhist Faith" (Nagarjuna, Arya-Asanga, Dignaga, Aryadeva, Vasubandhu, and Dharma-kirti).

But it was not only to Buddhism in India that Dignaga rendered great service. Having given currency to logical tenets, he conferred benefits on the whole world.

Tagore and Gandhi

By
Mr. B. NATESAN

RABINDRANATH TAGORE was born in 1861, and his birth centenary in May this year is a fit occasion for a reassessment of his works and his contribution to the national cause. For over half a century, as poet and man of letters, he held an honoured place in the world of culture, while the award of the Nobel Prize in 1913 spotlighted his eminence and made him a world figure of no mean standing. It was just about this time—or to be more exact, in 1915—that Gandhi returned to India after a hectic and by no means unsuccessful career in far-away South Africa. Gandhi's name had by then become a legend, as much by his queer ways of life and views as by his unconventional methods of political warfare. India, a subject country tied to the apron strings of England, found herself fighting for the freedom of countries in Europe and Africa. Allied statesmen like Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George were filling the air with the thunder of their eloquence, extolling the virtues of democracy and self-determination. Herself not free, India was fighting freedom's battle

abroad. For her, it was a time of awakening and disillusionment. It is on record that one of the first things that Gandhi did on arrival in India was to seek Tagore's guidance and familiarise himself with the Poet's labours in Bolpur. Gandhi, it will be remembered, was born eight years later than Tagore and survived him seven years when his life was suddenly cut short by a fanatic's bullet. Both remained fast friends to the end, vying with each other in demonstrations of affection and regard. Gandhi sought his "Gurudev's" blessings¹ at every crisis, while Tagore's homage² to "Gandhi Maharaj" in prose and verse was unstinted. Yet there were fundamental differences in their outlook and methods of approach to problems of personal and political life. In fact, as Nehru³ has pointed out, no two persons could be so different from one another in their make-up and temperament. "Tagore, the aristocratic artist turned democrat, with proletarian sympathies, represented essentially the cultural tradition of India, the tradition of accepting life in the fullness thereof and going through it with song and dance. Gandhi more a man of the people, almost the embodiment of the Indian peasant, represented the other ancient tradition of India that of renunciation and asceticism. And yet Tagore was primarily the man of thought, Gandhi of concentrated and ceaseless activity. Both, in their different ways, had a world out-

look, and both were at the same time wholly Indian. They seemed to represent different but harmonious aspects of India and to complement one another."

Such differences in temperament and outlook are by no means accidental. They can be traced back to their heredity and upbringing. Tagore came of a family of writers and artists, of reformers and saints. One of his brothers was a celebrated artist who may be said to have founded the Bengal school of painting. His father was a devout Brahmo who spent most of his time as a recluse in his rural hermitage. Losing his mother at an early age he was brought up by home-teaching in the wisdom of the Upanishads and the lyrical fantastic and dramatic creations of Kalidasa. Gandhi, on the other hand, the son of a Dewan of an Indian state, had his regular schooling in Rajkot like other boys of his age, and finished as an Inner Temple lawyer in England. He studied Thoreau and Tolstoy and Ruskin and imbibed their teachings. He shared his mother's austere ways and strictly followed her injunctions to avoid flesh and wine, and cultivated a Spartan simplicity of life. I fancy his practical sense and shrewd understanding of men, he inherited from his father who was, by all accounts, a successful administrator.

Even in appearance Tagore and Gandhi were as unlike each other as could be imagined. Tagore, with his Tennysonian profile, looked every inch a "royal" poet; while Gandhi the ascetic, looked his part as Churchill's "half-naked fakir"—the veritable symbol of India's teeming millions piteously sunk in poverty and degradation, from which it was his mission to save them.

Tagore's published verse and drama, we are told, amount to 150,000 lines or their equivalent; while his non-dramatic prose—novels, short stories, autobiography, criticism, and essays of many kinds—is more than twice as much;⁴ and there is a mass of uncollected material which is being periodically released through the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. Like all writers of varied interests he dabbled in politics, education and social reform. Scholar and recluse by temperament he had little taste for the rough and tumble of public life, and only on rare

4. Edward Thompson: *Rabindranath Tagore: Poet and Dramatist*.

1. In moments of great stress and strain Gandhi always thought of Tagore. Thus when he began his "fast unto death" on 22nd September 1932, soon after his return from the Round Table Conference in London, Gandhi wrote to Tagore: "This is early morning 3 o'clock of Tuesday. I enter the fiery gate at noon. If you can bless the effort, I want it. You have been to me a true friend, because you have been a candid friend often speaking your thoughts aloud. I will yet prize your criticism if your heart condemns my action. I am not too proud to make an open confession of my blunder, whatever the cost of the confession, if I find myself in error. If your heart approves of my action I want your blessing. It will sustain me." Tagore's telegram read: "It is worth sacrificing precious life for the sake of India's unity and her social integrity. Our sorrowing hearts will follow your sublime penance with reverence and love." Gandhi acknowledged the "magnificent wire." "It will sustain me in the midst of the storm I am about to enter."

2. In an article written in 1938 Rabindranath wrote: "Great as he is as a politician, as an organiser, as a moral reformer, he is greater than all these as a man, because none of these aspects and activities limits his humanity. This man seems greater than his virtues, great as they are."

3. *The Discovery of India*.

occasions did he find himself irresistibly drawn into the fray. He figured in the Swadeshi movement of the first decade for a time—but only for a time and then went back to his books and meditation as quickly as he came out of it. Politics was not his natural element.⁵ Poet and dreamer he never took to politics serious, but time and again, overwhelmed by the insult and insolence of British authority, he came out of his retirement with indignant denunciation of cruelty and injustice. But his interest in education and reform was more consistent and unwearied. Long before Gandhi came with his Basic education he had started his Santiniketan school for national education. In this work he was quite in his element, and thanks to his unwearied devotion to the cause, what was begun as an experiment in rural education has now blossomed into a full-fledged University.

But Tagore, as I said, was primarily a poet and should be judged as a poet only: and as a poet he stands comparison with the top men of his age—Tennyson and Arnold and Robert Bridges, his later contemporaries in England. Who that has lived through the twenties of this century could forget the first, fine rapture with which we acclaimed the music and rhythm of *Gitanjali* or the serenades of *The Gardener*? Who could forget the spell of that enchanting Introduction with which W. B. Yeats discovered for us the glory of the Tagorean muse?

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken.

Who could resist the charm and excitement of verses such as these?

Thou hadst made me endless, such is the pleasure.

This frail vessel thou emptiest again and again,

And fillest it ever with fresh life.

Or that other piece of exultation in life, more life and fuller, embodied in:

Deliverance is not for me in renunciation;

5. "When Tagore ceases to be a poet and attempts a consideration of practical issues he ceases to be on firm ground but slips away into an insubstantial world of half-truths and unrealities; whereas in the role which was the only true one for him... that of a poet, he was always on firm ground, handling truth like a sword to pierce the illusions of the appearances of reality."—Ethel Mannin in *Gandhi Marg*, April 1958.

I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.

Surely,

There is sweet music here that softer falls

Than petals from blown roses on the grass.

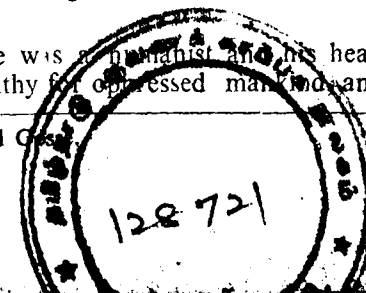
But Tagore, like other poets that we know, has had his vicissitudes of fame and neglect. Public taste like the weather changes from time to time:—"new arts, new raptures, new desires stir the new-born souls of men, and new fingers smite new-fashioned lyres".⁶ And so the old enthusiasm cannot last. But now that Tagore has held his own as a classic we have no doubt that the centenary will mark a revival of interest in the old master, and a wider and a more balanced appreciation of the poet will emerge.

I said that Tagore was no politician but that now and again he stepped out of "his ivory tower of poetry and song" to protest against British repression. This is what he wrote to Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy when renouncing his Knighthood, soon after the Amritsar tragedy in 1919 (his words have a prophetic ring):

"The accounts of the insults and sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons... Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government, which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand shorn of all special distinction, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings."

But Tagore was a humanist and his heart beat in sympathy for oppressed mankind any-

6. Edmund Gosse



where and everywhere. In 1938 Japan overran China with fire and sword in the name of "liberation" and the advent of a "new order". Tagore had learnt of the bombing of Chinese women and children and the desecration of ancient temples and Universities "as a means of saving China for Asia". And when his Japanese friend, Poet Noguchi, coolly asked him to commend this civilizing mission to the Chinese, he grew indignant and wrote in reply:

"You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls. I have, as you rightly pointed out, believed in the message of Asia. But I never dreamt that this message could be identified with deeds which brought exultation to the heart of Tamurlane at his terrific efficiency in manslaughter."

I speak with utter sorrow for your people. Your letter has hurt me to the depths of my heart. I know that one day the disillusionment of your people will be complete, and through laborious centuries they will have to clear the debris of their civilization wrought to ruin by their own war-lords run amok. They will realize that the aggressive war on China is insignificant compared to the destruction of the inner spirit of chivalry of Japan which is proceeding with a ferocious severity.....

Do you seriously believe that the mountain of bleeding corpses and the wilderness of bombed and burnt cities that is everyday widening your two countries is making it easier for your two people to stretch your hands in a clasp of everlasting friendship?"

This superb flame of anger, commented his biographer Edward Thompson, seems to be unsurpassed for brightness and fierce ardour.

Nor can we forget his last testament, his death-bed message, as Nehru says, which he gave to the war-torn world, when India, awakened but disillusioned, stood on the brink of despair panting for freedom but powerless against alien aggression. The demon of barbarity, he wrote with unwonted passion, "has given up all pretence and has emerged with unconcealed fangs ready to tear up humanity in an orgy of devastation. From one end of the world to the other the poisonous fumes of hatred darken the atmosphere. The spirit of violence which perhaps lay dormant in the psychology

of the West, has at last roused itself and desecrated the spirit of man."

And then came those prophetic words the fulfilment of which, so sudden and startling, could not have been foreseen by the Poet himself:

"The wheels of fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind! What stark misery! When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind! I had one time believed that the springs of civilization would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today when I am about to quit the world, that faith has gone bankrupt altogether... Today we witness the perils which attend on the insolence of might; one day shall be borne out the full truth of what the sages have proclaimed: "By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root". "

These occasional outbursts of indignation, coming from a poet of his stature, carried their own weight, as a warning to aggressors and an inspiration to his countrymen. But his real work chiefly lay in his published books which, in quality as in volume, are second to none. In variety of interest and fertility of invention he ranks with the masters of the Victorian age. As Frederick Harrison said of Ruskin, Tagore "was of necessity a stimulus rather than an authority—an influence rather than a master... His readers are charmed, inspired, more than convinced. He is a moralist, an evangelist—not a philosopher or a man of science. But the union of marvellous literary power, with encyclopaedic studies of Nature and Art, both illumined with burning enthusiasm as to all things moral and social, combined to form one of the most fascinating personalities of the century."

Now Gandhi's values, like Tagore's, were essentially spiritual, but he was no poet or dreamer like him; he was an intensely practical person, not above the strife but profoundly involved in it, not in terms of conflict but of *ahimsa*⁸. Gandhi was always in the thick of the fight—his non-violent fight. He was with

7. Quoted by Edward Thompson in his *Tagore: Poet and Dramatist*.

8. Ethel Mannin in *Gandhi Marg*, April 1958.

the peasants of Champaran, on the spot, in their fight with the planters; he was with the Thoreau as well) that the life of the tiller of factory workers in Ahmedabad in their fight the soil and handicraftsman is the life worth with the mill-owners; he personally led the living. Gandhi had urged his countrymen to volunteers in the historic Dandi march; he take to the spinning wheel; and to give it its was with the people in the heart of the city emergent place in the economy of the nation's during the "great Calcutta killing," sharing life, he had coupled it with the winning of their sufferings and exhorting them to behave; Swaraj. Many intellectuals, including Tagore, he went on a pilgrimage of mercy to the afflicted areas of East Bengal in quest of peace and Swaraj. Edward Thompson in his life of goodwill. Where people suffered from the Tagore records that when Gandhi visited the effects of cyclone or flood, he was there, with poet at Jorasanko he asked the poet "to use the his healing counsel, day in and day out, in *carkha* for half an hour daily," "for the sake unwearied service. He did not spare himself. of example." The poet's artist-nephew Aban- He threw himself into the nation's struggle for indranath Tagore who was also there with freedom, at every level, now with the represen- C.F. Andrews said, "Why for only half an tatives of Government, now with the leaders of hour? Why not for eight and a half hours if the people, unsparing in his efforts to improve it will help the country?" Tagore was not the lot of the masses. And the people trusted convinced. To another prominent leader of him and followed him, as they trusted and Non-cooperation he put the question, did he followed the Bodhisattva of old. seriously believe that six months' turning of the *carkha* would bring Swaraj? He was answered, "I do not believe in anything more than I do in that." Rabindranath retorted that if somebody came and told him that three days' worship of the feet of a *panda* would get him into heaven, the worshipping might be a trifle, but he would certainly refuse to enter a heaven so obtained. A Swaraj won by six months of *carkha* turning was not worth having; it was too mechanical and simple.

This is no place to discuss the philosophy and technique of Gandhi's political activities any more than we can attempt an adequate appraisal of Tagore's poetry in a short article on the poet's relations with Gandhi. We must content ourselves with a brief resume of their reactions to each other's views in regard to national reconstruction.

When Gokhale said that public life must be spiritualised he could not have anticipated its implications in Gandhi's mind. Gandhi was not exactly a Victorian Liberal. He evolved a political and social philosophy of his own, compounded of the teachings of Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau. He held that the Sermon on the Mount is a practical guide to every-day life, as much to individuals as to society at large, and that truth and *ahimsa* are as much the end as the means to that end. The end is an extension of the means, and to this home industry. Indeed Tagore's peace should be sought only through non-violence. Gandhi, said Ernest Barker, "could mix the spiritual with the temporal and could be at the same time true to both."

Gandhi's contention was that to millions of half-starved people who suffer from want of work and wages for half the year after harvest time spinning is a useful occupation, it will put some money into their pockets and save them from idleness and ennui. As the mass of the people take their cue from the so-called upper and middle classes the latter could set a whole-some example. Gandhi's call gave momentum to this home industry. Indeed Tagore's Swadeshi and Gandhi's boycott of 1921 gave such a filip to the weaving industry that Indian mills have displaced Lancashire and saved many crores for the nation.

Swadeshi was only one aspect of a comprehensive program of national reconstruction which Gandhi had inaugurated. He aimed at the reform and uplift of Indian life in every sphere. As we have noticed the use of Swadeshi goods and the revival of village industries improved the economic condition of the country, and the boycott of foreign goods aided the growth of industry on modern lines.

When at the call of Gandhi, non-cooperation was in full swing and the burning of foreign cloth spread like wild fire in 1921 the Poet felt it his duty to call a halt to this orgy of "hatred" and "negation." He called it a misleading gospel and lashed out against the country-wide "craze of blind obedience to the leader" and deplored the mass hysteria which could countenance "the burning of cloth heaped up before the very eyes of our motherland shivering and ashamed at her nakedness."

Gandhi's rejoinder to this criticism is a classic in its terseness and simplicity. He hailed the Poet as a "great sentinel" warning the readers against blind obedience and slave mentality. Gandhi would like them to follow him not blindly but with clear understanding. He would scorn the idea of giving to the poor the discarded things that were best burnt up. The poor have their pride no less than their patriotism and it would be insolent to offer them the things you reject as unfit for your wear. Who are you to go about patronising in a superior way, as if the poor had lost their soul and their honour!

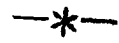
Romain Rolland called Tagore's manifesto a poem of sunlight, and Gandhi's answer under the caption "The Great Sentinel" made him think of a Bodhisattva of pity who had given up poetic flights in order to live among the disinherited. "Here was the misery of the world rising before the dream of art and crying, 'Dare deny me existence?'" It did not let

Gandhi rest, it made him advise the poet in all solemnity: Let Tagore spin, like the others, let him burn his foreign clothes. That is the duty today. God will take care of the morrow.

Men like Tagore and Gandhi, though their main activities are necessarily confined to the limits of their own country, really belong to the world at large. Tagore in particular, by his extensive travels and contacts, was a kind of unofficial ambassador of India. He had a truly international outlook, serving as a sort of bridge for the exchange of cultures between the East and West. Gandhi, more at home in his homeland, laboured for an India of his dreams which would serve as a model for the rest of the world. His experiments in *satyagraha* were for all the world to follow. Even his aggressive nationalism, broad-based on truth and non-violence, was singularly free from the taint of narrowness. "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides, and my windows to be stuffed", he wrote to Tagore. "I want the culture of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

Only the other day Professor Heuss of West Germany, speaking in Delhi, paid a well-merited tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and Poet Tagore, two names which he said, were outstanding in the spiritual and political history of India, because they have become symbolical for the Indian nation and have, over and above this, transformed the world we live in.

"It is a tremendous blessing of fate," he concluded, "that through these two men the creative power of the Indian nation in the moral and cultural sphere was made manifest to a world which for a myriad of reasons is undergoing a radical transformation of individual as well as social consciousness, where give-and-take appear in constant alternation, now as a fruitful gift and now perhaps as a hidden danger."



CURRENT AFFAIRS

Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting

President Kennedy and Mr. Nikita Khrushchev met for 2 days in Vienna on June 3 and June 4. After discussing Germany, Berlin, disarmament and a nuclear test ban treaty, they parted amiably but without any particular warmth on the steps of the Soviet Embassy. Mr. Khrushchev waved genially as the President's car disappeared through the Embassy gates.

The talks between Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev were "useful," a joint American-Soviet communique said. It said the two leaders had reaffirmed their support for a neutral and independent Laos.

After going home Mr. Kennedy in a broadcast speech on June 6 said:

"Mr. Khrushchev and I had a very full and frank exchange of views on the major issues that now divide our two countries. There was no discourtesy, no loss of tempers, no threats or ultimatums by either side; no advantage or concession was either gained or given; no major decision was either planned or taken; no spectacular progress was either achieved or pretended. This kind of informal exchange may not be as exciting as a full-fledged Summit meeting with a fixed agenda and a large corps of advisers on as much direct, first-hand knowledge as possible.

"I therefore thought it was of immense importance that I know Mr. Khrushchev, that I gain as much insight and understanding as I could on his present and future policies. At the same time, I wanted to make certain Mr. Khrushchev knew this country, and its policies, that he understood our strength and our determination, and that he knew that we desired peace with all nations of every kind.

"I wanted to present our views to him directly, precisely, realistically, and with an opportunity for discussion and clarification. This was done. No new aims were stated in private that have not been stated in public on either side. The gap between us was not, in such a short period, materially reduced, but at least the channels of communications were opened more fully, at least the chances of a dangerous misjudgment on either side should now be less and at least the men on whose decisions the peace in part depends have agreed to remain in contact."

Ikeda-Kennedy talks

The outcome of Prime Minister Ikeda's three day State visit to Washington, at the conclusion of which the Japanese leader and President Kennedy affirmed, in a joint communique, dated June 23 their determination to intensify their efforts for world peace and to strengthen the authority of the United Nations, has been welcomed with a sense of satisfaction.

Business quarters are convinced that the Ikeda-Kennedy meetings, at which the two leaders exchanged frank opinions on various international questions of mutual interest would further strengthen the already close ties existing between the two partners across the Pacific ocean.

Two aspects of Mr. Ikeda's visit to the U.S. have created the most favourable impression on the minds of the public. The first is the fact that Mr. Kennedy received the Japanese visitor in a very cordial and even a deferential manner as the chief executive of an important friendly country. The American President took pains to emphasise the fact that Japan and the United States were equal partners dedicated to the same goal of freedom. On the other hand, on his part, Mr. Ikeda unlike his predecessors, went to Washington without any favours to ask for and the visit was largely in the nature of one of courtesy, although to be sure, the two countries have certain problems in the field of trade. Thus, Mr. Ikeda was able to meet Mr. Kennedy on an equal footing.

Secondly, according to Press reports, Mr. Ikeda appears to have won Mr. Kennedy's approval for a request that the people of Okinawa should be allowed to hoist the Japanese National Flag although there is no mention of this in the communique. Hitherto, this has been banned except on certain occasions like the New Year Day and other important Japanese national holidays. The fact that their own flag could not be displayed although technically Japan enjoyed "residual sovereignty" over Okinawa has been a matter of great dissatisfaction to the Japanese people. Permission for the flag to be displayed will go towards alleviating these feelings and will add to Mr. Ikeda's prestige in the eyes of the people.

I.L.O. expels S. Africa

The Resolutions Committee of the 45th International Labour Conference which met at Geneva voted on June 23 that South Africa should withdraw from the world labour body.

The vote, which was on a resolution tabled by the Nigerian Government and amended by the Indian Government, was 44 in favour, zero against and 23 abstentions.

The resolution in its preamble says South Africa's *apartheid* policy "subjects indigenous African citizens to racial discrimination to their economic and social disadvantage." It then calls on the conference to adopt the four following operative paragraphs—that it.

"1. Condemns the racial policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

"2. Expresses the utmost sympathy with those people of South Africa whose fundamental rights are suppressed by the *apartheid* policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa as well as those courageous people who irrespective of race and colour, are opposing *apartheid*.

"3. Declares that the continued membership of the Republic of South Africa in the International Labour Organisation is not consistent with the aims and purposes of the Organisation.

"4. Resolves that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office be requested to advise the Republic of South Africa to withdraw from membership of the Organisation until such time as the Government of the said Republic abandons *apartheid*, which is against the declared principles embodied in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and further requests the Governing Body to ensure speedy implementation of this resolution."

Soviet help to Pakistan

The Soviet Union has expressed its willingness to give "substantial" economic aid to Pakistan to help meet its Second Plan commitments, says a message dated June 15.

Pakistan has been sounded about the offer through diplomatic channels. No sum has been named but it is believed to be "quite substantial," the sources added.

The Soviet Union is joined in the offer by other Eastern Bloc nations.

The Russian offer comes at a moment when Pakistanis are openly expressing their disappointment over the meagre \$550 million allocation by the Western consortium as against \$950 million asked for.

Official circles in Karachi do not try to hide their disappointment and even anger at "the motherly treatment" given to Pakistan

by its Western allies as compared with India which got \$2,425 million from the same group.

With on negotiations progressing satisfactorily between a visiting Russian team of experts and Pakistan officials, the new economic aid offer is likely to accelerate away from the West shift in Pakistan, observers think.

This shift has been evident recently. The influential newspaper, *Dawn*, which often reflects official view-point, has been conducting a regular campaign indicting the United States and other Western countries of letting down their "strong ally," Pakistan, and encouraging neutralist nations. The Attorney-General of Pakistan, Chaudri Nazir Ahmad Khan, said at a Rotary Club meeting that neutralism had "its own advantages" and that it was foolish to believe that the economic or any other aid the Western powers were giving to developing nations was motivated by any nobler designs and was without strings.

Viewed in this perspective, Pakistan is certain to accept if any aid offer is made by the Soviet Union or any other non-Western power.

Japan's post-war debts

The long pending question of Japan's post-war debts to the United States was settled at Tokyo on June 10 with the initialling of an agreement between the two sides.

Under the agreement, Japan will pay to the United States Government a sum of 490 million U.S. dollars in final settlement of all post-war assistance received from the United States. However, the United States agreed to use the bulk of the amount to be repaid by Japan for economic aid programmes for the less developed countries of Asia. A part of the amount unofficially stated to be of the order of 25 million dollars is to be utilised for educational exchanges programmes between Japan and the United States.

The agreement was initialled by the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Rentaro Kosaka and the U.S. Ambassador Mr. Edwin Reschauer. A formal agreement in accordance with the memorandum initialled is to be concluded at a later date, after further talks in Tokyo.

Speaking after initialling the memorandum Mr. Kosaka described it as "a happy consequence of our concerted efforts for a final solution of the problem" and said it contained "all the substantive understandings" reached between the two countries during the negotiations which were completed in a month's time.

No exact figure is available for the total amount of post-war assistance given to Japan by the United States in various forms, but it is estimated to be in excess of 2,000 million dollars. The assistance was given largely under two programmes, known as assistance for Government and relief in occupied areas (GARIOA) and assistance for economic rehabilitation in occupied areas (EROA). The amount agreed to be repaid by Japan is less than one fourth of the total assistance received. It is much lower than the 640 million dollars which the United States had demanded in 1954.

Japan will repay the total amount over a period of 15 years under the following formula; 24 semi-annual payments of 21,959,125 dollars each and thereafter six semi-annual payments of 8,701,690 dollars each. These payments include interest at the rate of 1½ per cent per annum on the unpaid balance of the principal.

Conference of neutral nations

The report of the Indian delegation to the preparatory meeting may well influence Prime Minister Nehru to take an active part in the deliberations of the neutral nations summit conference in Yugoslavia to be held from September 1.

The joint communique gives expression to unanimity of views that prevailed on many matters. But as usual on such occasions the communique does not either correctly portray the atmosphere that prevailed or bring out clearly the forces that governed the attitude of many countries present.

The communique issued after protracted and sometimes heated discussions must be taken to represent a compromise between extreme positions. Curiously enough India seems to have found herself at one extreme on many issues and many African countries were inclined to regard India's position as of the extreme Right. At the other extreme, were Guinea and Mali on some occasions, and Cuba on one or two issues. The role of mediation so familiarly attached to India was now left to the sponsors of the meeting, some of whom thought that India's Conference was vitally important. While it may have been thought that Guinea's extremism is the result of her close friendship with Peking, few countries found it easy to stand Cuban extremism.

If India found herself in a somewhat unenviable position at the Cairo meeting there are many reasons. One is that the meeting was attended by 11 Foreign Ministers who were all

skilled politicians and who wanted to take decisions on the spot. But India was represented by an official, though of the status of Secretary-General who could not commit his Government straightway. Secondly, although Mr. Nehru has lent his name to be included along with the co-sponsors, the Press comments have created the impression abroad that somehow India is not enthusiastic about the Neutral Nations' Summit. Naturally, many of the countries which were keen on making the Summit meeting a success viewed the presence of the Indian delegation with a certain amount of anxiety, if not suspicion. Even now the need for clarity of views and expression on the subject does not appear to have been fully realised.

Is Britain isolated?

One important result of President Kennedy's European tour has been to spotlight the isolated position in which Great Britain now finds herself. This was the opinion of top British political observers in London.

Mr. Kennedy's visit to the British capital which the *Times* described pointedly as a "courtesy visit", helped to confirm this impression. The three-hour tete-a-tete between Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan said reliable sources, was not as friendly as was officially claimed.

Mr. Macmillan complained about the loosening of traditional links between Britain and the United States,—links which for 15 years have played an essential part in British policy. But unlike President Eisenhower, Mr. Kennedy—it was thought—did not consider Britain as the leading ally, which should be consulted first.

As a British M.P. pointed out, the direct telephone line still exists between Admiralty House (containing the Premier's temporary offices) and the White House, but it gets used less and less often. An example of this occurred when Mr. Macmillan learned by accident when he was in Jamaica, that President Kennedy had decided to meet Mr. Khrushchev.

Palestinian Arab Refugees

President Kennedy, in messages sent to the heads of five Arab States, on May 12, has asked them for swift replies informing him clearly of their positions on certain Arab problems before the next session of the United Nations Assembly.

Press reports dated June 11 said Mr. Kennedy's messages expressed the U.S. Govern-

ment's desire to help in solving the problems of the Arab world, particularly the Palestinian question.

With regard to Palestinian Arab refugees, the U.S. President was said to have suggested offering them a choice between returning to their native land or an equitable compensation. He was also said to have declared that the U.S. was ready to assist in a solution to the Palestinian problem on these terms.

President Kennedy was reported to have proposed that 25 per cent of the Arab Palestine refugees be permitted to return to their homeland—now Israel—and that some of the rest be integrated in Arab countries. He had also proposed permitting the Arab refugees to emigrate to the United States, Canada and Australia.

Mr. David Ben-Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister, at first rejected but later accepted the proposal that 25 per cent of the refugees go to Israel.

(According to United Nations official figures in June, 1959, there were then over one million Arab refugees in the Middle East, about 600,000 of them in Jordan).

K. on settlement in Europe

Mr. Khrushchev declared at Moscow on June 15 that "a peaceful settlement in Europe must be accomplished this year."

In a television and radio "Report to the Nation" on his Vienna Summit talks with President Kennedy, the Soviet Prime Minister called on all States who had fought against Nazi Germany to take part in a peace conference to sign a German peace treaty.

Any attempt to change the German borders would mean nuclear war, he said. "When a peace treaty has been signed, the countries wanting to maintain communications with Western Berlin will have to negotiate them with the Government of the German Democratic Republic," Mr. Khrushchev said.

Mr. Khrushchev said many of his listeners were already familiar with the memoranda presented to President Kennedy. Many had also read the text of the President's speech published in the Soviet Press. Thus the Soviet public opinion was familiar with the background. He now wanted to share his reflections on the talks he had with President Kennedy.

He said he regarded personal meetings as essential, because they were the only means of settling questions which could not be settled by

ordinary diplomatic means. He said he was satisfied with his talks with President Kennedy.

"When we were going to Vienna for talks with President Kennedy, we considered that these meetings were necessary to safeguard peace and to reduce tension in the world," Mr. Khrushchev said.

Mr. Khrushchev added that in the present conditions, the question of the cessation of nuclear weapon tests should be settled jointly with the question of general and complete disarmament.

He said: "We are using all possibilities to stave off the danger of a new world war by reaching an agreement on disarmament."

LAOS.

At Zurich (Switzerland) the three heads of Laos warring factions agreed on June 22nd to form a Government of National Union that will be named by the King.

The three princes—pro-Western Boun Oum, neutralist Souvanna Phouma and pro-Communist Souphanouvong—also said they would integrate the divided country's three armies into a single force.

Later, on June 23rd Prince Souphanouvong, the Pathet Lao leader said at a Press Conference that a single Laotian delegation to the 14-nation conference in Geneva would be appointed by the Coalition Government, to be in accordance with the decision taken at the "Summit" talks and would thus have to wait until that Government had been formed.

During the interval before the next meeting of the Princes, the three-party talks at Ban Na Mon, in Laos, would study questions still unresolved.

It was announced later that the three Laotian Princes had agreed that their delegations would all attend the conference in Geneva till a single Laotian delegation was formed.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, told reporters the three Princes had agreed to this during meetings he had had with them. The delegation of Prince Boun Oum had refused so far to attend the conference on the same basis as the delegations of Prince Souvanna Phouma and Prince Souphanouvong.

The Cambodian leader said he had also been discussing with the three Princes a series of draft proposals which Cambodia would present to the Geneva conference soon. These proposals would be in two parts. The first part would outline a number of proposals on the neutrality of Laos, on which all the

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three Princes and Cambodia were agreed. The second part would outline the existing differences between the three Princes—mainly on future measures for international control in Laos. Prince Sihanouk said a working party of the delegation of the three Princes and of his own advisers would continue working on the draft proposals. They would be announced to the Press in Zurich later.

Prince Souphanouvong, said that the latest fourday "summit meeting", was "crowned with success". There were a number of important questions still unsettled, but these "must be solved very soon".

The next meeting of himself, Prince Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist leader, and Prince Boun Oum, should take place in Laos, Prince Souphanouvong said. "The three parties must meet again in the shortest possible time", he said. "The meeting should be in Laos because of the improved atmosphere resulting from the Zurich meeting".

Prince Souphanouvong also said the Pathet Lao insist that the National Assembly should be dissolved before the formation of a Coalition Government.

Prince Souphanouvong stressed that the had come to Zurich to seek agreement with his neutralist half-brother, Prince Souvanna Phouma, and pro-Western Boun Oum "despite all our victories". This was a concession "to achieve national harmony and reconciliation", he said.

The Pathet Lao leader said he intended to back Prince Souvanna Phouma for the Premiership.

Congo.

President Moise Tshombe of Katanga announced at a Press conference at Leopoldville on June 23rd that he had been freed and had agreed to work together with his brothers of the former Belgian Congo to make "a very great country".

Mr. Tshombe, however, expressed doubts that all the arrangements to reconvene Parliament after a nine-month break could be completed by the target opening date.

"I think it is quite impossible", he said, and added that he had not yet entered into any discussions with the Kasavubu Government on Katanga's participation in Parliament. But his attitude left little doubt that his Katanga Parliamentarians would attend.

"My release was the *sine qua non* for their participation," he said. "Now I am free, Gen.

Mobutu interrupted to reinforce the point, saying that the Katanga President's imprisonment had ended "completely" on June 23.

Mr. Tshombe said he absolved the Central Government of responsibility for his arrest in Coquilhatville on April 26. "There were external influences at Coquilhatville" he said, "and they were behind my arrest".

Mr. Tshombe did not specify who "the external influences" were and at the time of the arrest, Kasavubu's Foreign Minister Mr. Justin Bomboko took full credit on the Central Government for the arrest.

"Our desire is to collaborate with all our friends," Mr. Tshombe said, waving his long arm expansively. "We won't let them down".

Congress Ministry in Orissa

The President's rule in Orissa came after the resignation of the Congress-Ganatantra coalition Ministry on Feb. 21 of this year. This Ministry was in office for 21 months. In the mid-term election held earlier in June the Congress was returned with a large majority. On June 23 a seven-member Congress Ministry in Orissa headed by Mr. Bijoyananda Patnaik assumed office thus bringing to an end President's rule in the State imposed on Feb. 25.

The Governor, Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, administered the oath of office and secrecy to Mr. B. Patnaik and his Cabinet colleagues at a function at the Sardar Patel Hall, Bhubaneswar in the presence of a large gathering.

The following distribution of portfolios was announced at the first meeting of the Cabinet:

Mr. Bijoyananda Patnaik: Chief Minister; Finance, Industry, Mining, Irrigation and Power, Planning, Co-operation and Fisheries.

Mr. Biren Mitra: Political and Services, Community Development, Local Self-Government, Gram Panchayats, Law.

Mr. Nilamoni Routray: Supply, Commerce and Labour.

Mr. Sadasiv Tripathy: Revenue, Excise and Forests.

Mr. Pahitra Mohan Pradhan: Agriculture, Education and Tribal and Rural Welfare.

Dr. P. V. Jagannath Rao: Health and Animal Husbandry.

Mr. Harihar Singh Mardaraj: Roads and Buildings and Transport.

Liberation of Goa

A Goa week was organised in Bombay on the 10th June. Addressing the concluding meeting on June 18 Mr. V. K. K. Menon described

Goa as the "unfinished business of the liberation movement in the country." Mr. Menon said that the initiative for the liberation of Goa rested largely on the people themselves. He said nothing could stand against powerful public opinion and if it was well organised it would generate world opinion also for their cause and dictators could not suppress people's freedom urge for long.

The Defence Minister said that the Government of India had contributed a great deal in the last few years to focus the attention of the world on the Portuguese regime in this country. The conditions that existed in Angola had been exposed to the world. Portugal was getting more and more isolated among the nations of the world. The impact of the world opinion would tell more and more on Dr. Salazar's regime in the coming days and also among the members of NATO who are "friends" of Dr. Salazar.

Referring to the moves of certain people in Goa to seek autonomy within the Portuguese Empire itself, Mr. Menon said that one could not have autonomy in an Empire. It was a contradiction in terms and the move was intended to "fool some people."

Mr. Menon also dismissed the charge made against India in certain quarters that Catholic religion was in danger in this country. He drew the attention of the people to the plight of Catholic priests in Angola and said that hundreds of priests were arrested in that colony. He made a categorical declaration that there was no danger to the Catholic religion and five million Catholics in India were enjoying complete freedom and equality with other people.

A. K. Gopalan's Fast

Mr. A. K. Gopalan had launched his hunger-strike on June 6 at Amaravati in protest against unsatisfactory management of the State Government for Amaravati settlers. He was arrested on June 14 and remanded to judicial custody in the Kottayam District Hospital.

The Government announced their decision to take steps to withdraw the case against Mr. Gopalan. They had also explained in their Press Note steps they were taking and proposed to take to ameliorate distress and suffering among Amaravati settlers in whose cause Mr. Gopalan started his fast.

About 1,200 families evicted from the proposed Iddikki Hydel Project area in the high

ranges were being resettled in Amaravati reserve forest area.

On 17th June Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Deputy Leader of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha, terminated his 12-day-old fast begun in protest against the treatment meted out by the State Government to the Amaravati settlers evicted from the Iddiki reservoir area.

Mr. E. M. S. Nambudiripad also announced the withdrawal of the programme of direct action launched by the Krishaka Sangham for the same purpose.

The settlement was arrived at after two days of negotiations between the Kerala Home Minister M. P. T. Chacko and Communist leaders, Mr. E. M. S. Nambudiripad and Kerala Secretary, Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair.

The Sarvodaya leader, Mr. Kelappan and Mr. George Thomas Kottukappally, M.P. also took part in the talks.

Hindi for UPSC Tests.

After prolonged consultations at various levels it has now been decided to introduce Hindi alongside English as a medium for all competitive examinations held by the Union Public Service Commission from 1963.

The U. P. S. C. has conveyed to the Government its readiness to implement this decision, on June 23.

The University Grants Commission was known to have opposed the move but the Union Education Ministry did not share its view that the option to examinees to take their tests through the medium of Hindi would be to the disadvantage of candidates from eastern and southern States.

Now that it has overcome the initial hesitations, the Government seems keen to move steadily on the road to discharge its constitutional obligations towards Hindi. Hence the decision shortly to introduce Hindi in some of the training establishments, civil and military. In fact some of the military establishments have already made a start with it.

Furthermore, the Government has told the Ministries that wherever they have the proper personnel noting in Hindi should be introduced on an experimental basis. The Education Ministry is the first to embark on this experiment. Every communication received in Hindi is being replied to in the same language.

The Government is running 60 centres all over India where 40,000 employees are trained in Hindi every four months.

The official assurances to retain English as an associate language of the Union are being written into a bill which is, however, unlikely to be ready for introduction during the term of present Parliament.

Khasa Subba Rao.

It is with deep regret we record the death of Mr. Khasa Subba Rao, veteran journalist and Editor of *Swaraja Weekly* of Madras on June 16. He was born on Jan. 20, 1896 in Nellore. He had his education in the V. R. College there and the Presidency College, Madras, graduating in Philosophy.

From Nellore, he gravitated to Madras, where he joined the English daily, the "*Swarajya*," which had been founded by Mr. T. Prakasam. It soon became clear that Mr. Subba Rao had found his true profession. Perhaps the most notable of the band which sustained the paper in all its tribulations, Mr. Subba Rao wielded a trenchant pen. But, though he was a powerful writer, he was also a fair one. He was not given to hitting the enemy below the belt. It was also his endeavour to conduct the discussion on the highest plane.

His journalistic career was varied. He served the *Indian Finance* of Calcutta as Associate Editor, and subsequently the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay. As Editor of the latter, he defied a Government order banning the publication of uncensored news on the Quetta earthquake. The Bombay Government, thereupon forfeited the security of Rs. 40,000 which the paper had been required to furnish.

He again became the editor of *Swarajya* in 1938. As Editor of the *Indian Express* he was associated with it until 1944. Always a man of independent views, he disagreed with many newspaper proprietors and was not afraid to resign lucrative positions when he felt that his principles were being trespassed upon. Mr. Subba Rao took a full part in the freedom struggle. He went to prison twice. He was severely beaten by the police when picketing shops selling foreign cloth in Madras. The effects of the beating remained with him until the end.

A new phase in his career opened in 1946 when Mr. Subba Rao edited the weekly, *Swatantra*. He gathered around him a band of young writers, to whom he gave every possible encouragement. His weekly articles under the title *Side-lights*, attracted great attention.

After ten years, Mr. Subba Rao started another weekly, "*Swarajya*" which also, under his inspiring leadership, lost little time in establishing itself. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was associated with him in this venture. Mr. Subba Rao served as President of the Southern India Journalists' Federation.

Pak-India Financial Settlement

The prospect of a settlement in respect of Indo-Pakistan financial outstandings appears to be bleak, protracted negotiations between the Governments of India and Pakistan, at official and ministerial levels, having failed to bear fruit.

The Government of India is understood to have reminded Pakistan several times of the desirability of coming to an early and amicable settlement on the issue, but Pakistan has not been able even to indicate a convenient date for her Finance Minister to come to India for further talks.

It was in March last that a series of talks took place in Delhi on this subject. Apart from the talks being cordial and friendly, nothing tangible resulted.

Some broad agreement in principle regarding Pakistan's share in the public debt of undivided India and her liability in respect of payment of provident fund and other things were arrived at. But when the details came up for discussion the Pakistan delegation pleaded for time to consult its Government and left. Since then no communication has been received in India on the matter.

According to India, the total liability of Pakistan in respect of pre-partition financial outstandings total about Rs. 3,500 million. Pakistan, on the contrary, claims—without committing herself to any specific figure—that India has to pay some more money to her.

Dr. K. S. Krishnan

We regret to record the death of Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Director of National Physical Laboratory and Scientist of world renown. He died, of heart failure at New Delhi on June 14. Dr. Krishnan had been the Director of the National Physical Laboratory ever since its inception in 1947. He attended several International Scientific Conferences on behalf of India. He was awarded the Padma Bhushan in 1954 for his contribution to scientific research, and was later appointed a National Professor.

He was also a member of the Board and Governing Body of Scientific and Industrial

Research, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, University Grants Commission, Chairman of the Board of Research of Nuclear Science and fellow of several scientific societies and academies.

He was President of the National Academy of Sciences in 1945-46. Earlier in 1940 he was elected president of the Physics Section of the Indian Science Congress and its General President in 1949. He was the Vice-President of the International Union of Pure and Applied Physics from 1951 to 1957 and of the International Council of Scientific Unions from 1955 to '57. He went to the U. S. A. in 1955 as the guest of honour of the National Academy of Science, Washington.

His publications include several papers in the Transactions and the Proceedings of the Royal Society and other scientific journals on optics, magnetism, electronics and the physics and chemistry of solids, particularly of metals.

Dr. Krishnan was connected with various cultural and literary organisations in the capital. He himself was a scholar in Tamil.

To say that Dr. Krishnan's death is a great loss to Indian science would be a trite tribute to his memory. With a life long passion for learning and research Dr. Krishnan has international fame for his contribution to science. He worked with Dr. C. V. Raman and was also responsible for the discovery of Raman effect. He should be remembered for his post-independence efforts for scientific and technological advance thus bringing India in the forefront of Scientific world. The National Physical Laboratory, the first of the chain of national laboratories set up since Independence, is what it is solely due to the loving care he took in its expansion and in guiding the great work it is doing. His appointment as a "National Professor" came to him in recognition of his eminence as a scientist and the nation honoured him with the award of Padma Bhushan.

Silver Jubilee of A. I. R.

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, declared at New Delhi on June 8 that the foundations of the broadcasting system in India had been squarely laid and "it can be depended upon to cope with our people's future needs."

The President, who was broadcasting from the Delhi station of A. I. R. on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee celebrations, said:

"I send my best wishes to the All India Radio and its millions of listeners in India and

abroad on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee celebrations. The history of broadcasting in India, as encompassed in these 25 years, may be said to epitomise the growth of such public services in our country. It also serves to bring forth clearly the facts of transition from pre-1947 to post-Independence development of these services.

"Universally accepted as one of the most effective media of contact with all grades of public, ranging from the town dwellers to those living in far-flung hamlets, the role of broadcasting in the gigantic task of nation-building can never be exaggerated in a country like India. Much of the welfare and reconstruction work initiated by the Government and other agencies needs elucidation and following up, and the All India Radio is best suited to undertake this function.

"Remarkable though the progress of broadcasting has so far been in our country, I am afraid we may have touched merely the fringe of the problem so far as our future development plans and potential requirements are concerned. We can feel happy, however, that the foundations of the broadcasting system have been squarely laid and it can be depended upon to cope with our people's future needs."

The Muslim Convention

The All-India Muslim convention which met at New Delhi on June 11 & June 12 has endorsed the national integration proposals put forward by the All-India Congress Committee. Its principal aim was not to entirely echo the Congress sentiments. That Muslims found it necessary to hold the convention is regarded as a forcible reminder that, however, admirable the principles proclaimed by the Congress may be, it is in the sphere of implementation that serious deficiencies have developed.

The fact that the minorities could meet freely, express their grievances boldly and demand firm remedial measures is something which could not be ignored. On the contrary, in Pakistan few in high positions had an encouraging word to say to the non-Muslim minority. No information about the East Pakistan communal riots is yet available and what non-Muslims there felt can only be guessed. Therefore the convention leaders felt that the remedy lay in the community itself. On the one side the community must stand for its rights and on the other it must make a determined effort to bring about closer integration with the majority community. Throughout the discussions no refer-

rence was made to Pakistan or the non-Muslims there. Apparently the Muslim leaders felt that just as they were fighting their battle in India, the non-Muslims in Pakistan also must stand up for their rights.

Matching the proceedings one got the impression that the Muslim community lived by and large by itself says the correspondent of a local daily. The names of many Muslim leaders present at the convention are seen only in small weekly Urdu newspapers read mainly by Muslims. As in pre-Independence days, and so now, there have been few attempts by leaders of either community to draw them closer together. The grey and white-bearded leaders sitting on the dais were all familiar figures known from pre-Independence days. There were few new faces—except three or four from Kashmir. Most of these leaders had supported the Congress throughout their political career and continue to do so. But they have not been able to fight the separatist ideas so successfully spread among the Muslims by the Muslim League. Most Muslim leaders are religious priests, Maulanas and Maulvis, and their influence on the masses has been more on the cultural and religious side than in the political field. Few young men were present at the Convention.

A large section of the Muslim intelligentsia which benefited by reservation of top Government posts had migrated to Pakistan. Reservation on communal basis had helped only the individuals concerned and left little impact on the community. Those who enjoyed the fruits of communalism dared not preach the virtues of nationalism and abolition of special privileges. It is difficult to foresee what lead the present aging leadership would give to fifty million Muslims in India.

It would be erroneous to think that all those who really count in Muslim politics participated in the convention, impressive as it was with 600 delegates hailing from every State in India. Those who in pre-independence days actively supported the Muslim League have not reconciled themselves to their present position. Many of these gentlemen have issued statements urging the Muslims to abandon the Congress and join hands with other minorities to fight the Congress.

Dr. Syed Mahmud was the President of the Convention and Maulana Hafizur Rahman was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Communal riots in East Pakistan

The Government of India have handed a note to the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi, about the communal riots in Gopalganj Sub-Division, in Faridpur District, East Pakistan, early in May.

Announcing this in a Press Note dated June 22, the External Affairs Ministry says that the report received from India's Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca has confirmed earlier reports that the non-Muslims, particularly the Namasudra community, have suffered 500 casualties including the injured, besides widespread arson.

The Press Note said that in the first week of May, the Deputy High Commissioner for India in Dacca, Mr. S. K. Chowdhury, received reports of "serious communal disturbances" in some villages of Gopalganj Sub-Division of East Pakistan's Faridpur district. "The Government of India thereupon felt that it would be useful if their Deputy High Commissioner could visit the affected area and send them a factual report. Such a visit was made possible by the Pakistan authorities only in the first week of June. Pakistan officials accompanied the Deputy High Commissioner throughout the tour.

"The report of the Deputy High Commissioner has now been received and the Government of India regret to state that it has confirmed the earlier reports that serious communal disturbances had occurred in Gopalganj Sub-Division, resulting in loss of life and widespread arson. A rough estimate of casualties, including the injured and those missing, is said to be about 500."

Dr. Prasad on Censorship of Films

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was speaking at a film awards function at Bombay on June 18, appealed to film producers to realise their responsibility to the people who patronised them and even more to society at large. He said:

"All that the Government does in respect of the films produced by private producers is to regulate their production in two ways. Firstly, there is industrial regulation, that is to say, regulation in respect of the import and use of raw film, and other rules and regulations governing the shooting and exhibition of films. Secondly, Government has sought to regulate films from the social and moral point of view. While both the standpoints are important, there is reason to attach greater importance to the moral or social regulation in national interest."

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Brainwashing. By Edward Hunter. Pyramid Books Inc. New York 22.

This is an ingenious account of the "Brainwashing" technique said to have been evolved by the Communists from the experiments on dogs and men made by Pavlov over thirty years ago. As Solomon said in his wisdom, there is nothing new under the sun, and in spite of the author brainwashing techniques were known to the Inquisition and the Third degree methods of Protestant American Policemen. But judgmentally we have no right to disregard the substantial nature of the case made out because of the extravagances of the advocate and the author who has been specialising in sensation reporting from 1927 has made a good job of it from his standards of factual representation. He has interviewed a number of prisoners of the Communists who have repudiated the "confessions" they made and explained the physical and psychological pressure put on them. Instances are known of British and Indian High Court Judges including Lord Chancellor Buckmaster put such alternating bullying and cajoling tactics on prisoners and advocates with an eye to the main chance and "convert them."

The Call Divine No. 101 Vol. XI No. 5. January 1961, pp. 384. Annual. Subscription. Rs. 3 or 5sh. or 1.25 dollars. 1/8 Bhuta Nivas, Vincent Road, Matunga, Bombay 19.

This issue specially devoted to Ramana Bhagavan whose birthday falls in January (Margazhi) is full of spiritual nourishment and literary excellence. Pride of place must go to Professor Swaminathan's charming translation of Pulavar Thooran's Empty Heart. Himsa or Ahimsa by itself is neither good nor bad says Swami Rajeswarananda following Dharma Vyadha's explanation to Kowsika Brahmana in the Vana Parva of the Mahabharatha. The quotation from Swami Vivekananda's dictum that he who preaches that by This Name alone shall thou be saved, by his exclusiveness both betrays his foolishness and also calls for sympathetic pity is very apt. The Symposium on "How Can Individual Help Realization of Universal Brotherhood in the Family of Humanity" by seventy-two distinguished contributors from all walks of Humanity is both brilliant and helpful.

They all emphasize what Lord Hobart said in 1875 that the differences of time and clime melt away before the communion of mind and soul resulting from a liberal education. It is not possible to catalogue the other features of this interesting issue like Mr. C. R. Pattabrahman's recollection of Spiritual Leaders, etc., except to say that so much inspiration for a mere quarter Rupee revives one's hopes for Righteousness in widest commonality spread.

Helen Keller's the story of my life. Price 75 cents. Popular Library Inc. New York.

This is a Special Student Edition of the Autobiography which originally appeared in 1902 and includes some supplementary matter also about her education. Born on 27th June 1880, for a year and seven months, till February 1882, Helen had normal vision and she could see perfectly. Gradually the sense of sight grew dimmer and at the age of six the blindness was complete and incurable. Then began specialised education which ended with graduation at Radcliffe College in 1904. In such a background, there were unkind suggestions that Mills Sullivan and plagiarism might account for the excellence of some of Helen's output. These are carefully disproved extenuating nothing and setting down nothing in malice. Anyone having personally met Helen Keller will confirm Mr. Perry's statement that recollections of the first year of life and responsiveness to vibration and tactile sense made Helen's handicaps grave but not insuperable. May the book prove an inspiration to the future generations as to Helen's contemporaries!

Indian Classical Music and the Western Listener. By Howard Boatwright. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupathy, Bombay. Price 50 nP.

This pamphlet intended as a justification against what the writer considers as unjust criticism by Western Critics on Indian Classical Music at once points out the need to know the intricacies of Indian Music to appreciate it fully. The author then gives his observations on various aspects of Indian Music—Northern Classical and Southern Carnatic. He compresses these two among themselves and also compares them with their Western Counterpart. The pamphlet is highly interesting.

JUNE-JULY 1961]

The Socio-Economic History of Northern India. (304 to 1194 AD) by B. P. Mazumdar, pp. 418. Price Rs. 20 K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta.

Professor Mazumdar of Patna has successfully followed the lead of J. R. Green's History of the English People and similar Works. Indian Feudalism like its European counterpart held aloof from the common people the Military system led to Mutual Jealousy and healthy emulation and Co-operation. The castes and professions became petrified. Beef was taboo but not buffalo. The status of women improved. The monastic Universities decayed owing to general insecurity. Money-lending prospered but industries and production diminished. Festivals and pilgrimages flourished and maintained the essential unity of Bharatavarsha. Corruption in administration led to public servants being called crabs and white ants.

Altogether things were as bad and as good as they are for the mass of the people under any form of government. Interesting reading on the whole.

Bhagawan Buddha. By R. R. Diwakar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Bombay. Rs. 2/-

A book dealing with Lord Buddha does not require any introduction. Its subject-matter itself is ample justification of its publication. The book deals with the life of the founder of the religion with the accounts of his various religious conquests. There are a few illustrative art plates. There is one appendix which throws light on why Buddhism has declined in India and another showing its expansion outside India.

The book is a valuable addition to any library coming as it were from a reputed Publishing House.

The Visvabharati Quarterly Silver Jubilee Issue, Vol. XXV Nos. 3 & 4. Edited by Kshitis Roy. Santiniketan Rs. 10.

This is the Silver Jubilee number of the Visvabharati containing select articles and illustrations taken from the hundred issues that have appeared since the new series was started in 1935. Articles, short stories and poems by all known writers are just under one cover and attractively got up. Published on the eve of Rabindranath Tagore's Birth centenary year it spotlights the Poet's varied interests in literature, education and the arts, his wide cosmopolitan outlook and his constant attempts to

build up an East-West rapprochement of cultures. Among the contributors are scholars from different countries and the volume is enriched with reproduction of paintings by famous Bengali artists like Abanindranath Tagore, Gajendranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose and others. Altogether there are 41 articles and 23 illustrations offering a rich fare for study and entertainment.

Everything for a smile. A collection of short Essays. By N. C. Zamindar. Foreword by C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Sahityalaya, Bada Rawla, Indore City. Price Rs. 2.

If the writing of these little Essays gave the author amusement and diversion they are no less amusing and diverting to the reader. You cannot read G. K. C. and Jerome K. Jerome without an itch to write in their manner. These stray little pieces cover a wide range from lipsticks and brownsticks to movements and Maharajahs and maps and office files. Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar in his Foreword hits the mark when he says that the author enjoys a pawky gift of humour and sarcasm.

"Current Events Year Book, 1960" Published by the Current Events, 17, Rajpur Road, Dehra Dun, priced at Rs. 5/-

This is quite a valuable compendium of knowledge for not only students but also for elders for getting a concise idea of the political and economical developments and other allied information. There is a very useful chapter on the Third Plan. The arrangement is very good and the chapters on International events and foreign relationships during 1959 are very useful. A companion volume on History, Geography and Literature could be thought of by the Publishers to complete the excellent effort made by them in publishing this volume.

Congress and its Future. By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

This is yet another of Sri Prabhu's consultations from Gandhi's writings in *Young India* and *Harijan* from 1931 to 1948. Gandhi, in these selections, deals with the Congress in office, corruption in Congress ranks, Law and Order under Congress Ministries and the Congress ideal. The brochure concludes with "His last will and Testament suggesting a new constitution for it which he drafted a day before his death." This last piece of writing is taken from Pyarelal's *The Last Phase*.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA

TREATMENT OF INDIANS

India has renewed her offer to negotiate with the South African Government on the question of the treatment of the people of Indian-origin in South Africa.

India's permanent representative in the U.N., Mr. C. S. Jha, sent a letter on June 20th to the Acting South African delegate, Mr. Konrad Pakendorf, drawing South Africa's attention to the latest General Assembly resolution on the subject adopted last April 13. Pakistan has also sent a similar communication to the South African delegation.

The Assembly had then asked South Africa to negotiate the issue with India and Pakistan, renewing an appeal which has gone unheeded since 1954.

Such communications like the ones sent are addressed annually to the South African diplomats at the United Nations and in London by the Governments of India and Pakistan. South Africa reacts negatively to these requests but the Union's obduracy provides ground for yet another resolution in the next session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Jha, in his note, made it clear that if the South African Government agreed to negotiate whether in New York or elsewhere it would in no way prejudice the Union's contention that her race policies are domestic questions outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

BURMA

DIFFICULTIES OF INDIAN LABOUR

Over 33,000 Indian labourers and petty traders are disallowed to remit money to India with effect from June 21st. About 300 Indian menial labourers demonstrated before the Indian Embassy in Rangoon in protest against the Burmese Government's action and the Embassy promised to take up the matter with the Foreign Office.

About 33,000 Indians mostly menial workers and petty traders were allowed to remit formerly Rs. 20 monthly to India from their earnings. Even this is now stopped.

CEYLON

AN IMPORTANT DECISION

While the newspapers reported that high level talks to settle the Indo-Ceylon problem are likely to be resumed shortly, Mr. Justice T.S. Fernando of the Ceylon Supreme Court has made an important pronouncement in delivering judgment in a citizenship case which should be

a matter of very great interest to both the parties to the dispute. In allowing the appeal of Mr. M. G. Arokyaswami and ordering the Citizenship Commissioner to register the appellant and his family as Ceylon citizens under the provisions of the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act, the Judge remarked that the investigating authorities had made a wrong approach to the application. He said that they had made investigation not with the object of finding out whether the applicant had the requisite qualifications for Ceylon citizenship but with the object of finding out whether he could be pushed out.

The applicant had been a member of the Colombo Municipal Council for seven years and its Deputy Mayor from 1952 to 1954. He had never remitted any money to India and his entire business was confined to Ceylon. He never possessed an Indian passport nor resident visas etc. He had been a resident businessman of Nuwara Eliya. And yet his application for citizenship was refused by the Commissioner on the ground that he had not proved his permanent residence in Ceylon. In directing the Commissioner to register the appellant and his family as Ceylon citizens, Mr. Justice Fernando said he would give his reasons later on.

KENYA

KENYATTA'S CALL TO INDIANS

Jomo Kenyatta, East African leader, has appealed on June 18 to all Indians living in Kenya to unite with Africans which would help in speeding up the fight for independence for the British colony.

Kenyatta said that it would be the responsibility of African leaders in free Kenya to protect the interest of all citizens irrespective of racial differences. He was confident that Africans would not shirk their responsibility in this regard and warned that any violence after independence meant licence to seize property and take life would be ruthlessly suppressed.

These comments of Kenyatta were made known in a statement by Mr. S. C. Gautama, President of the Kenya Indian Congress, whose four-man delegation visited Dr. Kenyatta at Maralal.

Mr. Gautama said that Kenyatta subscribed fully to the declaration of human rights and said all those who had their homes in Kenya and prepared to identify themselves with the country and the people had nothing to fear in an independent Kenya.

- May 1. Mr. S. Ramachandra Aiyar is appointed Chief Justice of Madras.
—Mr. Julius Nyerere is sworn in as the first Prime Minister of Tanganyika.
- May 2. Castro bans all elections.
—Mr. C. V. Narasimhan, Assistant to U.N. Secretary-General arrives in Leopoldville to study the Congo situation.
—Mr. Charles J. Swart, last Governor-General of S. Africa under British crown resigns.
- May 3. Rajya Sabha passes Bill to punish offenders doing Anti-national activity in the frontier.
- May 4. Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, the Rightist commander-in-chief announces that "cease-fire" is effective throughout Laos.
—Tagore centenary celebrations in new Delhi begin.
- May 5. America's first spaceman, Commander Alan Shepard successfully makes a 15 minute Suborbital Journey and safely returns.
- May 5. Joint Session of Parliament begins debate on the Dowry Bill.
- May 7. The first Group of International supervisory and control commission for Laos leaves New Delhi for Laos.
- May 8. Lieut. General P. N. Thapar takes charge as Chief of Army.
—Indian Expedition headed by Lt. M. S. Kohli climbs Annapurna Peak III of Himalayas.
—Pt. Nehru lays the foundation stone of Rabindra Bharati at Calcutta and inaugurates the birthday celebrations in Calcutta.
- May 9. India agrees to attend the conference of neutral nations to be held in Yugoslavia.
—Parliament adopts Dowry Bill.
- May 10. Mr. Charles Roberts Swart is elected the first President of the South African Republic.
- May 11. African summit conference agrees on Panchshila among African States.
- May 12. Virtual military rule in Angola is reported.
- May 13. Representatives of 3 rival Laotian groups (factions) reach agreement on cease-fire.
- May 14. Mr. A. P. Jain former Union Minister of Food is elected President of Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.

- May 15. U.S. accepts Indo-British compromise formula re. Laos.
- May 16. Geneva Talks on Laos begin.
—Army Junta seizes power in South Korea.
- May 17. The Military Revolutionary Council of South Korea arrests five former Ministers.
—Chinese are reported to be massing their troops on Bhutan border.
- May 18. Mr. Lyndon Johnson Vice-President of U.S.A. arrives in new Delhi and meets Mr. Nehru.
—South Korean Premier surrenders and submits resignation to coup leaders.
- May 19. Congress High Command allows the holding of All-India Muslim Convention.
- May 20. Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting on June 3 at Vienna is announced.
—Labour motion in House of Commons on U.K.'s foreign policy is defeated by 277 votes to 201.
- May 21. Paris orders for Truce in Algeria: Peace parleys begin at Evian.
- May 22. Race riots in Alabama; Armed U.S. Federal marshals are despatched to quell the riots.
- May 23. President gives his assent to the Dowry Prohibition Bill.
—Mrs. Indira Gandhi arrives in Moscow.
- May 24. Police sweep in S. Africa results in the arrest of hundreds of anti-apartheid people and those against the Republic.
- May 25. Mr. Rajeswar Dayal's coming back to take up his post as India's High Commissioner in Karachi is announced.
- May 26. Agreement is reached among the three rival factions in Laos.
—Mrs. Indira Gandhi arrives in Paris in connection with UNESCO work.
- May 27. A.I.C.C. session meets in Durgapur.
- May 28. Ceylon Government announces use of Tamil in Schools and Colleges and Tamil medium also for Public Services Exams.
- May 29. Master Tara Singh is re-elected President of Shiromani Akali Dal.
- May 30. U.A.R. breaks off diplomatic relations with South Africa.
- May 31. South Africa becomes a Republic.
—President Kennedy arrives in Paris.

DIARY OF THE MONTH (June)

- June 1. Kennedy and De Gaulle have talks in Paris on Berlin question, South East Asia and Laos.
- June 2. "Aid India Club" agrees to provide over \$ 2,200 million for India's 3rd plan.
- June 3. President Kennedy meets Khrushchev at Vienna.
- June 4. Kennedy and Khrushchev conclude their historic talks at Vienna.
- June 5. U. N. Council deplores policy of Portugal in Angola.
- June 6. Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Food Minister arrives in New York.
- June 7. Fighting in Laos is reported to be still continuing.
- June 8. Kennedy announces that U.S. will not resume atomic tests.
- June 9. Mr. Mohammed Koya is elected Speaker of Kerala Assembly.
- June 10. Orissa elections result in absolute majority for Congress.
- June 11. Earthquake in South Iran results in heavy loss of life.
- June 12. Laos talks are resumed in Geneva. —Border Defence Committee submits report.
- June 13. India Government Constitutes Standing Committee for translation of statutes in Hindi. —Mr. B. P. Sinha Chief Justice of India sits in London Court.
- June 14. Dr. K. S. Krishnan is dead. —A. K. Gopalan, Dy. leader of Communist Party in Lok Sabha goes on fast.
- June 15. President Dr. Sukarno arrives in Moscow and meets Mr. Nikita Khrushchev.
- June 16. Treaty of friendship between China and Indonesia is ratified. —Mr. B. Patnaik is elected leader of Orissa Legislature Party. —Mr. Khasa Subba Rao, Editor of SWA-RAJYA is dead.
- June 17. Mr. A. K. Gopalan ends fast.
- June 18. Indians conquer Nilkantha Peak of Himalayas.
- June 19. Mr. S. Dutt, the new Indian Ambassador for USSR presents his credentials to the President USSR. —Rioting in Cachar—curfew imposed.
- June 20. Japan's Prime Minister Ikeda meets Mr. Kennedy for talks at Washington. —P.S.P. issues 13 page Draft Election Manifesto.
- June 21. President Tshombe of Katanga who was detained since April is set at liberty. —Mr. M. A. Ayyangar Speaker of the Lok Sabha returns after a tour of USSR.
- June 22. \$ 60 million IDA credit to India is signed for Highway Development.
- June 23. The Orissa Cabinet headed by Mr. B. Patnaik is sworn in at Bhuvaneshwar.
- June 24. Several Pakistani nationals are arrested near Karimganj border.
- June 25. Major Yuri Gagarin, Soviet Space man's visit to India in Oct. is announced.
- June 26. Katanga rejoins Congo.
- June 27. Kuwait rejects Iraq's claims on her. Popular demonstrations support her independence.
- June 28. Hammarskjöld announces his visit to Delhi on July 23 for consulting Mr. Nehru. —Censure motion against Kerala Ministry fails. —U. A. R. announces her objection to Iraq's claim to Kuwait.
- June 29. President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev both announce that they would not submit to threats from each other on Berlin question.
- June 30. France decides to switch troops from Algeria to NATO. —U. S. A. backs Kuwait's independence.

READERS' DIGEST

INDIA'S NEW PARTY

The Delhi Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* sometime ago interviewed Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and obtained his views on the principles and policies of the new party.

Rajaji was asked about his idea of what India's foreign policy should be. He has suggested scrapping the non-alignment policy and advocated closer association with south-east Asian countries. He was asked how he reconciled his criticism with the praise showered on India's foreign policy by all the big Powers and with the satisfaction felt in India itself that the policy has paid dividends. Rajaji replied:

"The policy of nonalignment was good and paid dividends, it deserved the praise it got and had my warm approval too, so long as there was no attack or danger of aggression by a Communist power. But when China committed aggression and continues to trespass on a good chunk of our territory, maintains the dispute with us, and has completely destroyed the confidence of the border states in India by this display of power against us, the old policy is no longer a good one.

"The praise we now get is merely an expression of the satisfaction felt at the fact that we are not starting a world conflict. They don't mind our going under or our losing our prestige. But we should mind it. Therefore I hold that we should now give up our isolation. The West can help us only if we come to a good understanding with rest of the south and south-east Asian countries, who are equally opposed to the Communist threat of domination.

"Thinkers of America want this done before they can fully support the foreign aid proposed by the American Government. If the dispute with China is ended and we have recovered our old prestige with Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan, Burma and the others, we can then fall back on our general policy of peace and help every move for ending the cold war."

Asked about the difference between the Congress and the Swatantra parties over internal policies, Rajaji said:

"We stand for less regimentation and more freedom for individual energy. We don't want State capitalism to be the principal producing mechanism. We want the peasants and industrialists big and small, to be left alone. We don't want the monopolies and favouritism which the Congress policy leads to. We don't

want party bosses at various levels to interfere and misdirect official work. The Administration should be restored to its impartial practice without favour to any political party."

Rajaji holds that if democracy is to be maintained in India there must be another party to oppose Congress and ready to take over the Administration. To him the Communist party is enemy number one and Congress number two.

TAGORE AS A HUMANIST

The life and works of Rabindranath Tagore stand testimony to his humanism. Tagore the humanist, says a writer in *The Contemporary*, is a tribute to his family that possessed men of spiritual stature, social reformers, writers and artists.

"Tagore believed that the universe is not that of the scientist a mere agglomeration of matter and energy in time and space. This may well have been the state of universe when it began. His universe is the sum total of what man feels, knows, imagines, reasons to be and of whatever is knowable to him now or in another time. It affects him differently in different aspects, in its beauty, its inevitable sequences of happenings, its potentiality and the world unfolded itself to him only in its varied effects upon his senses, imagination and reasoning mind. It is not that world which vanishes into abstract symbols behind its own testimony to science, but that which lavishly displays its wealth of reality to our personal self having its own perpetual reaction upon our human nature."

Tagore sincerely realised that he belongs to this earth, that he is a child of this earth and that this earth is his home. The humanist is conscious of himself as an earthchild.

"Tagore's humanism, as of other great men, reposes faith in man. Man with a combination of reasoning and inherent spirit, both of which he possesses in abundance and surplus is capable of solving his problems. Man is fundamentally free and creative and humanity carves its own destiny. For a humanist does not recognise any predestination imposed upon the course of the history of humanity. He is anything but a fatalist."

Tagore despised all narrowness of outlook in Indian thinking, and as the *Gitanjali* proclaims what held him was the vision of a world which "has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls."

LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER

Mr. M. Nasrullah, Additional Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay, held last month that the unexpurgated edition of "Lady Chatterley's Lover," a novel by D. H. Lawrence, was "obscene."

Mr. Nasrullah, who was delivering judgment in a case against four partners of a book stall in Bombay for sale and possession of copies of the book, said that the book was not suitable for the average person in society, particularly the young and adolescent.

The Magistrate observed that the main theme of the book would have devastating effect on all the accepted moral and ethical values concerning the institution of marriage.

He said, while arriving at a decision, the court had to consider the reactions of an average man in society and not the intellectuals or ignoramus.

The main theme of the book, he said, was the glorification of a particular type of sex, to the exclusion of all other values in life and outside marriage if need be. Such an approach would strike at the very root of the traditional institution of marriage.

The book portrayed a woman in marriage with sanction to seek a brand of sex outside marriage if need be under the guise that it was essential for the preservation of mankind and resurrection of a dying civilisation. In that portrayal lay the danger of all accepted moral standards in marriage being corrupted and depraved.

The Magistrate held that the author had employed words and expressions not normally found in written English. He wrote the book when he was a sick and dying man between 1926 and 1928. At that time he felt frustrated and he was a greatly disappointed and persecuted man. He wanted to startle the world by writing the book and in his eagerness to throw a bombshell he had indulged in certain excesses strictly not necessary from the literary and artistic points of view, particularly for a great writer like him. Lawrence himself was aware of this fact because he had said it was a book only for the intellectuals in universities.

The court was, however, concerned with the effect on an average man in society as distinguished from the intellectuals in universities on the one hand and the libertines on the other. The

author himself wanted the circulation of the book to be restricted to a class of people who would weigh and balance his views and themes having regard to the contents of the book and the manner in which it was portrayed. The Magistrate agreed that it was not meant for an average man.

AND NOW "THE DAUGHTER"

The "Daily Mirror" reported that the daughter of a famous novelist had disclosed that she is the author of "a sensational and daring novel that has been exciting the literary world for months"—"Lady Chatterley's daughter."

The writer is Miss Patricia Robins, daughter of Mrs. Denise Robins, the author of 126 books including "We Two Together" and "The Noble One."

The "Daily Mirror" said the fate of the illegitimate child of Lady Chatterley and gamekeeper lover—"a love story that rocked the world"—had been one of the greatest unanswered questions of passionate literature.

It quoted Miss Robins as having said:

"I wondered about it, talked about it, argued about it, and finally decided I would provide an answer to the mystery."

"I am glad I did it although I know it will cause an uproar as great as that which greeted the unexpurgated edition of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'."

She had said it was not true that "Lady Chatterley's daughter" was "a young girl's charter to surrender virginity before marriage."

U S. "DOWRY"

The Wall street journal always critical of U.S. foreign aid programmes wrote on May 12 as follows:

"The Indian Parliament has passed a Bill outlawing the old Hindu custom of giving and accepting dowries. From now on, it will be illegal for an Indian lass to try to entice her friend into a long-term alliance with anything but her own sweet self."

"The Government apparently feels that if the parties are attracted to each other by mutual interests and basic amiability, it is not necessary to throw in cash or goods to seal the bargain. We suppose this is a progressive step."

"May be, it will make Uncle Sam think about his own foreign aid dowry—especially when the wooed one, after taking the money asks for more, winks at the rival and won't even hold the hands."

NEHRU'S 'LEGACY' TO INDIA

Mr. Nehru hopes his legacy to India will be "400 hundred million people capable of governing themselves."

That is what he told Norman Cousins of the "Saturday Review" in a recent interview.

Cousins wrote Mr. Nehru told him his job was "a long way from being over" when asked whether he was looking forward to retirement, and that Mr. Nehru believed he had no right to pick his successor.

Mr. Nehru added, according to Cousins, that the qualities of his successor will have to fit "the new needs"....that "there is no point in using me as a measuring rod for finding another" and there is no points in looking for a superman."

Cousins said he asked Prime Minister Nehru. "Gandhi's legacy to India was great, and, it may be that historians will say that the greatest part of the legacy was you. Now, who is your legacy to India?"

He wrote: Nehru replied:

"Who is my legacy to India? Hopefully, it is 400 million people capable of governing themselves. People often ask, 'who will follow me?' I don't know why they should expect me to give the answer. I suppose they want me to name a person or a few persons. I happen not to see it that way. I have always been more concerned about training vast number of people to maintain a free and independent society than I am about training just a few people."

"You see," Mr. Nehru continued, "I like to think of myself as being on a pilgrimage with millions of people. And it is the destination that is important—and the movement of 400 million people in that direction."

"This business of picking an individual successor is something I find quite alien to my way of thinking. I am not trying to start a dynasty. I am not capable of ruling from the grave.....The best I can do for India is to help our people as a whole to generate new leadership as it may be needed."

Asked if he were apprehensive about India's ability to find his successor, Mr. Nehru replied: "No. I am not apprehensive. New leaderships will emerge."

WHEN NEHRU WAS REFUSED A CAR

How Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's request for a motor car, when he was studying in England, was turned down by his father, is revealed in a letter Pandit Motilal Nehru wrote to him in November 1908.

The affectionate but thoughtful father wrote to his young son. "I am afraid you will not be able to convince me that you ought to have it while you are at college. My reasons are both practical and sentimental. The practical reason is that the possessor of a motor car is bound to find a much greater proportion of his time and energy taken up with motoring than he could ever have bargained for when he bought the car."

"The sentimental reason is that if I gave you a car, I would have to live in constant dread of your meeting with accidents, which are almost inseparable from it. The casualty list from this cause is swelling up day by day, especially in England."

"I know you can adduce many arguments against this view and I have, therefore, taken care to put it on sentimental grounds only. Surely you do not wish your father to live in constant dread of losing you at any moment simply for the luxury of having a car. So, my boy—no car for you just at present."

Excerpts from this letter have been published by Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, a former Union Minister and close associate of the Prime Minister.

SLIM WITHOUT TEARS

A United States scientist has discovered revolutionary new substance—a "non-food"—which may aid America's overweight thousands to slim without tears.

Life magazine reported that he did it by accident while trying to perfect a new motor tyre cord in a rayon and cellophane factory.

Life said that Dr. O. A. Battista produced a "jellylike mess" of cellulose and discovered it was edible. The new non-food is not tasty, not nutritious, contains no vitamins, and, in fact, has no food value at all.

But it does keep the stomach happy, fending off hunger pangs which slimmers dread. As a result, it may be put on general sale soon, "Life" said.

According to the magazine, "non-food" has been passed as fit for human consumption by the United States Food and Drug Administration.

IKE & REPUBLICAN OLD GUARD

Mr. Sherman Adams, former adviser to President Eisenhower, has revealed in his memoirs published in "Life" magazine that Mr. Eisenhower was so disappointed with the Republican party policies during his terms of office that he thought of creating a third party.

The memoirs of Mr. Sherman Adams, who resigned in 1958 after it was discovered that he had taken presents from a businessman, are due to be published in book form shortly. "Life" is publishing long extracts.

According to him, "Mr. Eisenhower could not accept the ultraconservatism of the Republican 'old guard' and was well aware that his proposals were frequently better received by the Democrats, then in opposition. Mr. Adams says that often "he speculated as to whether he really belonged to this kind of Republican Party."

Mr. Eisenhower, says Mr. Adams, conceived of a new party which accepted a role of world leadership, liberal in its policies affecting human welfare, but more conservative than the Democrats on "domestic controls and spending." This idea apparently remained vague, and Mr. Eisenhower never tried to apply it.

WILL TEETH REPLACE FINGERPRINTS?

A prominent Swedish scientist has urged greater use of teeth as a means of identification.

"In many ways teeth can be a more effective means of identification than fingerprints," he stated. He is Professor Gosta Gustafson, of Sweden's Royal Dental School, who is on a lecture tour of Australia, instructing dentists and the police on teeth identification.

He stated that plaster casts of teeth marks on a criminal's victim could provide valuable evidence, and so could teeth marks on food eaten by a criminal and left at the scene of his crime. "A half-eaten apple at the scene of a crime can lead to the capture of a thief," he said.

Professor Gustafson said that Swedish airlines photographed the teeth of all crew members in case of air crashes. "In an air crash, or other disaster, teeth are the only means of identifying the charred remains of victims," he said.

When a Swedish aircraft crashed in Turkey recently, a dentist was included in the investigating party, and it was mainly through his efforts, that every victim was positively identified. "There are no two sets of teeth exactly the same," Professor Gustafson maintains.

THE BENGALI WAY OF LIFE

Cultural Forum carries a very useful symposium on the distinctive features of regional cultures in India. The thesis entitled "Our Way of Life" examines the distinctive cultures of Bengal, Kerala, Maharashtra and Madras. The editor hopes that such a discussion may be fruitful in discussing "the nucleus of an Indian culture that all regions will spontaneously accept, embrace and claim as their own." Sri Asoke Mitra writes:

"Few people in Bengal realise what an important role caste still plays outside this State. The Prime Minister's indictment of casteism touches no chord in the Bengali mind, for caste scarcely figures in the State's politics. Politics fairly dominates every aspect of life and if, in Bengal, politics gives no thought to caste as a motive force, the latter can have little effect on vital policies or public conduct. Bengal has swung itself free of caste a long while and other forces have taken its place: forces more modern and less inclined to hark back to roots that clutch."

This is perhaps because the Bengali himself has very mixed blood in his veins and no one strain dominates. Francis Bernier exclaimed three hundred years ago that Bengal had a hundred gates open for entrance but not one for departure. This must have been true of Bengal centuries before Bernier, as it has been centuries after.

"Waves of peoples came over land and sea and intermingled, divided the land and again made it one, a hundred flowers blossomed and a hundred schools of thought contended. Commerce dominated the Gangetic basin and the culturally superior religion time and again came to terms with the culturally inferior, reckoning it the better part of valour to conquer by yielding, suffering thereby a strange sea change. Religious fanaticism lost its edge whenever it travelled as far as Bengal which has been the home of many a strange and mellow synthesis since the twelfth century, particularly in the sixteenth, and again in the nineteenth. Bengal has also served through the ages as the refuge of non-conformism, of dangerous and restless thought, of revolt. She has been different ever; once because she was richer than any other part of the country, another time because she mixed or knew or suffered more than any other. This difference has stuck to her, now like a distinction, and then like a curse."

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

News Week Magazine says that President Kennedy had found the foreign policy issues he inherited "infinitely more serious" than he had been led to believe, while America's capacity to cope with them was infinitely less than he had imagined.

The magazine was reporting on an interview in which the President had assessed the first 100 days of his administration.

The President was said to be worried by Communist methods of infiltration, particularly with regard to the "six or seven thousand" Communist guerillas in North Vietnam, poised and ready to cause a new foreign crisis.

The Cuba incident was said to have taught the President that the Central Intelligence Agency could not run a military operation and had also shaken his faith in the chiefs of staff set-up.

The President was quoted as summing up the Cuban episode with the remark: "I was going to learn these lessons some time—better sooner than later."

Mr. Kennedy discussed key foreign policy issues with the Democratic Party congressional leaders at the White House.

Mr. Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives, told reporters that Cuba and Laos were among the many matters talked over at the meeting with the President.

Mr. Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, was questioned by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the unsuccessful landings of anti-Castro forces in Cuba.

PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The *New York Times* suggested in an editorial that Premier Salazar should drop "the legal fiction" that Portugal's overseas possessions are integral provinces of Portugal.

The newspaper said: "The 'wind of change' that is transforming the former British and French colonial empires into an association of independent nations is now also shaking to its foundation the last of the great Western colonial empires—the Portuguese."

"It has produced terrorism, massacres and it has brought governmental and military shake-ups and a military alert to Portugal itself to be able to cope with any uprising at home..."

"Despite Portuguese resentment of any 'foreign interference' it is essential for Por-

tugal's allies to urge it to make the inevitable changes through reform and evolution rather than court a runaway revolution.

"Premier Salazar might well emulate President De Gaulle, who has espoused decolonialisation" and dropped the legal fiction that Algeria is part of metropolitan France—a fiction analogous to that which proclaims that Portugal's overseas possessions are integral provinces of Portugal."

INDIAN LITERATURE

The half-yearly *Indian Literature* (Vol 2, No 1) published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi is as distinctive in quality as it is comprehensive in scope. The aim is to make our multi-lingual heritage better known both in India and abroad. This is sought to be achieved by the presentation of selected Indian writings in prose and verse followed by a rapid survey of recent works in the various Indian languages. The current issue opens with Tagore's poem on Kalidasa and a Kashmiri piece by Master Zinda Kaul on *The City Beautiful*. This is followed by an extract from Rabindranath's letter from London written on the eve of the publication of *Gitanjali*, explaining the genesis of the English version. There are among other articles a critical appreciation of Tagore's poetry by Humayun Kabir, three poems of Bharati rendered into English by S. Prema followed by a study of Bharati's poems by the late-lamented Tamil Scholar R. P. Setu Pillai. There are essays on Urdu literature, Bengali stories and an article on translating Ghabb by A. A. A. Fyze. A special feature of this publication is the review of current Indian writing by competent writers in different languages. Besides Sanskrit writings fourteen regional languages like Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi Hindi and Urdu are surveyed with scholarly appreciation. Apart from a complete list of books published during the period Oct. 1958-Mar. 1959 in the main languages of India we have also an account of the publications of the Akademi as well. Altogether this is a sumptuous record of striking interest to all who wish to be acquainted with the recent trend in Indian Literature.

We are glad to learn that The Akademi has decided to publish a six-monthly journal devoted exclusively to original writing in Sanskrit. It is hoped that the proposed journal, to be named *Sanskrita Pratibha*, will provide a useful forum for Sanskrit writers all over the country.

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Writing on the above subject Dr. Srikumar Banerjee deplains in *Nectee* that our education seems specially designed to turn out an ever increasing number of mechanics, factory workers, technicians, doctors and engineers. The cry is for more such men to cope with the demands of a rapidly industrialised country.

"In the meantime our sense of beauty, our rectitude of conduct, our grace and urbanity of manners, our aesthetic and altruistic impulses are being progressively sterilised through lack of exercise and of social appreciation. We are so bent upon manufacturing workmen and people fit to run out industrial concerns that we have lost sight of the fact that after all production of wealth is only a means to an end, a necessary base for a fuller, richer and happier social and individual life. After all, industrialisation in our country will one day reach its saturation point and the glut of production will constitute a serious challenge on the question of its proper disposal."

The responsibility of education has increased a thousandfold in these days when it constitutes practically the only forum for the inculcation of social sense and of moral discipline.

"Religion is now a matter for specialists and research students and hardly touches the life of the common people except for the purpose of a temporary diversion. Its positive effect upon conduct and action is almost negligible. The Church, as an institution, and the priesthood as a class have almost completely disintegrated, and is a useless, if somewhat colourful relic of vitality that is well-nigh defunct. The family circle has broken up and the ideals of self-sacrifice and of work for the common good that it actively practised now walk forth as homeless wanderers, breaking into spasmodic life for a brief while but utterly incapable of speedy and sustained action with the urge of a binding, imperative sanction. Society is to-day a loose federation of separate atoms without any cohesive or directive force and touches individual lives at a very few points indeed. It provides a platform for warring sects and parties and is more a force to draw apart than to hold together."

It is our educational institutions that must fill up this serious and multiple gap in our life and provide the separate inspiration the source of which is lacking to-day.

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND SCIENCE

Every branch of human knowledge, says Dr. Ravi Nath Sharma in *Indian philosophy and culture*, has its reason, its merit and its own sphere of work and each is helpful in the dialectical progression of knowledge.

"Philosophy logically arranges the eternal modes of Sat. Religion practically and vitally arranges the personal relations of Sat. Science arranges the particular forms and modes of Sat through observation and analysis. Philosophy is a systematisation by critical analysis, religion is faith in union with Divine, and Science the observation and analysis of its particular forms. While Philosophy satisfies the mind, religion satisfies the heart and since the Reality must satisfy our whole being, both are equally necessary. Hegel's exaltation of Philosophy, as the highest, is vitiated by the fallacy of the substitution of mere part for the whole. All Philosophy, Religion and Science are mere means for the realisation of the integral knowledge."

"Philosophy is theoretical and religion practical. Theory without practice, he says, is an impotent mental conviction and practice without theory is a mere blind impulse."

"The task of religion is to lead man to Superman, to give him a mould of spirituality and to lead him to the plane of Spirit, through the ignorance of mental plane. Kant's agnosticism in his Critique of pure reason, is a lesson to the votaries of intellectual Philosophy. It is high time that Philosophy should wake up out of its dogmatic slumbers and cease to be a hand-maid of Science. The values must be placed again on their high pedestal, and Philosophy should become spiritual."

SOVIET ROCKET MIGHT

"Rocket troops now form the back-bone of the combat might" of the Soviet forces, Marshal Andrei Grechko, Soviet Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact, declared recently.

In a "*Pravda*" article marking the 16th anniversary of Hitler's defeat, he said the ground forces, air force, navy and anti-aircraft forces all had rockets, varying from tactical to continental and inter-continental.

The Soviet fire-power, including nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, was greatest than that of all the arms any other army had ever had at its disposal, the article said.

TIBET IN CAPTIVITY

Commenting on Chinese occupation of Tibet, George Ginsburgs and Michael Mathios observe in the course of a paper in *Problem of Communism*, that the conclusion seems inescapable that within the next few years the Chinese Communists will greatly intensify their efforts aimed at the complete "socialization" of Tibet.

"Few barriers now stand in the way of total Chinese Communist assimilation of the Tibetan nation. The Lamaist Church has been greatly weakened by direct oppression and indirect subversion. Its monopoly of education has been completely broken, and the Communist-imposed economic reforms have made its financial position untenable, thus placing it entirely at the mercy of the secular authorities. The feudal nobility, apart from a few "progressives" willing to collaborate with the Communists, has been expropriated and crushed as a political force. Where the Communists have not resorted to outright physical extirpation of so called "class enemies," they have achieved the same objective through the application of social and economic pressures."

The prospects facing the former ruling groups look grim indeed.

"The fate of the nobility, the land-owning and propertied strata seems definitively sealed.

The prospects for the preservation of Lamaism as an influential force in Tibetan life appear no brighter in the light of the tactics previously employed by the Communists in Outer Mongolia. Just as the Mongolian Living Buddha's theocratic authority was allowed to exist in emasculated form only until the Hutukhtu's death, after which no new incarnation was permitted, so the spiritual position of the present head of the Tibetan ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Panchen Lama, will most probably be preserved temporarily, only to disappear by default upon his passing."

Peking, then, seems irrevocably bent on achieving the total assimilation and integration of Tibet into the political, social and economic fabric of the Chinese Communist state.

"Thus far, its efforts—a blend of ruthless coercion, intensive indoctrination, and demagoguery—seem to be succeeding. Whether or not it will accomplish its ultimate, however, time alone can tell.

THE GROWING SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

Leopold Labedz, writing in *The New Leader* observes that the Sino-Soviet rift is widening and it inevitably takes on doctrinal colouring. The question is how deep it is and where it will lead. In this respect the ostensible issues of the dispute are not always relevant and are sometimes positively misleading.

"Doctrinal schisms can develop over the interpretation of quibbling jots and titles, but there is usually only a remote connection between what the protagonists say and what they actually do. There is little doubt about the acrimony of the dispute. The Chinese charge of political naivete was answered by *Izvestia* which said that "only fools and dogmatists can assert that peaceful coexistence is an attempt to establish 'full harmony' between capitalism and socialism, to reconcile the bourgeois and Communist ideologies."

Other pointers to the state of tension between the brotherly Parties are: The failure of the Chinese to contribute to Soviet press eulogies on the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, the recent general absence of Chinese contributors in Soviet publications, the discontinuation of the Soviet magazines on China (*Sovetskoe Kitayovedeniye*, *Kitay* and *Druzhba*), the absence of Chinese delegates at the recent Orientalists' Congress in Moscow, the cancellation of a Congress of Sino-logists which was to have taken place in Moscow, the Tanjug Agency report of the withdrawal of Soviet specialists from China, etc. These pointers are too many to leave any doubt about the present feelings of the Sino-Soviet participants in this "anonymous" dispute.

In the totalitarian movements ideological differences, though real, are bound to be overshadowed ultimately by the question of who is to have the last word about them.

The accusations of "dogmatism" and "revisionism" can be resolved only when it is clear who has the authority to interpret the dogma and to say what "a creative development of Marxism" is.

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The utility and commonwealth membership for India has often been questioned. It has not helped India to recover her lost territories in Kashmir owing to the intransigence of Pakistan another member of the Commonwealth nor has she been treated properly by South Africa, another member of the same Commonwealth. If India still remains in the Commonwealth today, says *Round Table*, it is mainly because of sentiment. In what way does India benefit by continuing its membership?

Membership of the Commonwealth has been most useful to India in that it has enabled her to exercise a greater influence in the world. It is of advantage to belong to the best, and most effective, organizational expression that we have of the world's interdependence. Just as the membership of India has added to the political strength and influence of the Commonwealth in that India represents, more perhaps than any other nation, free and uncommitted opinion in Asia and Africa, so membership of the Commonwealth has enabled India to reach out and influence opinion in all parts of the world. She was, for example, among the first to recognize the Communist regime in China, and it would not be wrong to say that Britain followed in her wake. Throughout the Korean war, Mr. Nehru's reaction and assessments of Chinese policy were of crucial significance, and Delhi became one of the great junctions of world affairs. At the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in 1954, as we now know from Sir Anthony Eden's *Memoirs*, the views of India influenced the policy of the British Government considerably, and therefore could not be ignored by the United States. The use of the Commonwealth as a medium through which India can express herself has, in fact, taken firm root; and today, on both the questions of relations with the Communist Powers and of the future Africa—perhaps the two most important problems confronting mankind—the Indian outlook has undoubtedly coloured that of the Commonwealth.

It is as a multi-racial association for consultation on such matters of common interest that India hopes to see the Commonwealth develop and grow stronger: for, from participation in such an association she herself draws strength.

THE FUTURE OF THE U. N. O.

Things have begun to look better for U.N.O. says a writer in the *Review of International Affairs*. New elements and changes have appeared within the wider framework of international relations, in which U. N. O. is acting, and within the Organization itself, holding the promise of more efficacious United Nations action.

“UNO's membership has considerably increased of late, especially with the influx of new African members, so that the former grouping of forces in the Organization has been changed. The present picture is such that we may say the time has passed when narrow or even wider power groupings could restrain or direct UNO's actions and force their own interpretations of the Charter. The influx of new members, mainly from former colonial regions, is like a transfusion of fresh and healthy blood into a run-down organism: there is no doubt that the organism will move more dynamically and act more freely. UNO has always owed its most constructive activity primarily to the efforts of the small and medium countries, particularly of the uncommitted ones, which, on the basis of a constructive interpretation of the Charter, have striven to make the world organization a true instrument of peace and progress and to advance the policy of peace among nations.”

INDIAN YOUTH IN TRANSITION

Student “indiscipline” in schools and Colleges has been discussed in the press and platforms vigorously for some time past. Mr. C. V. Hanumantha Rao, writing in the *Aryanpath*, looks upon the unrest with sympathy and understanding and offers practical suggestion to meet the situation. The present situation, he says, is a symptom and not a chronic disease. The symptoms should be eradicated before they produce the disease.

The first priority should be given to improvement in the environmental conditions in the universities; standards of teaching should be raised and overcrowding in lecture-rooms should be removed. While serving utilitarian ends, university and higher education and opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge should not be divorced from a moral and ethical purpose. Religious instruction of a non-denominational type with stress on character, service and scholarship, which is in consonance with the traditional Indian way of life and also with the secular basis of our Constitution, should be provided for, says Mr. Rao.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

A.I.C.C. ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The All-India Congress Committee has sent a circular to all Pradesh Congress Committees detailing the steps to be taken by them to fight fissiparous tendencies and promote national integration.

A nine-point programme, suggested by the National Integration Committee (whose report was adopted by the AICC at its Durgapur session) has been commended to the P.C.Cs. for adoption.

Stating that the Central Cabinet has endorsed the suggestions made in the report relating to administration and taken steps to give effect to such of those as could be immediately implemented, the circular emphasises that the danger to the unity of the country, which recent communal and linguistic disturbances has brought to the fore, has to be met quickly and effectively. Any complacency on the part of those who believe in democracy, and secularism and all their far-reaching implications, is inexcusable.

“The circular dated 6th June states: ‘The Congress has set before itself and the country high objectives, but it is doubtful if even a good majority of Congressmen realise what they mean in terms of effort, right outlook and popular co-operation. When things go wrong in the country people are apt to blame more the Congress than anything else. It would be well for us all to take the blame ourselves, even though there are forces working actively for the disintegration of the country.’

“We are apt to have some very facile notions about democracy. The democracy's emphasis on the freedom of the individual and other freedom is apt to make us blind to its harder aspects. These precious freedoms are enjoyable only in a certain social and economic setting which is made possible when we accept in practice certain basic value, such as equality of all citizens, a balanced, rational, nationalist and India-wide outlook on the part of the administration as well as the general public, right education at all levels and the like. If this setting is not available in the country to the extent necessary we have to make conscious and deliberate efforts to create it.”

“The role of the Congress organisation in the creation of this appropriate environment and setting is by no means inconsiderable. It has from its very inception realised the need for India's unity in the political, economic and social fields. It was not enough to have some kind of cultural unity. In the course of its long and difficult career, it grappled with obstacles, now one and now the other, that came in the way of realising this important objective of unity. This struggle is still on. If the old obstacles have disappeared or weakened new ones have arisen. We have therefore, to be all the time on bodyguard. It is because the Congress organisation has slackened in its vigilance in this vital sphere that the Integration Committee had to give some serious thought to the question of the role the Congress organisation has to play in the changed context in the all important task of national solidarity.”

AMERICA ON K.'S OUTBURSTS

Mr. Khrushchev's statement that Russia will sign a Peace Treaty with East Germany this year, with its implicit threat to the Western position in Berlin, is viewed with the utmost seriousness at Washington.

His double-barrelled warning, on the Peace Treaty and on a resumption of nuclear tests, served to reinforce the view of Administration officials that East and West face possibly their biggest confrontation since the war.

These officials say America is determined to meet all its obligations and commitments to West Berlin, and that nearly all the allies feel just as strongly that there can be no retreat in the face of communist pressure on this issue.

President Kennedy told Russia that America cannot indefinitely prejudice its security by refraining from underground nuclear tests while there is the chance, however remote, of Russia clandestinely testing weapons.

The possibility that the President would order a resumption of underground testing has been hinted at for several weeks but so far he has delayed any decision in the matter.

For one thing, the U. S. Government is said to be concerned with the possible effect in Japan, India and other countries of any order to resume U. S. tests.

Utterances of the Day

KHRUSHCHEV ON GERMAN TREATY

Premier Khrushchev told a cheering rally in the Kremlin on June 21, that a peace treaty with East Germany would be signed by the end of this year.

It was the most specific date he had given during the current crisis over Germany.

Mr. Khrushchev told a Kremlin mass meeting to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union that the earliest possible conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is needed.

"Together with other peace-loving States we shall sign at the end of this year, a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic" he declared, according to Moscow Radio.

He said the Soviet Union wished to sign such a treaty together with her former allies.

The treaty would not "infringe the rights and interests of any of the sides and would not give one State any advantage over another," Mr. Khrushchev said.

He said the Western Powers wanted to make "a test of strength of the German question." He warned, "If you want to repeat the lessons of history it will be the end of your State. Times have changed—they are not those of 20 years ago. My words are not threat. They are an appeal to commonsense. The world is different and different are the weapons."

Soviet Defence Minister Rodion Malinovsky said that "the German Peace Treaty must be and will be signed" and that "we are in a position to put a strait-jacket on any madman who dared start a thermo-nuclear war".

Mr. SWART'S OBSTINACY

The South African President, Mr. Robert Charles Swart, in his first address to the nation after his inauguration described the birth of the Republic as a great opportunity to make a new beginning.

This new beginning necessitated "a new attitude of mind which must be founded on harmony—a harmonious disposition between all sections, harmony in heart and mind", he told thousands of people crowded into Pretoria's Central Church Square.

On this foundation, Mr. Swart, who until a month ago when he resigned in order to be eligible for election as President was Governor-General of South Africa, added, "must be built an edifice in which every section will, in future, be entitled to and be granted its just opportunities and privileges".

C. R. ON LINGUISM

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said in an interview at Madras on June 22nd that "the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis is treated as a charter for oppression and partial disenfranchisement of people speaking any language other than that which enters into the name of the particular State."

He said: "Those who were full citizens until the re-organisation are being considered to have suddenly become second class and unwanted citizens. It takes very little time for a mob which has got excited for some reason to pick up the psychology of the particular State Government. Even in case where Governments and State Legislatures do not go as far as this, they nurse such notions in their minds which affect the State administration in practice."

"It is needless to say that this is a crime against national unity. The 'outsiders' in any State are a symbol of the unity of India and of the growing synthesis. The more recent the emigration, the more important is the contribution to synthesis. Far from being treated as outsiders, therefore, they should be treated as forerunners of a better order of things and of Indian unity and respectfully accorded fullest mental and external equality with those who speak the nominated regional language."

"All States are really multi-lingual as Dr. B. C. Roy says, and this misguided charter of oppression and anti-synthesis must be withdrawn and thrown into the sea."

Mr. N. R. AIYAR'S CALL

"A Bill of Rights to safeguard civil liberties must be more and more difficult to enforce, and would soon become so ineffective or so emasculated as not to be worth having, in a State which aimed at the total control of the lives of the people and their means of living. Private property, freedom of enterprise and fair competition are indispensable for the maintenance of the essential freedoms." Thus observed Mr. N. Raghunatha Aiyar former editor of the 'Hindu' in his Gokhale Memorial Lectures on 'The Liberal Faith and Civil Liberties', delivered under the auspices of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore.

He added: "While the Fundamental Rights as first written into the Indian Constitution were hedged in with too many restrictions, the amendments that have been carried through by the ruling party in the past decade have weakened them still further."

Political

P.S.P.'S ELECTION MANIFESTO

In its draft election manifesto released at Madras on June 20, the Praja Socialist Party referred to the prevalence of frustration among the people and said: "If the Congress has caused this frustration, the general elections provide them with a golden opportunity to end them both."

The manifesto says that the cause of national integration is hampered because linguistic minorities do not feel assured of justice and even-handed treatment. Neglect and discrimination were allowed until violence broke out and blood was shed. Then patch-work relief was occasionally given but the deeper malaise never got corrected.

The P.S.P. has formulated its policies on the various issues facing the country. The 13-page manifesto has sections devoted to all fields of national activity—foreign policy, defence policy, economic development, equality among citizens, people's planning, industrial policy minorities, investment and labour.

The manifesto welcomes the forthcoming elections as providing an opportunity to the Indian people to give their verdict on the policies and programmes so far pursued by the ruling party.

NATIONAL UNITY

Prime Minister Nehru may summon shortly a conference of leaders in all walks of life to discuss questions relating to communalism and national integration.

The projected conference to which leaders of political parties, as also leaders from other walks of life will be invited may take place some time in September or so.

The Union Home Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, had suggested such a conference during the budget session of Parliament. The idea has been taken up by the Communist Party which has demanded a conference of national parties to discuss the problems of communalism and political integration.

KASHMIR ISSUE

Mr. Akhtar Hussain, Pakistan's Minister for Kashmir affairs, said that the question of "cordial relations" between Pakistan and India did not arise unless the Kashmir dispute was amicably settled.

In an interview in Quetta on June 18 the Minister said that Pakistan Government was determined to get the Kashmir issue resolved as early as possible and "every possible step" was being taken towards that end.

PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

India submitted together with Ceylon, Ghana, Iran, Liberia and Mexico a draft resolution to U.N. which "notes with regret" that the Government of Portugal has not yet transmitted to the U.N. information concerning its non-self governing territories."

The resolution "deeply regrets" the absence of the representatives of Portugal from the 12th session of the committee on information from non-self-governing territories, and "requests the Secretary-General, pending the receipt of the information on conditions in the territories under the administration of Portugal, to prepare on the basis of available publications background papers relating to economic, social and educational conditions prevailing in these territories."

SINO-INDONESIAN RELATIONS

The treaty of friendship between China and Indonesia came into force on June 15 with the exchange of the instruments of ratification at a ceremony in Peking in the presence of Chairman Liu Shao-chi of China and President Sukarno of Indonesia.

The treaty was signed at Jakarta on April 1 last by the Chinese Foreign Minister Chen-yi and the Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio during the former's State visit to Indonesia.

It was also announced that the Sino-Indonesian cultural co-operation agreement which was concluded between the two countries at the same time as the treaty of friendship had come into effect as of the same date following the ratification.

U.A.R. BREAKS WITH S. AFRICA

The United Arab Republic broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa, it was officially announced.

The announcement said that, owing to the South African Government's *apartheid* policy the U.A.R. had decided not to recognise the new South African Republic, and would withdraw its diplomatic mission from Pretoria.

TONIC TO THE CONGRESS

The *Guardian* regarded the victory of the Indian Congress Party at the Orissa elections as a tonic to the Congress Party.

"Mr. Nehru and his fellow members of Congress can feel encouraged," this Liberal daily declared.

"They have now been given proof once again that nevertheless, it can still win handsomely."

Educational

AWARD TO INDIAN SCIENTIST

Prof. K. R. Ramanathan of India's Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad, has been awarded the 1961 prize of the International Meteorological Organisation for his outstanding work in meteorology and international collaboration.

The announcement of the award said that Prof. Ramanathan had been chosen for the prize during the 13th session of the Organisation's Executive Committee.

Prof. Ramanathan, who is 68, studied at Victoria College, Palghat, and Presidency College, Madras. After a number of posts in Indian universities, Prof. Ramanathan was appointed Director of the Physical Research Laboratory in Ahmedabad in 1948.

LESSONS OVER TELEVISION

Higher secondary school students in New Delhi will receive instructions through television from August this year on science and languages in addition to their normal class room instructions under a project being started jointly by the Delhi State Administration and the T. V. Unit of All India Radio in collaboration with the Ford Foundation.

To begin with, T. V. receiving sets are being installed in about 150 higher secondary schools and instructions will be given through television to students of the ninth standard thrice a week in physics and chemistry and once a week in Hindi and English. Each lecture and demonstration will last about 20 minutes.

CENSUS OF SCHOOL GOERS

Only about 60 per cent of the world's school-age children are actually in school, according to a report prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) for the U.N. Children's Fund (Unicef). Although there has been an increase in school enrolment since the end of World War II, the progress falls far short of the goal prescribed in the U. N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, says the report which shows that in the middle of 1957, of a total world population of 2½ billion, 341,453,000, or 12.4 per cent were enrolled in schools on all levels.

DR. C. V. RAMAN

Dr. C. V. Raman has been elected President of the Faculty of Science of the Andhra University and he will hold office for three years from May 10, 1961, states a communication from the Registrar of the University.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN 3rd PLAN

The Union Education Ministry has worked out a detailed scheme for mobilisation of community resources for effective implementation of the expanded primary education in the Third Plan.

The State Governments will soon be addressed by the Centre to devise suitable administrative and other measures to bring out intimate association between the primary education programme and the community.

In addition to the village panchayat, which would provide the most suitable channel of contact between the school and the villagers, setting up of consultative committees at district and state-levels are suggested.

While the resources from the Education Department are to be used primarily for providing trained teachers and other basic needs, the funds in the block budget of community development programme may be utilised for schemes designed to bring the school and community in closer contact by developing the school as a community centre.

TEXT-BOOKS FROM ABROAD

Low-priced foreign text books on science, engineering and technology are expected to be made available in the Indian market shortly as a result of certain steps taken by the Government of India.

Non-availability of reasonably priced books both for purposes of reference and for use as text books in colleges is one of the major problems in the country, which has to depend almost entirely on foreign books for imparting higher instruction. Further, foreign books are expensive and are not within the reach of all students.

EVENING COLLEGES

A five-member committee of educationists has been set up by the Union Education Ministry to work out details of the scheme to promote evening colleges and correspondence courses, it is learnt.

Dr. D. S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, will head the committee. It is learnt that besides Mr. P. N. Kirpal, Secretary to the Union Education Ministry, the Vice-Chancellors of the Karnataka University and the Delhi University are among the members.

It may be recalled that in order to reduce the pressure on universities and colleges it has been proposed to institute evening colleges.

Legal

LEGAL TERMS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

The Government of India has constituted a standing commission of legal experts for the proper planning and implementation of the entire work relating to the preparation of a standard legal terminology for use, as far as possible, in all Indian languages and the translation of statutes into Hindi.

The commission will be headed by Mr. C. P. Sinha, a retired Chief Justice of the Assam High Court, who is expected to take charge of his duties in Delhi soon.

The Commission, to be known as the Official Language (Legislative) Commission has been set up in pursuance of the directions issued by the President in his order on official language, dated April 27, 1960, made under Clause (6) of Article 344 of the Constitution.

Besides the chairman, the Commission will consist of the vice-chairman, 15 members and a member-secretary.

"OPEN JAIL" FOR TRIVANDRUM

Mr. P. T. Chacko, Minister for Home Affairs, said in a written answer in the Assembly at Trivandrum on June 13 that the State Government had decided to start an "open prison" in Trivandrum district.

It was proposed to start for that purpose a rubber plantation on 500 acres of forest land in Nettukaltheri range, where about two hundred selected prisoners of good conduct would be settled. The prisoners in the open prison would have greater freedom of movement and they would be provided with permanent sheds for living. They would get wages at an enhanced rate according to their work. Those found guilty of misconduct in the open prison would be sent back to jails, he said. There would be a Superintendent, a Supervisor and a few warders for the open prison.

DAUGHTER'S RIGHT UNDER HINDU LAW

Mr. Justice T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar, Chairman of the Law Commission, told Coimbatore lawyers on June 19 that on the question of right of daughters to succeed under the Hindu Law, there was a move in the Punjab to limit it to unmarried daughters.

Addressing members of the Bar Association on "law reforms," Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar added these questions should be solved on appreciation of social conditions and not on abstract principles of law.

On the work of the Law Commission, he said that law was not static but a living organism which must take into account the conditions of society. In revising statutes the commission had to see how far law required changes in the light of fundamental rights declared in the Constitution. They had also to settle law where there was conflict of judicial decisions on the interpretation of the statute. They had to consider the changes, particularly social conditions when arriving at policy decisions, Mr. Aiyar added.

ANTI-DOWRY ACT

The Dowry Prohibition Act comes into force on July 1 according to a notification issued in *Gazette of India*.

The Act extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Bill received the President's assent on May 20.

From July 1, the giving, taking and demanding of dowry will be offences punishable under the law. A person can be sentenced to imprisonment up to six months or to a fine which may extend to Rs. 5,000 or both.

No court will, however, take cognizance of the offence of demanding dowry except with the previous sanction of the State Government or of such person as the State Government may specify in this behalf.

APPOINTMENT OF HIGH COURT JUDGES

Except one, all the 258 appointments made to the various High Courts in the last ten years, from 1950 to 1960, have been with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of India. In that one case, the unanimous recommendation of the State authorities was accepted.

According to an official Press release, in 15 other appointments, where there was difference of opinion with the State authorities, the decision was in accordance with the advice given by the Chief Justice of India.

Similarly, all the 22 appointments made to the Supreme Court since 1950 have been made in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief Justice of India.

The High Court Judges are appointed on the basis of merit in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. The initiative comes mostly from the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned and the appointments are made after consulting the Chief Justice of India.

AID INDIA CLUB'S OFFER

Six nations and the World Bank have agreed to give India more than 2,200 million dollars in economic development aid over the next two years, the World Bank announced on June 12.

The Bank said that the aid would help India to launch its Third Plan with confidence that its aims would be achieved.

Countries agreeing to provide the aid following talks which ended at Washington were Canada, West Germany, Japan, Britain, the United States, with France joining the consortium during the talks.

Also joining in the agreement were the World Bank and the International Development Association (I.D.A.), a World Bank affiliate.

The Governments of Austria, Denmark, Norway and Sweden and the International Monetary Fund sent observers to the talks between members of the consortium, called the "Aid to India Club," which has provided assistance for India's earlier development plans.

The World Bank is believed to have urged all the member-nations of the Aid India Club to earmark the maximum portion of their assistance for the Third Plan as "untied non-project credit."

Maximum repayment period and the charging of minimum interest rates are two other suggestions made by the Bank to the Club nations. The Bank has pointed out that only if these conditions are fulfilled, India would be able to take full advantage of the recent 2.2 billion dollar assistance for the first two years of the Plan.

While the United States appears to share the views of the Bank fully, the other members of the Aid India Club are still to fall in line. West Germany is the only country which has indicated a definite limit for "untied credit" so far (25 per cent) and this is evidently considered too low by the World Bank.

In regard to interest rates and repayment period, it is clear that the other members might not be able to go wholehog with the USA. How far they can comply with the World Bank's advice remains to be seen.

BANKING IN INDIA

The developments in Indian banking in 1960, which were characterised by a record expansion of bank credit, a sharp drop in the increase in bank deposits and the adoption of new measures to restrain bank credit, are reviewed in the Report on "Trend and Progress of Bank-

ing in India" during 1960 published on June 19 by the Reserve Bank of India.

The report also draws attention to some weaknesses in the banking organisation which called for legislative enactment as well as efforts on the part of the authorities to consolidate and strengthen the banking system.

Over the year, aggregate deposits of commercial banks increased by Rs. 39 crores raising them to the level of Rs. 1,855 crores; in 1959 and 1958 the rise was Rs. 253 crores and Rs. 216 crores respectively. Demand deposits rose by Rs. 51 crores as compared with a rise of Rs. 19 crores in 1959 and a decline of Rs. 10 crores in 1958 while time deposits declined by Rs. 12 crores as against rises of Rs. 234 crores and Rs. 226 crores in 1959 and 1958 respectively. Comparison with earlier years would not hold good, however, because of the change in the procedure of banking, the P.L. 480 funds which were being gradually transferred from the State Bank of India to the Reserve Bank in instalments of Rs. 12 crores per month commencing from July, 1960.

WORLD ECONOMY

The world's economy had another year of "substantial growth" in 1960, with trade expanding by 10 per cent, Mr. Per Jacobsson, Swedish President of the International Monetary Fund, said.

Reporting to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Mr. Jacobsson said world industrial production was six per cent higher in 1960 than in the previous year, output of agriculture products and raw materials generally increased, and there was an expansion almost everywhere in the service trades.

"It was in the industrial countries in western Europe and in Japan that the increase in production was most marked."

INCREASE IN BONN'S CONTRIBUTION

West Germany has agreed to give an extra 200 million marks aid towards the first two years of India's Third Plan.

Originally, West Germany offered 400 million marks this year and the same amount in 1962, but following talks in Bonn last month Germany agreed to reconsider her offer.

The sources added that West Germany had agreed to make 100 million marks of this year's total new aid of 170 million an untied loan for 15 years. Terms for the remaining 70 million, next year's 400 million marks, and the additional 200 million remains to be negotiated.

VIOLET ALVA ON S. INDIAN WOMEN

Mrs. Violet Alva, Union Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, exhorted young men and women working in a community development areas to look to the villages to derive moral strength where, she said, it still existed.

She was delivering the valedictory address of the refresher course for Mukhya Sevikas of Madras, Andhra, Mysore and Kerala at the Avinashilingam Home Science College at Coimbatore on June 13.

She praised the women of South India for their simplicity and said it was left to women to lay down the pattern of behaviour. Social education organisers and mukhya sevikas should work with missionary zeal. Women should be prepared to show strength of character and fight their difficulties by themselves. It was the duty of mukhya sevikas to help the people to develop a sense of community life.

POLYGAMY IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan is undergoing a "rush hour" in polygamy, according to the president of the All-Pakistan Women's Association.

Begum Razia Mohammad Ali bases her belief on the large number of representations being received by the association from women all over the country demanding early implementation of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961, under which second marriages will not be permitted.

She said the pattern of complaints suggested that "members of the stronger sex were in a hurry to contract second marriages before the ordinance was put into force." At the moment Provincial Governments were busy drafting rules under the ordinance, but until these were enforced there was no bar against second marriages.

Begum Ali said both men and women were to be blamed for Pakistan's increase in polygamy. "If the parents of girls take a strong stand, or the girls themselves refuse to be No. 2 wives, we will have less of this problem on our hands," she added.

TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN

Markets for sale and purchase of women have been found in the Chambal ravines, by Village Development workers at Dholpur.

Giving this information, Mrs. Saroj Chaturvedi, Extension Officer Community Development Block, Rajakhare, said these were in villages right in the extreme interior of the ravines where no means of communication existed.

TIBETAN WOMEN'S SUCCESS

Two Tibetan women reached the 7,595 metres (24,921 foot) summit of Mount Kungur Tiubie Tagh in the Pamirs of Central Asia on June 17 the highest point ever reached by women climbers, the New China news agency reported.

A broadcast heard at Tokyo said the peak, also known as Kungur-2 is the second highest of the Pamirs. The broadcast identified the successful pair only as Sheirab and Phundob. It said that they succeeded the previous women mountaineering record set in 1959 by a Chinese expedition on 7,546 metre Mount Muztagh Ata in the Pamirs.

Prior to this, the agency said the world record of 7,456 metres was held by the late Madame Claude Kogan, French member of a 1956 French-Swiss Himalayan expedition.

The broadcast said the leader of the Kungur-2 expedition, Yuan Yang, a 27-year-old Chinese geology teacher from Peking, climber to 7,300 metres but suffered from the rarefied air and was ordered by doctors to stay behind. Dr Wang Yi-chin, Deputy Leader, and Rabjor a Tibetan student, stopped climbing at 7,560 metres for the same reason.

THE WORLD OF SUZIE WONG

Five Chinese girls have withdrawn from the cast of "The World of Suzie Wong" because it is "immoral and out of national character," causing a postponement of the premiere.

Photographs depicting girls in the show wearing cheong sams (tight skirts with a slit up the side) incensed some members of the Chinese community.

Both the book and film of "The World of Suzie Wong" are banned in South Africa but not the play.

Mr. Brian Brooke, the show's producer, said he would go on with the show even if it meant replacing the Chinese girls by white girls.

AMERICAN WOMEN & EAR-PIERCING

The Indian custom of ear-piercing has found adherents among American women according to a leading New York jeweller.

The jeweller, who has employed an expert to pierce the earlobes of his fair customers free claims in an advertisement that 100,000 American women have already taken advantage of the offer.

The advantage of wearing a gold earring in a pierced earlobe rather than let it hang by a clip is that "earrings for pierced ears cannot be lost," the traveller explained.

General

DR. P. V. PATHY

Dr. P. V. Pathy, well known scholar, cinematographer and producer of documentary films, passed away in his sleep on June 4. He was 55.

Dr. Pathy is survived by his French wife, Mrs. Frannette Pathy and two sons, Marc and Francois Pathy. Marc is a mining engineer and Francois is a research engineer in France.

Born of an orthodox Telugu Brahmin family Dr. Pathy had his early Education in India and later in Europe. The foundation for his 25-year career as a cinematographer was laid in Ecole Technique de Photographie et de Cinematographie in Paris. From 1930 to 1933 he was engaged in research at the Paris University in the Faculty of Letters. He came under the influence of the eminent Orientalist and Indologist, Sylvain Levi. He obtained his doctorate from the University of Sorbonne for a thesis.

Returning to India in 1936 after an eventful career Dr. Pathy served as chief cameraman of the British Paramount News for four years. He did a special assignment for the British Universal News and filmed the Quetta earthquake in 1935. He was a pioneer in news-film service and it was under his guidance that the Indian Screen Gazette was started in 1938. It depicted that year's session of the Indian National Congress and ran into six issues.

From 1936 to 1947 Dr. Pathy covered several A-ICC sessions, events in the former princely States of India and the Independence Day celebrations. He was the first cinematographer to direct a full length documentary on Mahatma Gandhi.

Selections of his literary contributions and picture features were published in a book called "Pictures and Pen-pictures of India." He was a linguist, well-versed in English, French, Telugu, Tamil, Hindi, and Sanskrit. His film documentary "The Golden River" won the President's certificate of merit and his other production "Earth and Water" was awarded the Film Fans' Silver Shield in 1956.

We offer our sincere condolences to the family of Dr. P. V. Pathy who was a great friend of the Editor of this journal.

SECY.-GENERAL OF U.N.

The U. N. Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld indicated that he would stay on the job as long as he had the support of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly

PROF. C. G. JUNG

Professor Carl Gustav Jung leader of the school of analytical psychology, died at his villa at Kuesnacht (Switzerland) on June 6.

Prof. Jung was the last survivor of three pioneer explorers into the unconscious, the other two being the late Alfred Adler and Sigmund Freud.

Like Adler, Prof. Jung was once a follower of Freud's theory of psycho-analysis, but he broke away and developed a theory that there were driving forces behind human actions—such as religion—that were as important as sexual instincts.

EDDIE POLO

Eddie Polo, who gained fame as stunt man in many movie serials between 1914 and 1924, died on June 14 at Hollywood shortly after collapsing in a restaurant. He was 86.

Born in San Francisco, Eddie Polo appeared on the stage in variety shows and musicals and worked in circuses before coming to Hollywood.

MR. R. B. CHETTY

Mr. R. B. Chetty, a friend of Mahatma Gandhi and for many years vice-president of Natal Indian Congress died in Durban at the age of 87, according to information received in Tranquebar to his relatives on June 21.

Mr. Chetty, who hailed from Porayar, as representative of the Natal Congress at the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress, advocated total abolition of the system of indentured labour.

NEW ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Dr. Arthur Michael Ramsey, former Archbishop of York on June 21 became the 100th Archbishop of Canterbury in a ceremony at St. Paul's Cathedral London.

MR. T. T. P. ABDULLAH

Mr. T. T. P. Abdullah, Superintendent of Police Crime and X Branch, CID, Madras, has been selected for being appointed as First Secretary of the Indian High Commission in the United Kingdom. He is expected to join duty early in August.

Mr. Abdullah (39), recipient of President's police medal during the Police Centenary celebrations in 1959, has served as Assistant Inspector-General of Police from 1955 to 1959 and has been in charge of Anti-Corruption and Crime Branch work.

