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THE INDIAN REVIEW

SEP. 1961.



# The INDIAN REVIEW

62nd Year

Vol. 62

SEPTEMBER 1961

No. 9

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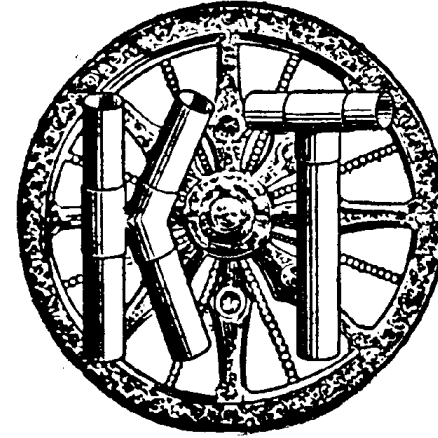
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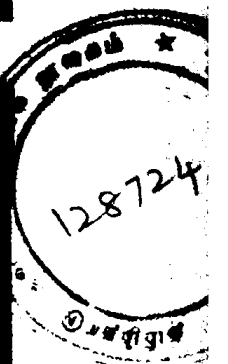
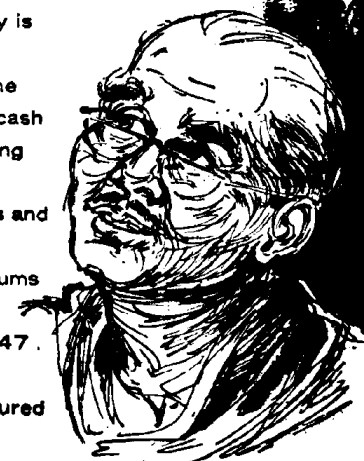
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## Ancient Hindu Judicial System

By

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A truly magnificent administration of justice synchronising the highest principles with fairest procedure is the contribution of the Hindu Judicial System in India. Itself a product of centuries of evolution, this system anticipates future centuries of legal thought. This oldest system, older than the jurisprudence of Rome and England, is surprisingly modern in its provisions and outlook. Legal and historical scholar has yet to work hard and long in this vast field of research to explore and appreciate the wisdom, excellence and the maturity of the Hindu Judicial System. It waits the pen of an Indian Maitland or an Indian Holdsworth.

The origin of the Hindu Judicial System can be traced from the pre-historic Vedic times. It is certainly more than 3000 years old, if not older still. The "Sabha" acted as the national judicature in Vedic times. It was the "Judicial Assembly." The rise of the "Sabha" is usually associated with the later period of the *Rig-Veda*. In the *Atharva-Veda* VIII.10.5 reference is made to the fire which used to be kept in the Court room of the Sabha and the Vedic term "Sabhya" appears to indicate such fire. The *Rig-Veda* X.71.10 describes and refers to Sabha and the delights and reliefs when litigants came out successful from the Sabha's deliberations. In the "Purusmedha" of the *Sukla-Yajur-Veda* 30.7, "Sabha" is described as the place where a litigant receives justice. In "Paraskara-Grhya" III.13, there is the description of the function and atmosphere of the "Sabha." It indicates animated discussions with lively debate and formulation of justice. Jayaram describes the Sabha as "resounding" and "shining" because of the performance of Justice. The *Jatakas* describe the high standards which the Sabha was expected to maintain. According to the *Jatakas*, the Sabha

which had no good people was no Sabha and the people who did not proclaim the *Dharma* (Justice) were not good people. The *Jatakas* emphasise the principle that those who avoid personal sentiments and fearlessly proclaim justice are the good people of the Sabha.

The independence of the judiciary was one of the outstanding features of the Hindu Judicial system. Even during the days of Hindu monarchy, the administration of justice always remained separate from the executive. It was as a rule independent both in form and spirit. It was the Hindu Judicial System that first realised and recognised the importance of separation of judiciary from the executive and gave this fundamental principle a practical shape and form. The case of *Anatha-Pindika vs. Jeta* reported in the "Vinaya Pitaka", *Cullavagga* VI.4.9, is a great illustration of this principle. There a prince and a private citizen submitted their case to the law Court and the Court decided against the royal prince and the prince accepted the decision as a matter of course and as binding on him.

The evolution of the principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive was largely the result of the Hindu conception of law as binding on the sovereign. Law in Hindu jurisprudence was above the sovereign. It was the "Dharma." The laws were then not regarded so much as a matter or product of Supreme Parliaments and Legislatures. Certain laws were regarded as above all human authority. Such, for instance, were the natural laws which no parliament, however supreme, can abolish or modify. The doctrine was not merely confined to natural or scientific laws but also extended to certain social laws which experience, wisdom and genius of man discovered as unalterable having regard to human nature and

biology. All this body of laws which had a higher authority than human agencies, was commendably called the "Dharma". The Judicial System in Hindu India always worked on this first premise. Its genius lay in adopting this first premise to the changing patterns of society with which it had to deal with from time to time. This first premise is not the same as *Jus Gentium* or *Jus Naturali* of Roman jurisprudence but was a much larger, more scientific and a more concrete concept. The other agency which helped to establish the independence of the judiciary was the fact that in the Hindu Judicial System lawyers were appointed judges and the lawyears as a rule at that time, came largely from the Brahmins who as exponents of Dharma had to be obeyed by the executive and the sovereign. The "Satpatha-Brahman" as well as the "Jatakas" refer to the divisions of the Brahmins into two classes as "priests" and "politicians." In fact, the division is described as being composed of "Purohit politicians" and the "Brahmin ministers."

This independence of the judiciary was ensured by high standards followed in appointing Judges. Narada gives the tests for selecting from Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The sovereign was the appointing authority but was assisted and advised in the selection by the "Sabha" and other members of the royal council. Katyayana lays down detailed qualifications for the Judge or "Pradvivaka."

It was a significant fact that the Judges under this system, were helped by the society in the administration of justice. They were judges of law as well as the Jury being the judges of fact. Their number was always odd in case there was necessity to decide by majority. The rule of the Sabha was that everyone should speak according to law. To keep silent or to speak what was not law was regarded as Sin. Jolly quotes Narada by saying "Either the Judicial Assembly (Sava) must not be entered at all or a fair opinion delivered." That means he who either stands mute or delivers an opinion contrary to justice is a sinner. The king appointed Councillors to assist deliberations in the Court. It was the rule of the day that every person versed in law should attend the Court, and if occasion arose should be invited to give his own opinion on a disputed point of law to prevent obvious miscarriage of justice. This procedure is comparable to the modern practice of calling

upon a lawyer not engaged in the case, to assist the Court as *amicus curiae*, a friend of the Court. Indeed *Manu* declares that silence in such a case was culpable. This was not an invitation for public participation in a litigation. Narada is anxious to make it clear that in a litigious dispute, one who has no appointed function should not be allowed to say anything and a person versed in law should be allowed to speak what is proper only when he has no leaning or bias or interest towards any of the particular litigants.

The Court Scene of *Mricchakatika* which is dated the 3rd Century A.D. makes a reference in IX Verse 14 to the Jury. *Sukraniti*, *Brhaspati* and *Narada* all describe the functions of the Jury. There the Jury was composed of either 7 or 5 or 3 persons and they were described as "the examiners of the cause", while the presiding Judge, their President was called "the Speaker" and the king as carrying out the punishment. There were thus checks and balances that even when justice was administered there was a Speaker to contend against the leanings of any particular judge. It was a part of the Hindu Judicial System that justice had to be administered openly (*Narahasi*) and not in private and never by one Judge alone.

To keep the judiciary free even from the influence of the king, the law was that the king himself was not allowed to hear cases. Narada in his Introduction I, 35, as well as *Brhaspati* I. 24, quoted by *Smrticandrika* expressly declare that the king was not allowed to hear cases. The king was present and sat in his council which included the Chief Justice. These were cases which, in the modern world would be, cases on appeal and the Court with the king was the highest Court of Appeal. In *Rajtarangini* this procedure of the King-in-Council, finds confirmation in the case described there in the reign of king *Yasaskara*. The modern practice of all Courts and their processes functioning in the name of the Head of the State or the king was also the rule in the Hindu Judicial System. In theory the king always presided over the Court whether he was personally present or not. This is supported by *Viramitrodaya*, pages 39-40 and *Manu* VII. 1. 19. The decree was also given under the Seal of the Court and was described as a document given in the name of the king. Similarly summonses and other processes of the Court ran in the name of the king. A

graphic picture of the king, the Court and the procedure is to be found in *Sukranitisara*, Verses IV, V, & VI.

Full records of cases decided by the Courts were carefully kept. law reports are not such a modern invention as we are apt to think. *Jatakas* make frequent references to such records. They are sometimes called "Viniscaya Pustaka". See Volume III, page 293 of the *Jataka*. *Vasistha* at page 55 also makes references to the judicial records of cases decided by the Courts. The doctrine of *res judicata* was well recognised in the Hindu Judicial System and uniformly followed and applied both during the Hindu and the Buddhistic periods of Indian history. See *Cullavagga's* Verse V. 4.4. referring to the doctrine of *res judicata*. The recognition and application of the principle of *res judicata* also imply that the system of case records must have been highly developed.

A study of the Hindu Judicial System shows a regular hierarchy of Courts and appeals with well-defined jurisdiction. *Yajnavalkya* I.360, II. 86 makes reference to the laws of the Hindu republics as distinguished from Hindu monarchy, showing remarkable interlinking co-ordination in the Judicial System followed in both the Monarchy and the republics. It was possible only because law as Dharma was common to both. *Yajnavalkya* mentions the laws of the Kula and Gana republics. The "Kulikas" presided over the Kula Courts and the laws provided appeal from these Courts to the Gana Courts. *Viramitrodaya* at page 11 describes these Courts and reference to them is also found in the *Mahabharata* where special note is taken of the criminal cases and penology administered by these Courts. These were not the only Courts known in the Hindu Judicial System. It recognised what may be called guilds with limited and well-defined judicial powers. These guilds were mainly industrial organisations. They may well be regarded as the fore-runners of the modern Industrial Tribunals and Courts. Appeals were allowed from these Industrial Courts which were called "Pugas". These appeals came to the Kula and Gana Courts. When Ganas became subject to the Monarchs subsequently, the decision of the Gana Court was subject to an appeal to the Monarch or the Royal Justice. Many details on this point are found in the law books of *Narada*, *Brhaspati* and *Katyayana*. These Gana Courts were really the Courts administering

the laws of the Hindu Republics in India and it is from that feature that they draw their name "Gana" meaning the people or the Republics. The Greek writers paid great tribute to the laws of these Gana Courts. The *Mahabharata* praises their excellent legal system. The laws of the "Ganas" were called "Samaya" by *Narada*. *Brhaspati* quoted in *Viramitrodaya* pages 423-425 shows that the work "Samaya" literally means a decision arrived together in an Assembly.

The Hindu Judicial System passed through three different stages. In the first stage of the Hindu law there was no writing. The *Smriti* and the *Smrti* were then the only sources. The duties of the Courts of law then were performed by the Heads of the family, of the "Gotras" and of the "Prabaras" by themselves or by getting an umpire selected by the parties. *Smrti Candrika* quotes *Bhrgu* to illustrate this point. The second stage is reached with the introduction of writing which first appeared as substance of the *Smritis* in the form of "Sutras". In this second stage of the written Sutras, the main function of the judicial system and the courts of law was the application of these Sutras in deciding individual disputes. The third stage is the stage of codification. The Vedas were embodied in the form of "Samhitas". A new departure was also made in the "Grhyas" and the Dharma Sutras to the "Samhitas" or Institutes which were called the "Dharma Shastras". These *Dharma Shastras* can be compared to the *Institutes of Justinian*. They were really text books on law. They can also be compared to *Blackstone's Commentary*. While they did not have the force of Statutes, they were nevertheless regarded as authorities of such great persuasion, that much, if not the entire law, was inspired by them and they acted as guides for the Courts on all controversial and disputed points of law and their application to practical life. By this third stage the administration of justice was becoming elaborate and complicated. During this period there were really two sets of Courts. First, there were the Courts directly under the authority of the State. Secondly, there were the courts of a popular character and constituted by the people themselves, either through local *Sabhas* or *Panchayats* or village Council or even family or tribal Council. The valuable research in this field, made by *Colebrooke* reveals three different categories of State Courts and three

different Categories of People's Courts. The State Courts were:—(1) The Court of the Sovereign assisted by the learned Brahmins as assessors. This was the Privy Council or the King-in-Council. This Court was ambulatory and was held wherever the King sat or went: (2) The "Tribunal" of the Chief Justice or the "Pradivaka" appointed by the sovereign sitting with three or more assessors not exceeding seven. This was Stationary Court held at an appointed place. This was the Supreme Court: (3) The Subordinate Judge appointed by the Sovereign's authority for local areas and local jurisdictions. From their decisions appeals used to lie to the Court of Chief Justice and thereafter to the Privy Council or the King-in-Council. The three different types of people's Courts, mentioned by Colebrooke are: (1) assemblage of townsmen or meetings of persons belonging to various tribes and belonging to different professions but inhabiting the same place: (2) the Courts represented by companies of traders or artisans or professions subsisting by the same trade, business or profession. They appear to be the Industrial Courts or the Courts of Professions, or Courts of disciplinary jurisdiction: (3) The Kinsmen or relations connected by consanguinity, mainly confined to personal and family laws and customs.

The judge-made law under the Hindu judicial System represents a great contribution of the Hindu jurisprudence. Law was made by Judges by interpretation of the "Sutras" and the "Samhitas". Famous and well-known rules of interpretation were evolved by the Hindu judges which came to be known as the celebrated "Mimamsa" rules of interpretation. One of the greatest contributions of the Hindu judicial system was the development of the "Mimamsa Sutras" or rules of interpretation. *Kalpa* and *Nirukta* dealt with the questions of intricate interpretation. *Kalpa Sutras*, although called "Prayoga Sutras" (rules of application) undoubtedly served the purpose of the rules of interpretation such as *Sutras* of *Asvalayana*, *Apastambha* and others. "Mimamsa" aphorisms are really associated with "Jaimini Sutras" although Chief Justice Edge of the Allahabad High Court in the case reported in 14 Allaha. bad 70 dated "Jaimini" as of the 13th Century A.C. and subsequent to "Mitaksara" but anterior to "Dattaka Mimamsa" and *Dattaka Candrika* and observed "the better opinion appears to be that Jaimini is much earlier than

the 13th Century". The Hindu authorities put "Jaimini" even prior to the *Vedanta Sutras* on the ground that such names as "Purva Mimamsa" and "Uttar Mimamsa", the anterior and subsequent *Mimamsa* as applied to *Jaimini Sutras*, would seem to indicate the priority of *Jaimini Sutras* over the *Vedanta Sutras*. In fact, *Bhatrhari* describes the *Jaimini Sutras* as the oldest Sutras. Jaimini's work is the first outstanding work of remarkable antiquity. In some places of *Jaimini*, it appears that he was more analytical than *Austin* and more modern than *Goodhart* in discovering the real sanction behind the law. The development of such high principles of interpretation could not have been possible in such ancient times but for the fact that the Hindu Judicial System was alert and anxious to interpret and extend and modify the laws to meet the challenge of changing times.

The procedure in the Hindu judicial System was remarkably modern and anticipated the evolution of centuries. How fair and modern it was, will be apparent from a brief study of such procedure. No civil action could be started without a complaint. Neither King nor his officers were permitted to foster civil litigation by starting an action without a complaint or a plaintiff. Only a person actually aggrieved could initiate an action. *Narada* states that if a person who has no concern or who is not interested personally in the litigation, institutes a complaint, then he should be punished. This was how vexatious or champertous litigation was avoided. The only exception was made in criminal law where it was enjoined that the king might, and in fact, should, take notice of a crime without a complaint. The complaint in civil action had to be instituted by a petition to the Court stating only the barest facts constituting the grievance. His statement was accurately taken down by an officer of the Court called the "Lekhaka" or writer. Then the Judge and such assessors having jurisdiction to deal with the matter, could put questions that they thought proper in order to elucidate and clarify the complaint. It was provided that the answers made by the complainant or the plaintiff to those questions should be taken into consideration to see whether the complaint disclosed a proper cause of action. It was only when it did so, that a summons was issued by the officer of the Court appointed for that purpose and who

was called "Sraddhiyapala". This system was more advanced than even the modern practice where there is no such preliminary checking to stop frivolous summons. As in the modern age, the Hindu Judicial System even at that time exempted certain persons like soldiers on active service, ambassadors or emissaries or persons engaged in essential public duties from personal attendance. Disobedience to summons without lawful excuse was punished with fine. There was also a peculiar sanction enforced by the Hindu Judicial System to ensure compliance with summons. This was called "Asedha" or the imposition of legal restraints. The Hindu Judicial System developed four kinds of such legal restraints. The first was local. The second was temporary. The third was inhibition from going abroad. The fourth was prevention from pursuit of work or occupation.

When the defendant appeared in obedience to the summons the plaintiff was called upon to repeat his complaint in the presence of the defendant. When he did so, it was again taken down and that formed, what is now known as, the modern plaint, which the defendant was then called upon to meet by his defence. Thus the Hindu Judicial System by these special features avoided the waste of public time and money and harassment by bringing up the parties long before actual trial began and thereby much useless litigation was stopped at the earliest opportunity.

Remarkably progressive were the rules of pleadings. The plaint was required to be technically correct, precise and direct. According to *Narada*, amendment of plaint was permissible but not after the plaint was finally taken down in the presence of the adversary. The defendant's defence was also taken down in the presence of the plaintiff in pursuance of the principle followed by the Hindu judicial system of consulting the two parties from the earliest stage when they started unfolding their respective cases. The defence also had to be precise, unhesitating, free from prolixity and not obscure. *Katyayana* describes four types of defences which remind one of the most advanced forms of pleading recognised in the modern age. *Katyayana* describes them as (1) confession, (2) denial, (3) a special exception and (4) plea of former judgment or *res judicata*. The plea of "special exception" is the same as the modern plea of "confession and

avoidance". *Haritta* lays down the specific rules of *res judicata*. *Viramitrodaya* quoting *Brhaspati* describes the four stages of the procedure (1) plaint, (2) answer, (3) trial and (4) deliberations followed by decree.

It is surprising to find elaborate and technical rules in the Hindu judicial system dealing with complicated questions of the right to begin, and how it shifted in the case of confession and avoidance. *Harita* describes in detail the technicality of this rule. *Yajnavalkya* mentions the rule of calling for security for costs and attendance through the means of surety, and the rule of counter-claims and set-off. The Hindu judicial system used a very highly developed law of evidence and classified evidence under three heads of (1) documents, (2) witnesses and (3) conduct. Documents were divided into (1) public documents and (2) private documents with different methods of proof as in the modern law of evidence.

Interesting description is given about qualities and demeanour of reliable and unreliable witnesses. The test of a reliable witness was said to be that he should be "religious, generous, of respectable family, devoted to truth, lover of virtue, candid, and having off-spring." The characteristics of the demeanour of an untruthful witness are graphically described by saying that "he constantly shifts his position, licks the corners of his lips, his forehead sweats, his countenance changes colour, his mouth dries, his speech falters and he contradicts himself. He does not look up or is slow in returning answers and contorts his lips." It is difficult to find even in modern books on the law of evidence a more graphic description of the demeanour of witness with such great precision. The judge administered the oath to the witness and had the right to interrogate them.

No trial was held either behind closed doors or outside jurisdiction or at night and any such trial so held was declared to be null and void. This anticipates the modern law that a judicial trial should normally be open to the public and should be attended with publicity. The decree of the Court always followed the end of trial. Time was taken for consideration of judgment. The judgment of the Court embodied the decision of the Court which was called either the "Vidhana" or the "Jayapatra". The judgment was required to contain (a) the summary of the pleadings (b) evidence adduced

by the parties, (c) the court's deliberations thereon and (d) the law applicable to the case as determined by the court. A judicial pronouncement in the modern age contains no more. It bore the signature of the judge and the mark of royal seal. *Brhaspati* describes the contents of a judgment in detail.

This remarkable system enjoined strict equality before the law. No one was exempted from punishment for breach of law. *Yajnavalkya* in a well-known Verse says that no one who has transgressed the law is exempted from punishment "be he a king, his brother or son, or an object of worship, a father-in-law or a maternal uncle". In fact this doctrine of equality of the law for all was carried to the opposite extreme. Persons of responsible position, social status and officers in the administration had to suffer greater punishment if they committed an offence than an ordinary citizen committing the same offence on the principle that greater the position and authority, the greater was the responsibility and the greater the standard of behaviour expected. Punishments in criminal law under the Hindu Judicial System were carefully graded. *Yajnavalkya* describes four punishments in criminal law namely, (1) Censure (2) Rebuke, (3) Pecuniary punishment, and (4) Corporal punishment. They could be used separately and jointly

according to the nature and circumstances of the crime. *Yajnavalkya* in his *Rajdharmaprakara* illustrates these different punishments. Pecuniary punishment included fine and forfeiture of property. The corporal punishment included penal servitude and death. There were elaborate rules for right punishment and right sentence depending on the place, and time of the offence, the age, occupation and strength of the offender, the circumstances in which the offence was committed and the value of the articles stolen or robbed. These are illustrated in the *Mitaksara* Commentary on *Yajnavalkya*. Reference to the criminal procedure followed by the Hindu judicial system can also be found in "Santi Parva" of the *Mahabharata* Chapter 107, Verse 27.

The Hindu Judicial System with its mode of judicial administration anticipates many of the ideas which we are apt to trace as products of British legal history and call modern. In *Sukraniti* II, 92-100 a fairly good description can be found to see the modern ring. The Hindu Judicial System offers a rich field of research. It promises rewards which are not merely historic and antiquarian but offers models and inspiration for progress and development towards the goal of a fairer jurisprudence and the ultimate aspiration for ideal justice through human agencies.

## Part Played by the Indian States in the National Movement

By

KUMARI NONDITA CHATTERJI, M. A.

ON August 15, 1947, one of the most glorious chapters of the modern Indian History came to an end when the British Government in India ceased to exist and the birth of independent India took place. The story of the struggle for independence in the Indian States began as early as 1857 when Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi and the brave Nana had shaken the Company's Government by their clarion call to all the princes to rise against the alien rule. It was a rebellion of the princes against the British. Consequently many historians do not call it a national movement. There was no

unity of purpose among the princes. For instance, the Rani of Jhansi's ambition was to recover the estate of her deceased husband. The Nana had his grievances against the British for being deprived of Bajirao's property and pension. Wajid Ali of Awadh resented the injustice done to him by Lord Wellesley. Patriotism was definitely there. But it was limited to their respective states. Love for "Bapoti" is as old in our country as the rocks. But love for "Bapoti" is different from the love of India as a whole. In 1857, the whole nation was not up in arms against the British and India was not its goal.

After 1857, the British Crown assumed the sovereignty of India from the East India Company. For the sake of convenience and diplomacy, in 1858, the British divided India into British India and Indian India.

British India comprised of those territories which were directly under the British rule. Indian India was comprised of the territories governed by the Maharajas, Rajahs and Nawabs. The rulers enjoyed autonomy, but surrendered their foreign policy to the British authority in India. Thus after 1858, not less than two fifths of the area of India remained under the princes, who had accepted the paramountcy of the British Crown, but over whose territories neither the Indian Government, nor the British Parliament claimed or exercised any sovereign authority. Thus the territories belonging to the Princes remained feudal in character, while in territories under the direct control of the British great changes started taking place. The princely states remained reserved areas for social obscurantism till their disappearance in 1949.<sup>1</sup>

Impact of the British rule in the British provinces was tremendous. The first gift of the English to India after 1858 was that there was universal peace or freedom from foreign invasion and internal disorder. How valuable peace is for national growth can be best understood by contrast if we study the history of Western India before 1817 or of the Punjab in the 18th century. The English restored our contact with the outer world and modernized us. The greatest gift of the English after universal peace and the modernization of society, is the Renaissance which marked our nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Who can deny the benefits of English Education? And who will not remember today the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the father of Modern India, in sowing the seeds of nationalism in our country.

Sanskrit Literature<sup>3</sup> abounds in patriotic feelings, but in the medieval period, nationalism died and only there remained love for the "Bapoti" as I have mentioned before. It had its usefulness in the 18th century. But later, it made us narrow minded and selfish. Selfishness in its wake brought the degradation of morality and loss of national character. It is

because of this that we find the history of our country full of sad stories of internal feuds and the tales of a brother's treachery against a brother which bleeds our hearts and gives unspeakable pain. Can we ever forget the treacherous Jai Chand and forgive Omichand and Jagat Seth?

Before 1857, India had only a geographical expression. But the British rule gave her a political expression too and India arose as a nation state<sup>4</sup> in the later half of the nineteenth century. This was the most significant event which could happen in our times. Ideologies of the French Revolution of 1789 and the war of Independence of Belgium, Italy and Greece had a great effect on the mind of the educated Indians. There came national consciousness which in its turn gave birth to the National Movement which, in the beginning, started in the British provinces. Emancipation from the clutches of the British Imperialists was its goal.

In the last years of the nineteenth century the Indian States remained untouched by the main currents of nationalism which had stirred the British provinces. The sovereign princes, who lived in peace after 1857 never tried to westernise their subjects.<sup>5</sup> Even the British Residents remained silent to this matter. Feudalism was allowed to prevail, because it suited their purpose. The British imperialists believed in the policy of divide and rule. They separated the Indian India from the British India with satisfaction.

After accepting the British paramountcy, the princes, basking in the warmth of the British empire, found new pleasure grounds in the European metropolises. Most of the time they remained far away from their people and with the passing of the time, the gulf between the ruler and the ruled widened in almost every state. The Rajput was essentially a grabbing warrior, and no organiser or administrator. Truly has Dr. K. R. Qannugo<sup>6</sup> said that the Rajput was in general all brawn and muscle without much brain in peace and war with few exceptions in the past like Zalim Singh of Kotah and Man Singh and Jai Singhs of Amber. Therefore we find that in the twentieth

4. Chanakya. Indian Revolution p. 121

5. Banerjee A/C. The Rajput States and the E. I. company p. 419.

6. See Modern Review. February, 1957, p. 110.

1. Pannikar, Hindu Society at Cross Roads. p. 78

2. Sarkar I. N., India through the Ages p. 58

3. Mukherji R. K. Hindu Sanskriti me Rashtravadi p. 17.

teenth century the princes<sup>7</sup> never tried to show their subjects the new light which had dawned in our sky. But the people of the states of their own came in touch with the British India which was fast heading towards liberation of the country from the foreign subjugation. In 1857 the war of independence was fought by a few princes. In 1947 it were the people who rose upto the occasion and made the nation free.

Truly has Maulana Azad said in his book "India Wins Freedom" that culturally and economically India is one. Political divisions will always remain artificial. The people of the states could not be kept in the dark for long, because of that feeling of fundamental unity in this land of diversity. They came in touch with the modern India. Teachings of Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda entered their dark chambers of ignorance, heroic and romantic deeds of Napoleon and Garibaldi thrilled them, western science succeeded in casting its spell around them and the spirit of the Indian Renaissance caught their imagination. Even though, far backward than the British provinces like Bengal, Bombay and Madras, the inhabitants of the Indian states, oppressed and chained by their feudal lords decided to contribute their might towards the great national movement which was then swaying the whole of the peninsula from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and from Sindh Baluchistan to the rocks of Brahmaputra.

There were five hundred and sixty Indian states scattered all over India. The people of very few states possessed national consciousness. They decided to take part in the national struggle by joining the non-cooperation movement in 1921. The state people wanted to set up an organization parallel to the Indian National Congress which was working in the British provinces. But in its earliest phase of the freedom struggle the National Congress did not consider it expedient to come in clash with the hundreds of princes backed by the British army. Therefore they concentrated their attention and energy in the British provinces only.<sup>8</sup>

In the advanced states like Kathiawad and Mysore, people's Congresses were set up. They

were independent bodies and the National Congress of British India had no control over them.

In the summer of 1926 a few enthusiasts, who were interested in the problems of the states met in a conference and decided to organize a Congress of the people in the Indian states on an all India basis. Finally in 1927 peoples' Congress came into existence<sup>9</sup> in Bombay under the chairmanship of Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao of Ellore. Representatives from Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad, Cochin, Baroda and from a few states of Rajputana came to attend this congress. Its aim was to achieve constitutional government in the states and to improve the condition of the masses to remove poverty. For the most characteristic feature of the Indian states before 1947 was the appalling riches of the rulers on one side and the extreme poverty of the masses on the other. Even this pathetic condition in the states captured the attention of Prince Edward VIII, when he visited India as Prince of Wales. Another aim of the Indian states people's conference was, "the attainment of responsible government for the people through representative institutions under the guidance of rulers". This aim had been accepted by the National Congress in its 1928 session.

The princes gave a surprise to the leaders of the congress when on November 17, 1930, Maharaja of Bikaner in his speech<sup>10</sup> in the Round Table Conference supported dominion status which was then the object of ultimate attainment. The Maharaja said that the division of India into Indian India and British India existed from political point of view. But India in fact is a single geographical unit. He also made it clear that the Indian princes were not opposed to the political progress of British India. But even after this speech of the Maharaja of Bikaner, the princes on the whole remained callous and indifferent to the national movement and were never a help to it. Therefore in October, 1931 Mahatma Gandhi declared that the princes were like British officers<sup>11</sup> who opposed progress and represented nobody except themselves. On December 16, 1939, in Haripura Congress, Mahatma Gandhi challenged the princes by saying that whatever

9. India. P. 393

10. Banerji A.C., Indian Constitutional Development, Vol. III P. 457

11. Ibid. p. 463

7. The Rulers of Travancore & Cochin were exceptions.

8. Ramgopal Bhartiya Rajniti (1958-1947) p. 393.

might they try, the princes could not impede the March of India to freedom. At Haripura a resolution was passed saying that the congress stood for the same political, social and economic freedom in the states as in the rest of India and considered that the states were integral part of India which could not be separated<sup>12</sup>. The Purna Swaraj or complete independence which was the object of the congress was for the whole of India inclusive of the states, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it had been maintained in subjection. In Haripura the state's people were summoned to start the National movement vigorously with the moral support of the congress. But they were also warned not to start any movement in the states in the name of the Congress. In a resolution of the working Committee in December, 1938, the Congress welcomed the awakening of the people of the Indian states in many parts of the country and considered it as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom campaign which would envelope the whole of India and for which the congress laboured.

In the Tripura session in 1939 the congress declared that its objective was complete independence for the whole of India including the states.<sup>13</sup> Encouraged by this resolution, the people of the states started their movement with more enthusiasm and vigour which helped Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, to a great extent, in bringing about the unification of the country after 1947.

On the eve of the departure of the British power from India, the greatest problem after partition was how to deal with the Maharajas, Rajahs and Nawabs. But such was the force of the popular will in the states that on August 15, all except three states, Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir voluntarily acceded to the new dominion surrendering to it all their essential powers for the exercise of effective direct sovereignty. Within the course of a year and a half Sardar Patel achieved in India what had taken almost sixteen years for Bismarck in Germany. One after the other the great sovereign princes, who had represented the

tradition of Indian monarchy for 3000 years and some of whom claimed to have ruled over the same state for 10,000 years, handed over their territories to the Indian Union accepting a financial settlement for themselves and retiring into private life. How did this remarkable revolution, so historical, yet so bloodless come about in our country? How did the descendants of the rulers and potentates, who had fought valiantly against the Mughals and had contested with the British for the sovereignty of Hindustan, so meekly surrendered their authority after 1948?

Those who claimed to know India well, British administrators who had lived here for a life time, were convinced till the last moment that the princes would not submit themselves to the authority of democratic leaders and that it would lead to a civil war in which the structure of new India might perish.<sup>14</sup> It was at this time that the people of the states played the most glorious role in the national movement with practically no help from outside. They rose as a man and forced their unwilling governments to surrender and join up with India. It was the strength of the national sentiment and the awakening of the masses by the Gandhian struggle which united India and forced the Princes to surrender their authority. Against the Indian nationalism, the hold of the rulers became weak long before the crisis arrived, as the fight for the tricolour in the different states clearly proved. Integration of 554 states with the Republic was not an easy task. In the words of Sardar, "the great ideal of geographical, political and unification of India, an ideal which for centuries remained a distant dream and which appeared as remote and as difficult of attainment as ever, even after the advent of Indian independence<sup>15</sup> was fulfilled by the Policy of integration. After 1950 for the first time India became an integrated whole in the real sense of the term, though this is but the foundation on which to build a prosperous Welfare State. Life has now to be made meaningful for the millions who have led a twilight existence. New tracks must be laid for the questing spirit."<sup>16</sup>

12. Ibid. pp. 465-467

13. Ibid. p. 469

14. Chanakya, Indian Revolution p. 123

15. Menon. V. P. Integration of Indian States p. 490

16. Ibid pp. 493-4

# Britain and Iraq's Claim on Kuwait

By

Sri ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

ON July 1 the British Foreign Office announced from London that six hundred Royal Marine Commandos and a guards squadron of 120 to 150 men were landed on the beaches of Kuwait in response to an urgent request from the ruler of Kuwait. It is noticed from Reuter's message that a contingent of Saudi Arabian troops also arrived in the Persian Gulf Sheikdom on that date. In support of the landing of troops Mr. Macmillan, Prime Minister of Britain, said that "the threats against Kuwait are no more than words", though he hoped that "the Government of Iraq will refrain from any aggressive action". The British Foreign Office also made public a letter received from the Kuwaiti leader in which he asked the Government of Britain for "military assistance" in view of the "movements which have been undertaken by the Iraqi Army on the borders of Kuwait." On July 2 Britain made it clear to the Security Council in New York that the British troops which had been sent to Kuwait "present no threat to Iraq—They have no aggressive intentions" and that Britain would withdraw its troops as soon as the Ruler of the Sheikdom "considers that the threat to the independence of his country is over." It is learnt that the British force has been placed at the ruler's disposal and will afford him such assistance as he may consider necessary for the preservation of the independence of Kuwait. Commenting on the British movement the Labour Party's spokesman on foreign affairs said that in the light of events in Kuwait, the Government had no alternative but to respond as it did. The move was also supported by Mr. Gaitskell, the Labour leader. But he was of the opinion that the United Nations should put a force in Kuwait as soon as possible to take the place of the British troops. "That will do much" he thought, "to get rid of the misrepresentation to which we are subject at the moment". Air-Marshal Sir Charles Elworthy, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Kuwait, accompanied by Sir William Luce, the British Resident in Bahrain, supervised military build-up in Kuwait. The British Resident had a meeting on July 8 with the Ruler of Kuwait who, according to an Iraqi source in Cairo, was being requested by Haj

Amin-el-Husseini, the Former Mufti of Jerusalem, to meet General Kassem, and would possibly approve a plan to replace British troops by a U. N. contingent owing to the Security Council debate on Kuwait. It is no doubt true that British troops, called in to avert a take-over by Iraq, have started to thin out. But there is no sign of any large-scale withdrawal as yet. In the opinion of Air-Marshal Sir Charles Elworthy further withdrawals of British troops from Kuwait will depend on the political and security situation. On July 8 he said "the military build-up in Kuwait is now visually complete. Britain's responsibility is to keep a force here sufficient to ensure the country's integrity and no more." According to the U. S. State Department, Britain had acted quite appropriately in sending troops to Kuwait in the light of the request of the ruler and of its obligations to Kuwait. On July 1 Mr John Diefenbaker, Premier of Canada, declared also in Ottawa that the measures taken by Britain had full support from his country.

The original complaint which the Security Council had from Kuwait was that her territorial independence was being threatened by Iraq and the situation would endanger international peace and security. On July 1 the Kuwait Supreme Council announced that General Kassem had not only made threats against Kuwait but had started to move his Army and concentrate his troops. It is reported that contingents of Kuwait's 2000-strong army, equipped with armoured cars are in the frontier area. They are mostly concentrated beyond the Mutla Security post, about seventeen miles north of Kuwait town. On the other hand Baghdad Radio on July 2 called upon both Britain and the U. S. A. "to reconsider their aggressive stand" towards Iraq's claim of sovereignty over Kuwait and said that this stand would threaten peace and security in the Middle East. Further it has been denied by the state-owned Iraq news agency that there are any Iraqi troop concentrations near Kuwait. The Baghdad Radio said on July 2 "The Iraqis and the Kuwaitis are one people. But the British came a thousand miles across the oceans to enslave the nations, steal their wealth, and impose their

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protection on them". Mr. Pachachi, the Iraqi delegate told the Security Council that Britain had followed gun-boat diplomacy to lighten control over the vast oil resources in the area. He called upon the Council to arrange for the immediate withdrawal of all British forces. But on the other hand the Security Council was told by Mr. Hussein, Kuwait's representative that Iraq's claims against the independence of Kuwait had shocked the Arab world and since 1958 Iraq herself had been recognizing Kuwait's movement towards independence to the point of agreeing to set up Consular exchanges. In reply to this the Iraqi delegate told the Security Council that "the imaginary independence" granted by Britain to Kuwait on June 19 was only a licence for the Sheikh and his British protectors to "Continue to pillage our country." The obvious reason was Oil. On July 8 General Kassem told a group of foreign journalists in Baghdad that if Iraq had any aggressive intention against Kuwait she could have invaded Kuwait before the press Conference of June 25 "when we proclaimed Kuwait an integral part of the Iraqi Republic". Brig. Abdul Karim Shaker is the present Iraqi Ambassador in Amman. He also on July 1 made it clear that Iraq was determined to regain her legal rights over Kuwait.

The general reaction to the landing of British troops in Kuwait, as noticed in the Arab world is one of disapproval. The papers which are usually pro-western seem to think that Britain should have waited on mediation efforts by the Arab League and the Arab leaders.

In support of Iraq's claims on Kuwait, General Kassem told the Journalists on June 25 that the Persian Gulf Sheikdom was an integral part of Iraq. He complained that the 1899 British treaty of protection had been "forged" for a payment of Rs. 15,000. According to him Kuwait was part of the province of Basra in the former Turkish empire and this had been recognized by Britain both before and after the signature of the 1899 treaty. "We are in a position to obtain our rights fully, but we always keep the peace, and steps which we take initially are peaceful steps" observed Iraqi Premier. He also warned "we shall extend Iraq's borders to the south of Kuwait." One may recall here that very recently Britain ended her protection of the oil-rich State and announced the signing of a treaty of friendship and consultation with Kuwait as a fully inde-

pendent Sovereign State. But in the opinion of General Kassem that treaty was illegitimate. He said "it has been signed by irresponsible people who are under the sway of imperialism." General Kassem also told the Journalists that in near future a republican decree would be issued appointing the present Sheikh of Kuwait as Governor of Kuwait district of Iraq. Here it may be mentioned that in the year 1960 General Kassem suddenly reopened the frontier dispute with Iran. He did not even consult his own Foreign Minister. General Kassem has always an eye on wealth of Kuwait the annual income of which is £ 150 million. This income will undoubtedly be a welcome prop to Iraq's tottering treasury. Iraq has kept its claim alive for the years, though this did not prevent Kuwait from developing its own separate administration and from having its own Flag and passports. It is learnt that Iraq supplies Kuwait with forty thousand workers and with its fodder and food.

Iraq's announcement of claims on Kuwait is of great significance. We all perhaps know that forty per cent of Britain's oil are supplied by Kuwait. So Iraq will become the biggest oil producing State in the world if she can gain hold of that oil-rich Sheikdom. Not only that great concern is also expressed in the oil capitals of the World about the fate of the Kuwait Concessions granted only recently to the American Companies. At his Press conference the British Foreign Office spokesman said on June 26 that the basic issue which had been raised by the claim of General Kassem was one between Iraq and Kuwait. He said "Kuwait is an independent Sovereign State and the present matter is one between Iraq and Kuwait which are both independent States". The reactions to the announcement of General Kassem's claim, as noticed in London, is that only threat to Britain's oil supplies will always be considered a major threat to the national economy and the Government should act accordingly. On June 27 both Britain and Kuwait firmly rejected Iraq's claim on the oil-rich Sheikdom. Not only that the Sheikh immediately declared a state of emergency in Kuwait and sent out messages to Arab Heads of states expressing his determination to defend his country against any takeover attempt by Iraq. Through her political agent, Mr. John Richmond Britain gave Kuwait a formal pledge to go to her aid if she asked for it.

In a communication to General Kassem the Government of India expressed the hope that Iraq would look for a peaceful solution to its dispute with Kuwait. Obviously this message followed British request to Mr. Nehru asking

him to exercise his influence to prevent a conflagration in West Asia. It is realized in New Delhi that with the presence of foreign troops in Kuwait an untoward move may spark off hostilities.

## The Battle of Plassey-The First War Against Imperialism.

By

Mr. S. V. IYER, M. A. (Hist.) Dip. (Jour.)

IN the 17th and 18th Century, India was occupied by a group of colonialists. One of them was the English, who competing with the Dutch and the French traders became soon the masters of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Nay, they also became the virtual rulers by a series of treaties and alliances by the year 1818, thus overthrowing the once great Kings and Nawabs.

### Pagoda Tree

The circumstances under which the English traders became the real masters of Bengal can best be understood by recalling the days of the "Pagoda Tree" meaning thereby Nawab's wealth and glory. The shaking of "Pagoda Tree" came to fruition only after the Battle of Plassey in 1757.

### The Battle

The Battle of Plassey or Palasi is an important event in the annals of Indian History in as much as the purpose and aims of the English merchants were concerned. It was a battle between the Nawab of Bengal-Siraj-Ud-Daulah and Lord Clive (a servant of the Company who rose from a clerk). No Government had authorised hostilities; it was not intended until the last moment: the victor held what is surely the lowest rank of any winner of a decisive battle-lieutenant-colonel and the battle field itself no longer exists. A single tree of the grave long survived, marking, it was said, the grave of one of the Nawab's officers, but even that has gone now.

### Misconceptions

Popular misconceptions about Plassey are two in numbers. One is that the imperialists wanted to take revenge upon Siraj-Ud-Daulah the Nawab of Bengal who put several English-

men in a small room as a punishment for the nefarious intrusion and encroachment by the former on his land. The English historians describe the incident as "Black Hole" tragedy. But let it be said that the Nawab was only interested to oust the English merchants from his native land, in order to protect the native Indians and to prevent the territorial encroachment. Nor was the imperial policy of Pitt led to this battle. The real occasion and the necessity of this battle was the wealth of Nawab and his paraphernalia. And Clive was the real architect behind this battle, who wanted to increase his prestige at home and abroad.

### Nawab's Policy

The policy of the Nawab was to prevent any foreign aggression by enlisting the sympathy of the neighbouring States, together with the men and resources he had at his disposal. When Clive returned to India in 1756, his plans were to establish English factors at Madras and Bengal, after expelling the French and the Dutch from these places. The Nawab-Siraj-Ud-Daulah's policy was to maintain an equilibrium between the competing Commercial Powers while offending neither irremediably.

### The Plotters

Even in the midst of Nawab's valiant soldiers and capable men of supreme calibre and strength, there were several conspirators who wanted to get rid of the Nawab and enrich themselves as a price of their intrigues with the English. One such was Mir Jaffar who at the instance of Clive's promise of elevating him to the Nawabship, secretly commissioned his son Miran to cut the head of Siraj-Ud-Daulah in the midst of the battle. After the

gruesome task was finished, Clive readily acceded to the request made by Mir Jaffar. But it may be borne in mind that Clive was an imperialist at heart and it was he who inaugurated the policy of divide and rule. While Mir Jaffar was on the pinnacle of success his people were not happy for the real administration was in the hands of Clive and his subordinates who lived on the wealth of Nawab and created serious differences among the men in the Nawab's Court. Mir Kassim was soon to become the Nawab, but he too proved worthless in the eyes of the English Merchants. The crimes perpetrated on the peaceful citizens of Bengal including the peasants were innumerable. An account left by an Englishman soon after the battle, shows that over 2,000 villages were burned to ashes, women and children in these villages were forced to become slaves in the houses of English merchants, while many were slaughtered and hanged on trees.

When Clive returned to England, he was estimated to have earned his share—280,000 rupees by the most notable courage and resolution. In a reply to the Parliamentary Committee which examined his transactions with Nawab, he said "When I recollect entering the Nabob's palace at Murshidabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left of me, these crowded with jewels by God, gentlemen, stand astonished at my own moderation".

Two centuries have passed since the battle of Plassey which took place in 1757. Why did the people of India give a chance to a foreign power to establish an Empire in India, especially when the Nawab and other princes were strong enough to baffle the attacks of any foreign power on our soil? The answer can be stated in a simple way. Lack of unity on the one hand and the greed for self and power on the other. Had Mir Jaffar and Mir Kassim been wise enough to understand the future danger to India in the event of a foreign aggression, the battle would have been turned to a success in favour of the natives. But as fate would have it, the traders of another nation grabbed the political situation of India and established themselves as virtual rulers. The struggle for freedom and liberty however, could not be suppressed. Exactly after a century in 1857 a great upheaval took place in which rich and the poor, soldiers and the common man, and woman alike shed their blood in the cause of India's freedom. Their cherished dream could not however, be fulfilled until the dawn of a new era, though their spirits continued to live among the people. And on the midnight of 15th August, 1947, India fluttered her tri-colour flag which indicated that she is at last free from a foreign rule.

## Tradition and the Creative Process

[With special reference to Modern Indian Literature]

By

PROF. KUBER NATH RAY, M.A., (SAHITYARATNA)

IN India the advent of modern literature is marked with the coming of individual on the literary scene. In ancient canons the huge dimension of the unsigned works in Sanskrit and Apabhramsa, and the absence of biographical data about the writer, bear testimony to the non-individual nature of the Indian literature. In India it is the tradition, and not the individual talents and passions, which guides the creative process in art and life. Even in Bhakti-movement, when the individual tone in devotion was high, the writers' feelings are not personalised as the extinction of the personality into the Universal and the Supreme was

the primary requisite of the devotee. That is why, Bhakti remaining an individual factor, their songs have a universal appeal. In 18th century of the North, the poetry mannerism (Riti-Kabita) flourished in Hindi, as a verbal counterpart of Rajput painting and Kathak dance, which was the expression of various schools of Sanskrit poetics through the vernacular genius. Being courtly and neo-classical in nature, there was little room in it to accommodate a full-length individual.

It would be an interesting point of study to ascertain the limitations of the part which individuality has played, or would play, in the

creative process, *vis-a-vis* the tradition in modern Indian literature which is by nature itself individual. In Europe the individual tradition is a long one. Even the Medieval age, its apex like 'the Divina Comedia' (Dante) betrays the undercurrent of the individual, though historically, the individual becomes a force after the Renaissance which brought the slogan of 'Homomeasura' back to life, again. That is why, the most extremely individual note in art in also, does not seem out of place there. But in India where individual tradition is barely a little more than 50 years old, the extent of individualism and propriety of the free expression of the personal 'chaos' must be considered carefully.

Every artist is fundamentally individual, no doubt, and nobody can totally suppress his *attenuae*; and a writer for whom strong sensitivity is of prime importance, can never. In a poet like Rabindranath too, highly universalised in his feelings, we find personal colours too deliberate to need investigation. His personal view of Indian politics and his antipathy to the swadeshi movement are clearly expressed in many of his stories and in novels like 'Char Adhyaya' and 'Ghare Bahire' (Home and the World). In Sir Md. Iqbal his pro-Islamic obsession was not only a permanent factor but the source of Byronic force and the vigour of his individual soul of which his poetry is an expression up till now, perhaps, unsurpassed by any Indian, though equalled by Nazrul (Bengali) and Nirala (Hindi) at times. The life of a modern Indian writer is totally unlike that of Thiruvalluvar or Tulasidasa, and he has to wear so many masks during twenty-four hours of which it is difficult to know the real one. It is true in case of unsophisticated simple nationalists like S. Bharati (Tamil) or Premchand (Hindi) as well as a highly complex modernist of existentialist school. So personal beliefs and affiliations are bound to intersect the expression as the modern Indian writer has neither taste nor environment for their transmutation even, what to talk of annihilation. Thus we see that it is impossible to deny the value of individual in modern Indian literature, but chaos arises when we begin to emphasise it at the cost of tradition, and when the individual perversion is dignified as a cult. The reason is not far to seek. In India heroism is still a living force, Sanskrit is still a living language in one sense, romanticism still a norm of life. In such India we do not feel

in the streets of Calcutta or Bombay that it is something like 'unreal city,' like T. S. Eliot's, peopled by 'unreal men.' Structure of life here still the same as, or at least connected with, that in 10th century if not further back. Still India speaks in the idioms and phrases of Chaitanya in Bengal, Sankardeva in Assam, Thiruvalluvar in Madras. In such a country a poet cannot feel as Dylan Thomas feels in America or Sartre feels in France. Our cult of perversion in the name of individualism is a second-hand one, and it has no real inspiration behind. For a writer "subjective honesty," to quote a phrase of Tava Sankar Banerjee, is necessary, and this subjective honesty, that is the honesty of feeling and experience, is absent in those writers who emphasise individualism at the cost of tradition, in our country.

Detachment has been called the primary requirement of the artist. If there is no detachment he would not be able to bring universalisation or Sadharanikaran of his feelings in co-ordination with the racial patterns of feelings and consequently his writings will not be able to invoke archetypal images in the mystic layers of the reader's mind. In this way he will not be able to bring the mental process of the reader's mind in unison with his own in order to enable the former to enjoy 'the relish' or realise 'therasa.' It is the detachment, "the gradual extinction of personality" (Eliot) which brings the artist near the tradition, and consequently near the world for which he is going to create. At least in India, the fact is too real, even to-day, to be ignored.

The point that Indian literature is moulded by tradition evolves the difficulty of being misunderstood in a certain way. Even a man of Keith's calibre also has at times lost the sight of reality attached to tradition in Indian life. He thinks that Indian dramas and epics are simply expressions of the elite taste, in a way as to be "of the elite, for the elite and by the elite" and that is why they represent not real but 'typal' and rigidly fixed feelings and emotions. But had the ancient Indian literature been so much 'isolated' from the life of the mass, it would not have been able to exert such an influence on us. Sanskrit is not a dead language at all, in the sense Pehelvi of Persia is. Here Keith has misconceived the whole context because of his misunderstanding of the nature of mass-life and "elite"-life in India. In Europe the elite was always a cut-off and highly placed section of the society. But in

India elite was not always highly placed in the material sense, nor was it uncoordinated with the whole pattern. This is the speciality of the Varnashram-system. Secondly mass-life in India did never consist of classes in a very exposed way, in which there might be an ever-present evolutionary process of growth supplying motifs for expression as it was in the West. Indian society consists of castes in which growth and form are finalised and systematised for good. In such a society when everything was finalised and systematised, the feelings and emotions are bound to be 'typal' as an individual from the very birth, through sixteen 'samskaras' is taught to think and feel in a particular pattern. So it is always risky to say that what was 'typal' belonged to the elite only and had little concern with the mass. In fact Indian literature is never an ivory-tower literature and in the case of Indian literature critical jargon of Europe like 'type' and 'individual' do not carry much significance. Perhaps critical faculty also is a racial factor and we cannot reach a hundred percent coincidence in the comparative study of two systems devised by two different races.\*

Detachment compels the artist to seek the values to be expressed somewhere else than individual affiliations and passions; and tradition is there to rescue. The fact is evidenced even by our representative works of 20th century. Let us cite a foreign study of Rabindra Nath. "This is true not merely of Tagore's writings; it is Indian heritage. The poems of Kabir carry the same subtle harmonies, the same delicate cadences, the same preoccupation with the soul, with the inner depth and the cosmic meaning of little things. It is multi-thousand years of Hindu Culture that permeates them: the native idealism the quest for non-materiality, the pantheistic worship of God in nature. Much has been written on the transcendentalism of Tagore, but little attempts have been done to see the problem in connection with the Nirgun School of Kabir which owns its imagery to the literature of Nath-cult prevalent in the Eastern and the Northern India just before the advent of the Bhakti-movement. These Nathists were 75% an occult sect of Shaivism prevailing in the south as vir-shaiva-cult and in Kashmir as Pratyabhijnan-Tantra. Besides the various

\* Hiram Haydon ("The Thesaurus of Bk. Digests": pp. 720-21).

other symbols, the imagery of Shiva and Shakti of the Hindi Nathists like Goraknath was turned by Kabir into lover and bride. This imagery is much used by Tagore almost in the same way with the same supplementations as Kabir did, and perhaps it is mistake on the part of eminent critics (like Shri Priyaranjan Sen) to take it for something of Christian origin. One would refer to the preface of 'Dadu' by Shri Khit-mohan Sen which shows how Tagore was enamoured at the purity and beauty of this Nirgun poetry of medieval saints. He himself translated one hundred poems of Kabir in English, later on.

The degree of tradition and the nature of detachment differs according to the form which the artist has chosen for his expression. In poetry there is greater scope for transmuting the individual passions and emotion in the furnace of tradition. The expression of the undigested material can never produce great poetry. But in the case of fiction the same type of detachment will not do. Fiction is, for all practical purposes, a form meant for the expression of realism. So one cannot sacrifice realism for the sake of traditional values. But what we see or feel personally is not always real and the artist has to discover the real in the midst of chaos which he experiences, and here again for the disinterested selection, a type of detachment is called for. If the canvas is large, as in the case of the Mahabharata, the Rangbhumi (Premchand) or the War and Peace (Tolstoy), this selection requires a greatly disciplined mind with all its minute sensitiveness and trained detachment. One can compare the two most popular novels of our times written by two anti-totalitarianist writers: 'Dr. Zhivago' of Boris Pasternak and 'The Non-conformist' of Alberto Moravia. In the former passion of the hero for Laura is a supplement to the force of the general motif expressed in the story, and it has been expressed up to that point only which is necessary for this purpose. But in the case of the latter passion is expressed for its own sake and the writer gives naked picture of copulation in a moving train, as if he is writing a book of sexology. It has nothing to do with the general motif of the novel which is meant to express the tyranny of totalitarianism. But in the case of 'Dr. Zhivago' one feels at the sad fate of Laura: How much 'good and beauty' was wasted away through this cruel force of tyranny. This

effect is achieved by the right selection of the scenes and episodes. Moravia appears to enjoy himself the passionate scenes, while Pasternak selects and disciplines them with the detachment of a 'Rishi', and in this sense a great writer is always something of a Dervish or Rishi. In this process of selection he should know what images and situations would appeal to the mystic layers of his readers unconscious most and for this again he has to look back to the tradition. A modern Indian writer, to-day, is handicapped by the gross individualism of the West as well as by the cheap loyalty to Marxism and in both of the cases a healthy transmutation of the material is necessary by bringing

it in synthesis with the literary tradition of the past. A fatherless, nihilist, revolution like Derozianism of the young Bengal-days of modern Indian Renaissance is sure to die issueless. We feel much to-day which initiates revolution in our minds but art demands a proper selection of the raw material and then its synthesis with the living part of the tradition. No theme in itself is good or bad for expression. It is the intensity of the above mentioned process with the help of proper restraint on the part the individual artist, which matters more than anything else, and only this can give birth to greatness.

## The Evolution of our Calendar

By

Dr. S. C. CHATTERJEE

FROM time immemorial people were in possession of systematic knowledge of time and space. They had a rudimentary astronomy, and as civilization developed elementary science arose to meet the practical needs of an agricultural population. The cultivation of crops depending on seasons made a calendar almost a necessity. The day as a unit of time was, of course, imposed by nature, and the movement of moon conveniently provided a longer unit—the month which was reckoned from one new moon to the next; but the movement of the sun presented practical difficulties. At first, it was supposed that twelve lunar revolutions were equal to one solar movement; but the difference was soon discovered and the necessary adjustment was made from time to time. Thus about 50 B.C. Julius Caesar brought some mathematicians from Alexandria and adjusted Roman Calendar making 46 B.C. of 445 days, and calling it the year of Confusion.\* Several centuries later some discrepancies were again observed and Pope Gregory XIII made the existing European Calendar by adding a day to February after every third year and calling it a leap year. Further adjustment was made after the lapse of one hundred year and one leap year was taken off.

\*He counted time from the founding of Rome in 753 B.C. and rejected the so-called Greek Olympic Register.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century when metric system was first introduced in France, efforts were made to decimalise time unit; but after the downfall of Bonaparte, so great became the influence of the Pope again that no change was acceptable against the Gregorian tradition and only the 18th. Brumaire when Napoleon dissolved the Directory and seized power, remains as a remembrance to the endeavour made to decimalise the year. Week also decimalized and "decadi" was the last 10th day of the week standing for Sunday as a general holiday. A few years ago suggestions were made in United States for establishing a World calendar containing 52 working weeks and keeping aside in a year an extra day in which no work will be done; but addition of one superfluous day in every three years brought further difficulties in the adjustment of wages, etc., and hence there has been no agreement about the introduction of the reform in the existing western calendar.

In the absence of a regular historical record it is very difficult for us to say when and how our calendar was formed. Our priests observed the heavens for performing sacrificial rites and a kind of calendar was established. They kept accurate records of the rising and setting of various celestial bodies, until Aryabhatta was in a position to calculate in advance the relative positions of the sun and the moon, and

thus predict eclipses. It may not be out of place here to mention that this austere Brahmin anticipated Copernicus, but did not, unlike Galileo, preach his ideas against the writings of his days. Some of his observations were undertaken out of pure curiosity in order to discover what regularities existed amongst the motions of the heavenly bodies; and once this stage has been reached it turned to practical account—not of course to any purposes of agriculture of the like but to the foretelling of the future in human affairs.

Parasar and Bhṛigu elaborated a system of concord and discord in planetary motions and Jaimini laid the foundations of astrology which was regarded as a real justification of astronomical researches. There was nothing wrong in all this; and it would be unfair to sneer at our early astronomers as being "superstitious". It must however be remembered that our early astronomers had too little scientific knowledge to justify them in creating a new outlook to accommodate it. Even as late as the seventeenth century so great a scientific man as Kepler used his vast astronomical knowledge to make astrological predictions.

Then followed a time when our outlook on life was changed, and the ensuing centuries produced nothing in science. We lost all curiosity about the sort of things which nature could tell us, and derived all information from two sources—reason and revelation. The highest discoveries of the human reason were regarded to be embodied in the Upanishads, and the Vedas contained divine revelations on matters not accessible to reason. These two kinds of information were magnificently synthesised in the Bhagwat-Gita.

No doubt, the scholastic outlook discouraged scientific enquiries; but it does not mean that the astronomical knowledge so far obtained was abandoned. As a set of working rules we find, in the Jatak, the practical use of nautical almanac during long voyages as a result of previous astronomical observation; and our 'Panji' or 'Panchanga' does not only deal with the auspicious time for performing ceremonies or undertaking a hazardous journey, but gives the positions of stars and planets in the Zodiac (rashi), thus helping in future telling.

During the Muslim rule in India when Saracenic civilization had developed in the Near

and Middle East, Mohammad's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D. was regarded as the beginning of the year, and the Egyptian system of lunar months was adopted; but no non-Muslim country like India accepted it. In his reign Akbar however introduced his own calendar, called "Tarikh Illahi" in 1556; but in 1630 his grandson Shah Jahan abolished it and re-introduced Hegira year in our country.

Although there was a general consensus of opinion regarding the length of the year (one solar revolution), its beginning was subjected to long controversy. The Jews observed 25th Dec. as the great festival day (Jules)—the day when the sun was noticed rising; and therefore the 25th was made the beginning of the year. When the calendar on modern lines was first made in Rome some modifications became necessary, and the first of January was fixed as the first day of the year. In India sun's path was divided into twelve parts according to the positions of the twelve important stars, and Capricorn (Makar) being the nearest star when the day was observed increasing Sun's position on it was made the commencement of the year. In Tibet and in some parts of its adjoining territories the day following Makar Sankranti is still regarded as the first day of the year.

In India, however, opinions were at variance (different Rishis have different versions) and a uniform system was not in vogue throughout the Sub-continent as it was in the West. During the reign of the great king, Vikramaditya, Varahamihira made the point of intersection of the ecliptic (Sun's path) and the equator as the starting point of the year. Aries (Mesh) being the nearest star to this position, sun's location on it was made the first day of the year. Harsha and other rulers followed this system; and the day following the vernal equinox was accepted as the beginning of the year. The name Vaisakh was given to the first month and it is still considered to be the most auspicious month of the year, especially in Bengal.

About a couple of centuries ago Raja Jai Singh who had constructed various astronomical observatories in Northern India, the most important being at Ujjain, Jaipur, Delhi and Varanashi, made another point of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator as the begin-

ning of the year (the day following autumnal equinox). In Rajputana, the new year commences in autumn and the Marwaris change their bahikhata on the Dewali. Thus different parts of India follow different starting day of the year.

As the British established their supremacy in India they enforced their own system, and the Gregorian year was set up; but with the disappearance of Western sovereignty in the last decade we were faced with the problem of having our own calendar. In 1952 our Government appointed a committee for making a national calendar, and its report was submitted in 1955. There was, of course, a general agreement that a solar year should be followed; and as there was no authentic record of the birth-day of our heroes like Rama our year should begin in spring; but there arose a controversy whether it will be first of Baisakh or Chaitra. The star Aries (Mesh) having moved considerably during fifteen hundred years due to precession and nutation, first of Baisakh falls on about the fourteenth of April, while the vernal equinox is on the 21st March. It is also said that this difference was also due to the mistake made in calculating the duration of the year.

The solar year was found in those days to be 365 days-6 hours 12.6 minutes; while the actual period is 365 days 5 hours and 48.8 minutes. This difference having been accumulated in 1400 years our year begins about the middle of April whereas it should have commenced about the 22nd. of the March.

After taking due consideration of their proposals the Govt. of India decided as follows:—

1. The Roman year based on Gregorian system will be followed in all our official work as was done before during the British rule.

2. In all official notification not only dates according to the Gregorian calendar, but also dates in accordance with Shaka system will be given side by side.

3. The radio will also announce the Gregorian and Shaka dates simultaneously.

4. For the observance of our holidays and religious festivals the system in vogue will be followed, and the different seasons of the year will be named accordingly.

5. The first day of Shaka year will begin from the day following the vernal equinox (point of intersection of the ecliptic and the equator in spring.), and the length of the year will be calculated according to the Gregorian system.

6. The first month of the year will be Chaitra and shall be of 30 days except in 'leap year' when it shall be of 31 days. The next five months shall be of 31 days and the following six months of 30 days.

7. The first of Chaitra will be 22nd March, but in 'leap year' it will be 21st. March. The beginning of other months will be in accordance with the rule stated in the previous paragraph.

8. For the observance of our religious festivals in which lunar months (Tithi) are considered, adjustments will be made according to our old system i.e. when the lunar months begin twice in a solar month, the first lunar month will be called an additional month or 'Malamas' and the other will be called the real month or 'Subhamas'.

9. For official work day will begin from midnight and end in midnight; but for religious purposes it will be from sunrise to sunset.

10. The difference between Roman and Shaka year is 78 years the latter beginning later.

In the end it may be said that so many calendars being in use, there is a good deal of confusion in their observations in different parts of our country. It must however be remembered that the introduction of our national calendar is so much connected with the administration that all efforts should be made to evolve a uniform method based on our tradition. The holidays should be regularised in an all India basis and all the states should ungrudgingly follow an all India calendar making allowances for local conditions.

## Television in Schools

By

MR. JAMES J. MORISSEAU

ONE morning in September, 1958, a television set was rolled into a public school classroom in New York City. The set was switched on and 30 six-year-old children, eyes glued to the video tube, were introduced to the wonders of science. Educational television had come to the largest school system in the United States.

The New York schools were not the first American educational institution to adopt the new medium as a teaching tool. As early as 1932, the University of Iowa, Purdue University and Kansas State College had produced experimental television teaching programmes, utilising the now-obsolete scanning disk method of transmission.

But television did not really arrive on the American educational scene until much later. The privately owned (commercial) television industry began regular programming after 1945, and, as late as 1948, there were only about 200,000 television receivers in American homes. Today, there are about 50,000,000.

American educators were not slow to recognise the educational potentialities of television. The first large-scale effort to put it to use came in 1950, when Iowa State College obtained a commercial television license and began broadcasting over station WOI-TV.

WOI-TV was a broadcast or "open-circuit" operation, in which the television signal is broadcast over an assigned frequency to be picked up by the antennas of television receivers in the classroom or home.

This type of operation—as opposed to "closed-circuit" television, in which the signal is transmitted over coaxial cables directly to classroom receiver—has so far been the pattern for most educational television installations in the United States.

There are several reasons for the predominance of open circuit installations. Among them, particularly at the public school level, is the cost factor. But the real impetus to open-circuit development came in 1952, when the Federal Communications Commission set aside 242 television channels or frequencies for exclusive use in non-commercial educational broadcasting.

The effect of this government action was to give every large city and every college and university centre in the nation either a very-high-frequency or ultra-high-frequency television channel that was reserved for educational purposes and could not be pre-empted by commercial broadcasters.

And closed-circuit systems, which have been installed in a few public schools but more often in the colleges and universities, must be taken into account. According to the most recent figures, there are approximately 200 such systems used in most states.

At the last accurate count, taken a year ago, more than 550 of the nearly 50,000 school systems in the United States were making regular use of televised lessons in the classroom. Well over 500,000 school children were receiving part of their instruction by television. Today, the number probably is in excess of 1,000,000.

It is estimated, for example, that the New York programme alone reaches more than 490,000 youngsters a week in New York City and in surrounding communities. This figure does not include youngsters in the states of Connecticut and New Jersey whose schools lie within the 100-mile radius served by the television station.

The same survey showed that 117 of the American colleges and universities were offering television courses for credit a year ago. The number has increased substantially since then.

In short, television has become in the few brief years since 1953 one of the boldest and fastest-spreading experiments in the history of American education. It might, in fact, be fair to say that it no longer is an experiment, but part of the educational way of life.

It is important to note, however, that television is not going to solve all of the nation's educational problems. No American educator expects it to replace the teacher in the classroom and thus solve his teacher shortage.

Television, they insist, must not be permitted to take up more than a small part of the school day. The rest belongs to the classroom teacher. What, then, is being accomplished

by educational television? What does it promise for the future?

At the public school level, television has served primarily as a teaching resource, bringing ideas and events into the classroom that the teacher cannot provide.

The television camera, for example, can go to places that the school-child may never see—into the factory, the coal mine or the research laboratory. In science courses, it can be used to bring into the classroom experiments either impossible or too dangerous to attempt in the classroom.

If closed-circuit equipment is being used, television can be used entirely within the classroom. A detailed scientific experiment under way in a classroom is normally seen only by five or six pupils at the front of the room who have an unobstructed view of the equipment. But if a television camera is focussed on the experiment and the image transmitted to receivers scattered through the room, every student in a class of 100 can see every step in full detail.

Television has also been widely used to bring the talents of a few exceptional teachers into a large number of classrooms.

With older and more advanced students in the colleges and, in some cases, the secondary schools, television has made it possible for one teacher to handle hundreds of students.

At the University of Maryland, George W. Wharten, head of the zoology department teaches beginning zoology four periods a week without ever seeing most of the 960 students in his 20 classes. A few of them make appointments with him to discuss special problems. The students watch the programme on two 21-inch sets in each of 10 specially-equipped rooms. Then a graduate assistant assigned to each group of 48 students answers questions for 10 minutes. The assistants also supervise the laboratory work of their groups.

The largest, most comprehensive educational television project for schools was started in 1956, in Hagerstown, Maryland. A closed-circuit network links all 48 schools in the county school system and provides televised lessons for more than 18,000 students.

The colleges and universities have found that classroom television is also valuable in the training of teachers and of physicians and dentists.

Even the U. S. armed forces have found educational television to be of value. Closed circuit systems are in operation at 21 military training bases and, recently, a 1,200-mile closed-circuit hook up was arranged to televise a missile orientation course to the United States Military Academy at West point and the Royal Military College in Canada from the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama.

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## United States Foreign Policy in Dilemma

By

Mr. R. K. RAGHAVAN

THE recent events in the tiny island Cuba, the Pearl of the Antilles, have without doubt amplified the fact that United States foreign policy has failed once more within the American hemisphere. U.S. policy has demonstrated in indubitable terms its ineptitude by its unrealistic moves in Cuba. The 'New Look' initiated by the Truman Administration in the late 40's of this century has deteriorated and gone down into abysmal depths of ignorance and shallowness. The tempo with which the U.S.A. adjusted itself to the Communist menace was quite germane to the state of international relations in the early '50's. But it is lamentable that this

alacrity and realism among the policy makers was not, and has not been, extended to U.S. dealings with other factors in world politics. The "ugly American" has failed, and that too with staggering completeness, to the detriment, not only of the U.S.A. but the whole free world. The reverses of American foreign policy are accountable as due to a multifarious variety of factors existent in the dynamics of present day international relations. One may also trace its failure to the incompetence of the U.S. policy makers themselves and to the dizzy heights of fanciful superiority in which they luxuriate with charm.

It will only be appropriate if we trace the evolution of U.S. foreign policy from the days of the Founding Fathers. Isolationism was the prosilient feature of U.S. foreign policy from the days of the inauguration of the Republic. The inceptors of the constitution had always looked upon non-involvement as the essential requisite for the furthering of the national interest. The principle was so characteristic of the national policy that it soon won a dominant place in the American mind and became a 'respectable' idea. This trend accounted for many ludicrous features in American foreign relations, until Roosevelt's advent as President. The League of Nations was given a body blow at the outset of its inception by the decision of the U.S. Congress not to accept President Wilson's plea for the country's membership in the young and promising organisation. This shocking and effeminate action was justified in behalf of the sacred principle 'isolationism.' As Henry Luce says, "In the field of national policy the fundamental trouble with America has been, and is, that whereas their nation became in the twentieth century the most powerful and the most vital nation in the world, nevertheless the Americans were unable to accommodate themselves spiritually and practically to that fact. Hence they have failed to play their part as a world power—a failure which has had disastrous consequences, for themselves and for all mankind." Forgetting their *noblesse oblige* the Americans were slowly undermining their power and prestige.

The isolationism of the inter-war years was given an adieu by the Truman Administration. But the lead for the "New Look" was given by President Roosevelt who asserted in a stentorian manner the necessity for the complete participation of the U.S.A. in international relations. This was followed up by Truman, who in his 'Truman Doctrine Speech' of March 1947, expressed, "I believe that it must be the foreign policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." The Truman Doctrine undoubtedly directed against the growing Communist influence in the Middle East clearly delineated the primary aspect of post-war U.S. foreign policy—its total awareness of the Communist menace all over the world. This was refreshing to the free countries of the world, weak by themselves and unable to cope with the machinations of the Kremlin to bring

about the much-talked centaur, the mystic 'world revolution' of the suppressed proletariat. But this anti-Communism has been carried to such absurd lengths that American foreign policy has become too lop-sided, oblivious of the other forces functioning in international politics. Also this has been the factor which has induced and is inducing frequent American interventions, direct or indirect, in other countries. These unwarranted interventions have undoubtedly blackened the face of U.S. diplomats and have lowered her prestige in the eyes of the rest of the world, especially Asia and Africa. How to retrieve the lost position is the dilemma which U.S. foreign policy has been facing for a long time.

The resurgence of Asia, a noteworthy phenomenon of the century has undoubtedly had a powerful impact upon United States foreign relations. But this was not realised by the policy makers who were still in their splendidous slumber. So during the early days of Asian nationalism, the Communist "forever fishing in troubled waters" found the Asian waters "much troubled." They seized the opportunity with exuberant avidity and were successful in posing themselves as the 'liberators' of the 'oppressed peoples' of Asia. The U.S.A. due to its own apathy and shilly-shallying and also because of its unequivocal support of the colonial policies of her European allies descended into abysmal depths in the esteem of the Asians. She was branded a ruthless imperialists and earned a blot on her escutcheon. American diplomats woke up too late and their Kremlin counterparts, a coterie of shrewd simulators, had already snatched the palm.

One of the thorniest problems confronting U. S. foreign policy makers for the past two decades has been the liberation of a majority of the Asian-African peoples from the fetters of cold-blooded Western imperialism. The struggle for self-determination is being carried on in some parts of the two continents, which are still under some Western colonial powers. In these strategic portions of the globe the U.S.A. finds herself in an unenviable position of striving hard to find a viable wholesome policy. She is facing a deceptive dilemma out of which to find a way is difficult if not impossible. Without frankly supporting the nationalist cause of the colonial territories in these regions the U.S.A. cannot rise in prestige. At the same time if she openly takes side with these colonies she will be betraying her European allies, with the pro-

spect of the latter breaking ties with the NATO which is the only united front against international Communism. Surely this is something unpalatable to the U. S. A. Hence the need for an effective dynamic policy in Asia and Africa.

Another principle which has characterised American foreign policy since the 20's of the last century has been the Munroe Doctrine. 'Under this declaration by James Munroe in 1823, the U.S.A. would oppose the transfer of any land on the American continent from one European state to another, the acquisition or further expansion of American holdings by a European state, or the interference by European states in the political affairs of the independent states of the New World.' The doctrine gained increasing importance and support in the U.S.A. and became gradually the predominant influential factor of American foreign policy. It became the "juridical basis" of American interventions in Latin America. But U. S. policy makers missed an important point in that whether a 19th century concept could still be valid in the 20th century. To justify intervention in Latin America on behalf of the Munroe Doctrine can only mean going disastrously astray and perilously near the brink of annihilation.

American foreign policy has miserably failed in Latin America because of its unrealistic premises and total abnegation of the principles of inter-state morality. This failure is quite evident from the unpopularity of the U.S.A. in the Organisation of American States (O.A.S.). The Latin American republics lack complete trust in the "Colossus of the North," and not without reason because of the too frequent inter-

ventions by the U.S.A. Cuba is the latest case in point. There is no doubt that the recent attack on the island was foistered by pro-American groups with active support from the Kennedy Administration. If the U. S. A. did not like Dr. Castro there were means other than indirect intervention to dislodge him. The U.S.A. can create a strong opinion among the other members of the O.A.S. against Cuba. By not resorting to this sort of rightful procedure she has once more bungled in its foreign relations, and has played the role of an immolator.

The U.S.A. has gone down in prestige and its policy become nugatory in every continent while the Kremlin has enhanced its glory and power through a judicious foreign policy based on deceptive protestations of 'anti imperialism' and 'peaceful co-existence.' Thus U.S. foreign policy has strengthened the monster whom it has always striven to destroy. If it has to achieve its objective of saving the world from the menace of Communism, a new orientation is to be worked for. U.S. policy makers should be influenced by realistic considerations of a fastly changing world and should divest themselves from unsound premises of a century that has passed long ago. The U.S.A. should endeavour sincerely to live with revolutions instead of machinating to undermine them. It is time that American diplomats realise that goodwill is not a commodity to be bought by dollars but it is an atmosphere created and nurtured by genuine aspirations of world brotherhood. Only by believing in the equality of nations this climate of friendship and love can be brought about, and this only is the sure base on which to build a world safe for democracy.

## Benn, Bristol and Beyond

By DERYCK ABEL

THE Anthony Wedgwood Benn case projects the searchlight of publicity on constitutional questions far more profound than the mere principle as to whether one, two, or three individuals should henceforward enjoy the right to opt between service in the Commons and service in the Lords. And it will give the parliamentary system a much-needed liberal blood transfusion.

I venture to predict that Mr. Wedgwood Benn and the electors of Bristol South-West will not have to wait as long as some of his

illustrious predecessors. Be it recalled that the redoubtable John Wilkes, wit Whig and *bon viveur*, was, in 1768, elected Member for Middlesex. Expelled in 1769 for a libel in the *St. James' Chronicle*, he was thrice re-elected by the said County.

His elections were thrice annulled. Five years were to pass before, in 1774, he took his seat without opposition. In 1880 Charles Bradlaugh, duly elected Member for Northampton, asserted the right to affirm instead of swearing on the Bible. He was unseated. Re-elected in

1881, he was not allowed until 1886 to take his seat. That bitter engagement lasted six years.

Today, for the first time since 1948, radical constitutional reform is in the air.

In May, 1948 Viscount Samuel and Mr. Clement Davies performed a major task of conciliation in a Constitutional Conference of the six party leaders. A promising initiative proved abortive. Why? Because Churchill chose to torpedo it on a tangential issue—namely the period during which the Upper Chamber might delay a Bill's enactment. The Parliament Act of 1949 settled that issue.

On eight reforms, the party leaders achieved agreement. Yet after the six post-war years of Socialism, and a full decade of Toryism, what has been done? The Life Peerages Bill has been enacted. (Although, in practice, Liberals have hitherto been excluded from its provisions, this will doubtless be rectified.)

Women Life Peers have been admitted. The expenses of active Lords are now reimbursed. These reforms of the Macmillan Ministry point towards the right goal, for they signify the first breach (since 1911) in the feudal hereditary principle which has too long been paramount. Alas, a signpost is not a goal. Bigger reforms have been neglected. The Benn case brings them once more to the forefront of public discussion.

Life Peerages are vastly to be preferred to hereditary titles. Hereditary creations should henceforth cease. The inter-party Conference decided that an hereditary title, should, not, of itself, qualify its holder for admission to the Second Chamber. The Liberal Party Assembly of April 1949 concurred.

A kindred principle was that Members of the Second Chamber styled "Lords of Parliament," should be appointed in recognition of personal distinction and public service, drawn either from the hereditary dispensation or from commoners who would, for this purpose, be created Life Peers. The corollary is that Peers who are not Lords of Parliament may enjoy the civic rights of commoners, including voting, standing and (if the electors will have them) serving in the Commons.

On all these facets a broad measure of agreement exists. A similar comment applies to provision for the inclusion in a reformed Second Chamber of descendants of the Sove-

reign, Lords Spiritual (not only Lords Spiritual of the Established Church), and Law Lords.

But on the two most vital questions divisions persist. The six party leaders, in their Eight Points, concurred in the view that the Upper Chamber should be complementary to, not (as before 1911) a rival to the Lower Chamber. Their concept was to modify its present constitution as opposed to substituting an *elective* chamber.

Secondly, they resolved that any future reform should ensure that no one political party secured a permanent majority. The Liberal Party Assembly at Hastings in 1949 endorsed these proposals. The Preamble to the Liberal Parliament Act of 1911 had, however, specifically declared for a "Second Chambers constituted on a *popular* instead of an hereditary basis."

The case for a limit on numbers is self-evident. The present House number 906 (916 minus 10 minors), of whom no more than one-seventh or one-eighth can fairly be termed "journey-men". Certainly 100 or 200 would be enough.

But it is obviously hard to ensure that no one political party has a perpetual majority if the reform is based on the rejection of the elective principle. Nor should the composition of the Upper Chamber be determined in ratio to the proportions of a Lower House returned by the obsolete first-past-the-post system of election which prevails today.

Should a Second Chamber be exclusively an assembly of nominees? I think not. And should an assembly of nominees be selected by a college of notables? Admittedly even the French Senate system is better than current British practice. Even under the Fifth Republic, founded, as it is, on a Caesarism which every Liberal must reject, the Radicals of the Senate have spoken out more loudly for liberty than the Radicals of the Chamber.

Among *indirectly elected* Upper Chambers the most powerful is perhaps the Swedish. Elected by the Swedish equivalent of our County Councils, its 150 members are returned for eight years, one-eighth retiring each year. Joint Committees of both Houses consider Bills before they are debated separately.

Sweden employs, too, the practice of joint session. Far more powerful, however, is the

directly elected American Senate, whose consent the President needs to secure for all his treaty-making.

As Lord Ogmores has so rightly argued, a primary duty of a Second Chamber must be to safeguard the interest of posterity (the House of Commons is necessarily preoccupied with current opinion). It must also protect the rights of minorities.

As a revising chamber, it must also insist on

the availability of specialist opinion. The prerequisites point to a solution based on the fusion of the principle of election with that of nomination.

In 1911, H. H. Asquith, Britain's Liberal Prime Minister informed the world that the reform of the House of Lords brooked no delay. Fifty years of "brooking" have come and gone. Mr. Benn calls a halt. So, too, do the Liberals.

## Khasa Subba Rao : A Doyen Among Journalists

By  
SRI P. N. SAMPATH

WE need courageous men to help us recapture a sense of indispensability of dissent and we need dissent if we are to make up our minds equably and intelligently. For freedom of discussion is an organic part of the process by which a democracy wins consent for its great decisions—so wrote Arthur M. Schlesinger emphasising the value of freedom of expression in a democratic set-up. The late Khasa Subba Rao was in every sense a courageous man who never minced words. Because he loved democracy, he was one of its sternest critics. He looked upon freedom of the Press as the palladium of liberty. His attacks on the administration had the force of a Voltaire. His pen became transformed into a scalping knife. His phrases could sear like hot iron, or illuminate like a sudden burst of sunshine. Few public men have escaped his reproof. They quailed under his verbal whiplashes.

He was everlastingly at war with every power that rode rough-shod over human rights. He had an insatiable appetite for the discovery of truth and the proclamation of it. It was the central theme of his life, basic and consistent, but on that theme he wove many variations. It was not always easy to tell the variations from the theme. He had long been the outspoken champion of unpopular causes. Oftentimes, he was seen vindicating a minority view against an all but unanimous prejudice. His mind worked in open daylight. What he thought he proclaimed. He did not parade his personality. He did not puff himself up as an oracle. He sought no public or professional honours such

as were offered. He had served and suffered so much in the country's struggle for independence that a Ministership would have been his for the mere asking. He had in a high degree the characteristic qualities of the self-made man with the important exception that he was not self-seeking. He could have made his life comfortable by adorning the editorial chair of any leading newspaper had he been able to subordinate his will to the whims and fancies of the press lords. He preferred to plough a lonely furrow even though it entailed an almost continuous hardship. He carried himself through good and evil days with unexampled composure.

Khasa had a precise and penetrating mind with unusual amplitude and depth. He was a repository of vast knowledge on almost every subject of practical interest. He had an ordered, deliberate, unhurrying style which reached its effect as by tessellation. His prodigious commonsense, his ever keen sense of political affairs, his winning style as a writer, his analytical ability and his impelling moral convictions gave his writings immediate popularity and imposing stature. He founded the 'Swatantra' weekly which, throughout its ten-year run, was one of the foremost of its kind in the whole country, noted alike for its virile journalistic style and for quality of its contents.

It was Khasa's unique privilege that he was closely associated with two of the most remarkable men in South Indian politics viz., the late T. Prakasam and Rajaji who is fortunately still among us.

## The Cauvery

— In Legend and Literature —

By

Mr. P. N. APPUSWAMI

THE Cauvery, beautiful, benign, and blessed, is a wonderful river—golden in the harvests she produces and in the red gold waters of her cool freshes. Her head rests upon the western mountains, her body and limbs stretch across several States, and her feet point to the sea, branching off into little streams, like so many slender toes. She runs her course through rocks, woods, and meads, in shade, sun, and rain, sometimes swift, sometimes slow; brimming, bright and large; then sand and loamy clay begin to hem her watery march, and split her currents, again and again, till, at last, the sea is reached.

She is in everybody's thoughts to-day—of statesmen, engineers, and common folk—because of the recent floods. But, since recorded memory, she has been in the kindly thoughts of men, women, and children; poets, philosophers, and kings. She is referred to in the Mahabharata and in the Raghuvamsa; praised by the Tamil poets of the Sangam period; spoken with affection and esteem in religious hymns (e.g. Tirunarayoor-p-patikam) and in later literature. Kovalan and Madhavi sing of her by the sea-shore in Silappadhikaram. And the greatest poet of them all, Kamban, sings of her; and his description of the Sarayu is but a first hand description of the Cauvery. Mothers sing of her to soothe their children, to encourage their play, or to lull them to sleep; and many a folk song, all over Tamil land, dwells fondly on her gracious divinity.

For divine she is, in myth and legend. Born in the mind of the Creator, she was bestowed as a daughter upon the sage Kavera. Hence her name 'Far famed as the daughter of Kavera' echoes *manimekhalai*. Another legend says: Agastya, the sage, held her confined in his waterpot. The land became parched, and the groves wilted. Indra, king of the gods, besought Vinayaka, who was afraid of none, to release her. And Vinayaka took the form of a crow and perched on the lip of the sage's ewer, as if to drink. The vessel tilted, and the river, issuing through its spout, flowed and spread; and flowers bloomed all along its path.

Hence the name Kaviri. Her body is **nothing** but water, hence the name says another version. Born in the Sanya mountains she was wedded to Agastya; and is none other than his beloved Lopamudra—is yet another story.

All rivers in our country are feminine (though to the Romans their river, is Father Tiber); and they are regarded as the wives of of the ocean king. They are also spoken of as the wives of the king of the land. They are divine, pure and holy; and they bless and purify those who reverently bathe in their sacred waters.

There are many other legends connected with the Cauvery. Though some may be true, or partly true, we cannot regard them as history. Some refer to Karikala. Karikala has been eulogised in a few odes and two long idylls by contemporary poets and referred to by others. His posthumous birth, precocious wisdom and heroism, the regaining of his birthright, the transferring of his capital from Uraiyur to Kaveripattinam, his glorious reign, and encouragement of external trade, his broad vision, and his generosity—are all themes which delight a poet's heart.

A work of great social utility, a feat of engineering of prime importance has been ascribed to Karikala. Phenomenal rains and destructive floods are neither new nor unusual. There must have been such floods in the past, when the Cauvery, usually so placid and benevolent, and running a disciplined course, flung her flood waters wide, and laid waste a fair and fertile country. It is said that Karikala divided the river's path into sections, and allotted the secure bunding of each large portion to one or the other of his feudatory princes. This co-operative work was willingly performed by all bar one. The truant's portrait was shown to Karikala, who pricked with his spear one of the eyes in the portrait. And lo! forthwith, the truant himself lost that eye, and realising Karikala's greatness, fell at his feet, and being forgiven, built up his section of the bund.

Bars were built to divert the flood waters of the Cauvery. It was said that this was the

result of a vision in a dream in which God appeared to inspire the work, and Cauvery herself graciously agreed to be so impeded.

The Cauvery is regarded as sacred from Talai-k-kaveri in Mysore, its source, down to its mouth. Devotees bathe reverently at several points in the river's course—from its source down to the sea—in the month of Tula, in order to acquire religious merit.

When the freshes came the people held a great festival in the month of Adi. Men and women gaily dressed and adorned, drove, in the old days, in carts drawn by oxen or mules (so the classics tell us), taking incense, flowers, and rich and varied food as offerings to the river.

They sang and sported on the banks, or swam or dived in the waters. The King too went with his retinue. (Such celebrations can be seen even to-day in Kerala). It must have been quite a colourful, gorgeous festival, full of fun and frolic. But, occasionally, accidents happened to mar the rejoicings. The classics refer to one Attan Atti, who was carried away by the flood while sporting, in the sight of his

wife and of the King, and tell us that he was miraculously restored to his heart-broken wife by the Lord of the Sea.

What the kings did the gods did too. They were taken to the river with pomp and pageantry, with large bands of devotees following, who bathed in the river's flood.

Young boys loaded their old and useless palm-leaf books on little canopied cars, pulled them to the river, and dumped them into the rushing stream. Gorging themselves with confections of raw rice and treacle, they shouted in glee. New brides offered worship to the river goddess with lamps of sugared dough fed with ghee; and wore a fresh wedding string around their neck.

These festive habits spread, in time, all over the southern country. At the present day women of the Hindu fold, wherever they are, celebrate the arrival of the freshes by offering worship to the river goddess on the eighteenth of Adi, that is about the beginning of August. For freshes in the river do augur good; and in the words of the ancient poet they enrich fair fields, enhance the land's loveliness, and enlarge human weal.—[*The Hindu*]

## Aden: Struggle Against Foreign Exploitation and Colonialism

By Mr. MOHAMED SALIM

ADEN has a very important strategic position and is one of the most-frequented ports on the Red Sea. Official international data indicate that the port of Aden ranks immediately after New York by the number of ships passing through it.

Aden is a small Arab town. It occupies part of the Yemeni territory invaded by Britain in 1839 and is still under British rule.

Aden is inhabited by the Yemeni Arabs born in the town itself, in the emirates under British protectorate, or in Northern Yemen. In addition to the Arabs, some other nationalities—Hindu, Somali, Italian, etc.—also live in Aden.

At present, a large number of British troops are stationed in Aden, many of whom have come from Palestine, Suez and Cyprus. The

British garrisons now occupy a large region of Aden. In the vicinity of the Aden oil refinery intensive work is in progress on the construction of a large base and a town for the British troops stationed there.

Like the people of any other country under foreign domination, the people of Aden are striving towards freedom and, guided by this feeling, are waging a persistent struggle against struggle against colonialism. Unfortunately, the political movements in Aden are rather weak, and this enables the colonialists to suppress them easily.

The imperialists have divided Aden and the so-called Aden Protectorates (South Yemen) into twenty-four meshiahs (a region governed by a sheikh) and sultanates which, are in fact, governed by the imperialists, either directly or through the sultans and sheikhs.

Together with colonialism, foreign exploitation has likewise penetrated into the country, too. Domestic capitalists found allies and protectors in their foreign colleagues.

The struggle of the people of Aden against foreign domination and exploitation has assumed more concrete forms in the course of the past few years. In 1956, continuous strikes organized in all walks of public life paralysed industry, harbour traffic, oil refineries, transport, air traffic, light industry, wholesale and retail trade. Workers employed in the British Army barracks also went on strike. These strikes were organized mainly because the employers and capitalists refused to respect the basic labour rights, including the right to found trade union organizations.

Since that time, the working class began to consolidate its positions and to fight for its rights. The workers managed to win higher wages, partial social insurance, fixed working hours, one free day a week, annual leave and certain rights concerning the years of service. In this way, twenty-four trade union branches represented by the Workers' Congress or by the General Confederation of Labour established in 1956, were formed in Aden. The Workers' Congress played a very important role in uniting the workers and organizing their struggle.

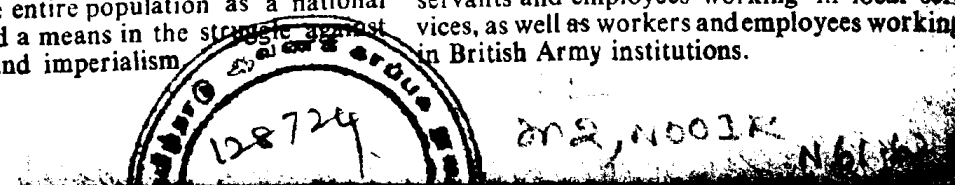
In the course of their struggle, the workers encountered many difficulties and had to make many sacrifices. Many of them were arrested, many dismissed, particularly in Northern Yemen. Liberal labour newspapers which supported the workers' movement, such as "Al Bas" and "Al Fikr" were banned. The same happened to the organ of the Workers' Congress, "Al Amil" (the Worker).

At a trial in 1958, the British authorities sentenced two labour leaders to terms of imprisonment only because they condemned bribery and corruption in an article published in "Al Amil". On October 31, 1958, when the sentences were pronounced, the workers organized a three-day general strike in Aden. During this strike, British troops opened machine-gun fire on the population. Dozens of citizens were killed by British tanks patrolling the town. A large number of workers were arrested. And yet, the workers' movement continued to gain in strength. It enjoyed the support of the entire population as a national movement and a means in the struggle against exploitation and imperialism.

The workers of Aden, born either there or in Northern Yemen, are fighting for a joint cause. This is why the people support their struggle and consider it the only way leading to unity. In the past this unity was destroyed by passive policy and the division of the country. For this reason, the people turned to the workers' movement seeking in their struggle for the liberation of the Yemen from colonialism and for Arab unity. The intelligentsia and bourgeoisie rallied around the workers' and it may be said that the workers' movement in Omman is the strongest movement on the Arab East which is waging a struggle against foreign exploitation and colonialism.

However, the colonialists are not sitting with folded hands. They are busily plotting and attacking the workers' movement. Thus, for example, in August 1960, the British authorities passed a law banning labour strikes. At the same time, they again banned the "Al Amil" paper. In reply to these repercussions, the workers organized a five-day strike—one hour every day—and shortly afterwards went on a three-day general strike. The imperialists were obliged to bring up reinforcements from Kenya as the forces stationed in Aden were not strong enough to suppress the revolt of the workers. British tanks and armoured cars crowded the street of Aden, protected by numerous jet aircraft. The British troops opened fire on the citizens, including women and children. The authorities announced their decision to dismiss all workers and employees who joined the strike if they failed to report to work by August 18, 1960. A number of Sultans cooperated with the colonialists by replacing the workers who were on strike with Bedouins. The Workers' Federation realised that the imperialists intended to use the strike as a pretext for open conflict in order to destroy the workers' movement completely.

The struggle of the people of Aden is still going on. The workers are consolidating their ranks. The Workers' Congress is at present engaged in the reorganization of the trade unions so that the twenty-four branches will be organized into eight Federations representing transport workers, workers employed in the exploitation of oil, technicians, workers employed in the light industry, teachers, public servants and employees working in local services, as well as workers and employees working in British Army institutions.



# What is Happening to the Bible?

By  
Mr. WALTER M. DUFFY

**I**N a world fully of changes and changing situations, Catholics have always had a number of dependable supports which they have treasured as changeless. No matter what the shifting national or international scene, no matter what tomorrow's headlines, we could always go to bed with the assurance that when we woke, the Holy Father would still be in Rome, the Mass would still be celebrated in Latin, and the Bible—even though we rarely read it—would still be as intact and as sacrosanct as when we first heard of it in our Baltimore Catechism and the Benziger Bible History.

Lately, though, a number of books, pamphlets, and articles have appeared in public print bearing—God save the mark—the *Imprimatur* of bishops, and even cardinals, which some good Christians think are weakening or destroying that solid, dependable and changeless support. And when we read these books and articles (those of us who studied and learned the Scriptures before New Frontiersmen were born), we are apt to shake our graying heads and ask, "What ever is happening to the Bible?"

Well, actually, nothing is "happening to the Bible." It is today, at it was 30 years ago, or 300 years ago, or 1300 years ago, a divinely inspired account of the story of God and man, a story which begins with a man who wanted to be like God—and ends with the story of God Who willed to be a man.

But for those of us who learned the Scriptures according to the traditional method, much of the new scholarship seems a bit shocking. And right here, I think we should set the record straight. The new approach toward a better understanding of the Scriptures is the result of scholarship. It isn't as if some Brahmin in an ivory tower came up with a novel idea and decided to perpetrate that idea on an unsuspecting public. The dedicated Scripture scholars on the shores of several oceans have read and studied old and new Bible texts and fragments of ancient scrolls; they have investigated inscriptions on Babylonian tablets and Egyptian tombs; they have listened to geologists, biologists, anthropologists, and paleontologists; they have studied and mastered the languages

of the Hebrews, the Arameans, Syrians, Ethiopians—of the people who used to draw pictures before they learned to write words.

So, let's not sell these scholars short. When they write or say or teach that they suppose or believe thus-and-so to be so-and thus, they are not just talking through their hats. Maybe you and I, as people less versed in the cult and culture of the ancient world, do not always understand them, or agree with them. But, until we have valid and compelling reasons to dispute them, it just might be a good idea to listen.

Now, of course, there are scholars and scholars, and some scholarship is more so and some less. And, the most venturesome is not always the most profound. Just as an example, when some-one tells us that the Archangel Gabriel did not convey God's message to our Lady, we have a perfect right to ask from whom, besides St. Luke, he has any notion how God freely chose to have that message conveyed. And in casting our vote for St. Luke, we may be staying within our own limitations better than the scholar is staying within his.

But just for a moment let's return to our old, traditional, interpretation. As children at our mothers' knees, and later, sitting before devoted teachers in grade school, and in our college and latter courses, we learned how God created heaven and earth, man and women, in six days, how the first man and woman walked in and worked a beautiful garden; how their happiness was destroyed by a "snake in the grass" how one of their sons brutally murdered his brother; how their descendants became so evil that God destroyed the whole world with a tremendous flood.

And even as we listened to these stories, there were questions in our minds, questions that grew larger and more difficult with every passing year. We heard scientists say that the world could not possibly have been created in six days; we read that maybe—just maybe—God didn't form the first human body like a potter working a piece of clay. We wondered whether the first man had three ribs before the first woman was created—or only one afterward.

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Then, there were questions like, whom Cain married (which used to be asked on T V quiz shows even before they were rigged), and the problem of how much water would be needed to cover the whole earth at the deluge, and how—for goodness sake—did Noah find room in the Ark two (or maybe seven) of every animal, especially elephants, rhinoceri, and dinosaurs.

Now, these problems are not new. Students of the Scriptures have wondered about these and other questions for hundreds of years. And, in all fairness, they used to come up with some pretty good solutions. Trouble was that the solutions were rejected on the ground that they militated against the accuracy of the Bible text. So, the students would go back to the text and try to make that agree with man's gradual and growing knowledge of himself, of heaven, and of earth.

What caused the solutions to be cast aside was a misunderstood appreciation of one important fact, namely, the Bible is accurate, it is historical in the sense and to the extent that the human author, under inspiration, meant it to be. In other words, we should not fault an Old Testament author because he had a different use and conception of history a thousand years before Christ from the conception and use we have two thousand years after Christ.

Let's draw another parallel. During His public life, Christ used "literary forms" to teach His contemporaries. No one of us seriously believes that actually "a man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves." We have always understood the story to be a parable, although Christ did not say it was! And those wedding feasts, and the prodigal son, and the lost sheep—we know they were parables or literary forms, used by Christ as the most effective means of teaching people who knew and understood the use of literary forms. So, if we find no problem about the use of those forms in the Gospel, why should we be shocked to discover the use of the similar forms by the author of Genesis?

The first purpose of the inspired authors was to teach, to guide the contemporaries by using examples from the past. And if God approved of, and inspired their method of teaching, it is certainly presumptuous on our part, to question it.

It is just about here that the scholars begin. Incidentally, they do not call themselves

"experts." That is a label given them in the correspondence columns of periodicals. They don't profess to know all the answers—matter of fact, they will be the first to admit that they do not know all the questions. But they know some of the questions and problems and they realize that you cannot solve a problem by running away from it or pretending it doesn't exist, or by ignoring it with a head in the sand attitude.

What they want—and ought—to do is to open new avenues of approach to problems that are older than they are. Maybe these avenues will be new roads to many of us, maybe they will be clogged with other traffic, and some may even be marked with detours. But, however difficult to navigate, they are better than dead-end streets.

The late and beloved Pope Pius XII encouraged just such Biblical investigation in his important and enlightening Encyclical "Divino Afflante Spiritu." It was he who pointed out that "what is the literal sense of a passage is not always as obvious in the speeches and writings of the ancient authors of the East, as it is in the works of the writers of our own time. For what they wished to express is not to be determined by the rules of grammar and philology alone, nor solely by the context; the interpreter must, as it were, go back wholly in spirit to those remote centuries of the East and with the aid of history, archaeology, ethnology and other sciences, accurately determine what modes of writing, so to speak, the authors of that ancient period would be likely to use, and in fact did use.

For too long, all of us who love the Bible have realized that we have been on the defensive with respect to certain problems when the times and text demanded a more positive approach. Now, the positive approach is adorning. In no way does it advocate newness for the sake of newness. On the contrary, the traditional interpretation is always to be preferred and defended as long as it is judged preferable and defensible. But there are sections of the Bible, especially in the Old Testament, where the meaning of the author—and therefore, the divinely inspired meaning,—becomes clearer and more intelligible by applying to them the fruits of ancient and modern research.

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

### Western Access to Berlin

On August 20 the U.S. Vice-President, Mr. Lyndon Johnson, told West Berlin's City Parliament in a speech relayed to a crowd exceeding 100,000: "Freedom can prevail and peace can endure." Mr. Johnson said that President Kennedy wanted Berliners to know that the pledge he had given for the freedom of West Berlin and for the rights of Western access to Berlin "is firm." The American people had pledged to the survival of Berlin "our lives, our fortunes and sacred honour," he said.

Mr. Johnson repeated President Kennedy's statement of July 25: "This crisis could be surmounted." He said: "This is a time then, for confidence, for poise and for faith—for faith in yourselves."

"A barrier of barbed wire has been thrown across your city. It has broken for you—and more important—for your brethren to the East—vital human and communal ties—ties that reach back into the lives of families and friends and into the long life of this great city."

Mr. Johnson said that the crisis had arisen "because of a massive fact of history. The free men of Germany—both here and in Germany—have succeeded in these years since the end of the war beyond our most optimistic hopes. I am not referring only to their economic success which all the world knows and admires. They succeeded in far more important ways. They have built a vital life. They have accepted with admirable self-discipline restraints on their military establishment. They have played a great constructive role in making a united Europe. They are now coming to play a major role on the world scene—from India to Bolivia."

Meanwhile, in East Germany the Vice-President said, the Communists had not been able "to create a life to which men can commit their talents, their faith and the future of their children."

"Make no mistake. This fact of history is well understood in the Kremlin. What they are trying to do now is to interpose barbed wire, bayonets and tanks against the forces of history."

To the people of East Berlin he said: "Do not lose courage, for if tyranny may seem for the moment to prevail, its days are numbered."

Herr Brandt, in a speech of welcome, said: "I greet in all your names with all my heart you noted guest, for whom we have gladly waited a long time....."

Herr Brandt also greeted General Lucius Clay, who was there with the Vice-President, as "the saviour of his city when things were very serious here" (during the 1948 blockade and airlift).

General Clay told the crowd in front of the city hall: "Thanks to your courage and with the support of your countrymen, what we started some years ago together we will finish together and the world will still be free."

The crowd roared as the party turned from the balcony to enter the hall. At that moment, the "freedom bell"—a U.S. gift to the city after the blockade—began to toll in the tower above.

The West German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer said his talks with Vice-President Johnson in Bonn were "important and valuable for East Berlin and West Berlin, for the (Soviet) zone, and for our whole fatherland."

Dr. Adenauer repeated his opposition to the Soviet demands for making West Berlin a "free city" and recognising East Germany. He said that in the present "extremely tense" world situation, the decisive factor was the development of nuclear weapons capable of destroying the world in a short time.

"One must try—to solve matters by negotiation instead of having a war without victor or vanquished. We want no war. Therefore, we must and want to negotiate with Soviet Russia."

The Britons were armed with pistols for their train trip through East Germany. British spokesman said the vehicles would improve the mobility of the British garrison, believed to number about 3,000 men.

In Paris, the Defence Ministry said France—which was expected to increase the number of its troops in West Berlin by about a battalion—had withdrawn a division of about 10,000 men from Algeria. Mr. Lyndon Johnson, who earlier handed a letter from President Kennedy to Herr Willy Brandt, governing Lord Mayor of West Berlin, was among officials who welcomed the 1,500 fresh U.S. troops to West Berlin.

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### Congo

Mr. Cyrille Adoula's new Congolese Government was invested in office by votes of both Houses of Parliament on Aug. 2 the Congolese news agency ACP reported from Leopoldville.

The Pro-Lumumba leader Mr. Antoine Gizenga, was elected as one of three Vice-Premiers.

Mr. Adoula, 40-year-old Senator and trade union leader, was designated Prime Minister by President Joseph Kasavubu. He succeeds Mr. Joseph Ileo, under whom he served as Provisional Minister of the Interior.

He was a founder-member of the National Congolese Movement (M.N.C.) along with Mr. Ileo and Mr. Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first Prime Minister who was deposed late in 1960 and killed in Katanga early this year.

Mr. Adoula quit the M.N.C. in 1959 and was elected Senator last year as a left-wing Puna Party candidate.

The Congolese Army under Gen. Josef Mobutu pledged its support to the new Government of Mr. Adoula approved by Parliament.

At a ceremonial parade in honour of Mr. Adoula, who also holds the Defence portfolio, Gen. Mobutu ordered all his troops to obey the instructions of the new Government appointed by President Kasavubu, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

Mr. Adoula, in a speech on the occasion, appealed to all dissident army groups to rally behind the legally appointed Chief of the Army. Measures would be taken against those who failed to comply with the Army Chief's orders, he added.

General Mobutu in his short address also told his troops that Mr. Adoula wanted the Army to stay aloof from politics.

### Ceylon

A ceiling on income and a four per cent development tax highlighted the series of stringent revenue proposal announced in Ceylon's House of Representatives by the Finance Minister, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike last month to bridge the country's anticipated all-time record budget deficit 701 million rupees for the next year.

The ceiling on income would be so fixed as to leave a single person, after all taxation, with a net income of not more than approximately Rs. 7,000 per annum. For persons with dependants, the ceiling would vary between Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 54,000.

The excess income would be taken in full in the form of a special super-tax, but half of it would be restored to the taxpayer in the form of development bonds giving about five percent interest which would be encashable for investment in approved projects.

### Kuwait

The ruler of Kuwait and the leader of the Arab League signed on Aug. 12 a formal agreement at Kuwait on replacement of British troops in Kuwait by Arab League forces.

The British troops were sent to the oil-rich Sheikhdom on July 1 at the request of the Ruler of Kuwait following a claim to the newly-independent territory by neighbouring Iraq.

Kuwait also became a signatory to the Arab League pact for mutual defence and economic co-operation. The Arab League Secretary-General, Abdel Khaliq Hassouna, said in a statement: "The Arab States undertake, in accordance with this pact, to maintain the independence of Kuwait, the safety of its lands and to respect the form of rule within it."

He added: "It pleases me to announce on this historic occasion to our nation that the Ruler of Kuwait has requested the withdrawal of British troops from Kuwait in preparation for the arrival of Arab forces as guests of Kuwait".

Questioned later, the Secretary-General said: "The timing of the stages of the withdrawal of the British troops will be in accordance with the wishes of the Government of Kuwait. The timing of the arrival of the Arab force will be agreed between the Arab League and the Kuwait Government."

### Cambodia

Cambodia's King and Chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, unexpectedly handed his resignation to Parliament on Aug 14.

Prince Sihanouk, King since June 13, 1960, following the death of his father, Prince Norodom Suremarit, was also Premier of the tiny South-East Asian country. His resignation came in a message to the Cambodian Parliament, which was called into urgent session to discuss the matter.

### Kenyatta's Release

Mr. Jomo Kenyatta has been released, as expected. According to the emergency regulations in force in Kenya at present he cannot be elected to the legislature because he has been in prison for more than two years. It is

obvious that the law will have to be changed. Mr. Kenyatta has been released because that became inevitable if constitutional progress was to be made in his country and if racial conflicts were to be avoided in the future. He towers over other African leaders and all political parties look up to him for guidance.

#### Algeria

France ended her unilateral cease-fire in Algeria on Aug. 11.

A Government decision announced by M. Jean Sicurani, political and information chief in Algeria, gave greater freedom of action to the French military commander.

M. Sicurani told a Press conference: "The rebellion has persevered since May 20 in the path of extortion. The measures taken by France tending towards peace have not found an echo with the F.L.N. which, on the contrary, broke off negotiations.

"Under these conditions, the French Government has decided to give greater freedom of action to the general who is superior commander of the forces in Algeria.

May 20 was the date when France ordered her army in Algeria to cease offensive action against the F.L.N. except in the frontier areas. The order coincided with the opening of the abortive peace negotiations at Evian on Lake Geneva.

#### Israel

Israel's Premier, David Ben-Gurion, returns to power with the victory of his party, the Mapai, which comes in with a reduced majority.

Ben-Gurion is among the most veteran of living Zionists, having migrated to Palestine in his youth. He is a dedicated man with much of the combativeness and impatience which go with faith bordering on fanaticism. Like Israel Ben-Gurion has come up the hard way.

He lacks the serene fortitude and foresight of Israel's celebrated founder, the late Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who belongs to history. Ben-Gurion has a volatile temper and temperament, and when opposed or checkmated is apt to sulk in his tent which is a 'Kibbutz' or communal farm in the arid Negev.

He is a picturesque figure with his tousled white mane of hair, a stocky unruly man, who in Robert Louis Stevenson's phrase, would die for an idea or do battle over an egg.

#### Ayub's Fresh Tirade

Pakistan's President Ayub Khan, in a fresh tirade against India, has accused Prime Minister Nehru of "bigotry" on the Kashmir issue.

Judging from a full version of his speech in Quetta on Aug. 19 President Ayub's latest outburst in his strongest ever attack on Mr. Nehru and the language indulged in by him is hardly the one that a head of state has ever used to criticise the Prime Minister of another country.

The Pakistan President said it was "Nehru's bigotry" in relation to the Kashmir dispute that was keeping India and Pakistan at loggerheads, for there were no "fundamental" differences between the two.

President Ayub also arraigned the Indian Prime Minister for making "somersaults" in the Indian Parliament and also took the members of the Indian Parliament to task.

He said "The Indian Prime Minister quite often made somersaults in the Indian Parliament and tried in vain to hoodwink world opinion on the issue (of Kashmir)."

President Ayub wondered "how members of the Indian Parliament tolerate their Prime Minister making self-contradictory statements and thus making their country a laughing stock ..... At least someone should be sensible enough to get up and say that Pandit Nehru was degrading his country's prestige by contradicting himself in the same breath in which he made international commitments."

He also accused Mr. Nehru of being "illogical" and "insensible" in his references to Kashmir.

The published versions of the Pakistan President's speech, made in reply to an address of welcome by the citizens of Quetta, do not contain his reply to the Indian argument that Pakistan was the aggressor in Kashmir and that it was for Pakistan to vacate aggression from occupied Kashmir before talking of a plebiscite or right of self-determination for Kashmiris.

These versions also do not contain any reference by President Ayub to the fact of accession of Kashmir to India.

#### Goa

On the eve of Independence Day, the Lok Sabha unanimously passed the Constitution (Tenth) Amendment Bill providing for the incorporation into the Union of India of the territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, former Portuguese possessions and now free.

Prime Minister Nehru himself moved the motion for consideration of the Bill and described it as "a happy augury" and as a symbol of formal legal and constitutional removal of a part of the Portuguese empire from India. Amidst cheers, he expressed the hope that this would be a forerunner of other amendments of this kind.

The Bill will have retrospective operation from August 11, the day the Bill was introduced in Lok Sabha.

There was tremendous enthusiasm amongst a section of the House. Amendments tabled by the Opposition benches asking for the incorporation of Goa, Diu and Daman were ultimately ruled out of order and withdrawn without any controversy. The delegation of the Varishta Panchayat of free Dadra and Nagar Haveli to whose courage the Prime Minister paid a tribute were present and watched the proceedings from the distinguished visitors' gallery.

Prime Minister Nehru declared that India would not allow the Portuguese or any other Government to pass through Indian territory to reach the former Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, which have now been incorporated as part of the Indian Union.

Mr. Nehru was commenting on the Portuguese protest note expressing the Portuguese intention to exert the right of passage to those former enclaves.

The Prime Minister said that if anyone sought to enter Indian territory that person would be ejected with all speed. Mr. Nehru expressed himself against volunteers marching into Goa. He said that such volunteers could not be projected from the Portuguese Government's action except by marching the Indian Army behind them. He said at the moment it was not Government's policy to resort to war to liberate Goa, though, he would not rule out force for all time.

Earlier Mr. Nehru not only gave an indication that the Government of India's policy in

regard to Goa must be revised, but also did not rule out the possibility of sending the army to liberate Goa, when the time was ripe for that.

Mr. Nehru, who was replying to the debate in the Rajya Sabha on the bill to amend the Constitution providing for the merger of Dadra and Nagar Haveli said, "In this changing world and in view of what is happening now outside India in Africa and Angola, the question about what steps we should take in regard to Goa cannot be considered closed. We shall have to give a great deal of thought to it from time to time as to whether we should revise our previous policy and if so in what way."

#### Agreement with Japan

India will receive a Japanese yen credit of the value of 80 million dollars (over Rs 38 crores) for the first two years (1961-63) of her Third Five-year Plan, under an agreement signed in Tokyo.

According to an official announcement made in the Japanese capital, the credit is repayable in 15 years including a period of grace of five years and will carry an interest of six per cent per annum.

The credit, which will be basically in the form of yen, will be extended by the Export-Import Bank of Japan together with private Japanese banks to India a Japanese Foreign Office announcement stated.

This is the first time that private banks in Japan are associating themselves with the Government in extending 28.8 billion yen credit to India.

This agreement followed discussions in Tokyo since August 3 between representatives of the two Governments.

A simultaneous announcement regarding the agreement was made in New Delhi.

Japan had offered to give the credit at the "Aid India Club" meeting in Washington in May last.

#### Dismissal of Punjab Minister

The Punjab Governor, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, dismissed on Aug. 17, Rao Birendra Singh, Minister for Revenue, Consolidation, Relief and Rehabilitation, Sports and Games, from the Punjab Ministry, in exercise of the powers vested in him under Article 164 of the Constitution.

The Article *inter alia* provides that a Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor.

It is the first time in the history of the Punjab since Independence that action has been taken against a Minister under this Article.

The Government has transferred the portfolios held by Rao Birendra Singh to the Chief Minister.

Allegations of certain irregularities were believed to have been made against Rao Birendra Singh by the Punjab Government sometime before his dismissal. The case was ultimately referred to the Governor.

The Chief Minister, Sardar Partab Singh Kairon, and Rao Birendra Singh saw the Governor three times each during the last month presumably, in connection with these allegations.

Rao Birendra Singh was asked to resign but he declined to do so.

Orders of dismissal were passed immediately after Rao Birendra Singh met the Governor, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, on Aug. 17.

The official announcement dismissing the Minister said:

"In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 164 of the Constitution of India, the Governor has dismissed, with immediate effect, Rao Birendra Singh from the office of the Minister."

Sardar Partab Singh Kairon, when approached by Pressmen declined to comment on the dismissal of Rao Birendra Singh.

#### Homage to Acharya P. C. Ray

It is a unique coincidence of history that three of India's most illustrious sons were born within three months in 1861—Rabindranath Tagore, Motilal Nehru (May 6) and Prafulla Chandra Ray (August 2). Each in his own way has left a permanent impress on society.

Acharya P. C. Ray, whose birth centenary was celebrated on August 2, 1961, was a world famous scientist who did not lock himself in the ivory tower of a laboratory. He rendered signal service to the country also as a patriot, an educationist and a benefactor of the distressed. The lead he gave in fighting the floods in Bengal in 1922 brought forth a significant comment from an observer from Europe: "If Mr. Gandhi had been able to create two more Sir P. C. Rays he would have succeeded in getting Swaraj within this year."

The highlight of the function held at Calcutta on Aug. 2 to observe the birth centenary of Acharya P. C. Ray, whom Prime Minister Nehru in the course of his message described as a great Indian and a great scientist, was the announcement by Prof. Humayun Kabir, Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, that the Government of India would be willing to donate a sum of Rs. one lakh for founding a Chair in industrial research in the Calcutta University to mark the occasion. He expressed the hope that the West Bengal Government and the U. G. C. would also render similar help.

The meeting was held in the University premises presided over by the National Professor Sadyan Bose. The Vice-Chancellor of the University, who could not be present, sent his written speech, which was read at the meeting. The Vice-Chancellor said that Acharya Ray had always held the view that our young men should study science and apply their knowledge to the progress of industry and economy. But he was not in favour of unrestricted admissions to the universities.

Prof. Kabir said that the Acharya had great devotion to truth regardless of the consequences. As a scientist, he wanted the people to act truly, think truly and behave truly.

Mr. Nehru, in his message sent specially for the occasion, said that it was his privilege to have met Acharya Ray on many occasions. These meetings left a great impression in his mind. He was impressed by the learning of the scientist and his utter simplicity. "It is becoming of us to honour the memory of this great Indian and great scientist."

#### Punjabi Suba and Tara Singh's fast

Mastra Tara Singh, the Akali leader, reiterated that if the Government of India made "a straight offer" to hold a plebiscite on the Punjabi Suba issue in the Government-demarcated Punjabi region in an impartial manner, he would accept it "even though I consider it a point of discrimination for no such plebiscite was held before the formation of other linguistic States."

Elaborating this point at a Press conference on Aug. 6 he said that if the Union Government offered "a fair plebiscite in the Punjabi region," the Akali Dal Working Committee would consider it.

Master Tara Singh pointed out that in the Punjabi region the population percentage of various religious groups was approximately in the ratio of 55 per cent Sikhs, 25 per cent Scheduled Castes and about 20 per cent Hindus. He hoped to carry a vast majority of votes of Sikhs and others in favour of Punjabi Suba if a fair and democratic assessment of public opinion were made.

As regards Hindu opposition to the formation of a Punjabi Suba, he said that the accepted principle of linguistic States could not be withheld from them on that score. "It would mean that Hindus as such were considered so highly superior to the rest of Punjabis that their opinion must carry greater weight, even though it was against the policy as applied all over the country."

Master Tara Singh disclosed that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had written to him to keep a limited fast and not to fast unto death, but he had replied to him that his decision to undertake a fast unto death "is irrevocable."

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader accordingly began his "fast unto death" on August 15 at 8 a.m., and experienced "slight weakness and looked somewhat emaciated" on the second day of his fast.

The Akali leader began his fast to back his demand for the creation of a Punjabi Suba, in a hut near Manji Sahib Gurdwara in the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It was in the same hut where Sant Fateh Singh had earlier undertaken a 23-day fast for the same purpose.

Before beginning his fast the 76-year-old Akali leader announced before an audience of about 40,000 people "unless the demand for Punjabi Suba is accepted, I will not take anything except water."

#### R. K. Nehru's Talks in Peking

Prime Minister Nehru confirmed on Aug. 15 that the talks with the Chinese authorities in Peking, held by Mr. R. K. Nehru, Secretary-General in the External Affairs Ministry were not productive of much good.

Initiating the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha Mr. Nehru said that the purpose of sending the Secretary-General to Peking was to find out the trend of Chinese thinking on the officials' report on the border dispute. It was decided that the Secretary-General should, after the conclusion of his visit to Mongolia, return to India via Peking.

It was India who asked for a meeting with the Chinese President, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and others. But, Mr. Nehru categorically stated that the Secretary-General's mission was not to conduct any negotiations at all. Mr. Nehru also confirmed that the Chinese leaders had expressed their resentment at the unilateral publication by India of the officials' report. Mr. Nehru explained that he had informed the Chinese Government of his intention to publish the report, though he did not wait for their approval. The practice adopted in a parliamentary system of government was difficult for the Chinese to follow. The Chinese had not yet published the report in their own country. It was earlier agreed between the two Prime Ministers that after the receipt of the officials' report, the two Governments should consider what subsequent steps should be taken. It was to ascertain what the Chinese were thinking on the subject that the Secretary-General went to Peking.

#### Pondicherry

Mr. S. K. Datta, Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry, said on Aug. 15 that the Government of India were of the view that before the *de jure* transfer, it would not be possible to make any formal, legal and constitutional changes in the set-up of the State.

The Chief Commissioner, who was declaring open an ordinary session of the State Representative Assembly, said that their policy was that in practice there should be devolution of power and the administration of Pondicherry State should be conducted giving due consideration to the wishes of the representatives of the people as far as possible within the present legal and constitutional framework, and consistent with the responsibilities of the Government of India.

This policy was to be worked out "by establishing healthy conventions as we proceed" he said.

In order to ensure that popular will was reflected over the entire field of development in the State Mr. Datta said one of the Councillors had since been placed in charge of planning.

It should be a source of great satisfaction to the people of Pondicherry that not only the nation-building department affecting their welfare has been entrusted to one of the Councillors, but also their co-ordination and broad policy-making are now being carried on according to the wishes of the chosen representatives of the people" he said.

### Common script for India

Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers who conferred at Delhi last month with the Prime Minister in the chair, decided that there should be a common script for all Indian languages and such a script in the existing circumstances should be Devanagari. A common script, it was felt, would serve as a powerful link between the different languages of India and therefore would be of great help in bringing about integration.

The meeting welcomed the declaration made on behalf of the Central Government that English would continue to be used as an associate language for all-India official language.

It was stressed that both from the point of view of international communication and the growth of modern knowledge specially in science and technology there should be a widespread knowledge of an international language and this should naturally be English. But the meeting stressed that Hindi should be taught at a very early stage along with English because it was easy for a child to pick up languages.

It was resolved that a committee consisting of Vice-Chairmen of the Zonal Councils should be set up under the leadership of the Union Home Minister to implement the policy evolved at the meeting in regard to the interests of linguistic minorities and the promotion of national integration. If considered necessary the Home Minister might invite other Chief Ministers or other Ministers to meet the committee. In view of the great importance of promoting national integration it was decided that Chief Ministers should meet more frequently Central Ministers.

Another decision taken was that a larger conference should be convened in the middle of October consisting of besides Chief Ministers and Central Ministers leading members of different parties in Parliament and other eminent personalities including educationists scientists and professional men.

### Old age pension scheme in Madras

The state Minister for Industries and Labour told reporters on July 31 that the Madras Government Old Age Pension scheme would cover the decrepit age-group of 70 and over. As the state economy expands, it would be also expanded to include age-groups below 70. The scheme was prepared by the Minister at the instance of the Chief Minister and every one

over 70 without any support will receive a pension of Rs. 15 per month.

The scheme deserves the warm support of the people. It is not an uncommon sight for some very indigent people, rolling on the roads and asking for alms. Welfare schemes of this kind will bring a ray of hope to the poor. India is changing in many ways and this change is welcomed by all. We hope the Government of Madras will be able to include after a year the age group 60-70 also.

### The Third Five-Year Plan

The final report of the Third Five-year Plan, which, with an envisaged outlay of Rs. 11,600 crores, aims at giving the biggest-ever boost to the nation's economy, was presented to Parliament by Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Planning Minister.

With a programmed outlay of Rs. 7,500 crores in the public sector and Rs. 4,100 crores in the private sector, the plan estimates the income to go up by 20 percent and the per capita income by 17 percent in five-years, compared to 42 percent and 16 percent respectively during the 10 years of the first and second Plans.

The presentation of the 775-page document to Parliament came over 13 months after a skeletal draft of the Third Plan had given broad indications as to its size, pattern and objectives, and over four months after the actual date of the commencement of its implementation.

Crystallising the aims of the plan concretely, the document says: "In the course of the Third Plan, the nation sets out to achieve as much in five years as has been realised in the 10 years of the first and second plans."

The period of the Third Plan, according to the report, also represents the first stage of a decade or more of intensive development leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy.

The Plan have aims—to secure an increase in national income of over five percent, to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains, to expand basic industries like steel to utilise to the fullest extent the man-power resources in the country and to furnish equality of opportunity. To some extent the annual increase in population has rendered the estimates a little unreal. The increase in national production which was estimated at 5 percent cannot be more than 6 per cent with increase in population. The unemployment figures are likely also to go up.

## BOOKS IN REVIEW

**My Non-violence.** By M. K. Gandhi, compiled & Edited by Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhyaya, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Rs. 5.

Yet another compilation from Gandhiji's writings in "Young India" and "Harijan" bearing on the subject of Non-Violence. There is already a collection—"Non-Violence in Peace and War," but it is in two volumes covering some 1,000 pages. Sri Bandopadhyaya has now presented the basic thoughts of Gandhi on non-violence in a single handy volume. Originally the articles were by way of comments on contemporary affairs over a period of eight and twenty years from 1920 to 1948; but there is always enough in Gandhi's handling of current events to lift them out of their ephemeral character. Truth and Non-Violence are in Gandhi's view the two sides of the same coin and Gandhi always wrote with his wonted clarity and effectiveness. The present volume includes Gandhi's famous letter to Hitler, his Quit India speech of August-1942 and his last will and testament. The Editor has produced the work with an index for easy reference.

**Experimental Building Craft Science.** By C. R. Bassett, B. Sc. With illustrations By A. L. Moselay, R.I.C.S. Cleaver-Hume Press Ltd. 31, Wright's Lane, London 8. Price: 7sh. 6 d.

This is a collection of experiments with explanations on the building craft. The layout of drawings of which there are many in this book will enable even a novice in building art to carry out the work. There are over 80 topics connected with the art of building. Not only students but also Engineering Contractors will be profited by a study of this book which is full of suggestive experiments and diagrams.

**Immortal India, Vol. I.** By J. H. Dane. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

The chapters comprising this book had originally appeared in the pages of *Bhavan's Journal*. In view of their importance and usefulness to the public—particularly to pilgrims and others interested in the *thirthas*—The Book University has done well to present them under one cover. The same idea seems to have inspired the late Mr. G. A. Natesan when he published his well known *Sacred Shrines and Cities*. As befits a scholar, deeply versed in Sanskrit lore Mr. Dane has freely drawn from history and legend for his account of the *thirthas*. The Epics and Puranic literatures, no less than later religious movements and associations of saintly personalities are all referred to with copious extracts. The book will doubtless create an interest in readers to visit the picturesque and holy places so piously described in these pages. We look forward to the other volumes in the series with deep interest.

**The Bride Comes To Yellow Sky And Other Stories.** By Stephen Crane. Price 10 cents. Avon Publications Incorporated, New York 22.

Like Edgar Allan Poe and O. Henry, Stephen Crane who died at the early age of 29 in 1900 at the very end of the Nineteenth Century is having a revival. The collection is restricted to nine short stories out of the dozen he wrote and there is an Introductory Note explaining that he has also written a few novels and some quite good poetry. A shrewd critic, H.L. Mencken called Crane unprecedented and irresistible and these fundamental elements of Novelty and Surprise come with refreshing nutriment to mental palates feeling stale with the hangovers of whodunits and psychosexual phantasmas.

**Too Late the Phalarope.** By Alan Paton. A signet book, The New American Library, New York, 22. Price 50c.

This is yet another powerful novel of love and hate in the tensions of turbulent South Africa by the author of the best seller "Cry, the Beloved Country." Paton here presents a vivid picture of the racial conflicts that incite tragedy in a small South African community when a young Police lieutenant succumbs to his passion for a native girl. What with mounting suspense and dramatic tensions the story moves with gripping interest.

**Lohia and America Meet.** By Harris Wofford (Jr.) Published by Snehalata Rama Reddy, 8, Valmiki Rd. Madras-17.

This is a day-to-day record of Dr. Lohia's tour of U.S.A. ten years ago—between July 13 and July 25, 1951—his visits to places and persons, his forthright talks, and impressions. The report was prepared with loving care and interest by Mr. Harris Wofford (Jr.) who recently was in India as President Kennedy's special representative. That report is now reprinted by Mrs. Reddy with a lengthy preface by Dr. Lohia himself. It is a revealing document of Lohia's forthright views and opinions, not always conventional, on many a topic of public interest.

**The Power of Non-violence.** By Richard B. Gregg. Foreword by Martin Luther King (Jr.) Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Rs. 2.50.

This is a version of an old classic of Mr. Gregg's. Originally published in 1934 it was revised in 1944 and now events from then have called for a new edition. The book attempts to show new ways of solving conflicts, without violence. For within twelve years after Gandhi's death the idea is being experimented with varying degrees of success in Africa, England, the United States of America and on the high seas. No one can tell the ultimate success, says Mr. Gregg, "But I venture to predict they will be wonderful." The author has attempted to show "why persuasion of this sort is more powerful and more permanently advantageous than physical coercion."

**Yankee From Olympus: Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and His Family.** By Catherine Drinker Bowen. Price 15 cents. Bantam Books, New York 36.

This is a reprint of the brilliant biography which originally appeared in 1943. The life of Justice Holmes starts with the end of the Eighteenth Century when Abiel Holmes decided to wed Miss Wendell and begat the autocrat of the Breakfast Table who begat Justice Holmes. Born 1841, died 1935, Holmes was very unequal in the responses he evoked from his fellow judges and the public. He was virile and tenacious of principle and yet often his sturdy common sense came into violent conflict with others. He was a Judge for nearly fifty years and often a Great Dissenter. His penetrating analysis of the relations between the Judiciary and the Executive have pregnant interest in the present confused juxtaposition of the Indian Union and the Judiciary. "The one and only success a man can bring to his work is a mighty heart" and Holmes did bring it. Judges decay and die early in India preventing their continuing on the Bench till Ninety like Holmes because they wear unsuitable clothes and work in fearful anticipation of retirement on adequate pension.

**Geographical Factors in Indian History.** By K. M. Panikkar. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs 2.

A nation can neglect geography only at its peril, says Mr. Panikkar in his brief introduction to this book. "For both the internal policies of a country and its external relations are governed largely by its unalterable geographical conditions and their relation in space of other countries." In the book under review Mr. Panikkar offers an instructive study of the effects of geography on the shaping of India's history. Time was when the Himalayas in the north and the sea on the three sides made for some sort of security even so the gaps in the mountain ranges in the north-west gave free scope for foreign raiders. Our neglect of the sea was another vulnerable factor. In the charges of local factors and rivalries we forgot that the country from the Himalayas to the Cape is one and indivisible. Mr. Panikkar, a seasoned journalist, historian and diplomat brings to bear upon the discussion of this important topic scholarship and experience invaluable to a clear understanding of the practical problems of security and defence.

## INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

### S. AFRICA

#### REPATRIATION

In his first speech as Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. Willem Magoul said at Pietermaritzburg on August 5 that the Nationalist Party's original idea of repatriating Indians from South Africa was impractical. "We have no choice but to acknowledge they have become a permanent part of the population," he added.

Mr. Magoul said the Indian Affairs Department was created because of the necessity to be sober and realistic about the Indian question. He said he could foresee Indians with their own municipal councils in their own areas and an Indian Council as the voice of Indians would eventually make its own regulations. He appealed to Indians not already "blinded by agitators" to create a channel for better relationships between races.

#### APARTHEID

The South African Government intend to intensify *apartheid* despite its condemnation by the outside world.

This was confirmed on August 13 by Mr. Pieter Botha, new Minister for Coloured Affairs in Prime Minister Verwoerd's expanded Cabinet.

Addressing a meeting of the ruling National Party, Mr. Botha declared: "It is now the policy of the Government to separate the coloureds from the natives (blacks) as soon as possible."

#### BAD TREATMENT

India has asked the Government of the Republic of South Africa through its Ambassador in London and its permanent representative in the United Nations to enter into negotiations in regard to the treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa.

This was stated in the Lok Sabha at question-time on August 10 by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, in reply to Mr. Ajit Singh Sarhadi. The Government of India had taken this step in accordance with the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on April 13, 1961.

Mr. Sadath Ali Khan said that there had been no response from the South African Government except for "a mere acknowledgment" by the South African Ambassador of India's communication.

### U. K.

India House sources denied allegations made in the House of Commons that the Indian Government had liberalised regulations regarding emigration of Indian nationals to the United Kingdom because of the refusal of the West Indies Government to restrict the emigration of its nationals to Britain.

The same sources said it was "totally wrong" to link the actions of the Government of India with those of the West Indies Government.

The allegation was made in the British Parliament by a rightwing Tory member, Sir Cyril Osborne. He said the British Government had asked the West Indies Government to impose controls on unrestricted emigration of its citizens to Britain in line with the controls exercised by India and Pakistan on their prospective emigrants.

Sir Cyril alleged that the West Indies Government had refused, and it was "not surprising" that India and Pakistan had relaxed their controls.

### BURMA

The Burma Government, it is learnt, will allow money order remittances to the tune of only 17 lakhs Kyats (one Kyat is equal to one rupee) this year from Indians in Burma.

Premier U Nu, said at a Press conference recently that the ban on M. O. remittances, imposed since June 21, was due to a misunderstanding and that the ban would soon be lifted.

It is stated that the Government after lifting the ban will allow only half the amount of last year when the total remitted amount was 34 lakhs kyats. The total M.O. remittance in lakhs of Kyats to India by about 30,000 Indian labourers and petty traders in 1948 was 547, 249 in 1949, 175 in 1950, 191 in 1951, 185 in 1952, 200 in 1953, 202 in 1954, 157 in 1955, 100 in 1956, 114 in 1957, 79 in 1958, 40 in 1959 and 34 in 1960.

### CEYLON

#### ILLICIT ENTRY

Members of the Ceylon armed forces have been vested with emergency powers by the Government to perform the duties of Customs and Immigration officers.

This has been done by an Emergency Regulation brought into force from last month.

According to Government sources, the object of this step is to intensify the drive against smuggling operations and illicit immigration into Ceylon.

## DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 26. Congo Central Parliament holds its first meeting at Leopoldville.
- July 27. Western Nations and Japan make firm commitments of aid to India for the Third Plan.
- Coimbatore Bogus notes Case: G. Krishnan and others sentenced to 10 years' R.I.
- July 28. Pandit Nehru inaugurates 2nd HMT Factory at Bangalore: Indian made watches released.
- July 29. Sweeping change in Communist pattern: Free-food and Transport proposed by U.S.S.R.
- July 30. Swatantra Party Leaders meet to discuss election plans at Madras.
- July 31. U. K. proposes to apply for E.C.M. Membership.
- Aug. 1. President Rajendra Prasad is discharged from Nursing Home after his recent serious illness.
- Pandit Nehru inaugurates the Tenth General Assembly of the World Confederation of Organisations of Teaching Profession at New Delhi: 70 Countries attend the Conference.
- Aug. 2. Dr. Radhakrishnan, acting President of India opens the New Centenary Buildings of the Madras University at Madras.
- Mr. C. Adoula, New Congolese Premier forms the new Cabinet.
- Dr. U. Krishna Rao, Speaker, Madras Assembly is dead.
- Aug. 3. Mr. Nehru, as Chairman of the Planning Commission signs Third Plan Report.
- Aug. 4. Nationalists in Goa arrested and one shot dead by police.
- Aug. 5. New Code of Conduct for Russian Communists is issued.
- Aug. 6. Russia launches another manned Spaceship Volstock II.
- Aug. 7. Major Gherman Titov new Russia's Space hero returns safely to earth after 25 hours and 18 minutes flight covering 435,000 miles.
- Third Five-year Plan is presented to the opening session of the Parliament at Delhi by Mr. G. Nanda, Minister for Planning.
- Aug. 8. Dr. B. C. Roy meets Kennedy at Washington.
- Pandit Nehru and Chester Bowles confer at New Delhi.
- Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of M. R. A. is dead.
- Aug. 9. Army pledges support to Adoula Govt. in Congo.
- Nehru appeals to Master Tara Singh to give up proposed fast.
- Aug. 10. U.N. forces in Congo plans for withdrawal.
- Moscow gives a rapturous welcome to space-man Titov.
- The Chief Ministers of States meet at conference in New Delhi; Pandit Nehru presides.
- Aug. 11. France ends her unilateral cease-fire in Algeria.
- Aug. 12. Lt. Col. Battacharya, the Indian Army Officer is produced before Special Military Court to face charge of Espionage at Karachi.
- Aug. 13. East German troops and armed police ring West Berlin border.
- Aug. 14. Lok Sabha passes bill for incorporating into Union of India, Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- The Kenya African leader Jomo Kenyatta who was in detention for over seven years is set free.
- Aug. 15. India's Independence Day is celebrated throughout India.
- Aug. 16. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader goes on fast at Amritsar.
- Aug. 17. Western powers protest to Russia against Berlin border closure.
- Nehru rejects Lisbon's contention re. Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- Aug. 18. Japanese aid for Third Plan, (3 crores of Yen) signed at Yokyo.
- Aug. 19. Russia rejects West's protests over the East German closing of the West Berlin border.
- Aug. 20. U.S. Reinforcements arrive in the city of Berlin.
- Aug. 21. U.S. House of Representatives unanimously authorise President Kennedy to impose total embargo on trade with Cuba.
- Aug. 22. Master Tara Singh's condition is reported to be serious.
- Aug. 23. Italy's Women Police Corps (500 in number) begin operating throughout the country.
- Aug. 24. Pakistan Government closes its consulates in Afghanistan.
- Aug. 25. Fateh Singh-Nehru talks fail.

## READERS' DIGEST

### PARTY-POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has expressed his doubts as to the applicability of parliamentary democracy as it has developed in the West, in the conditions obtaining in India Today. He suggests the substitution of a different kind of politics, which he calls *Lok niti*, for the present day party politics or *Raj niti* based on struggle for power. Commenting on this *The Radical Humanist* observes:

"The political parties wedded to the principles of parliamentary democracy would do well to curb their immoderate lust for power, actuated at least by enlightened self-interest, and agree to play the game of parliamentary struggle for power according to its rules. After all democracy is also a way of life, and its healthy development in our country would depend much on our being able to create what has been called a 'procedural consensus': a kind of agreement to abide by certain rules of the road. If immoderate greed for power tempts individuals and parties to break the rules, as is being so frequently done to-day, the country is sure to travel the way through chaos to dictatorship."

The democratic way of life implies certain attitudes from which certain norms of political behaviour would follow. "Tolerance of opposition, reasonableness, respect for human personality and readiness to come to compromise in the larger interest of the community, where necessary, willingness to co-operate—these are a few of the things we have to inculcate in us. Unfortunately we witness to-day the prevalence and even preponderance of the very opposite attitudes: intolerance, unreasonableness, indifference to human personality and deliberate sharpening of conflicts and antagonisms, making agreement and co-operation impossible."

It is not that there is something alien in parliamentary democracy itself which makes it unsuited to the conditions obtaining in India. "It may have many shortcomings which may be removed. And if the struggle for power is supposed to be the inherent defect in parliamentary democracy, it also provides for keeping this struggle within limits and thus prevents power from being concentrated in one place or in the hands of a few, so long as the struggle is not waged with savage fury, in utter disregard of the fundamental democratic values."

### FREEDOM TO SURVIVE

Through the columns of the *New Leader* Bertrand Russell and Sidney Hook are carrying on a vigorous controversy on East-West tension and the need for abandoning nuclear weapons for sheer survival. They are agreed on this point but Hook thinks that Russell's call to the West for unilateral action is not fair. As on the vital issue there seems to be no difference. We extract these significant passages as representing their considered views. Russell says:-

"What I advocate in practice, and not as the outcome of an artificial logical dilemma, is a conclusion of agreements between East and West admitting the inevitability of co-existence and the disastrous futility of war. I wish both sides to realize that war cannot achieve any thing that either side desires, and that, in consequence, points in dispute can only be settled by negotiation."

Granted the need for continuous effort to negotiate a reasonable settlement with the Kremlin the troublesome questions arise when we ask, as Hook does:-

If the Communists seize West Berlin, should the free world resist? Or if West Germany is invaded? Or the rest of Western Europe? Or England? "As distinct from Russell, I believe the free world should declare it will resist wherever the Communist world resorts to force, and to declare it in such a way that the Kremlin has no doubts it will resist. There will then be no war."

"No man can win freedom and peace unless he conquers his fear of death. No nation can preserve its freedom unless it is willing to risk destruction in its defence. To do otherwise is to break faith with those who died to keep it free."

"The free society from Pericles to the present has survived because it has valued some things more than survival, because its vision of human excellence, dignity and joy has made some kinds of life unworthy of man. Bertrand Russell is one of the great moulders of the traditions of the free society. In disagreeing with him strongly on a matter of policy, we nonetheless honor the values and visions he has served during a long life and which he has taught us to cherish."

## THE THIRD PLAN

*The Economic Weekly* (Special Number) is concerned with the Third Plan in particular and problems of economic development in general, the political perspective is not neglected. The political climate in the country as the Third Plan is launched is discussed in a leading article. Another article analyses the changing tone of Congress politics in the context of the next general elections.

The Special Number, as usual, has some interesting contributions on social anthropology. The family structure in rural India is studied in two articles by Bernard S. Cohn and Ralph W. Nicholas. Bert Hoselitz discusses problems of rapid urbanisation associated with economic development. Asok Mitra, Census Commissioner, discusses the role played by the Census of India in various sociological, anthropological and demographic surveys.

The variety and wide sweep of the articles in the Special Number are characteristic of *The Economic Weekly* and justify its standing as a "Journal of Current Economic and Political Affairs."

## EARTH'S POCKETS IN OUTER SPACE

The earth appears to have a pair of pockets in outer space, one of which is "stuffed with odds and ends," as one astronomer puts it.

A Polish astronomer, Mr. K. Kordylewski, made the discovery and an American astronomer, Mr. Robert R. Kadesch, said that these pockets were a sort of low energy balance points in space between the attractive gravitational forces of the earth and the Moon so that some particles in space would naturally accumulate and stay there.

Similar space pockets were predicted nearly two centuries ago, Mr. Kadesch said by the French mathematician, M. Joseph Lagrange. M. Lagrange was dealing with Jupiter and predicted pockets just ahead and just behind the planet. They were found in 1904, and at the present time, Mr. Kadesch wrote in the *Salt Lake Tribune* "Seven Trojan asteroids are known to lie in one of the Jupiter-Sun pockets and five are to be found in the second pocket. In this case the pockets are behind and in front of the Moon, at an angle of 60 degrees from the earth."

## LUXURY CAR FOR U.S. PRESIDENT

A New custom-built Presidential automobile has recently been delivered to the White House to replace the 11-year-old "Bubble-top" Lincoln which was used by three U.S. Presidents in travelling more than 100,000 miles in the United States and abroad.

The navy-blue limousine, which was four years in planning by the Ford Motor Company in consultation with White House security staff, has more specially designed features and accessories than any other automobile ever used for official duties at the White House.

Major innovations include a series of roof combinations, the most outstanding of which is a transparent plastic roof, a rear seat that can be raised ten-and-a-half inches so that the President may be more easily seen by crowds, retractable foot stands for Secret Service men, two-way radio telephones, one of which has a scrambler system which insures privacy when the President talks on the telephone. The conventional glove compartment has been transformed into a master control panel for the car's power accessories.

The President can ride in the car in the open air either sitting or standing. If he chooses to stand during the parade, he can support himself by means of a metal railing located over the mid-section of the car. Two separate air-conditioning units make the car the first fully air-conditioned Presidential limousine in history.

The car, which is more than 21 feet in over all length, is an elongated version of the 1961 Lincoln Continental convertible. It was designed by Ford Motor Company technicians in co-operation with Hess and Eisenhardt, a custom-body building firm in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The car is divided into two compartments with a power-operated, sliding-glass partition separating the driver compartment from the passengers. The rear passenger area includes two folding jump seats and a back seat that can accommodate three people comfortably.

For the past 85 years, Hess and Eisenhardt has built custom vehicles for American and international dignitaries, including Presidents and Kings and Queens.

The new custom Presidential Continental has a heritage that goes back more than half a century. William Howard Taft, whose administration began in 1909, is credited with approving the first official auto fleet for White House

staff and Secret Service use. In fact, the credit rightly may belong to Mrs. Taft who received a Pierce-Arrow just before the inauguration. After 17 years or so, President Coolidge reportedly switched to a Lincoln car because he liked the late Henry Ford. In more recent years, a number of manufacturers have been represented in the official auto fleet.

However, predecessor-models of the new Presidential Continental were used extensively by Presidents in the last 20 years. A specially built 1939 Lincoln leased by Ford Motor Company to the Government for use by President Franklin D. Roosevelt became one of America's most famous automobiles, known as the "Sunshine Special."

The "Sunshine Special" and other vehicles of its vintage were replaced by a series of over sized 1950 Lincolns leased to the White House by Ford. One of these Lincolns, a black touring car was returned to Dearborn in 1954 to be revamped with a specially built plexiglass roof.

President Eisenhower suggested the clear plastic roof after experiences in rainy weather when regular convertible-type roof had to be used. Crowds frequently braved bad weather only to have the President not see nor be seen on such occasions.

"Bubble-top," like the "Sunshine Special" when retired, still is in good running condition but is giving way to progress in automobile engineering.

## INDIA THE UNCOMMITTED

In the course of a despatch to the London *Economist* a correspondent writing under the above caption, observes that "India is particularly qualified to look at the world without special sympathies or antipathies, its detachment is further confirmed by the special way the Indians look at life."

"Hinduism emphasises ubiquity of truth some of which is to be found everywhere even in lie; it sees life not in blacks and whites of Europe but in darker and lighter greys. The Indian history, too, teaches patience and futility of short cuts. Through all the centuries of Islamic attack, the Hindus never despaired and India got its independence not by mutiny but by non-violence. Naturally, India tends to neutralism: naturally, too, India is quicker to perceive long-term trends—the importance of Arab nationalism, for example—than answers to immediate problems such as what to do about Nasserite subversion."

No other country, says the despatch, can compete with India in inarticulate detachment. Sweden and Switzerland are European, and their neutrality includes tradition of silence.

"China is committed to power block. Japan has American bases and war to live down. Pakistan is conspicuously Islamic and a Western ally. Nasser has Arab unity to concentrate on. Dr. Nkrumah has to think of the other Negro states to come. Only India can take a genuine bird's eye view. That is why Mr. Nehru has been able to carve out a great position for India, simply by pointing out what should have been quite obvious facts: that it would become increasingly expensive to hold on to unwilling colonies; that the Asians and Africans would in future wish to shape their own destinies; that, as it looks from Delhi or Cairo, there were motes in the Western eye as well as beams in Russia's; that the West, when it makes allies of underdeveloped countries, runs the risk of subjecting its whole regional position to the chance of next local revolution."

The propositions are now largely accepted, even by those to whom they are unpalatable. The Western policy is more and more based on them.

## ASOKA INSCRIPTION IN KANDAHAR

An inscription of Asoka has been discovered in Afghanistan. As far as Indian history is concerned it is one of the most important discoveries, according to Sri Raghuvira, M.P. in *Thought*.

"So far the western-most inscriptions of Asoka were located in the region of Rawalpindi, namely Shahbaz Garhi and Mansehra. It was considered, on their basis, that Asoka's empire extended upto the Rawalpindi region."

A few years ago a fragmentary inscription in Aramaic translation was discovered in the village Lampak near Jalalabad. "And now comes the discovery of a full inscription engraved on the lower block of a mountain at the entrance of the city of Kandahar. It also contains the edict of Asoka not in the usual Pali language but in translation into two languages, Greek, the language of the local governor, and Aramaic, the commercial *lingua franca* of the Middle East."

It is a pity, he says, that the stone block bearing the inscription has been cut away from the parent rock.

## DISCIPLINE

General Cariappa whose views on the training of youth are worth listening to, clarifies in the article below his various public statements on teaching young people a sense of discipline.

He believes youth organisations should be restricted to a few well-organised groups, and boys and girls given the type of training suitable to their sex and temperament.

"In the last months I have spoken about inculcating in youth a sense of discipline and laid special emphasis on the building up of character.

Press reports have not given my reports adequate coverage. Take for example the N.C.C. and the various organisations, official and non-official, which are training our youth discipline. I have been repeating for some time that there are far too many organisations for this purpose.

There is no uniformity of programme. Money and time are being wasted through lack of co-ordination. One could well restrict these organisations to N.C.C. Rifles, Rover Scouts and Rangers' Boy Scouts and Guides.

The introduction of the N.C.C. Rifles has brought about an undesirable "class feeling" among students in the same institution. The N.C.C. boys think they are superior to the other groups. This kind of spirit is undesirable.

Incidentally, training in the N.C.C. is too elaborate and expensive. The N.C.C. is not our "third line of defence."

What we want is an organisation to teach our boys discipline, mould their characters, teach them *esprit de corps*, a sense of duty, the value of time, the dignity of labour, develop physical and moral toughness, so as to prepare them to be good leaders of the country.

Leaders are required not only on the battlefields but also in other spheres, on the food front, on the health front, in education and so on. The N.C.C. Rifles is quite adequate to do the needful.

I would strongly recommend entry into N.C.C. Rifles being made compulsory to boys in all public and private colleges in our country. The N.C.C., as it is today, should be re-organised. I would also suggest that Scouting and Guiding be made compulsory for all school-going boys and girls.

For college girls, I would suggest that membership of "Rangers" be made compulsory. Better uniforms and more privileges would make Rangers look more inviting to the girls.

Some of my public speeches have not been adequately reported. I have never said that our girls should be educated only to be "stenographers."

I have stated that our girls, who are future mothers and nation-builders, are to be well educated, but there is no need for them to have high academic qualifications.

They should be educated enough to read, write and converse intelligently, to run a happy home, to learn to be good wives and mothers. The standard of home life today is not sufficiently high and this is reflecting on the bringing up of our children.

If I have advised girls to learn shorthand, typing, book-keeping and journalism, it is because this would help them in "fending" for themselves if the occasion rose. I have seen many unfortunate young "widows."

Any girl who is a stenographer or who has learned a trade can always earn her keep. I have urged girls not to join the N.C.C. for the simple reason that girls have a great sense of discipline, and better character than boys. By joining the N.C.C., they lose some of their innate charm and the grace of womanhood.

Tom-boys are not desirable. Girls could decidedly benefit by going to college. They could take up the careers they fancied. But we do not want "Amazons," to fight on battlefields. We have quite enough "boys" to do this, but the girls may be taught "unarmed" combat—rifle and or revolver shooting. In exceptional cases of course they may pursue higher studies.

## PANDIT MOTILAL AND DRINK

Writing to the *Insight* a weekly of Mangalore, Mr L. X. Rego observes "Why Motilal Nehru Drank" and points out:

"Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer was once reported to have observed at Ootacamund that in the olden days the man of the house—meaning the Wage-earner used to have his daily drink at a tavern but with the incoming of Prohibition, liquor is being cooked alongside with food in homes and partaken by the whole family. In a recent talk before the Rotary Club, Bombay, Mr. V. G. Kanetkar, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, stated that on an average 270 offen-

ces under the Prohibition Act are detected daily by the Bombay Police. Guess how many hundreds go undetected! Little Hampdens hawk about 'snake juice', as illicit stuff is named, at street corners and bus stops with impunity. Liquor could be distilled from any refuse and in a jiffy. If one has a rudimentary knowledge of chemistry he can concoct a reasonable facsimile of whisky, gin or brandy and it will cost him as many naye paise as the liquor produced will fetch in rupees. The entire process is so simple that even respectable middle class families ply a lucrative trade in the commodity. It is ultimately a question of supply meeting the demand—after all the thirst of the average citizen has to be satisfied and his needs to be met. Consequently the writ of the Government fails to be effectual.

Our power-mad Congress ministries refuse to look at facts as they are living in an ivory tower. It may perhaps benefit them in some measure, if they follow up Pandit Motilal Nehru's correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, when the latter upbraided him for partaking of wine at a dinner held in Simla at which Pandit Motilal was the chief guest. Let me quote a few excerpts pertinent to this subject from Pandit Motilal's letter dated Bombay, 10th July 1924. "Before and after I joined the N. C. O Movement, I was a believer in moderate drinking by those who had full control on themselves as the Persian couplet runs: 'It is wrong to say that wine makes men disreputable, the truth is that men bring wine into disrepute.' In fact during 40 years, I had seldom missed my evening drink for 11 months in the year. I abstained for one month in every year simply to avoid getting enslaved to the habit..... I have so far never taken any active part in the anti-drink campaign but when it was begun by others in right earnest at your bidding, I felt it was only right for me, who was in the general movement to give up even the harmless stimulant I had allowed myself after the day's hard work for years past." In another portion of the same letter, he affirms his stand in the following words. "I had for the reason already mentioned fully made up my mind to revert to total abstinence before the 'Prohibition' resolution was moved in the Assembly. But I am going to do nothing of the kind now. I simply cannot bring myself to yield to the puritanism affected in Congress circles." This letter was despatched to Mahatma Gandhi by Pandit Motilal after

being approved by two stalwarts of the Swaraj Party, C. R. Das and M. R. Jayakar.

Is not public opinion in the country today with regard to Prohibition on parity with the views expressed by the eminent patriot in the letter cited above? If national character is to be salvaged from perdition, if there is to be security of life and person, if a sense of honour and integrity is to be preserved in the younger generation, Prohibition in the present form must go, lock, stock and barrel. One fact emerges as a dead cert. All the king's horses and all the king's men as the Proverb goes cannot save Prohibition from assaults from the community at large.

## THE ALGERIAN PROBLEM

Robert Abdesselam, member of the French Parliament, elected by Moslem voters around the capital city of Algiers, contends in the course of an article in *Midstream*, that without help from de Gaulle's France, Algeria would rapidly degenerate into one more destitute, miserable "Arab" state, torn by internal feuds, vulnerable to Soviet penetration—and independently free to starve.

"There is one final, crushing piece of Moslem testimony that the FLN is not what native Algeria wants. Here are the statistics of death in the "struggle for independence" as waged by the rebels. Just in my single district, the terrorists have murdered some 50 French civilians since the beginning of the revolt. But how many Moslem civilians have been assassinated there by the FLN? No less than 500!

For all Algeria, the figures are even more precise and terrifying. By recent count, out of 15,191 civilians in Algeria killed by the terrorists, exactly 1,985 of the victims were Europeans, and the rest—13,206—were Moslems!

The FLN nevertheless persists in proclaiming that it represents my people, while it butchers them in such appalling numbers because they do not subscribe to the FLN.

Extending their dripping hands even across the Mediterranean, Algerian nationalists have slaughtered 2,871 Moslems on the French mainland as against 88 French civilians, since January of 1956, and wounded 6,506 Moslems as against 508 French non-combatants. To put it another way, one out of every 40 Moslem Algerians living and working in France has been murderously attacked by his unelected Moslem "liberators."

## HONOURING THE MAHATMA

Writing in the *Manchester guardian* Lord Altrincham pleads for a suitable memorial to Mahatma Gandhi in London. Gandhi, he says, was the saint of nationalism."

He loved his country, but he also loved her alien rulers, as he loved the whole of mankind. He made no distinction between private and public morality. For him means were even more important than ends, and he regarded Indian self-government as inseparable from the capacity of Indians to govern themselves as individuals. The lesson he tried to teach his own compatriots applies, obviously, to us all.

Surely it is time for us, in Britain, he says, to show our reverence for Gandhi in a visible form.

He would not have wanted money to be spent on statues, but as there are statues of him in India I think there ought to be a statue of him in London. And it should be paid for by the people of Britain, subscribing voluntarily to a fund: not by the State, with its vast, impersonal resources obtained by compulsion. I suggest, too, that the trustees of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund should be "unknown" people, not "names," and that the bulk of the money raised should go towards some practical good of which Gandhi would have approved. It is unlikely that any sculptor would charge, in this case, an exorbitant fee.

Lord Altrincham goes on to say that a few cranks might object to the idea that London should honour an "enemy of Britain".

Their attention must be drawn to statue of George Washington which stands outside the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, and to the Smuts statue in Parliament Square. Both Washington and Smuts fought against Britain, and they did so violently. Gandhi's method of fighting us was non-violent. Abraham Lincoln, whose figure is also to be seen in Parliament Square, was in some ways nearer to Gandhi, though he too used force to establish the principles in which he believed.

He concludes that the statue will be a welcome addition to London's monumental furniture.

Its very existence would be appreciated in India and would help the growth of Indo-British friendship. But that should be only an incidental thought in the minds of those of us who would subscribe towards it. Gandhi, more than Washington and Smuts, more even than Lincoln, deserves to be honoured for his own sake.

## THE PATHANS

Sir Olaf Caroe's paper on the Pathans published in the *Asian Review* throws light on the genius and character of the hardy and handsome race of Pathans in the North West Frontier of India. They flourish in Afghanistan and parts of West Pakistan. What sort of man is he, the Pathan, asks Sir Olaf and says:

"There is probably no people in the world with a higher average standard of good looks. In youth he is lithe and lissom, his features are clean cut, his complexion fair, he walks proudly and looks you straight in the eye; in age he has immense dignity. Always he has charm and poise. He is fearless to a fault. He is a good friend and a bad enemy. He is frequently obstinate, boastful and much too set in his ways. He never forgets a wrong, but it is as true to say that he always remembers a kindness. Always he is hospitable. He lives against a scenic background of great splendour and he caresses the delicate petals of flowers, of which, unlike most in Asia, he knows the names. He loves to tuck flowers in his headdress or behind the ear. His shrines are set in lovely secluded spots by wells or running streams, and he delights in mountains, forest and river. He is a great hunter and longs for the autumn tide when the game returns. There are two Pashtu verses, which express well a Pathan's love of Nature, of which the translation might run:

I hold a posy in my hand here;  
Let who'd enjoy the flowers' fragrance  
come then to me.

And  
The grace of God is upon the high mountain;  
Upon his head a mantle of snow  
And at his foot a flower-carpet.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, in 1809, the first and without doubt the greatest Englishman to have dealings with them wrote of the Afghans round about Peshawar in these memorable words:

"Their vices are revenge, envy, avarice and obstinacy; on the other hand they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependants, hospitable above all, brave, frugal, laborious and prudent. And of the official deputed by the King Shah Shuja as his personal escort, he wrote: 'He was a grave old gentleman, shrewd, sensible and good-humoured, but somewhat passionate.'

The first assessment is a fine picture of a man; who could help liking those vices with the virtues on the other side? The second reminds me of that great gentleman Dr. Khan Sahib, who, though I had twice put him behind bars, bore no grudge, but (somewhat passionately it is true) was willing to work with me as my Chief Minister.

## BABISM AND BAHAI-ISM

The Babi-Bahai movement is a product of the 19th Century, writes Mr. Ali Muhammad in the *Review of Religions*. He says: "It originated in Persia (Iran) and was founded by Syed Ali Muhammad of Shiraz who called himself the 'Bab' or 'Gate', meaning thereby that he was the gateway to knowledge of the divine truth. "Syed Ali Muhammad was not content to call himself *Bab* but later on he proclaimed himself to be the *mirror* in which every man could discern God. His teachings and doctrines spread among the Persian Shia Muslims. The Iranian Government, in the beginning took a very cautious view of this Movement and undertook not to meddle with it so long it retained its peaceful character. But when the Bab told his followers to burn the sacred books of all other faiths, demolish their places of worship and massacre all those who did not believe in him, the Government imprisoned him in the fortress of Maku for a considerable period of time. The militant followers of the Bab came into collision with the public and the police and there were disturbances all over the country. The leading members of the community assembled in conference at Bedesht in Khorasan and resolved to abrogate the Islamic Shariah. The Bab while in prison wrote a new book of Shariah called the *Al-Bayan* as a substitute for the Holy Quran. The Shia Ulema of Iran declared Mirza Ali Muhammad Bab to be a renegade and condemned him to death. In accordance with the *fatwa* of the Ulema, the Bab was put to death by the Iranian Government. The Babis were widely persecuted throughout the country. A fanatic, enraged at the murder of his leader, killed the Shah of Persia which act resulted in a general massacre of the Babis in Iran.

On his death the Bab was succeeded by Mirza Hussain Ali Nuri on whom he had conferred the title of *Bahau'llah*. A section of the Babis tendered their allegiance to Mirza Yehya, *Subh-i-Azl*, a step-brother of Bahau'llah. Subsequently the followers of Bahau'llah

became known as *Bahais* while those of Subh-i-Azi were known as *Azlias*. The two brothers were exiled from the country. They took shelter in Baghdad but later on Bahau'llah was sent to Adrianople while Subh-i-Azl was interned in Cyprus. The last years of Bahau'llah were passed in Akka where he died a prisoner in 1892."

## 'SARVODAYA MAY OUTLAST COMMUNISM'

Sarvodaya might outlast in the less developed parts of the earth the clash of capitalism and communism, suggests the *New Statesman and Nation* in an article on Mr. J. P. Narayan, "one of the very few people who believe they know a way out from the world's present impasse."

Of the intellectual who repudiated his past Marxism-condemned class warfare and gave up politics to join Acharya Vinoba Bhave and is now "after Nehru, the most revered figure in India," the journal says his message is not really to be understood in words—"the importance of Sarvodaya is that it is now practised by some 40,000 Indian villages and win more villages to its faith every day."

Noting Mr. Narayan's belief that Indian villages are still the natural kernel of self-government, the journal says that "if the villager understood Mr. Narayan's thesis that villages would not gain from vast industrial enterprise the villager would be content with a modest improvement in his living standard and realize what the highly developed countries had forgotten that with the necessities provided, happiness is not achieved through the multiplication of wants."

Asking how far is the village revolution involved in gramdan possible in the middle of the 20th century, the paper says: "Certainly, Mr. Narayan would not claim that it can be applied at present to the industrialized West. He believes it is still not too late to recreate village self-government in India. If not, he thinks the change of saving democracy in the world is very slender indeed."

"Possibly, Acharya Vinobha's movement will achieve what the Friars did in the Middle Ages. It may found an order of people with an ideal which is fundamentally opposed to the trend of the present age."

Sarvodaya, concludes the journal, was at least the embryo of a challenge to the great forces of industrialism, mass propaganda and centralized power.

## INDIA THE BASTION OF DEMOCRACY

Writing in the *National and English Review* Lord Altrincham the Editor says that Mr. Nehru is Britain's most reliable guide in all matters relating to the former subject peoples of Asia. He recalls that during the Suez crisis Britain voted against India's "fair and reasonable" solution for the Canal. A similar churlishness had been shown in the present Middle East crisis.

"The tendency has been to go West rather than East. It was to Washington that the Foreign Secretary rushed off for consultations, not to Delhi".

"Lord Altrincham adds: It must never be forgotten that Nehru's India is the strongest bastion of democracy in Asia, and that this is due to Nehru's policy of so-called neutralism."

"In fact, he is no neutral. His opposition to Communism, though not hysterical or indiscriminating, is profound, and as a measure of his success it is only necessary to compare the number of Communists returned to Parliament in India with the number of Communist Deputies in France.

"He does not say that all military pacts are bad, but he is convinced that military arrangements entered into by Asian countries, such as Pakistan, in return for Western economic favours are more likely to assist than to obstruct the march of Communism. And he feels the same, of course, even more emphatically, of Western military intervention in Asian countries."

## INDOCTRINATION THROUGH TEXT BOOKS

*Freedom First* takes strong objection to the Kerala Government's attempts to indoctrinate the student with Communist ideas. It refers in particular to "Social Studies Third Service" prescribed for the eighth standard which contains essays on revolutions, including those of Russia and China.

"The Russian Revolution is described as follows: 'What a great revolution that was! By an agrarian revolution, an industrial revolution and a psychological revolution, a big community of people was elevated to the modern world within four years as if by magic.' The subchapter on China, titled 'Communist Victory,' reflects the very views recently expressed by Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad

namely that China will be repeated in Kerala if the parties in opposition form a common anti-communist front.

In the above selection NATO, SEATO and Baghdad Pacts have been branded as imperialistic and colonial associations while nothing is mentioned about the Warsaw Pact and the communist imperialist hold over Eastern European countries. The book is silent about the fundamental liberties and democracy in Russia but claims that "now there is neither unemployment nor are there beggars in China."

Thus there has been a systematic attempt to indoctrinate the youth by stuffing the textbooks with communist propaganda.

"No one would object to students studying unbiased and objective account and analysis of world events including the communist revolution. But to exploit governmental authority for carrying on party propaganda is to say the least, criminal. The nationalisation of text books, without any proper safeguards against such abuses, has given the communist regime in Kerala the most dangerous weapon for carrying out its totalitarian designs. It is to be hoped that democratic parties in Kerala will rise to the occasion and oppose this insidious communist move to fill young minds with their ideological filth.

## A SYNTHESIS OF CULTURES

The meeting and intermingling of different races and cultures on the soil of India has brought in its wake two lines of development, according to Prof. S. B. Mookerji in *Prabuddha Bharata*.

On the one hand, there was great religious conflict as well as as political upheaval. On the other it led slowly but steadily to a 'spiritual renaissance' resulting in the synthesis of the best in each culture and religion. While zealous fanatics and political conquerors fought and wrought terrible destruction, saint-seers, the 'prophets of religious humanism,' strove their utmost to bring about 'assimilation and fulfilment' through their message of 'equality, fraternity.' This principle of 'synthesis' is illustrated in the sketch of the life and message of Lalla Yogeswari who inspired alike the Hindus and the Muslims of Kashmir at a time when synthesis was a crying need and people were willing to work for it. Surely such creative forces can emerge even now.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### INDIA'S READINESS TO MEET ANY EMERGENCY

Prime Minister Nehru said at New Delhi on Aug. 6 that while he did not think there would be further aggression by the Chinese now or in the near future, India should not relax her efforts to face the gigantic task of strengthening her defences on the thousand mile long border. They should be prepared to meet any emergency, he added.

Mr. Nehru, who was reviewing the international situation at the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party referred to "aggression against India by both China and Pakistan" and said that Pakistan President had followed a "curious and unusual" diplomatic procedure of carrying on a campaign against India in America.

But he was hopeful that the threat of war held out by Pakistan would not materialise. However, he would caution against any complacency. They should be prepared for everything. While getting weapons did constitute strength, he would remind them that a country which was united and enjoyed economic prosperity could not be defeated. What was needed was strengthening of national solidarity and striving for economic prosperity through their plans.

Mr. Nehru paid a tribute to the work done in the H.M.T. factory in Bangalore and urged that other industrial units should emulate the example by improving their efficiency, and techniques and utilising their surplus resources. He was happy that the H.A.L. had achieved the distinction of making supersonic fighter. Industrialisation will have no meaning unless their factories produced more, sold more, earned and invested more.

### KENNEDY ON NUCLEAR TESTS

The *New York Herald Tribune*, wrote on Aug. 1 that President Kennedy had ruled out resumption of any kind of nuclear testing.

Reporting from Washington, the newspaper said the principal reasons for this are given by those in a position to know:

1. There is still no evidence, with the expert report of the special scientific committee named by President Kennedy on June 28, to show that the Soviet Union has been testing secretly. Nor is there evidence to show that during the nearly three-year moratorium they have scored significant technological break-throughs (new successes).

2. This country's allies are far from unanimous on the question of resuming tests and on balance favour a go-slow policy.

3. The neutrals and uncommitted nations, most particularly India, are strongly opposed to a renewal of testing. To risk their goodwill on the eve of a crucial session of the United Nations is regarded as unwise.

### PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier, said on Aug. 12 that meetings between leading statesmen and a frank exchange of views could best promote mutual understanding between Governments. "Such meetings can be most useful for the cause of peace, to which we Soviet people are dedicating our efforts."

Mr. Khrushchev, who was speaking at a dinner got up in honour of the visiting Italian Premier, Signor Amintore Fanfani said: "The Soviet Government considers that an attempt could be made to reach mutual understanding in the approach to such an urgent present-day problem as the problem of general and complete disarmament under effective international control."

"The Soviet Government is doing and will do everything so that this most important of problems shall be solved as quickly as possible.

"The peoples of Europe cannot look on indifferently on the activity of forces aiming to change the situation which arose after the Second World War," he added.

Mr. Khrushchev said if the Western powers would not agree to solve the problem of a German peace treaty before the end of this year, Russia would be faced with the necessity of signing a peace treaty with the East German regime and on this basis to regularise the situation in West Berlin.

## Utterances of the Day

### RADHAKRISHNAN'S CALL

"To make a new India, we need not only industrial progress and political maturity, but a renewal of faith in the future of our country" said Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, in the course of his Independence Day message to the nation.

The Vice-President added: "We must courageously scrap old loyalties which are out of date and build new institutions, which are suited to modern conditions." He continued: "Life is a constant adaptation to change.

When different people meet together, it should not be the mere gathering of a crowd. There must be some bond of relationship if we are not to knock against one another. We must organise our emotions in terms of national unity. We cannot have national integration without national discipline, without a national ethos. Decency in public life should be maintained. We need the dedicated effort of all our citizens. It is my earnest hope that all those who live abroad and see how other countries are making progress will do their utmost to break down the old loyalties of caste, community, language and religion and help to build a truly democratic state."

### PT. NEHRU ON PROGRESS

Inaugurating the second machine-tool factory built from the internal resources of the Hindustan Machine Tools in Bangalore on July 29, Prime Minister Nehru reminded the nation that they were living in an age when the modern science and technology were changing the very face of the world.

"On this occasion," he said, "let us not think of the evils of such progress and development of science and technology. Let us think of good things that will come out of it. Let us, therefore, proceed in our tasks to effect such changes which will help in building up a new India.

"Let us not think of petty differences and narrow concepts. Let us all think of longer concepts of India and work to make our country great."

The Prime Minister declared: "We are in a country which is friendly with all other countries and do not use its strength against any other country. We offer our cooperation to all and we want such a cooperation from others so that we all can work for ours as well as the world's progress."

### KHRUSHCHEV'S WARNING

Mr. Nikita Khrushchev warned what he called "lovers of military adventures" to "behave wisely and remember that we have all the means necessary to cool off your hot heads."

The Soviet Prime Minister was speaking at a luncheon for a Rumanian Government delegation headed by Mr. Gheorghe Gheorg-Dej, the Prime Minister, with whom he opened talks on August 1 at Moscow.

Mr. Khrushchev said the unity of the Communist bloc was the insurmountable obstacle in the way of the imperialists' aggressive plans.

The capitalist countries would like to see the peoples of the Communist countries divided so as to "put the yoke of capitalist slavery" back on them. But they were powerless to divert the peoples of these countries from the road they had chosen, he said. The course of history could not be changed by such hullabalos as America's recent "captive nations week," Mr. Khrushchev said.

### RUSSELL'S WAIL

Earl (Bertrand) Russell, 89-year-old British philosopher and author, warned in a speech at London on July 24 that the Eastern and Western Powers were "solemnly preparing by mutual vituperation" to prepare the public mind for a nuclear war.

He called for a massive world-wide campaign of protest because "time may be short."

The veteran campaigner for nuclear disarmament said: "Most people in this country as well as in other countries appear to be unaware that the Governments of East and West are solemnly preparing by mutual vituperation to create a general state of mind in which the public will acquiesce in a large-scale nuclear war.

"A nuclear war would wipe out Europe completely, and North America as a component civilisation."

"If it were not happening, I should have thought it inconceivable that Ministers hitherto uncensored could calmly contemplate this wanton and merciless disaster. Yet it is so.

"Statements have recently been made on both sides of the iron curtain claiming that in a nuclear war the side to which the speaker belonged might achieve victory.

## Political

### TRIJUNCTION OF BURMA SIDE

India has categorically told the Chinese that even though they are pledged to the promotion of friendly relations with the Government of China "India cannot accept that the common traditional boundary is a matter for negotiations, for the traditional boundary stands defined without the necessity of further or formal delimitation."

This has been made clear by India to China in one of the series of five notes exchanged between the two Governments on the border question pertaining to the trijunction of the boundaries of India, Burma and China.

Copies of these notes were placed on the table of the Lok Sabha on Aug. 7, by Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister for External Affairs. The correspondence rests with India's note dated June 16, 1961.

Mr. H.C. Mathur (Cong.) and Mr. Hem Barua (P.S.P.) had asked during the question hour about the nature of the latest notes sent to China regarding the border dispute.

In her reply in one of the notes China had taken the stand that so long as the Indian Government did not give up its attitude of refusing to negotiate "and trying to impose its views on others, the Chinese Government will absolutely not retreat an inch from its stand on the question of the Sino-Indian border and of the trijunction of China, Burma and India."

The exchange of notes arose out of the western extremity of the Burma-China boundary being shown as ending at the Diphu Pass in the map attached to the Burmese-Chinese boundary.

### FUTURE GOVT. OF MAURITIUS

It is likely that an Indian will become Prime Minister of Mauritius when the British colony is granted independence within the Commonwealth in the near future.

Mr. Pydiah who spent a fortnight at Durban as the guest of Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa, said that on Aug. 1 that multi-racialism on the island rests on a firm foundation. Europeans, Indians and Chinese mix freely. The Chief Justice is an Indian, as are four Cabinet Ministers.

Mr. Pydiah author of two books, a Short history of Indians in Mauritius and Labour conditions in Mauritius—said the main problem facing the colony was the high birth rate.

### WAR-LIKE PLANS IN KASHMIR

War-like preparations have started in Pakistan-held territories of Jammu and Kashmir State and Pathan marked rifles in large numbers are reported to have been issued by Pakistan all along the ceasefire line in the occupied area.

A wave of propaganda has also been launched by Pakistani authorities in the border villages telling the people that India and Pakistan were likely to be engaged in a war in the near future and people living with their families in the border villages have been ordered to send members of their families to some other places in Pakistan.

### IRAQI CLAIM TO KUWAIT

The Iraqi Press launched a new campaign to assert Iraq's "sacred rights" over Kuwait and reported a speech by Premier General Abdel-Karim Kassem openly threatening to annex the oil-rich territory.

Speaking at the inauguration of a new cement factory at Baghdad, Gen. Kassem said: "We maintain more than ever Iraq's sacred and inviolable rights over Kuwait...We will annex the territory of Kuwait against the imperialism which wants to remain there...If we are now accused of seeking to annex Kuwait to Iraq, we accept the accusation because we are only defending our right."

Gen. Kassem also said that Iraq would accept no compromise and would not give up any part of its "right" in such a way as to imply acceptance of a *de facto* situation which Iraq could not tolerate.

### FORMER RULER OF BASTAR

Mr. Pravinchandra Bhanjdev, deposed ruler of Bastar, said at Raipur on Aug 7 that he planned to form a new political party with its activities limited for the present to Bastar district.

Its activities would later be extended to other parts of Madhya Pradesh and, if necessary, to other States of India, he said.

He told Pressmen that the chief aim of his proposed political party would be the return of power to Rajas and Maharajas in India.

### ADDITIONAL ARMS FOR U.S.

President Kennedy's request for 3,500 million dollars to bolster U.S. military might was raised to 4,506 million dollars by the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Unanimously, it voted to provide every cent the President had asked.

## WCOTP

The 10th session of the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession, which met at new Delhi last month recommended a five-point programme to world educators on "education for responsibility" among their students.

The assembly of delegates to the Wcotp, which discussed "Education for Responsibility" as its main theme at this year's conference declared in its main resolution that "Education for responsibility grows out of the convictions held by society with regard to fundamental, moral, spiritual and rational values. These values include the growth and dignity of every person and the necessity of helping every child to become the best person he is capable of becoming."

"The complexity of the forces affecting students in all parts of the world," the resolution said, "points out the urgency for teachers to demonstrate by example as well as by direct teaching their respect for these fundamental values, their concern for service to others and their willingness to participate in civic affairs."

To this end, the Wcotp recommended that the teacher should recognise the importance of the fundamental, moral and spiritual values on which just law, family and society are based; the inculcation of a right attitude to and a respect for law; the development of a critical attitude so that the individual retains the right to object to and or amend the law; the encouragement of an enquiring mind to help the individual make sound judgment and action in accordance with the principle underlying the Declaration of Human Rights.

A school atmosphere, the resolution said, should include a maximum of support, encouragement and acceptance and a minimum of fear, criticism and rejection. It should likewise be based on respect for learning and on good human relations among administrators, teachers and students. Such an atmosphere would develop and foster a sense of responsibility. The resolution also suggested the designing and planning of school programme to achieve this objective.

## TV FOR MADRAS SCHOOLS

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister of Madras, negotiated to bring educational television to help teach Madras's three million

school children while he went to U. S. A. in July last.

The Minister, who is also in charge of Education, described his plans in a discussion with five of the Indian students attending the University of Hawaii.

His visit to the University was a highlight of his three-day visit to this newest American State, his last stop in a six-week tour of the United States.

The use of cruising aeroplanes to transmit television signals in areas where terrain prohibits conventional transmission "is of importance to India," he said. "They are doing a little with television in Delhi," he said, and "during this trip I began negotiations to bring educational television to Madras."

Mr. Subramaniam said he was impressed with the "tranquillity and beauty" he found at each American university campus he visited.

## PHYSICAL EDUCATION CONGRESS

The importance of physical education in the building up of a "fit" nation was emphasised by several speakers at the inaugural session of the Third Congress of the International Council of Health, Physical Education and Recreation at new Delhi last month.

Mr. P. N. Kirpal, Secretary to the Union Ministry of Education, in his inaugural address, said that physical education was not to be confined only to schools and colleges but should form part of national activity. This, he said, was being achieved all over the world through national efficiency schemes. A successful nation, he said, should ensure that all its citizens were sound in body and mind.

Dr. Dorothy S. Ainsworth, President of the Ichper, and Mr. William G. Carr, Secretary-General of the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession, paid tributes to the role of Indian educationists in the development of international unity in the field of education.

Mr. B. D. Bhatt, Chairman of the Organising Committee of the Conference, asked the delegates to find ways and means of carrying their countries forward, in developing better school-home relationships, to improve the status of teachers of physical education in the school and in the community and to develop the programme of physical education of a programme of education for responsibility.

## BOGUS NOTES CASE

G. Krishnan, the first accused in the Coimbatore 100-rupee note counterfeiting case, was convicted and sentenced last-month by Mr. R. Sadasivam, Additional Sessions Judge, to undergo rigorous imprisonment for ten years on charges of conspiracy to counterfeit 100-rupee currency notes, counterfeiting and uttering them.

Seven others who stood charged with Krishnan in the same case were convicted and sentenced to terms of rigorous imprisonment ranging between seven and ten years.

Four other accused in the case P. Balasundaram, (A-2), P. A. Narayanaswami Asari (A-3), I. Thomas (A-4) and V. A. Marudachala Gownder (A-10) were acquitted.

In the course of his judgment which runs to 290 pages, the Judge observed that a successful large-scale forgery of bank notes had been committed in this case and it had brought about disastrous effect on the economy of the State. The uttering of the counterfeit notes in the case had caused a scare not only in Coimbatore but also in other places. The hardships and sufferings undergone by innocent victims who happened to possess such notes could hardly be described. Later at the High Court, Madras all the convicted men were released on bail.

## RANBIR SINGH SEHGAL

The Supreme Court granted on July 31 special leave to Ranbir Singh Sehgal, a convict in the case known as "Conspiracy to Kill Top Ranking Leaders," to appeal against the Punjab High Court judgment rejecting his writ petition against his alleged solitary confinement in jail. Sehgal who appealed in the court in person, submitted that he was kept in solitary confinement and was not allowed to mix with other prisoners. He contended that the action of the jail authorities was against the jail rules.

## SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY IN WEST BENGAL

The first step towards separation of the judiciary from the executive was taken on Aug. 2 by the West Bengal Government when the Cabinet decided to appoint a special officer to go into the question.

The special officer would study the issue in all its aspects and further action would be taken on receipt of his report.

## MARRIAGES OF CONVERTS

The eighteenth report of the Law Commission, on the law relating to the dissolution of convert's marriages, was presented to the Lok Sabha on Aug. 9.

The recommendations in the report, put in the form of a draft Bill, say that the conversion of a husband or wife to another religion shall not by itself operate to dissolve his or her marriage. But if the other spouse repudiates, or refuses to cohabit with, the converted party, the marriage may be dissolved by a decree of divorce on a petition presented by the convert.

To safeguard against sham conversions, the report recommends that no action for dissolution can be instituted within two years of the conversion.

Marriages performed under the Special Marriage Act of 1954, are excluded from the operation of the proposed legislation "as considerations based on the religious character of marriages will be foreign to the spirit of marriages performed under that Act."

The proposed legislation is limited to petitions by converts; as there is already a provision in the existing law for the spouse who remains unconverted to move for dissolution of the marriage.

Dealing with the question of the custody of children when a marriage is dissolved on account of the conversion of the petitioner, the Commission recommends that the non-converted spouse should have a preferential right to the custody of the children subject to the paramount consideration of the welfare of the children.

## REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS, DEATHS

The Central Government proposes to initiate legislation to make registration of births and deaths compulsory.

According to an official Press release in last month the registration will have to be normally done within 72 hours, and the law will provide for standard forms of birth and death registration available at the registration offices set up for the purpose.

The piece of legislation is likely to be on the lines of the Control of Drugs Act or the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act. It will provide for compounding of offences and penalties for violation of the law.

## MR. MORARJI DESAI ON ECM

The Union Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, declared in the Lok Sabha on Aug. 11 that in the event of the United Kingdom joining the European Common Market, India would press for a general lowering of Common Market tariffs and withdrawal of all quantitative restrictions on its exports to the ECM countries.

Mr. Morarji, who was making a statement on the impact of British association with the ECM on the country's trade, hinted that if satisfactory adjustments were not made, India might have "to review our policies including our commitments under the GATT in the light of the developments that take place."

India's demand for tariff reduction, Mr. Desai stated, was justified since a large volume of U.K.'s imports in which this country was interested, had entered the U. K. duty free.

## INDIAN FIRMS IN PAKISTAN

Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the External Affairs Minister, stated in the Lok Sabha on Aug. 7 that the Pakistan Government had taken over some Indian commercial firms in Pakistan without paying compensation for them.

He told Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri that a number of cases where Indian firms had been facing difficulties remitting the profits earned by them in Pakistan to India had also come to the notice of Government.

Mrs. Ila Pal Chaudhury asked if it was true that the affected firms were even denied legal redress in Pakistan.

The Prime Minister intervened to say, "The Hon'ble Member forgets that Pakistan is under martial law which precludes any normal legal remedies."

## BANKING IN INDIA

Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, who is also the President of the Indian Institute of Bankers, said at Bombay on Aug. 10 that it should be possible by a combination of firmness and understanding, to reorganise the banking structure within a relatively short period—a couple of years or thereabouts—so that they would have a single type of banks in our country, both big and small, having a licence and coming within the purview of deposit insurance.

Mr. Iengar, who was addressing the 34th annual general meeting of the Institute, said that banks were a medium not only for col-

lecting the saving of the community and for lending to people but for rendering a variety of other services in the field of commerce and industry; and they must continuously attempt an improvement in these services.

Turning to the question of the soundness of the banking structure and the measures necessary to enable them to efficiently discharge their growing responsibilities, Mr. Iengar said that it would be generally agreed that a pattern which included scheduled licensed banks, scheduled unlicensed banks, non-scheduled licensed banks and non-scheduled unlicensed banks was so confusing that it ought not to survive. They ought to have just one type of banks namely licensed banks.

## GATT AND INDIAN TEXTILE EXPORT

Apprehensions that Indian textile exports may be restricted by the importing countries have been largely removed by the GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) arrangements regarding the international trade in cotton textiles.

Mr. T. Swaminathan, India's Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs who represented India at the Geneva talks from July 17 to 24, explained at India House last month the significance to India of the arrangements now reached.

Pending a long term arrangement—to be considered and finalised between next October and April 1962—the GATT talks agreed on a number of measures for a 12-month period beginning October 1, 1961 which will help maintain India's exports drive in textiles. A preamble to the agreement recognise that the action should be "designed to facilitate the economic expansion, and in particular to promote the development of less-developed countries by providing increasing access for their exports of manufactured goods."

## RESURRECTED CURRENCY

Notes worth Rs. 80 crore were either lost, destroyed or mutilated in India during 1960-61 claims for which were admitted by the Reserve Bank's office.

Disclosing this, the report says that payments against claims were to the extent of Rs. 69 lakhs. In the preceding year, the claims amounted to Rs. 50 lakhs and payments Rs. 48 lakhs.

The Reserve Bank received 2,394 forged notes during 1960-61 as compared to 4,574 in the preceding year.

## THAILAND BEAUTY WINS TITLE

"Miss Thailand," 22-year-old Sondi Sodsai, of Bangkok, recently won the title "Beauty Queen of the U.S. World Fair" over entrants from many other nations.

The Thailand beauty came to the U.S. three years ago as a Full Bright Exchange Student. Today, Miss Sodsai is a featured Television actress in 'Adventures in Paradise' series (ABC-TV), as well as an accomplished singer and composer.

The Beauty Queen of the U.S. World Trade Fair whose real name is Sodsai Vanijvadhava, is the daughter of Professor Supachai Vanijvadhava, Chancellor of the Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. Her mother is a well-known Thai artist. Miss Sodsai now makes her home in Beverly Hills, California. She came to New York and the U.S. World Trade Fair, where she was accorded a warm welcome by the Traffic Manager of the Port of Los Angeles and other top officials.

## A 'RIGGED UP' BEAUTY

A East German daily accused the U.S.A. of rigging the Miss Universe contest to spur the flight of East German refugees to the West.

The newspaper, "Young World," said Marlene Schmidt, 24-year-old German electronics engineer, was chosen Miss Universe at Miami Beach only because she fled to West Germany from the east zone a year ago.

It said the U.S.A. hoped that other East German girls would flee to the West in imitation of Miss Universe.

Politics decided the winner, "Young World" said. "It fitted in wonderfully, the magazine said: 'An East Zone girl 'chose freedom' and is beautiful, too.'"

## DIVORCE IN U.S.S.R.

According to a report recently published in the British Press, the system of divorce in Russia makes a great deal more sense than any Western methods of legally parting married couples.

It seems that the Russians manage to achieve a maximum amount of fairness to both parties with the minimum amount of fuss in the delicate business of divorce. And although there is a general move to preserve marriages in the U.S.S.R., it seems that once couples agree to differ, it is far simpler, quicker and cheaper for them to divorce each other than it is for their bickering Western equivalents.

There are no marriage counsellors in Russia, and couples with children find the matter of divorce more complicated than childless couples as a result. But the process of starting a divorce action is a simple matter for all married people—whether there are any children or not.

## SMT. KAMALADEVI

The Watumull Foundation of U.S.A. has conferred the Watumull Memorial Award on Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, president of the Indian Co-operative Union.

The list of awardees in various fields was announced on Aug. 17. The awards will be formally conferred on them next February. Besides the citation, the awards also include a sum of Rs. 5,000 each (or 1,000 dollars) to each recipient.

The award has been made to Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya in the field of socio-economics for "reviving and upgrading the handicrafts of India's weavers, artisans and artists through the establishment of co-operatives under her direction as president of the Indian Co-operative Union."

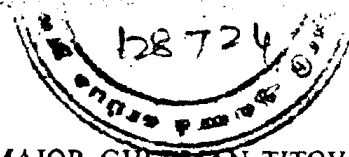
## SMT. V. L. PANDIT

In a long interview, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, prior to her departure from London, revealed to the *Sunday Times*, that she would definitely not be appointed to the Governorship of an Indian State, as was being freely rumoured.

She said, she had had enough of the kind of protocol that goes with a Governor's office. As an Ambassador, she had found her ceremonial duties the least interesting part of her life. Her home would be in Bombay, she said.

"I have known London for a very long time" (she first came here as a child of five) "and I shall always want to come back, not to an hotel room, or even to stay with friends, but to somewhere where I can have my own things around me. But to begin with, I have to settle myself in Bombay. And I shall be kept busy finishing the autobiography I have already begun to write."

"As to other work—for of course these will be other works," Mrs. Pandit continued. "I have not made any firm plans, but it will almost certainly be concerned with education. Wherever I have been, I have taken every opportunity that my diplomatic work allowed me to learn about the problems of young people, and I hope these lessons will be useful in India."



## General

## MAJOR GHERMAN TITOV

Major Gherman Titov, Russia's new space hero, came safely down to earth on Aug. 7 in his spaceship Vostock II after whirling 17 times round the world.

The Soviet cosmonaut was reported in excellent condition after his 25 hours 18 minutes' flight in which he covered a distance of nearly 435,000 miles since blast-off on August 6.

Shortly after landing, Mr. Khrushchev talked to Major Titov by telephone and congratulated him on his trip, which was described as "unexampled in the history of mankind."

## MADRAS VARSITY CENTENARY

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Officiating President of India, deplored the manifestation of violence in the country in the name of caste, community, language or region and urged that education should make the people dignified, decent human beings, along with intellectual learning.

The Officiating President, who declared open the new centenary buildings, of the Madras University on Aug. 2 emphasised that Universities should have the twin purpose of promoting technical education and at the same time training young men to be human and truly civilised.

A special convocation was held on the occasion when the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Dr. P. V. Rajamannar, retired Chief Justice of Madras, and the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Science on Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the University.

## VATICAN HONOUR FOR DR. C. V. RAMAN

Dr. C. V. Raman who won the Nobel prize for his scientific discovery, which is called 'Raman effect' has received a communication from the Vatican City in Rome that he has been nominated for election to the Pontified Academy of Sciences.

This is a body composed of the most eminent specialists in the whole world in the field of the mathematical and experimental sciences, chosen irrespective of their nationality or religion. The nominations to the Academy are made by His Holiness the Pope on the basis of recommendation of the appropriate academic authorities.

Dr. C. V. Raman has accepted the nomination.

## DR. BUCHMAN

Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of the Moral Re-Armament Movement, died on Aug. 7. He was aged 83. The Moral Re-Armament movement claims famous world statesmen among its adherents. It has been prominent in post-war years as an anti-Communist organisation.

An American-born Lutheran Minister of Swiss descent, Dr. Buchman's career and his movement aroused much controversy. In 1938 he inaugurated in London a campaign for world-wide spiritual revival to prevent war.

## SIR V. SASSOON

Sir Victor Sassoon, race-horse owner, banker, and industrialist, died on August 13 at Bahamas. He was 79.

Sir Victor, who won the Derby four times—with Pinza in 1953, and then again in 1957, and 1958—twice headed winning owners' list on the English turf. His winnings in the 1960 season were over £90,000.

Once known as the world's richest bachelor, in 1959, he married his 39-year-old American nurse, Miss Evelyn Barnes of Dallas Texas, at his Bahamas home.

## 'MR. S. BHOOTHALINGAM

The Government of India, have appointed Mr. S. Bhoothalingam, Secretary, Ministry of Finance (Department of Expenditure), as a member of the University Grants Commission in place of Mr. N. N. Wanchoo who has ceased to be a member of the body.

## DR. U. KRISHNA RAO

We regret to report the death on Aug. 3 of Dr. U. Krishna Rao, Speaker of the Madras



Legislative Assembly, at his residence in Madras at the age of 60 after a short illness.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

One gift the Fairies gave me.....

The Love of Books, the Golden Key

That opens the Enchanted Door.

(Andrew Lang)

## A SYMPOSIUM

Contributors : Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, Dr. Sir C. V. Raman, Mr. C. Jinnajodan, Justice M. C. Chagla, Dr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sri B. J. Wadia, K. Natarajan, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, Smt. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Prof. M. Raghavswamy, Mr. B. Sanjeeva Rao and Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.

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