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OCTOBER

The INDIAN REVIEW

62nd Year

Vol. 62

OCTOBER 1961

No. 10

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Solar Corona

By Prof. V. K. Rat

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By Hans J. Morgenthau

Currency and Finance of India

Democracy and Social Security

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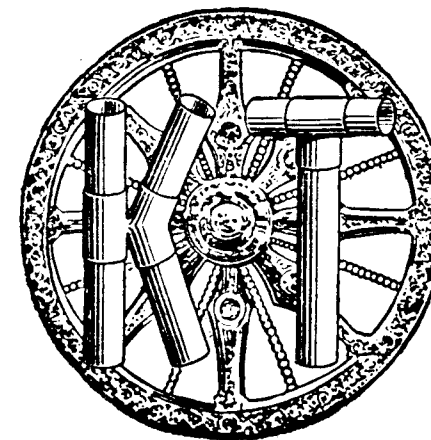
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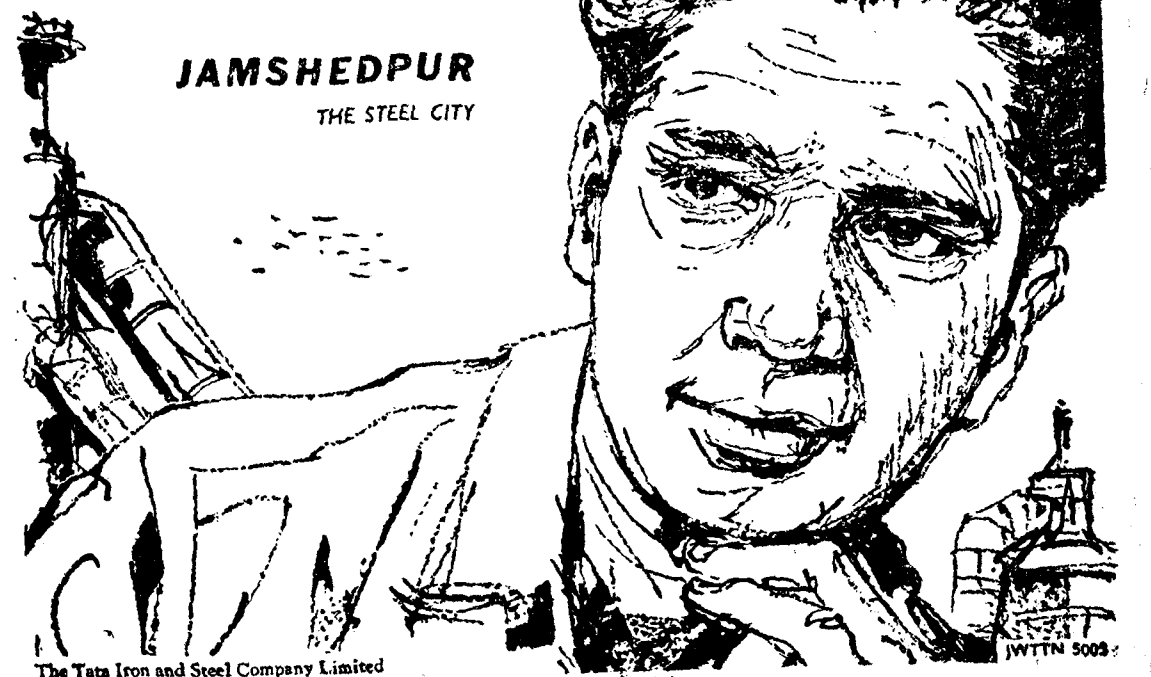
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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Editor : MANIAN NATESAN

Vol. 62]

OCTOBER 1961

[No. 10]

Training For Employment

By

Shri GULZARI LAL NANDA,
(Union Minister for Planning.)

MANPOWER requirements of the various training programmes are among the most important aspects of any plan of economic advancement. Matching of natural and material resources with human resources with as much precision as possible calls for an examination of the requirements of trained and capable persons equipped with knowledge of various processes of production and modern developments in science and technology. Exploitation of new possibilities of utilisation of natural resources for agriculture, heavy industries, power, oil, steel, metallurgy and chemical will require, in the last analysis, men equipped with knowledge, skill and experience. Moreover, activities in major projects of irrigation, agriculture, transport and communication, and minerals affect a very large number of people, labour force, skilled craftsmen, engineers and administrators. Economic development of a country, therefore, demands trained manpower along with the use of materials and machines.

In the technological age such as ours, quantitative and qualitative changes in education and training have a cumulative effect on the various aspects of economic growth and particularly on employment. Full employment is indeed the very consequence of all economic development and that is the very goal of our planned efforts. Along with engineers or technologists who are required for designing and carrying on research programmes and execute big projects, a large number of technicians and craftsmen or skilled workers are required. There are varying ratios in this respect but our present experience is that for one engineer or technologist, about 2 or 3 diploma holders are necessary and about 20 to

25 skilled workers would be required. It is estimated that about 13 lakhs of additional craftsmen will be required for the successful implementation of different projects under the Third Five-Year Plan, about 8 lakhs being in engineering trades and the rest in non-engineering. Several industries as well as establishments under the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Defence, etc., have their own training programmes. A proportion of skilled and semi-skilled workers are also trained through traditional methods, the skills being imparted from father to son. Facilities for institutional training at centres maintained by State Governments in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour and Employment are thus required for a smaller number out of these 13 lakhs. But even then, these are of a much large order than the requirements in the Second Plan.

Though every year nearly 3 million young men and women join the ranks of these who are in search of employment, paradoxically enough workers to do skilled jobs are still in greater demand and difficult to obtain. A study of the figures from the employment exchanges reveals that while there is a preponderance of applicants seeking clerical jobs against a small number of vacancies, the number of people seeking technical jobs is small as compared with the large number of vacancies.

It is this imbalance which has to be resolved in the Third and successive plans. Shortage of skilled workers not only holds up execution of projects but also prevents the creation of new employment opportunities in the country. The dual role of vocational training, therefore, in fulfilling the national target of industrial expansion on the one hand in creating scope

for the employment on the other, to be recognised. Training not only equips people for jobs but also provides many opportunities for self-employment. Many a youngman with skills acquired by training can set up his own little ventures which in years to come may grow into larger undertakings.

Vocational training in one form or another has existed since the early man began using his skill and imagination in constructing or creating material objects for better living and inventing tools for the purpose. The young members of the primitive society acquired knowledge and skills through natural or deliberate imitation of the actions of their elders. During the development of organised society, however, such skills and knowledge were taught to youth by the elders as a discipline for living. Some form of apprenticeship training has undoubtedly been the chief means of giving vocational education.

Expansion of industries under the First Five-Year Plan necessitated the training of craftsmen to meet the increasing demand of industry. During the Second Five-Year Plan, greater attention was given to the establishment of steel plants, heavy electricals and other basic and heavy industries, industrial estates, medium and small scale industries. Trained craftsmen were, therefore, required in large numbers. During the Third Five-Year Plan, still greater emphasis will be laid not only on training of a larger number of craftsmen but also on the improvement of quality of training.

Several Ministries of the Government of India like the Ministry of Defence, Railways, SRCA, Community Development, Food and Agriculture, besides the Ministry of Labour and Employment are providing facilities for the training of craftsmen. Likewise, different department of the various States are also making efforts to provide training facilities at different levels. Some private industrialists and factory owners are having apprenticeship programmes for the training of skilled workers. It is necessary to take a total view of the vocational training programme in the country including the training of millions of artisans in the villages and the traditional methods of communicating skills from father to son. We have also to take into consideration the training of those engaged in existing industries like textiles, buildings and constructions, etc. in the country. Atten-

tion, therefore, has to be paid towards the improvement of skill of the existing workers as improvement in the skill of these workers would go a long way in improving their efficiency and productivity and contribute to the satisfaction of the workers themselves.

To co-ordinate properly the over-all training programmes and promote development of training facilities, a National Council for Training in Vocational Trades has been set up which advises the Government on all-India training policy, standards and programmes. The Council has on it representatives of the concerned Central Ministries, State Government, Employers' and Workers Organizations, professional bodies and technical experts. The Council prescribes syllabi, lays down standards of training and arranges periodical inspection. Likewise, every State has also set up a State Council for discharging similar functions at the State level. A co-ordination committee of the Council has been established with a view to seeing that the training programmes of different Ministries, State Governments and private undertakings are examined and coordinated and information is circulated to all concerned in the form of pamphlets, brochures and other useful publications.

Consistent with the availability of resources, the Government is doing its best to promote vocational training programme on a national basis. The Ministry of Labour and Employment has organised a programme of accelerated training by setting up a number of industrial training institutes all over the country. To make training effective, workshop conditions are being produced to the best possible extent in these institutes. At present there are 167 institutes with 40,000 seats. It is proposed to increase the number of such training institutes to 318 and the number of seats to nearly one lakh within the first three years of the Third Five-year Plan.

The quality of craftsmen depends to a large extent on the quality of crafts instructors and there cannot be good instructors unless they are themselves properly trained. Accordingly, a Central Training Institute was set up at Koni Bilaspur, M.P., in 1948 for the training of instructors. As the scheme for the training of craftsmen expanded from 10,000 seats to nearly 40,000 seats during the Second Five-year Plan, it became clear that besides other difficulties, paucity of trained craft instructors was proving

to be a bottleneck in the expansion of the programme. To meet the situation, three Central Training Institutes for training of instructors have already been established and their number will be increased to six during the Third Plan. The quality of training imparted to instructors is also being improved. As a first step, the period of training has been increased from 5½ months to 9 months. Assistance is also being received from the UN Special Fund through the agency of International Labour Organisation in the form of experts and equipment for most of the institutes. The institute at Bombay is being set up with assistance from T. C. M.

A majority of workers enter the industry without a proper background of work. Therefore, side by side with the expansion of facilities for training of craftsmen, evening classes are being organised for such workers in different places to improve their theoretical knowledge. In order to encourage craftsmen working in industry the National Council for Training in Vocational Trades permits persons having a minimum experience of 3 years in industry and fulfilling the required educational qualifications to take the all-India tests for the award of National Trade Certificates.

It has long been recognised that craftsmen are best trained in industry under actual workshop conditions. Therefore, apart from the Industrial Training Institutes a scheme to train people in factories and industries has also been organised. This scheme known as the National Apprenticeship Scheme was started during the Second Plan. So far it has been possible to place nearly 1,215 apprentices. Progress in this direction has not been satisfactory. A Bill has, therefore, been introduced in the Lok

Sabha with a view to utilising fully the facilities available and to regulate the programmes of practical training in industry.

A majority of workmen in industry are operatives, for whom training has to be given on the job. The only place where tools, machines, materials and processes are available, is where the work is being done and relatively only a small percentage of jobs can be reproduced in a training centre or a school room. While Government is making efforts to train skilled personnel to the extent of availability of resources, this can only touch the fringe of the training needs in the country. It is, therefore, evident that if the output has to be expanded, quality standards to be improved and waste prevented, industry must come forward to organise intensive training programmes on the job itself for the vast army of workers in industry.

Whatever is capable of being done at all, can be done better if persons doing it are properly trained. If the challenge of the time has to be faced squarely and our cherished goal of industrial advancement realised, training should be organised on a mass scale. The Prime Minister has said "the war of economic freedom has been launched." I take the liberty of making a special appeal to all, particularly the industrialists to organise programmes of training on an ever-increasing scale till it includes in its ambit every working individual high or low. The National Technical Training will offer an opportunity to all concerned to understand the various training programmes to improve methods of training and to expand the areas of trained personnel in relation to the economic programmes envisaged for the Third and subsequent Plans.

Solar Corona

By

Professor V. KRAT, D.Sc. (Phys. and Math.)

THE black disc of the Moon moved slowly over the Sun. Finally there was only a narrow crescent left, and gradually the last ray of the Sun shining brilliantly also died out. And then around the lunar disc there suddenly flared up a fantastic halo of wondrous shape; it was the solar corona.

One can see such a picture at every full eclipse of the Sun. Until recently all the information

about the corona were obtained by astronomers at those brief moments when the Moon covered the solar disc, the photosphere of the Sun, and one could see the dimly luminous fans of curvilinear and straight "rays" of the corona, with the dark sky in the background. Ordinarily, the bright rays of the Sun diffuse in the terrestrial atmosphere, and known as the near-sun halo, completely flood the corona

The corona spectrum constitutes a luminous region with a few bright lines of irradiations. Some lines are so bright that they can be observed on any sunny day by means of special telescopes called non-ecliptic coronagraphs. The first models of such telescopes were built about a quarter of a century ago. Technology has made great headway since then, and now such telescopes make it possible to observe not only the lines, but also the entire spectrum of the corona.

At first, coronagraphs were installed only on high mountains for the near-sun halo weakens when it is observed through thinner and cleaner layers of air. But now astronomer I. Prokofieva, of Pulkovo observatory managed to build a coronagraph with which she observes successfully the corona spectrum at the observatory, situated almost at sea level.

The properties of the corona spectrum can be explained by its extremely high temperature, ranging on an average between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 degrees (C). At the same time the temperature on the visible surface of the Sun, in the photosphere, is slightly below 6,000 degrees (C). It would seem that the temperature of the rarefied gas of the corona, situated at some distance from the photosphere, can be only lower than 6,000 degrees (C), but this is not so.

Recently an explanation was found for what seemed at first a mysterious factor of the surprisingly high temperature of the corona. A major part in solving this mystery was played by the works of Soviet astronomers (I. Shklovsky, S. Pikelner, etc.) It was discovered that the reason for this high temperature was in the weakness of the corona's irradiations. The corona gas emits very little energy and its heat irradiation is very low. Therefore, even insignificant sources of energy in the nature of electric currents, appearing in the variable magnetic field of the corona, are sufficient for keeping the corona temperature at a high level. The corona gas is so hot not because it is being intensively heated, but because it is very hard for it to get cooled.

The corona gas atoms remain in an unusual state, which cannot be obtained in laboratory conditions. The high temperature helps to separate from them a great number of electrons. And by losing their negatively charged particles, the atoms get ionized.

The corona's high temperature produces mighty radio emissions. By means of "radio-beams" with wave-lengths ranging from 10 cm. to 10 m. one can observe the corona not only at the edge of the Sun disc, but on the disc itself, since the radio emissions of the photosphere within these wave lengths do not reach us. The radio emissions of the Sun can be detected by giant antennas in the shape of concave mirrors. Recently Soviet radio astronomer V. Vitkevich managed to detect the corona area by means of "radiobeams" at a distance exceeding many times the diameter of the Sun. At such distances the corona consists only of separate clouds of gas. This outer rims of the corona was named by V. Vitkevich as the "super-corona" of the Sun.

The research carried out by American astronomers at the Climax Observatory and by I. Prokofieva at Pulkovo observatory have led them to an interesting conclusion: separate patches and currents of gas in the corona move with great speed reaching several scores of km. per second. This quick motion is apparently connected with changes in the magnetic field of the Sun. If one is to compare this with terrestrial phenomena, one can say that magnetic storms often take place over the surface of the Sun. The corona gas, which is an excellent conductor, must follow the movement of the magnetic field's lines of force. Sometimes the lines of force begin drawing close with catastrophic speed, the tension of the magnetic field begins growing rapidly and with it the density of the gas which is, so to say, "glued" to the lines of force. In the process, as testified by Soviet astronomer A. Severnyn, the temperature can at first increase sharply, reaching about 10,000,000 degrees (C). This great heating of the contracting corona gas should produce mighty X-ray emissions on the Sun. And indeed, during the IGY astronomers detected flashes of X-ray emissions on the Sun. Moreover, it was discovered that these emissions absorbed in the upper layers of the atmosphere and ionosphere of the Earth are the main reason for the changes in the propagation of radio waves on the Earth, which sometimes lead to complete cessation of radio communications.

It is only in the beginning that the contraction of gas leads to the raising of temperature, which then quickly falls. The growth of

density of the gas leads to its increasing heat radiation, and this entail its rapid cooling. We see the temperature almost suddenly nearly fall in a matter of minutes from million degrees (C) to ten thousand degrees (C) and lower..... Helium and hydrogen, these two gases which produce no spectral lines at very high temperatures, become luminous, and this phenomenon is called chromospheric flashes.

Cooling masses of gas fall in torrents into the photosphere of the Sun. Due to the great speed of contraction of gases, these flashes look like explosions. That is why chromospheric flashes are often called explosions on the Sun. But these are not the usual kind of explosions, like those taking place on the Earth, when a vigorous expansion of gas takes place. Chromospheric flashes are explosions of contraction which so far remain unexplored by scientists. As to their consequences, these explosions surpass all the explosions which occur on the Earth, even the explosions of hydrogen bombs.

From the place of the explosion a whole cloud shoots up of small charged particles, corpuscles, which upon reaching the Earth cause beautiful Aurora Borealis phenomena in

the upper sections of the atmosphere, and violating the Earth's magnetic field produce magnetic storms. Strong flashes also emit beams of charged particles moving almost with the speed of light, particles of what is known as the cosmic rays. If it were not for the great distance between the Sun and the Earth and dense atmosphere of the latter, which provides reliable protection, the X-ray and ultra-violet emissions of the Sun flashes, the beams of corpuscles and cosmic rays would have immediately destroyed all the living things on the Earth.

A very interesting fact is that some of the stars have chromospheric flashes of stupendous size. These are the so-called flashing variable stars. The flashes produce much more light than the star itself. Perhaps in the near future the study of chromospheric flashes will help to understand the reasons of the catastrophic explosions of stars, the explosions of nova and supernova stars, when during the explosions the light of the stars can increase by millions of times. That is why the attention of all the explorers of the Sun remains focussed on chromospheric flashes, phenomena which is of extreme importance for modern astronomy and physics.

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Study of Neutralism

By

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

NEUTRALISM, the desire not to be aligned with either side in the cold war, is a most pervasive trend in world politics. Virtually all the new nations of Africa and Asia have openly espoused it and made it their official policy. Moreover, as a popular movement, more or less articulate, the trend is strong even in the nations which belong to one or the other of the two blocs.

Nations such as England, France, West Germany and Japan, who were masters of their own fate only yesterday, resent being wedded for better or for worse to the United States. While their governments remain committed to the alliance with the United States, large masses

of their peoples wish they were not so committed.

This world-wide trend toward neutralism has baffled the United States. On the one hand, challenged by a communism which seeks the dominion of the world and is convinced that it will attain it, the United States has a vital interest in seeing as many nations as possible share its way of life and support its point of view. On the other hand, it is not lost upon the United States that many nations refuse to do either, and prefer to steer an independent course between East and West.

The United States has thus far not been able to reconcile these contradictory attitudes in a

consistent foreign policy and has moved from the extreme of blanket disapproval of neutralism to the other extreme of blanket approval.

John Foster Dulles expressed the then prevailing mood when, in a speech on June 9, 1956, he defined neutrality as the pretense "that a nation can best gain safety for itself by being indifferent to the fate of others. This has increasingly become an obsolete conception and except under very exceptional circumstances, it is an immoral and short-sighted conception."

More recently American opinion has tended to go to the other pole of finding virtue in neutralism because it avoids at least the vice of alignment with the Soviet bloc.

The foreign policy of the United States, as it is now being fashioned by the Kennedy Administration, should first of all recognize that the term "neutralism" covers four different situations which require different American responses. Neutralism may mean escapism pure and simple; it may mean political non-commitment; it may mean moral indifference. And it may mean surreptitious alignment with the Soviet bloc.

The escapist variety of neutralism is popular in the formerly great powers of Western Europe and in Japan. Large masses within these nations being for a detached position which would restore to their nations the ability to pursue an independent foreign policy and minimize their exposure to atomic destruction. This type of neutralism expresses a popular mood that is repelled by the awful risks the atomic age imposes upon nations of the second rank, and by such nations' impotence in the face of these risks.

The second form of neutralism political noncommitment, is the official policy of most of the new nations of Asia and Africa. As such, it is a matter of self-interest based upon three facts of the new nations' existence. First, most of these countries owe their independence to national revolutions. Second, they are unstable. Third, they need a maximum of foreign aid with a minimum of political strings.

A political commitment of the new nations to one or the other bloc would run counter to the interests derived from these facts. They feel they could not join the Western bloc of which their former colonial overlord is a mem-

ber without endangering their national revolutions, and they could not join the Communist bloc without running the risks of their national revolutions being taken over by communism. In view of their weakness, most of them could not join either bloc without being reduced to satellites—that is, colonies by a different name. And by remaining uncommitted and threatening to commit themselves to the other side (or to collapse), they play upon the fears of both sides in order to gain maximum advantages.

This type of neutralism has at times tried to go beyond mere political noncommitment and create a positive political force—a neutralist "third force" pursuing a common policy. The Declaration of Bandung of April, 1955, the meeting of Nasser, Nehru and Tito of July, 1956, and the recent attempt of a number of African nations to pursue a common policy in the Congo are cases in point.

Yet while some of these nations have been able to act in unison with regard to certain specific problems, all attempts to commit them to common policies on the basis of their neutralism have failed. For what unites them is but one—negative—facts the desire not to commit themselves to either bloc. Beyond that, their foreign policies are determined by the same conflicting ambitions and interests as are those of older nations.

Neutralism as political non-commitment, joined to the attempt to pursue an independent foreign policy, is most typically represented by Nasser's United Arab Republic.

While leaning on the Soviet bloc without definitely committing himself to it, Nasser has been trying to establish under Egyptian leadership a three-circle empire composed of the Arab world, all Islamic nations and the new nations of Africa. Yet, while at times the Arab League and more recently the so-called Casablanca nations—Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Morocco—have followed Nasser's lead in their verbal declarations, Nasser has been much less successful in committing his neutralist associates to common policies under Egypt's leadership.

The third type of neutralism, moral indifference, refuses to take sides in the ideological struggle between East and West. More particularly, it refuses to pass moral judgment upon the policies of either side. It sees that struggle as a contest for power between two blocs and social systems which are both morally defective

in different ways. "A plague on both your houses" is about as far as it is willing to go by way of moral commitment.

The neutralism of moral indifference has found its most eminent champion in Nehru of India. (However, it is worthy of note that Nehru's moral indifference has had a way of decreasing as the political interests of India are directly affected, as in the case of Tibet and China). The neutralism of moral indifference is not uncommon in England and France in Poland and Hungary.

Finally, the pseudo-neutralism marking align-

ment with the Soviet bloc is a by-product of drastic changes in the world balance of power favouring that bloc. These changes are forcing the United States to retreat from certain exposed positions. The agreement to "neutralize" such a position, of which of course Laos is the prime contemporary example, has nothing to do with genuine neutralization. It amounts to nothing more than a facade behind which Soviet influence prevails. It performs no genuine function in terms of neutralism. Its only function is to spare the sensibilities of the West in the face of a defeat. *N. Y. Times.*

Currency and Finance of India

THE Reserve Bank of India's *Report on Currency and Finance* for the financial year 1960-61 (Rs. 5--50) presents a review of the trends and developments in the Indian economy during 1960-61—the final year of the Second Five-year Plan—against the background of a brief survey of the world economic situation. The Report also contains, as usual, comprehensive statistical material in the form of 107 statements and 15 graphs setting out economic and financial data since 1955-56.

A striking advance in industrial production, an improvement in agricultural output, specially of foodgrains which was expected to surpass the previous record attained in 1958-59, and a rise in aggregate investment were the highlights of the Indian economy during 1960-61. National income which had risen by less than 1 per cent in 1959-60 is expected to show a substantial rise in 1960-61. On the other hand, there was a further deterioration in the price level and the balance of payments. The continuing insufficiency of resources relatively to demand by way of investment and consumption underlined the paramount need for an all-out effort aimed at ensuring further sustained increases in production and savings as well as in exports. In the monetary sphere, there was a further sharp rise in both money supply and bank credit, the pressure of which resulted in a further rise in prices. Boom conditions were witnessed in the stock and capital markets and activity in the new issue market was on an unusual scale. It became clear as the year progressed, that the credit restraint measures, including the impounding

of reserves initiated in March 1960 and reinforced in May were inadequate to moderate the credit expansion and accordingly the Bank introduced in September 1960 a new set of credit measures including slab rates to discourage banks' easy access to Reserve Bank credit and a directive to banks to increase their lending rates so as to ensure that the higher cost of borrowing from the Reserve Bank was transmitted to the ultimate borrower.

Abroad, in the monetary sphere, except notably in the U.S.A., the policy of credit restraint in operation since the latter part of 1959 was generally continued by a majority of the leading countries during the greater part of the year aiming mainly at restraining their booming economies in case of industrial countries and at correcting their adverse balance of payments position in the case of primary producing countries. The U.S.A., however, faced with a domestic business recession and a continued balance of payments deficit, shifted from its policy of positive restraint to one of ease allowing its gold stocks to absorb the strains on its balance of payments. The pursuance of these divergent monetary policies by the U.S.A. and West European countries, which increased the interest rate differential, contributed to a large-scale short-term capital movement from the U.S.A. to West Europe and presented a major problem to the monetary authorities. Towards the close of the year with a view to reducing the strain on the international payments position caused by the flow of short-term funds, both the U. K. and West Germany reduced their interest rates. In the

fiscal sphere, policies adopted were generally in tune with the monetary policies pursued in different countries and fiscal policies were designed to achieve surplus budgets or reduced deficits.

In India, the year witnessed a further impressive rise in industrial production, the rate of growth being as high as 12.1 per cent during 1960 as compared to a rise of 8.7 per cent in 1959. For the Second Plan period as a whole, the general index recorded a rise of 39.1 per cent. Agricultural production, which had touched an all-time high in 1958-59, showed a decline during 1959-60; the index of agricultural production (base: 1949-50=100) moved down from 132.3 to 127.2—a decline of 3.9 per cent. Production of foodgrains in 1960-61 is expected to be appreciably higher than even the record production of 75.5 million tons in 1958-59. Production of commercial crops too, with the exception of jute, is estimated to have recorded gains over the preceding year's levels.

The price situation showed a further deterioration during the year, the general index of wholesale prices (1952-53=100) registering a net rise of 7.2, per cent. The two groups viz., industrial raw materials and manufactures, which, for the first time since 1950-51 had emerged in 1950-60 as important contributing groups to the rise in the general price level, continued to dominate, while the part played by food articles which had tended to be less important in 1959-60 was negligible in 1960-61. Over the Second Plan period, the general price level recorded a rise of 30 per cent. The deterioration in the price situation during the year reflected mainly the significant short-fall in the output of certain raw materials in 1959-60 and the inadequacy of aggregate output in relation to the pressure of monetary demand, which necessitated a further reinforcement of the official policy to hold the price line through appropriate measures both in the monetary and non-monetary spheres. Endeavour was also made to secure larger imports of foodgrains and raw materials in short supply. Action was also taken to keep the price rise within limits through efforts directed towards the control of speculative tendencies in the various commodity markets.

In the monetary sphere, the net expansion in bank credit in 1960-61 was nearly double that in 1959-60. The expansion in money supply was about the same as in 1959-60. As in the

preceding year, the slack season contraction in both bank credit and money supply was considerably smaller. On the other hand, the 1960-61 busy season witnessed a sharp rise in bank credit which surpassed even the record expansion of the 1959-60 busy season; expansion in money supply was as large as in the busy season of 1959-60. Over the year 1960-61, scheduled banks' deposits showed a small decline, while their investments and cash reserves suffered a sharp fall. The trends in deposits and investments were, however, obscured by the changes in the arrangement for the holding of P. L. 480 funds. Exclusive of P. L. 480 funds, total deposits showed a rise, but there was a considerable slowing down in the rate of growth.

It is against the background of increasing pressure of demand for credit in the face of limited resources available with banks, that the Reserve Bank had to reorient its credit policy during the year with a view to restraining excessive credit expansion while making available credit for essential purposes. The instrument of variable reserve requirements, which as employed for the first time towards the close of the last financial year along with other credit restraint measures, was tightened in early May 1960. General credit controls were intensified in September by a system of slab rates for banks' borrowings from the Reserve Bank and banks were also directed to increase their lending rates. With the advent of the busy season and with a view to easing the pressure of seasonal stringency, the provisions relating to additional reserve requirements were relaxed in November 1960 and later completely revoked in January 1961. Selective credit controls were also operated in a flexible manner in the light of the supply and demand position of the commodities concerned; they were extended (as in the case of raw jute and jute goods) or relaxed (as in the case of foodgrains and sugar).

Apart from these regulatory measures, the Bank continued to give close attention to its developmental and promotional functions through measures designed further to strengthen the institutional machinery for credit to agriculture and industry as well as to consolidate and strengthen the banking system. In the field of banking legislation, the Banking Companies Act was amended to facilitate *inter alia* (i) expeditious payments to the depositors of banks in liquidation and (ii) reconstruction

or amalgamation of weaker banks with other units. Another important development in the field of banking was the decision of the Government of India to set up an autonomous Corporation for insuring bank deposits.

In the field of industrial finance, legislation was enacted to enlarge and diversify the assistance provided by the Industrial Finance Corporation, while the scheme of refinance of the Refinance Corporation was liberalised in regard to its scope as well as the terms and conditions governing the scheme. As regards financing of small-scale industries, the Government of India Scheme for the guarantee of advances to them initiated in July 1960 was extended to 4 additional districts in January 1961 and 26 additional districts in June 1961.

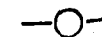
As regards Government finances, a noteworthy feature in recent years has been the progressive decline in the combined overall deficits of the Centre and the States, despite the growth in Plan outlays. For 1961-62, the first year of the Third Plan, an overall budgetary deficit of Rs. 194 crores (on the basis of existing taxation) is envisaged, of which Rs. 125 crores will be on account of the Centre and Rs. 69 crores on account of States. Taking into account the effect of budget proposal by the Centre and States, the deficit would be reduced to Rs. 122 crores.

Net market borrowings of the Centre and the States were somewhat lower at Rs. 134 crores in 1960-61 as compared to Rs. 175 crores in 1959-60 and Rs. 227 crores in 1958-59. The performance of small savings, however, was encouraging, net collections in 1960-61 totalling Rs. 107 crores as against

(i) the budget target of Rs. 100 crores, (ii) net collections of Rs. 83 crores in 1959-60 and (iii) the annual average target of Rs. 100 crores fixed for the Second Plan period.

India's external payments position showed a further deterioration during the year, owing to larger import payments as well as smaller invisible receipts, reflecting broadly the growing impact of the developmental process. With export earnings rising only marginally, the current account deficit grew to Rs. 365 crores which was the largest since 1957-58 and double that in 1959-60 (Rs. 183 crores). The country's foreign exchange reserves declined by Rs. 59 crores during 1960-61 as compared to a drop of Rs. 16 crores in the previous year, despite the substantial inflow of external assistance (Rs. 400 crores).

With a low level of foreign exchange reserves and the none too happy position of exports, the rapidly declining invisible receipts, and increased imports, India in 1960-61 had to negotiate for a much larger volume of assistance than in the previous year. Loans and P. L. 480 credits for which authorisations were secured during the year amounted to Rs. 970 crores or over Rs. 500 crores more than in 1959-60, while grants accounted for Rs. 34 crores. This raised the total foreign aid authorisations in 1956-61 (including aid earmarked for Third Plan projects) to Rs. 2,569 crores. With a carry-over of Rs. 193 crores from the First Plan, total foreign assistance available for the Second Plan came to Rs. 2,457 crores. Estimated utilisations during the Second Plan period amounted to Rs. 1,467 crores leaving a carry-over of Rs. 1,295 crores for use after March 1961.



Democracy and Social Security

By

SRI A. V. MATTHEW, B.A., B.L.

EVEN though there are many who think that the world today is like a clock running down, with no one to rewind it, the unchanging dogmas of democracy are now presented to man's finite intelligence in a language and manner which he can understand. By long years of experience, democracy has organised the sentiments of liberty, equality and frater-

nity, and has so attached them to the laws of society that their subjective effects in the soul of man should correspond to the actual reality of their objects. The power of democracy is but the active essence of its ideals, the demonstration of which in actual practice is now universal. In modern times democracy which occupies a special position in the world, and to

the power, and influence of which everything points with overwhelming force, has found innumerable advocates and defenders. Now there is no question on the principles of democracy being right.

Obviously the quality of democracy depends very largely upon the presence of all factors which are fundamental to democracy. The purpose for which democracy is exercised is the maximum satisfaction of liberty, equality and fraternity. The power of democracy to define models of individual and social conduct depends very much upon its ability to command a cultural sentiment of general approval. A tendency to democracy cannot become democracy until it issues in action.

The emotional and moral appeal of democracy lies precisely in its deeper involvement in religious and moral theories. It would be difficult to find any conception whatever of the characteristics of democracy apart from the teaching of all great Religions, which helps to supplement, not destroy democracy, and by the light of which man is enabled to fully grasp the morals of democracy. Democratic culture is not in spite of religion, but its consequences.

The theories and practices of democracy, which possess the power to manifest in itself the benign influence and importance of the dignity of human personality and individual freedom, can never be summed up in the making of totalitarianism, including Communism, which does not postulate a democratic instinct. The origin of totalitarianism lies in despotism and in an exaggerated idea of the omnipotence of the State. It is not the glory of Communism that it brings cultural qualities to those who serve it with fidelity. As a matter of fact and as a matter of history no one can say that Communism helps the development of a greater perfection for man and society than democracy.

It would be dangerous to set limit to individual freedom and to minimise the worth of human personality under the plausible pretext of such curtailment and minimising being in the aggregate interest of the State. The question is how to develop human personality and individual freedom for giving all the people of the whole world more abundant cultural and democratic life.

In any society where the problems of starvation and unemployment do exist, it is not easy to discover the operation of democratic justice. Modern society cannot meet the

democracy unless its members believe in and practice economic justice which helps the creation of social and economic security. It is quite possible that an elevated economic standard which every nation must possess can harmonize exactly with democratic ideals. An economic order, structured, mostly upon democratic theories and practices, can reasonably be expected to become one of the permanent features of any ideal. Community life where economic service is not a disembodied sort of activity engaged in the abstract task of pursuing the unattainable, but a social function intimately connected with human history human character and human destiny.

Every democratic plan, if it is to be a success, is expected to include an extensive economic programme for raising the material and cultural standard of the people, by providing more and better food, higher wages and better working conditions. The future of world progress depends upon the creation of good will, in the economic sphere also, among members of society. The apparent unity of modern civilisation is, after all in the main restricted to the material setting of human life and in varying degrees, all people are enabled to attain the conditions of civilization through a process of agricultural and industrial progress also. With the aid of democratic ideals, the ideas of a larger world, of a greater expansion of cultural economic experience and of the fraternity of the human race are still to be realized.

True and complete democracy is a system which embraces all persons and all nations and prescribes and governs their right relations. Democracy cannot be appropriated by anyone, nationality and narrowed to the mind, the ways of thought or the predilections of any one. Internationalism assists men and nations towards a new appreciation and understanding of democracy without resorting to a conception that leads towards national egotism. To speak of nationalism on a par with internationalism is sheer abuse of terminology, and in every way misleading. But democracy and internationalism are complimentary and not antagonistic processes.

All democrats are to attempt to make democracy an avenue of approach to international harmony, and a means of subordinating nationalism to internationalism. The cure of social disunion is to be found in the province of fra-

ternity which, like liberty and equality, is concerned with things democratically possible. At present, it is before all things necessary for mankind to avoid war which make ridiculous the notion of the brotherhood of men.

We, in India, are now happy that the course of our democracy is never defeated by the choice of totalitarianism, that the policy of our Central and State Governments are not breaking at every relevant democratic point that the minds of our administrators, who are now forcing the process of democratization into the most prominence, are destitute of totalitarian ideas of a general and also of a special character.

Even quantitatively considered, the democratic apparatus in India must become more and more extensive, every year. We Indians must never neglect the distinction between

democracy and totalitarianism. Whatever way we look at the matter, our democracy must produce the conditions which allow the appearance of democracy and those which allow us to condemn and fight against totalitarianism. To offer the alternative to democracy must never be an Indian practice. It would be fatally wrong for India to adopt officially the feeling at some of its citizens that we ought to model our social, political and economic institutions after the Communist pattern. The more we live in the experience of democracy, the more we should be fully satisfied that our response to democratic claims is made in terms of justice which is the major cause and guarantee of both individual and national happiness. The sure foundation of our democracy must be the supposition that religion and morality are its very stay and support.

The Belgrade Conference

AFTER four days of anxious but exciting sessions the uncommitted 25-nation Summit Conference in Belgrade ended its labours, last month, when it produced a peace appeal to the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Russia for short.

The best part of the outcome in Belgrade was the common concern the participants expressed for world peace, primarily at India's initiative. The conference did find itself devoting considerable time for specific regional issues like Algeria, Angola or West Irian as still unextinguished embers of "colonialism", Western colonialism to be precise. But Mr. Nehru's vigorous emphasis on the need for voicing on behalf of mankind in general the concern for avoiding a nuclear war gave to the conference a direction away from the path of acrimonious controversy which quite a few delegations present were only too prone to rake up. To that extent the conference may be accepted as a significant development in international politics, observes the *Thought* and points out:

"Realistically as well as frankly, the conference failed to make any positive contribution to the solution of the most important issue of our day, now highlighted by Russia's uncalled for resumption of nuclear weapons tests. Except little Cyprus and Somalia, and a little

too cautiously, the United Arab Republic, no country seemed to be aware at the conference in the Yugoslav Capital that there was such a problem as the re-unification of Germany with its former Capital Berlin writhing in the agony of a monstrous man made division.

The conference has called for negotiations between the major powers, particularly America and Russia. But whatever worth the call might otherwise have had has got diminished appreciably by the fact that neither the Kremlin nor Washington has ever dented that negotiations as a means of settlement of international issues was the only civilized way for the world to adopt. In fact the Kremlin, in its peculiar logic, describes its threat to produce this bomb or that as only a lever for expediting a "peaceful" settlement, in the present case, of Germany and West Berlin. The lurid and horrifying picture it has painted of the consequences of a nuclear war after it perfected it from 20 to 100 million ton TNT bombs has been part of its attempt to force the world, including the non-aligned countries, to accept its own special ideas of peace in Europe as elsewhere. In paraphrase, one could imagine the Soviet rulers as saying, "deliver up East Germany with East Berlin peacefully if you do not want us to take or destroy whole of Germany at a moment to be chosen by us."

What did the conference say about this? To quote Mr. Nehru, the conference was in no position to tell the "proud and mighty nations" what they should do to ensure world peace, even though hinging as it does on a peaceful settlement of the German problem. To be sure the conference was in possession of no means to compel the Kremlin, or for that matter, the White House to accept its solutions for specific problems were it to offer any. But since its proclaimed weapon was only moral force, it could not in conscience refuse to state what in its opinion would conform to morality on the issue of German reunification. In short, the conference could easily have recommended of the principle of self-determination for the people of both parts of Germany, including Berlin. Let it not be said the principle is good only when a people concerned is comparatively backward and the country deserving recommendation or reprimand comparatively weak.

For instance, why cannot the principle of self determination be as good for the Germans as it is for the peoples of Algeria or Angola?

The Prime Minister leading as he does the most important country of the non-aligned world has rightly stressed the importance of the primacy of "facts" over "sentiment" in international affairs. But must the definition of "facts" subserve the convenience only of the Soviet Union? If the existence of East Germany as part of the Soviet system is really a recognizable "fact" of life, Israel is no less so in a different context. Yet Mr. Nehru will be the first to deny recognition to Israel. His attitude to Formosa also does not seem to fit in with the theory of "facts". Because of this and other factors that came to notice at Belgrade, one would not thus be wrong in describing the conference in terms of positive morality as a stultifying exercise in timidity in the name of love of peace and wisdom.

Internationalism in Nehru

By

Sri DINA NATH JOSHI, M.A., M.D.P.A., D.C.

THE scope of this article shall be limited to the following five problems:

Our first problem is how can we explain Nehru's Internationalism?

(ii) What is his basic approach?

(iii) What does he aim at?

(iv) For that, what methods are to be adopted?

(v) Is humanity progressive or it has no future?

1. How to explain Sri Nehru?

We propose to answer this by comparison than by analogy.

To bear the name Mahatma Gandhi it was essential to take birth in India but a Nehru may be brought up in any civilized country. Nehru stands for qualities which are common to all great civilizations whereas Mahatma Gandhi is another name for Bharat-mata. As Gandhiji himself admits that Nehru "shines easily as father, brother, traveller or internationalist." Be it said to his credit, continues Gandhiji, however, that "he will consider it

1. Preface to "Nehru your neighbour."

beneath his dignity to purchase that freedom at the price of any other country". For contends M. K. Gandhi, "his nationalism is equal to his internationalism."²

2. As to his basic approach:

In his article 'The Basic Approach' published in the journal of A.I.C.C. August 15th 1958 Sri Nehru rejected both the Communistic and Capitalistic approaches to human society, as "wholly unscientific, unreasonable & uncivilised". The hypocritical attempts of these approaches he argues are clearly visible in the second Great World tragedy of 1939-45. The failure of their violent methods are also witnessed, says Sri Nehru in Seuz incident of 1956 and of Hungary incident.

The main approaches are Economic. And he concludes that in considering these economic aspects of our problems, "we have always to remember the basic approach of peaceful means" and that we should if possible "also keep in view the old vedantic ideal of lift force" which is "the inner basis of everything

2. Ibid.

that exists".³ To Nehru the approach of Military Pacts is a wrong approach, a dangerous approach and a harmful approach".

(Conversation with Nehru by Mende)

Under the title "Can we accept Pandit Nehru's Approach?" the Russian Commentator Yudin rejects Sri Nehru's basic approach on the Marxian ground that Nehru's conclusions are too "pessimistic concerning modern Science". It is "hardly correct to say"⁴ as Sri Nehru chooses to depict, that the conflict of our times is caused by the contradictions between scientific & technological progress, on the one hand and "a certain mental exhaustion of civilization itself",⁵ on the other. The source of this conflict is to be sought elsewhere—in the nature of capitalism which wants to use science for in human purposes.

Mr. Yudin does not understand that Sri Nehru agrees with him to this extent. What he does more is to tinker on the head of Marx that the Basic Approach of peace cannot be neglected and that human element is present in both capitalism and communism.

3. As to this Aim

His aim is to form a league of people and not of Govt. It is not the realization of nationalism, it is human progress that is aimed at. "In the final analysis it is the human being that counts."⁶ His Autobiography abundantly shows his love for humanity and for living creature. He has devoted a full-fledged chapter in his Autobiography on "Animals in Prison." What he aims at is the realization of "Panchashila."⁷

On Nov. 19, 1955 he said at the occasion to welcome Bulganin and Khrushchev that "the essential objects of human race are common to us all." Therefore "we have pleaded in India for.....a dynamic and positive approach to peaceful co-existence."

In March 1955, he said—we have no intention of throwing ourselves in war, even if the rest of the world goes to war. "Let there be no doubt about it," said Nehru.

3. Nehru's 'Basic Approach' 1958.

4. Yudin.

5. Nehru.

6. 'Conversation with Nehru'—Mende.

7. The five principles are—(i) Mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and integrity, (ii) mutual non-aggression, (iii) Mutual non-interference in each others internal affairs, (iv) equality and mutual benefit, (v) Peaceful co-existence.

Critics point out that Nehru's Neutral policy is an "International Sanyas" which leads India to impotency.

Speaking in the United States' Congress, Sri Nehru said "where freedom is menaced, justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. No country can do that and certainly we have no desire to retire from world affairs."⁸

4. As to the Methodology

The "basic thing" contends Nehru is that wrong methods will not lead to right results and "that is no longer merely an ethical doctrine but a practical proposition."⁹ He stands hand and glove with Gandhiji in the non-violent method of approaching international problems. Freedom with violence is doubtless, better than slavery; nevertheless non-violence is to be preferred to violence. The same non-violent method is repeated in all his works: what he says in his "Autobiography" he says too in "India and the World"; the angle on imperialism that is evident through the long story of his "world History" is identical angle from which he views British imperialism in all his other writings. One is inclined here to complain that this liberal attitude leads to repeat himself unduly. He always tries to say what he means.

What one fails to understand is that whether he is a Marxist, a Capitalist or an Internationalist. He is too honest and too sincere to sacrifice either. For he finds himself at pains to reject Marx's interpretation of history and on the contrary he believes in the progress of Capitalism too.

The truth is that he studied Marxism as a liberalist and liberalism as a Marxist.

It is this quality which has made him the modern prophet of liberal Internationalism. This Liberal Method is based on the following principles: (a) the inevitability of human progress (b) perfectibility of individual and (c) belief that force could progressively be eliminated as an arbiter of human relations.

5. Has Humanity no future?

These three beliefs have led him to optimism of humanism: "But there is in me a sense of confidence in the future; in India's future, in the world's future."—(Conversation with

8. 'Nehru inside America'—P. 89.

9. 'Basic Approach' 1958.

Nehru—by Mende). It is a confidence which "I cannot justify by any reason," for if "I reason" other ideas will disturb. So he contends that even if Govts. are stupid the people will go ahead. In spite of transient success of Fascism and transient defeat of Liberalism he said "I still do believe that there is some thing in mankind, some strength that makes us survive."

But will this belief survive the impending crisis Asia is facing today? In this connection we are urged to thumb the remark of the "Manchester Guardian" which reads thus "... Pericles said that Athens was the school of

Hellas. Mr. Nehru without boasting may say that Delhi is the School of Asia." However Prof. Werner Levi has made a shrewd suggestion to the approach of Shri Nehru in the "Year Book of World Affairs" (London 1958). He ends his essay (*i.e.* The Evolution of India's Foreign Policy) by giving a warm suggestion to Shri Nehru that his empty and easy talks about peace and co-existence will not achieve Asian Unity unless he is prepared "to develop more imagination to maintain and strengthen it" by "a precedent for constructive enterprises" such as exists in the form of Colombo Plan.

Primary Education In Rajasthan

By

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RAJASTHAN was the first State in India to have implemented the scheme of democratic decentralisation in October, 1959. Some other States followed suit and introduced the scheme more or less on the same pattern.

Education is the most effective weapon of democracy and is one of the most important pre-requisites for its successful working. Education has a major contribution to make in developing people who accept democratic values and are concerned with their effective achievement in all aspects of human life. Democracy reposes a firm belief in the intelligence of the common man and education sharpens that intelligence to make it effective. Education thus becomes the most vital nation-building agency to be handled by the intelligentsia of the country and not to be thrown at the mercy of half-baked brains and illiterate persons. Education does not merely mean literacy, but has as its objective development of character and all round personality of the child. If imparted in the real sense, education inculcates in the child a sense of responsibility, patriotism, spirit of service, self-sacrifice and social justice.

Establishment of the Panchayat Raj was the ideal before our constitution makers, but it will be suicidal to do so unless illiteracy, poverty, provincialism, communalism, cas-

teism, selfishness, lack of discipline and of civic sense are banished and a new society is evolved, which is capable to shoulder the responsibilities that democracy devolves on it. At present the standard of morality is so deplorable that everywhere corruption, bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, misuse of public funds and indiscipline are rampant. This sort of affairs puts the very existence of democracy in danger. Rajasthan has been a backward state and the scheme of democratic decentralisation should have been introduced in this state gradually and cautiously. To begin with Panchayats and Panchayat Samities should have been given only limited powers. To imitate the highly advanced western countries blindly is a folly. It is true local bodies in western countries do enjoy vast powers but they came to enjoy this status after years of struggle, discipline and experience. And what may be beneficial for England or America today may not be practicable for us. Circumstances differ from nation to nation, and we should follow western principles only to the extent our circumstances permit.

It is not intended to analyse in this paper all the powers delegated to the Panchayats or Panchayat Samities under the scheme of democratic decentralisation in Rajasthan, but as a teacher I cannot help pointing out the effect of

the scheme on primary education. The very growth of a nation depends on education and the primary stage is the time when the personality of the child is developed and his character is formed. An eminent educationist once observed, "Give me the child for the first five years and I will make of him whatever you want him to be". The character, emotions and other traits of the child's personality are formed and moulded at this stage. The primary education is the foundation on which the superstructure of a nation and society is built. It is, therefore, not only desirable, but is absolutely essential that education at this vital stage should be controlled and organized by expert educationists, who understand the value of education in relation to society and progress of a nation. It is our misfortune that in India, in our enthusiasm to implement democratic principles, we have overlooked this important phase and have handed over this important agency to illiterate and uneducated personnel.

In Rajasthan, before October 1959, primary education was completely under the control of Education Department of the State. The department established primary schools, laid down the syllabi, met the expenses, carried on supervision and control of schools. The appointment of teachers and service conditions were all controlled by the department through the Inspectorial staff. But under democratic decentralisation the primary education has been transferred to the Panchayat Samitis. The Department of Education of the State has reserved to itself only the determination of general policy and prescription of syllabi. The general administration of the school is now under the Panchayat Samiti. The Pradhan controls the appointments, transfers, leave, inspection of the school and such other things. The Extension Officer for education is directly in charge of the administration of primary schools and works under the guidance of the Pradhan and Vikas Adhikari. A permanent employee of the State Education Department, the Extension Officer is lent to the Panchayat Samiti for a particular period.

Officially the Sarpanch or Panch of the Panchayat is not supposed to supervise or inspect the village school, nor is he accredited to interfere in the school affairs. In practice, however, it is found that Sarpanch, being a person on the spot does visit the school and

tries to interfere in school affairs. He reports to the Samiti on the working of the school and the evaluation of the work of the teacher actually forms the basis for their promotions or transfers, hence the subservience of teachers to the Sarpanch.

Since the Panchayat Samitis took over the primary schools, the condition of schools has considerably gone down. In most of the Panchayats there is party politics based on casteism and this unhealthy atmosphere, naturally has its repercussions on all activities of the village, the school being no exception. In theory the teacher is not supposed to take part in politics but in practice he has to align himself with the Sarpanch's party with a view to keeping him in good humour and his own career secure. The reports made by the Sarpanch to the Pradhan make or mar the future of a teacher and this leaves no option with the teacher except to follow him. A teacher being an effective instrument in making the Sarpanch popular, the Sarpanch is keen to have him in his party. Consequently the teacher joins the party of the Sarpanch and begins to take active part in politics. Gradually he becomes a prominent figure in supporting the Sarpanch. This naturally means that the teacher becomes slack in his teaching profession. He does not even care to stay in the school premises during school hours, and at times remains completely absent from the school. The teacher can easily afford to do this as he is one of the most effective supporters of the Sarpanch. As long as he enjoys the patronage of the Sarpanch he can afford to play the truant and to neglect his duties.

When the teacher takes active part in politics the students, particularly those of senior classes, cannot be out of it. They in turn drag in other students. The children by themselves are not in a position to decide the right from the wrong and follow simply the advice or orders given by the teacher. When the teachers and senior students take active part in politics and become victims of foul atmosphere, communal feelings and mutual jealousies of village life, the main and primary task of education of the children is relegated to secondary position.

Very few Panchas or Sarpanchas are educated. They do not and cannot have correct attitude towards education. They constantly interfere in school affairs and wield their influence in various aspects of education inclu-

ding that of promotions. The standard of education is already very low, and when these political pressures work at the time of annual promotions the standard of education is bound to deteriorate further. The low standards and incorrect values attached to education defeat the very aim and purpose.

The teacher is educated, but he has to work under the uneducated boss, because more often than not, the Pradhan is uneducated. This causes a kind of reaction in the mind of the teacher, and he loses all interest and enthusiasm for sincere and honest discharge of his duties. Since his promotion and future is in the hands of politician, he, perforce has to give preference to politics over his profession. The fate of the children in this case can only be moaned.

The question of imparting moral education does not arise in the new set-up. The whole atmosphere of Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis is so vicious and corrupt that the teacher too becomes a part of the machinery, and can no longer think in terms of morality and character building.

Panchayat Samitis have issued instructions that primary school teachers should organise adult classes, youth clubs and other similar organisations in order to solve the social and cultural problems of the village. The teacher is told that his increment and future progress would depend upon the interest he takes in such activities. Some prizes are given to teachers taking active interest. Due consideration to these activities is given while permitting a teacher to appear at the Board or University examination. In other words the organisation of these activities becomes obligatory for the teacher, though he is paid no extra allowance for this extra job. It is indeed too much to expect from a poor village teacher a high sense of service and sacrifice all the year round, particularly when the whole atmosphere from top to bottom is so vicious. The net result is the presentation of false records and statistics regarding enrolment in adult classes etc. This satisfies the authorities but throws to winds the very objective underlying this work.

Taking over of primary schools by Panchayat Samitis is not beneficial even on economic grounds. It was expected that the village would also contribute towards the construction of school building. In some cases the villagers have definitely co-operated by means of manual labour, but there are many

cases where the school building is still incomplete for want of such co-operation, and ultimately the government has to sanction money for completing the building.

Sometimes it is argued that the number of students in primary schools has increased since the Panchayat Samitis took over. The number has definitely gone up but it is difficult to give credit for this to Panchayat Samitis. The parents have now understood the value of educating their children. There is general consciousness in this direction. Moreover, it is not the quantity which is so important as the quality. In that direction the Panchayat Samitis have practically failed to raise the standards of education. Rather the teaching in primary schools has suffered considerably.

From all these considerations it may easily be inferred that primary education should remain under the control of the Education department so that the schools may be completely free from party politics, and the teachers may devote their time and energy in educating the young generation and turn out ideal citizens for the future. Primary school age is the most critical age in a child's life and warrants careful handling and proper education at the hands of expert teachers, fired with missionary zeal to build up a strong nation. Children are the most precious assets of a nation and the government should pursue a very cautious and considered policy for their education. They are the torchbearers of to-morrow and should receive the best education that the country can offer.

It was on account of the mismanagement of schools by local bodies that the various agencies and committees had suggested that the portfolio of primary education should remain with the government. The U. P. Primary and Secondary Education Reorganisation Committee recommended the transfer of education from the local bodies to the State government on grounds of maladministration.*

The Central Advisory Board of Education appointed a Vernacular Education Committee to consider questions connected with the administration and control of primary education. The Committee observed, "The reports on education of different provinces repeatedly state that there is need of more efficient administration and control of primary education..... There is, however, sufficient evidence to show

* Report of U. P. Primary and Secondary Education Reorganisation Committee, 1939, page 188.

that generally the administration is lax in many ways". The committee thus recommended that local bodies should have nothing to do with education. The committee clearly observed that local bodies were incompetent to administer education. In order to give political education to people, local bodies can be given other functions, and there would not be much harm if people commit mistakes in those fields. But an error of this kind in the field of education is very detrimental to the country. Hence the function of primary education should not be transferred to local bodies.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in its report on Post-war Educational Development in India (known as the Sargent Committee Report, 1944) is also very critical of the policy of handing over control of primary education to local bodies. "In theory it is a good thing to entrust local interest in education and there is much to be said for delegating a certain amount of control to local bodies, provided they are competent to exercise it. In practice, however, irremediable harm has been done by handing over responsibility for the education of the rising generation to bodies whose members are in the main uneducated or uninterested in education or both... It is unnecessary to repeat here the charge of irresponsibility, incompetence, ill-treatment of teachers, religious and political bias, nepotism and other forms of graft which make such frequent and gloomy reading in the Provincial reports. It is significant that several of the popular governments which attempted to introduce educational reforms, found their efforts to a large extent vitiated by the apathy and incompetence of local bodies".*

The Committee, therefore, suggested that "before embarking on their reconstruction

* Report on Post-war Educational Development in India, page 73.

programmes provincial governments should resume all educational powers of local bodies."

The report of the Secondary Education Commission also made a similar observation. "There are many schools which are maintained by local bodies, and though we do not wish to make any unfair generalisation about their efficiency, we have had enough evidence to show that there is considerable need for a toning-up of these institutions..... We feel strongly that the Board should not interfere with the internal management of the schools concerned or with the powers and duties of the Headmasters.....".*

There are some foreign countries also where education is not transferred to local bodies. In the United States of America education is not a municipal function, but is placed under separate school boards.† In France also education in all its branches is completely nationalised.‡

Thus on the basis of the opinion of eminent educationists and reports of educational committees, and keeping in view the existing condition of India in general and Rajasthan in particular, it can safely be deduced that primary education should not be placed under the control and management of Panchayat Samitis. The Education department alone should administer it. We should not be led away merely by ideologies of democracy, and emotions of Panchayat Raj because the experiments in this field will mean experiment with the coming generation, and that means with the nation. This is high time that the government should give a serious and balanced thought to the problem and retrace the step before it is too late.

* Report of the Secondary Education Commission, 1952-53; page 86.

† M. P. Sharma: Local Self-Government in India, page 15.

‡ Ibid., page 15.



Warning for East and West

By

Mr. WILLY BRANDT

IN West Berlin resistance is never looked upon as a frivolous matter. Nor do the inhabitants of this city appeal for action by their countrymen before weighing carefully the responsibilities and risks involved. They know that in any European cataclysm they would be struck down first. What follows, therefore, is a warning, not a threat—a warning that all concerned would do well to heed.

Sometimes one gets the impression that there are people in both the East and the West who feel “fed up with the damned Berlin problem,” who are eager to get rid of it or at least take the sting out of it. But no isolated “solution” of the Berlin problem can remove the sting. There will be tension as long as the whole city is surrounded by a Communist realm even if Berlin itself is reunited. Not even international corridor guarantees—desirable though they, too, would be—can prevent the Soviets from exerting pressure against this city; nothing can as long as Germany remains divided. Moscow enjoys a certain tactical advantage here because of Berlin’s geographic position, and there is no escaping this fact.

In these circumstances, the only relevant question is how much pressure will the Russians dare to exert? As long as our Allied friends are determined to provide a satisfactory answer to that question, the Communists will only be able to derive a limited advantage from West Berlin’s position. The balance will always be unfavourable to the Soviets in the end.

Since the start of the cold war it has been demonstrated time and again that Berlin can be a source of unmatched difficulty for the Soviet Union. This is not only because Berlin contributes to the instability of an anemic East German satellite. It is because Berlin has become a rallying point for the Western democracies; here they can mobilize their moral and material resources, bury their differences and act in unison. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations have repeatedly rediscovered their solidarity in periods of crisis over Berlin, and nothing frustrates Moscow as much as this sudden closing of the free world’s ranks precisely when it is banking on

Allied discord. Yet the greater the crisis, the firmer the solidarity of the Western Allies is likely to be.

Thus, the Communists want people to think that nothing will happen in Berlin or in Germany if Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev signs a separate peace treaty with his East German satellite. But by pretending to “recognize” the *status quo* in Germany, such a peace treaty will actually aggravate the issue of German reunification. Indeed, it will be far more difficult to deal with this problem than it has been until now, with the four former occupation powers acknowledging that it is their responsibility to solve it. And it is a dangerous delusion to think that love of their country and the yearning for national reunification can be torn out of the German people’s hearts.

Of course, we cannot prevent Khrushchev from signing a separate peace treaty with himself in his German “colony,” but we are obliged to warn what the consequences will be. Such a treaty will result in the claim that the boundary dividing Germany is inviolable, that it has become a frontier between two sovereign German states. Then, whoever demands the reunification of his fatherland will be labelled, in communist terms, a “dangerous revisionist and chauvinist.”

At that point, we Germans will truly become active revisionists where the division of our country is concerned. We cannot and must not respect a borderline dividing our people as the frontier of a foreign state. We will have to seek ways of surmounting it. To act otherwise would be to live without self-respect as democrats and without faith in our rights as Germans.

In this sense, our initiative as revisionists can decide the life or death of democracy in Germany. German democrats in my own and in younger generations do not intend to repeat past mistakes; they will never buckle under as did democrats in the Weimar Republic. Freedom-loving forces in my country have woven the demand for national reunification into the fabric of their banners and they will not let this appeal fall into the hands of undemocratic

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elements. The crucial national interest must never become the domain of Communists or neo-Nazi neutralists.

It is for the Soviet Union to decide what it prefers in Central Europe: a people prepared to live in peace and understanding with its neighbours, seeking conciliation, or a people left with no choice but to press for “revision.” By signing a separate peace treaty, Khrushchev will not serve the peace; until my country is united, my people will know no rest.

Hence, I think it is of paramount importance for the Western Allies to insist more vigorously than ever that four-power responsibility for Germany as a whole cannot be affected by any kind of unilateral Soviet action must remain wedded to insistence by the Western Allies on their rights and obligations to bring about such a reunification.

By pretending to ameliorate an “abnormal” condition, recent Soviet proposals actually hope to separate the interests of West Berliners from the interests of their protectors. In other words, they aim at finally dividing this stalwart alliance.

That would begin to happen the moment Allied authorities failed to respond to Communist interference and harassment of German traffic in the very same manner that they would defend the right of Allied military forces to travel between Berlin and the West. If Allied rights and obligations in this city do not cover the essential interests of the civilian population, the Allies will be unable to act as protectors, and they will cease to be considered reliable or adequate protectors.

While this fact is probably appreciated, what many Western leaders may not yet appreciate sufficiently is the danger of severing or weakening West Berlin’s relationship to the Federal Republic in areas that do not directly involve the normal traffic of persons and goods. The key issue behind the resistance of Berliners to all “free city” and most interim-agreement proposals is the defense of our right to choose the currency-system we belong to. All the developments here since 1948 have hinged on this historic choice: The blockade broke out on this issue, and the hope that encouraged the

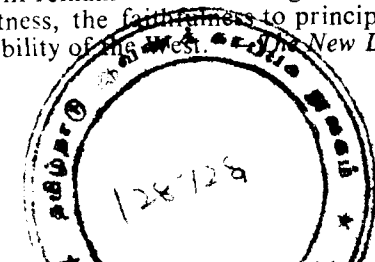
beleaguered population to hold out was built on the introduction of hard West German currency in Berlin. During the long years of unemployment and difficult reconstruction that followed, it was again the *Deutsche Mark West* which assured Berliners that they could work their way forward to full prosperity as free men and women.

Not only the confidence of the Berliners, but also the confidence of West German and of foreign investors emanates from the fact that West Berlin is an integral part of the Federal Republic’s economic system. West German currency is West Berlin’s staff of life; without it no one would invest in Berlin, no one would believe in Berlin’s normalcy and hardearned stability.

Indeed, if nothing were changed in the status of West Berlin but its currency, if West German currency ceased to be legal tender and the city were given a currency of its own, within one year West Berlin would be depopulated and devastated both economically and morally. It would become a dead city. The Allies would not then be able to defend Berlin even if they had three divisions stationed there instead of 12,000 soldiers; there would be nothing left to defend.

The Kremlin knows this. This is what lies behind the lure of its “free city” proposal. Dependence on West German currency is responsible for that minimum of economic and juridical unity which binds West Berlin to the Federal Republic today. Nothing can be subtracted from the things that fasten West Berlin to West Germany without encouraging the Communists to attack the currency core of that relationship.

A final solution of the Berlin problem must wait until the great powers are ready to permit the German people to reunite their country. Meanwhile, Germany in West Berlin will set an example of reliability and self-control that should prove to any open-minded neighbour that Germans can safely be entrusted with the right to self-determination. At the same time, Berlin will remain an outstanding challenge to the alertness, the faithfulness to principle and the reliability of the West.



Communist Bid to Capture the Congress

By

Sri B. SHIVA RAO

FROM time to time reports appear in the press of communists abandoning their party to join the Congress. The development has been anticipated for some time; for nearly two years, Mr. S. A. Dange, their leader in the Lok Sabha, has been urging his followers to support the 'progressive elements in the Congress' against right-wing reactionaries. Fresh evidence is accumulating to indicate that the communists are carrying out their plan of mass infiltration into the Congress, with a view ultimately to capturing the party machinery and through it the Government of the country.

It is relevant in this context to study the implications of the comprehensive policy statement of the Communist Party of India issued from Vijayawada at the end of a week's deliberations in April last. In the domestic field, the communists claim to see a danger to the growth of genuine democratic forces " (including, of course, themselves) from " the right wing reactionary forces inside the Congress." This danger, according to the document, has been increased by such 'reactionary elements' having " powerful supporters and representatives in key positions in the country's economic life, in the administration and military apparatus and inside the ruling party itself—even at the highest level."

The confession is made that " the Communist Party and the genuine democratic forces are too weak in many areas to give adequate expression to the popular discontent, to rally the people and to wage an effective fight against the anti-people policies of the Government." The problem before the country, as the communist policy statement has visualised, is how to bring about " the unity of democratic forces"—of which the Communist Party regards itself as the spearhead. 'Vacillating and inconsistent,' though certain elements are described as being within the Congress, 'essentially they are progressive.' Unfortunately, according to the document, "these progressive forces are too unorganized and weak to make an impact on Congress policies. They tend to rely too much on Prime Minister Nehru and feel helpless when he compromises with the right." Regarding the future, the conditions are described as "in many respects extremely

favourable for the forces of democracy." The need is for "a united front with the progressive elements in the Congress, so that together they may tackle common tasks. A united mass movement extensive and powerful, alone can smash the reactionary elements."

That is going to be the keynote of the Communist Party's immediate future policy: "unity for democratic reforms, for defending and strengthening all that is progressive in the Government's policies, for opposing those policies which harm the people." Mr. Nehru, obviously, will have to continue as the leader of the Congress for some more time to come, since his influence "is even wider (than the national movement) and the national democratic front cannot be built up by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation."

The rank-and-file of the communists have been warned to avoid the "big mistake of equating the Congress with parties of right reaction," because in "many of the declared policies of the Congress and even in some of its measures, the party is progressive, particularly in the field of foreign policy, encouragement of the public sector, etc." Therefore, "it is necessary to recognize that while a large part of the forces of the right are inside the Congress, the bulk of those who are our potential allies are also inside the Congress." No effort is made to conceal their strategy, which is to 'forge links with congressmen' who are democrats inside the Congress and (with) the mass of congressmen, (who are) our friends and potential allies in the struggle for the consolidation of political Independence."

The plan of mass-infiltration into the Congress as a preliminary to its capture is not new. In fact, this has been the line of the Indian communists ever since the creed found a foothold on Indian soil in 1922. At that time, it was possible to make common cause with the left-wing of the Congress Party for a fight against British Imperialism. M. N. Roy, who brought the ideology into India in 1922 observed: "Today the Congress as a political organization is dead. Its corpse needs either to be buried or resurrected by a new breath of life." But he had one formidable obstacle

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which he could never overcome. Within a few weeks of his initial campaign he complained that "the cult of non-violence was inseparable from an anti-revolutionary spirit. Those who do not want a revolution in India can pin their hope on non-violent methods. Strictly non-violent methods are hardly distinguishable from constitutional agitation, and no people on the face of the earth has ever made a revolution by constitutional methods." He was particularly bitter against Mahatma Gandhi, "whose incorrigible pacifism and dread of the popular energy could be counted upon to prevent the explosion.....The Congress has committed suicide by repudiating the revolutionary action of its own followers. A powerful revolutionary movement has been sacrificed on the altar of Gandhism".

Gandhiji's hold on the Congress and the Indian people was, however, too strong for the communists to break or even to weaken. He was whole-heartedly opposed to the continuance of British rule over India; but on non-violence and truth, the two cardinal principles of his movement, he was equally uncompromising.

The communists entertained the hope that with the Swaraj Party they could establish a link to create a mass revolutionary movement. Pandit Motilal Nehru proved, however, too shrewd a politician to play into the hands of the communists. They turned their attention to Pandit Jawaharlal who had been attracted, while in Europe in 1927, by the idea of attending "a Conference of oppressed nationalities" in Brussels. He joined the organization which grew out of the Conference described as "the League Against Imperialism," became a member of its executive and persuaded the Congress in India to affiliate itself to the League. He even got the Congress (in spite of Gandhiji's misgivings) to declare its objective as complete Independence involving separation from Britain. These were substantial gains for the communists; but they were completely disillusioned by his subsequent pro-Gandhian outlook which they condemned as "Fabian moderation".

A second opportunity offered itself shortly afterwards to the communists who saw in Gandhiji's civil disobedience movement in the early thirties, symbolised in the famous salt march, hopes of a renewed effort towards a

working alliance from within the Congress with its communist elements. Gandhiji's movement was commended by leading British communists like Palme Dutt and Bradley as 'a gigantic task' designed to weld together divergent elements for India's liberation. Communist overtures found encouragement in the willingness of the Indian socialists (led by Mr. Jaya Prakash Narain) to bring together all left-wing elements, including the communists, into a single movement for building an "anti-Imperialist people's front". But he soon discovered that their real intention was to exploit such a move to further their own objectives and to discredit genuine socialists like himself. Gandhiji, of course, was always vigilant to prevent their infiltration tactics from diverting the Congress organization from its declared objectives and principles of action.

Their main hope was then centred on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at that time the President of the Congress. They found common ground in his ardent desire to build a socialist society in India and to wreck the British-made Constitution of 1935. In the Working Committee he was feeling isolated from his colleagues (like Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Sri Rajagopalachari and Acharya Kripalani) who were strongly opposed to his plan of using the party platform for the furtherance of the socialist creed. A major crisis seemed imminent. Pandit Nehru complained to Gandhiji about a "formidable indictment" by Dr. Rajendra Prasad but got in return only a sharp rebuke from his leader, who said, while insisting on the avoidance of a split in the Congress: "Why should it be so difficult for you to get on with those with whom you have worked without a jar for years? If they are guilty of intolerance, you have more than your share of it. The country should not be made to suffer for your mutual intolerance". Despite these formidable complications, the Comintern did not lose hope of a united-front policy being evolved, representing "the progressive democratic masses under Nehru's leadership."

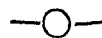
Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 during the Second World War produced a complete change in the outlook and tactics of the Indian communists. An "Imperialist" war became for them from that moment a people's war for which they were urged by Palme Dutt, the British communist, and the Politbureau to offer unconditional support.

For more than a decade thereafter the gulf between the Congress and the communists remained deep and wide. The Indian people could not easily overlook their betrayal of the cause of national freedom during the war, especially with Gandhiji and several thousands of the rank-and-file in detention.

The years following the achievement of Independence in 1947 were for India a period of anxiety and heavy strain. Gandhiji's assassination within a few months of the event was in particular a most disastrous blow to the country and the new Government. For the communists the tragedy had a different significance: the biggest factor which had effectively barred their way into the Congress for many years was at last out of the way. There remained, however, his chief lieutenants—Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sri Rajagopalachari and Acharya Kripalani—all suspicious of communist moves. Moreover,

a period of some years after Independence was necessary for the communists to live down their reputation for betrayal of the freedom movement during the war.

But in the last decade in India there has emerged a combination of new circumstances which seems to justify the present optimism of the communists that "the future is very favourable for the spread of democracy". The resistance which the communists encountered through all the years of Gandhiji's leadership to their infiltration and for some years thereafter has disappeared from within the Congress. They can afford today to come into the open and publicise without reservation their intentions of capturing the Congress Party machinery. The vital question today is whether the Congress will wake up at this stage to the growing danger of its being transformed into a communist-run organization for the furtherance of their aims and policies.



Some Stragglings Tribes in India

By

Mr. BHBAES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI

THE tribes of India, according to 1951 census numbered over twenty-five millions. These constitute Free-India's composite anthropological lack of different aborigines either settled like the Naga, Garo, Kachari, Khasi in Assam, Santal, Munda in Bihar and Orissa; Bhuiya, Bhumj and Khond in Orissa, Gonds, Baigas, Konkus, in M.P.; Bhils in Bombay and Greater Rajasthan; Kurumber, Kanikar, Irular and Yanadi in South India or they may be of nomadic nature migrating from one tribal Zone to another in search of food and habitation.

Curiously enough, some stragglers of these multifarious tribes are noticed—far behind the gaze of the public—to inhabit across a close terrain-belt of West-Bengal—in the Jalpaiguri District. They are not nomadic or predatory by habit, but speak a dialect of their own and

are tribally distinct from the Tibeto-Burman off-shoots of any of the anthropological kinds generally found across the north-eastern frontier of India. Their descent is yet untraced, though local traditions confirm that they have been from time out of mind, living in the same village called Totapara, which lies on an upland called Totapahar in the Madarihat police station in the Jalpaiguri District. They are known as "TOTOS" and live huddled up in an area of about four square miles, encompassed by the most densely type of a peculiar thicket and bramble for which the "DOOARS" is so notorious! They are a meek people, rather friendly and reserved but quite intelligent. The 1901 census recorded their number at "72 males and 99 females" and mentioned them as "Animists" while their number as per subsequent censuses were recorded as follows:

Census	Year	Male	Female	Remarks
	1911	125	110	Hindu
	1921	No Separate record : as they were & recorded as 'Hindu' in 1911		
	1931			
	1941	Recorded as being "334 in number"		
	1951	Recorded : "There are 71 huts in Totapara with 314 inhabitants—all Totos"		

The heart of their sylvan capital—Totapara—can be reached by elephants from the nearest civil station, Ballaiguri. Straw covered bamboo-buttressed huts cluster in the hamlet—having been mounted on 'dais' (vulgo: 'machan') of wooden props six to seven feet high.

Tree-stubbed generally hollowed out in notches contrive to serve as so many flights of "footboards" to the inner chambers of their forest huts; while they can be easily thrown up or withdrawn at night or on demand of extraordinary jungly situation, like gangways. Every family—unit rears poultry, piggeries, as well as dairies on a miniature scale.

Their hamlets have rather weird settings—thick forest and swift, babbling rills nearby or sparkling streamlets in remote woods—constitute their only source of drinking water.

On the eastern flank, the hilly terrain shoots up into the Badoo peak where haunt the spirits of the sylvan deity called "ISHPA" akin to Pan. Curiously the word "ISHPA" seems to be a variant of the Sanskrit term "ISHWA"—meaning the Supreme Being! The Totos are generally very stout, have broad and defined features, dark brown skin, small but slant eyes and wear scant cloths but gorgeous ornaments and body-decorators as becoming of the tradition of the aborigines.

Male Tots delight in ornamental ostentations and wear necklaces made of stringed 'cowries' or glass beads. Females wear simple skirts and scarves, pendulous earrings, armlets, bracelets, rings as well as necklaces.

They are free from priestly hierarchy—but the Totos have unflinching faith in the "ISHPA" which helps them to conquer any situation however difficult or to surmount any danger however incurable like a fell disease or the like.

Offerings of meat and oblations or liquors are made to appease the wrath of this bene-

volent deity in the traditional manner in which the entire Toto folks join in merry-junkettings. They also deify a pagan goddess called "CHIMA" akin to Hecate, which also seems to be a variant of Sanskrit word "Chinmoyee," meaning the Cosmic Spirit! This deity is propitiated to bring on greater animal fertility or better harvest or bumper crops—a custom which also obtains amongst other aborigines whether in India, Africa or Australia and is, accompanied by offering of a cock, hen, hog, or black puppies. Goat offering such as it was a custom with the Greeks to appease the vengeance of a Moloch or Hecate is singularly unknown among the Totos.

There are about a few cattle heads in the little Toto-world. They eat hams, goats, deer, birds of almost all categories—but not beef,

This explains the only reason why the 1921 and 1931 censuses recorded them as "Hindus." Some of them also eat snakes, rhinoceros or even tigers!

They call rice—"maruza," which again appears to be a variant of the Greek root, "Oruza" from which the word "rice" has been derived.

Their cooking is simple and done in pots which they can make from earth. Food is served in wooden bamboo phials ('Poipi'). "Hadia" (Pot-brewed liquor) is their principal drink and life's elixir as it were! Every Toto has his own bamboo-walled kitchen garden, where barring vegetables and greens betel-muts are grown abundantly. There are also mango, jack-fruit and guava trees scattered here and there in the Totoland. Like all settled aborigines, their cultivation is systematically primitive—they know the art of "sowing broadcast" their seeds.

It seems that like most of the aborigines they were at first averse to the settled life of living by agriculture and did not know how to turn clods of earth by Ploughshares, geared by a team of bullocks or buffaloes—which they always felt like a tough job.

"But as the proverbial "Jungli" (arboreal), they are always past-masters in the art of clearing jungles and hunting games. They know the process of preparing clean Soot-free wood-charcoals which they use as fuels in braziers in preference to the usual fire-woods.

When a particular area is cleared of jungles, the same is ploughed up by rough wooden rakes and then sown over in turn by seeds of seasonal crops. By the eastern flank of Totapahar runs the border of Bhutan, dotted here and there by patches of orange—cultivation across the terrain ridges and furrows. This seems to be something like an enchanted world where—everywhere you notice—numberless oranges all in lush bloom of golden colour. The Totos have a good roaring trade in oranges in their outlandish realm. Father, mother, children—irrespective of sex and age—all become partners in this seasonal industry and carry large basketfuls of these golden 'treasure' on their backs to sell at considerable cash price, to the 'Beparis'—viz., 'middlemen' traders who hail from nearly business towns as agents of big merchant of Calcutta or other important centres—for the obvious purpose. The Totos are also good at basketry and split-bamboo or wicker—matting crafts. This helps them also as cash-earners, or they barter their 'wares' for rice which forms the staple of their life's only "meat and drink." The 1961 census records that this straggling, tiniest tribe in India, has as many as a dozen or so of groups or sub-groups and sub-castes. Marriages among blood-relations on either father's or mother's side are banned by their ethnic taboos—but they are also endogamous, viz., a Toto must marry a Toto. Bi-gamy is fairly unknown to them, but a young widow can re-marry a year after her husband's death.

Like all tribals, marriage is simple enough with them—it being only an 'affair' with no ceremonial routine of oath-taking such as it obtains amongst their civilised counterpart elsewhere. But their Bacchanal feast is, however, remarkable for dance, song and swearings—joined by the entire folks of their community-groups, with drums, cymbals and flutes. This smallest tribe in India has also some sort of Liliputian Government and is noted too, for its capacity of survivality and corporate living.

The Totos bury their dead as also know how and when to bury their hatchets during a brawl. Inheritance to good and chattels or their 'properties' follow from the law of the first-born on the male side—as it obtains

amongst the Hindus and others of the civilised world. They also count their months by lunar calendar starting from the third lunation—called "tarrish," obviously a variant in "Vulgo" of "Tri-Tithis," i.e., "Tritiya" in Sanskrit. It is notable, however, that the Totos have not come under the proselytising influence of any outside religion, faith or culture, so far.

It is a happy augury that the West Bengal Government have recently decided upon the setting up of a State Advisory Council for the Tribes as well as institute of Tribal Welfare and researches somewhere at Calcutta.

This will assuredly look to the interests of this straggling remains of a fast decaying tribal people across the eastern border of the province and help them grow up into a people quite culturally knit-together under one anthropological group. They are as a rule, a bit retiring by nature and pretty wary of the din and cheerless life of their more cultured counterparts living in the haunts of civilisation—in far off cities and towns.

They can stand any amount of rigorous hardship except sophistries.

For, they desire to all intents and purposes, to be left alone in their own wonderland of wooddoves, deer-stalking, hog-hunting or orange raising—to lead to an unfettered life untouched by the glare and greed of the fashionable world.

Surely, they demand no 'TOTOLAND' for themselves—like others of their counterpart in Free India; they have no turn for politics nor do they care altogether for what a diplomat might fight for a 'lebensraum' issue in preferring a reparate claim for the hilly-tribes or for selves!

Indeed, to rejoice with the dreamy hills and doles; throb with the spookish rule of the sylvan "ISHPA"; laugh at gloomy spells of "CHIMA"-nature—just to drink life to the lees and say it the last farewell manfully—before shuffling off his mortal coil—is the only be-all and the end-all of his mental—"DEU. TSCHLAND"—he craves, here in his tribal world under the sun!

Planned Economics

(A Commoner's Complaint)

By

WILFRED E. PEREIRA.

The Bearer who serves you your tea
Now suddenly goes on the spree;
For "minimum wages"
His "strikes" he now stages,
For, he's "equal" "fraternal" and "free"!

The Tailor who stitches your clothes
Has little time now for repose;
He bills you by favour
For "charges for labour",
Which make you pay thrice through the nose!

The Grocer who doles out his grain
Will never, oh! never refrain
From singing his song
Of taxes so strong!—
They cut all his measures in twain!

The Tradesman who swells up his tolls
Regales you with talks of "controls":
Persuasively nice,
He butters his slice—
With Government he picks all the holes!

The Landlord who "standards" your rent
On "pagdi" is keenly intent;
If "pagdis" decrease,
"Permitted increase"
Is venom he'll viciously vent!

The Doctor who tends you for health
Betimes, feels the pulse of your "wealth";
Of one or the other
He saves you the bother—
It's oftener your "wealth" than your health!

The Shylock you brief at the bar,
Tho' pompous or piffing at par,
By measure of "ducats"
You pour in his pockets
Your case he will mumble or mar!

Politicians who loftily prate
Of the booms of a "Welfare State",
Will strike a "New Deal"
Whenever they feel,
Their purses they needs must inflate!

—○—

The late Mr. Hammarskjöld

It is a dark day for the United Nations and the world. For they have suffered a terrible blow in the untimely and tragic death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in a plane crash in far-off Northern Rhodesia near Ndola on 18th Sept. He died as he had lived the last eight years as the Chief Executive of the U.N., with his boots on and in the front line of duty. He was on his way to Ndola where he was to have talked with the recalcitrant Mr. Tshombe of Katanga before hurrying back to New York for the opening of the annual session of the U.N. General Assembly.

An official of the Swedish Airline Company, charterers of the aircraft which carried Mr. Hammarskjöld on his last journey, alleged the aircraft was shot down by 'marauding' Katangese aircraft.

No man in the present generation has toiled so hard and so ceaselessly for peace as this great Swede did during his time as Secretary-General.

Dag Hammarskjöld, tall, lean Swede, shot from obscurity into the international limelight in 1953 when he succeeded Norwegian Trygve Lie as Secretary-General of the United Nations. He was an unemotional, shy man, who has stood up to crisis after crisis over the years with an outward air of detachment and imperturbability.

With clear cut, tanned good looks which belied his 56 years, he was a bachelor. But he seemed to live only for his work and to avoid personal entanglements.

Mr. Hammarskjöld was a coolly poised diplomat who searched the world for the makings of peace. He came under fierce attacks but he insisted that nothing mattered but the United Nations and its efforts to safeguard the peoples of the world. He pursued his own unique way of dealing with things and this became known as "quiet diplomacy".

Many persons disagreed with some of his methods and with the usefulness of the United Nations itself, but few questioned the Secretary-General's dedication to his job.

The Congo brought Mr. Hammarskjöld the severest test in his eight years of directing the

United Nations. He was on his third mission to the Congo when the end came. Thus he died in harness.

Speaking before the American association for the United Nations, the Secretary-General in 1953 spoke of his 'unique responsibilities' and explained how he faced them. He said "The Bhagavad Gita echoes somewhere an experience of all ages and all philosophies when it says, 'Work, with anxiety about results, is far inferior to work without such anxiety, in calm self-surrender.' These words express deep faith and we will be happy if we can make that faith ours in all our efforts".

Mr. Hammarskjöld spoke fluent French, English and German as well as Swedish. His speeches were often strewn with quotations reflecting the intellectual bent. He once intended pursuing a literary career.

In 1954, he succeeded his late father, as one of the "eighteen" of the Swedish Academy, and held several honorary degrees, including doctorates from Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

Neutral Nations' Conference

Leaders of the 24 non-aligned countries, who met for a five-days' session at Belgrade on Sept. 1 bluntly warned the world of gathering threats of a third world war.

President Tito of Yugoslavia opening the largest gathering ever of the non-aligned countries, expressed "concern for the fate of mankind" and called for "concerted efforts in the existing grave international situation to find a way out of the crisis in which the world finds itself at the present."

Recalling the efforts of the non-aligned leaders at the last session of the U. N. General Assembly, President Tito said: "The situation today is much worse than a year ago as the cold war has assumed proportions liable to lead to the greatest tragedy at any time."

He suggested that the non-aligned countries examine at the highest level the dangerous international situation and take a co-ordinate action, primarily through the United Nations, to find "a way out of the present situation and prevent the outbreak of a new military conflict."

On the 6th September the session was brought to a close. The King of Morocco presided on the last day.

The conference documents bear all the hallmarks of a compromise. They were hammered out in long, earnest debates behind closed doors and cannot be expected to please all delegates equally. Mr. Nehru, however, may have special cause for satisfaction, for he has put across some of his major proposals—particularly the stress on the Peace Appeal and the view that the conference should abstain from denunciation and avoid putting forward any cut and dried solution for the problems in dispute between East and West. In fact Mr. Nehru had already met Khrushchev.

This is noticeable above all in the paragraph on Germany and the reference to the nuclear tests resumption. These passages are bound to attract widespread attention, for they relate to burning issues of the hour, and they show that the conference has conspicuously refrained from taking sides.

Almost the entire interest of the conference, for both East and West, has been to see whether it would show any signs of partisanship. Judgment on this issue is likely to vary, but among the participating delegates themselves, there is a conviction that they have managed to adhere more or less faithfully to their basic non-alignment policy.

Prime Minister Nehru, giving a brief account of his impressions of the Belgrade conference in the Indian Parliament on Sept. 12 deprecated reports of serious differences between him and others in regard to approach to many problems. He said that most of the countries were engrossed in their own immediate problems, while he himself had urged concentration on major issues of world peace.

Mr. Nehru also said that it was wrong to suggest that he had declined to carry the Belgrade appeal to the Soviet Premier. He said that when he went to deliver the message to Mr. Khrushchev, the Ghanaian President was already there.

The President of Mali, Mr. Modib Keita, declared at New York on Sept. 16 that he found President Kennedy's answer to the Belgrade message conveyed to him and Dr. Sukarno of Indonesia as "encouraging."

Mr. Keita, who was speaking at the United Nations' Correspondents' Association luncheon said: "I would be even more optimistic if contacts that we had with President Kennedy and the American leaders could have an echo in contacts and conversations that Dr. Nkrumah and Mr. Nehru had with Mr. Khrushchev when they delivered the same message to him."

Mr. Keita is also reported to have told the Afro-Asian group at the United Nations that President Kennedy's response was much more helpful and friendly than American press reports had indicated.

He is understood to have told the Afro-Asians that President Kennedy was keen on negotiations with the Soviet Union on all world problems although he did say he was against going to a summit conference with Mr. Khrushchev, without being sure that there was a chance of success.

Mr. Tshombe and Katanga Troubles

What sparked off the latest trouble between Katanga and the U.N. and Congolese Central Government that led to military operation by Indian U.N. troops finally ending Katanga's secession was the demand by the U.N. that Belgian officers be withdrawn from the organisation called "Surete de Katanga," U.N. sources have revealed.

Mr. Tshombe, Katanga President, who had after initial protest agreed to the withdrawal of the foreigners from the Gendarmerie, rejected the application of the same principle to "Surete."

According to the U.N. officials, this organisation has increasingly tended to be organised on the lines of Nazi Germany's Gestapo. It has been terrorising Mr. Tshombe's political opponents. It was responsible for the arrest of the U.N. information officer, Mr. Michel Tombelaine, who was later released after the U.N. had threatened to use force.

According to the U.N. intelligence, the Belgians in this organisation were behind the incidents in which Indian and other U.N. troops were stoned and the U.N. vehicles burnt.

As far as could be foreseen the Katanga problem cannot be solved in purely military terms. Political solutions would require co-operation of Mr. Tshombe who is himself

weaker than is generally realised but becomes truculent and unmanageable under the influence of Mr. Munongo.

If the Central Government is able to lay hands on Mr. Munongo the solution of the problem may not be remote. But according to Congo experts, Mr. Munongo's tribe extends to Rhodesia and Angola and it would not be easy to arrest him unless Mr. Tshombe withdraws his co-operation. Because of tribal reasons it is stated Mr. Tshombe cannot be ignored. He is the head of one tribe and through his wife commands loyalties on another important tribe. These tribes together control one-third of Katanga but it is this one-third that is the richest part of the Congo.

Mr. Tshombe is also a leading figure in the Church.

The chief opposition to the Congolese Central Government and U.N. is stated to come chiefly from three sources: first, Belgian extremists who would not take orders from Brussels; secondly, French elements which were involved in Algerian revolt against President de Gaulle and who have nowhere else to go; and thirdly, interests in Russia.

Mining interests are not regarded much of a problem by the U.N. Mining companies in Katanga are by now reconciled to the "inevitable." They are known to be giving money to Mr. Tshombe but U.N. officials say this is normal political precaution in case Mr. Tshombe stays in power and nothing more.

Following is a brief summary of events in Katanga since the Congo received its independence last year.

Mr. Moise Tshombe, President of Katanga, was elected Premier of the Province in June 1960 shortly after the Congo's independence troubles began.

The following month, he declared Katanga independent making clear his reluctance to surrender the territory to a Central regime which gave his Conakat Party only one Ministry. The Central Government has continued to regard Katanga as a secessionist province which must be brought back if the country is to survive.

Mr. Tshombe declared himself a friend of the Belgians, but Belgium refused to recognise Katanga's independence.

Early in 1961, civil war broke out in North Katanga when hostile Baluba tribesmen attempted to set up an independent Baluba State based in Manono. Mr. Tshombe's 15,000-man army ended the revolt.

There are now 11,000 U.N. troops from India, Sweden and the Irish Republic in North Katanga.

In January 1961, the late Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Patrice Lumumba, was taken prisoner to Katanga. The following month he was killed. The Katanga Government has maintained that he was killed by villagers after escaping from detention.

On April 26, armed Central Government troops seized Mr. Tshombe as he was about to fly home after attending a Congolese leaders' conference at Coquilhatville, Equateur Province. Mr. Tshombe was released on June 22.

At the beginning of August, the Katanga Government agreed to send representatives to the National Parliament in Leopoldville, but Mr. Tshombe made it clear this would not affect Katanga's stands.

On August 28, U.N. troops, backed by armour, took over strategic centres throughout the Province in a drawn sloop and disarmed European officers serving with Mr. Tshombe's Army.

President Tshombe claimed the U.N. authorities "went beyond their mandate" in the sloop.

On August 31, the U.N. announced it had broken off all normal relations with the Katanga Government "except for the minimum contacts necessary for public order and the security of our (U.N.) forces."

Five days later, Katanga Deputies called for "war against the U.N." in a stormy parliament session summoned by President Tshombe.

On Sept. 9, President Tshombe announced that the Katanga Army had been put on the alert following official reports from Leopoldville that the Central Congolese Government had decided to end Katanga's independence by Sept. 11.

President Moise Tshombe of Katanga conferred with Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld and Britain's High Commissioner in Rhodesia, Lord Alport, in Ndola, N. Rhodesia, on Sept. 17, a day before Mr. Dag's death. The con-

ference on a cease-fire in Katanga was held in the Ndola airport control tower. It began as soon as Mr. Tshombe arrived.

The United Nations headquarters in New York announced that a report had been received from the Congo that Katanga troops fighting against U.N. forces at Jadotville had turned against their foreign officers and reached a cease-fire agreement with the U.N.

The agreement was made possible on Sept. 21st, because Mr. Tshombe did not insist on the withdrawal of all U.N. troops from Katanga. He has, however not given up the demand; it had been referred to the U.N. Secretariat in New York.

If the truce is confirmed, it would open the way to fresh talks between Mr. Tshombe and the Central Congolese Government, but as the position remains confused, the Katanga Radio put out a story to the effect that troops of the Adoula-Gizenga regime, led by an Indian officer, had invaded North Katanga.

Accra Conference on ECM

The Finance Ministers of all other Commonwealth countries produced a shock for Britain at Accra on Sept. 15 by uniting in a declaration of "grave apprehension and concern" at the possible result of its bid to join the European Economic Community.

A communique issued at the end of their three-day conference disclosed that all Britain's Commonwealth partners feared its membership of "The Six" might imperil its relationship with them and weaken the Commonwealth itself as a world instrument for understanding, prosperity and peace.

In the most massive expression of Commonwealth anxiety since Britain first proposed to link with "The Six", the communique said most Commonwealth countries questioned whether Britain, with its other international and domestic obligations could possibly get an agreement adequately protecting the Commonwealth.

The communique representing more than four hours of intense debate, proved even more hard hitting than speeches made by Canadian, Australian and other Commonwealth leaders in the conference discussion of the Common Market issue.

Conference sources pointed out that hitherto apprehension had appeared confined mainly to nations such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada who are big exporters to Britain.

But it was disclosed that all its Commonwealth partners, in greater or less degree, are ranged against the idea of its joining "The Six."

The communique said the United Kingdom delegation made clear that until negotiations started it was impossible to say whether satisfactory arrangements could be made to safeguard essential interests of the Commonwealth. Britain promised continuing and close consultation with all the other Commonwealth countries at all stages of the negotiations.

Malaya and Singapore

The Premier of Malaya and Singapore in a joint statement dated Sept. 16 said, "They have agreed that both the Governments should work out together details of merger with a view to bringing about the integration of the two territories and its peoples on or before June 1963."

The statement was made after three days of discussions in Kuala Lumpur between the Malayan Premier, Tunku Abdul Rahman and the Singapore Premier, Mr. Lee Kwan Yew.

The statement said the two Premiers were satisfied that all legitimate local and special interests of the territories could and would be safeguarded with the merger of Singapore as a State within the Malayan Federation. It added that the Premiers also discussed important constitutional and economic problems arising out of the merger on the basis of the earlier agreement reached on August 23, according to which, Singapore will have autonomy in Education and Labour, while External Affairs, Defence and Internal Security will be subjects for the Malayan Central Government.

The Malayan Defence Minister and Deputy Premier, Tun Abdul Razak and the Singapore Minister for Culture, Mr. S.S. Rajaratnam, were also present at the talks of the two Premiers.

Brazil

Senor Goulart was sworn in at Brasilia on Sept. 7 as President of Brazil. He will be the first President to rule with a Prime Minister under the new system recently approved by Congress and succeeds Senhor Janio Quadros who resigned unexpectedly last month.

Kenya

Mr. Jomo Kenyatta told a public meeting at Nairobi on Sept. 10 that until unity was achieved among the political parties in Kenya, the independence of the country would be delayed.

Nearly 50,000 people thronged the city's African stadium where the meeting was held.

Mr. Kenyatta said Kenya's greatest enemies were bribery and corruption. The desire for leadership on the part of certain African leaders, he said, was responsible for the split among the African people.

He belonged neither to the KANU (the Kenya African National Union) nor the KADU (the Kenya African Democratic Union), Mr. Kenyatta said, adding the two parties aimed to achieve independence for Kenya. "All I ask them to do is to work together and achieve their object."

Mr. Kenyatta said he was opposed to independence for Kenya by stages. "I don't want to hear people to keep on asking when Kenya would get independence because *uhuru* (freedom) is never given but demanded and fought for. Those who have been governing us for many years must accept to be under an African Government."

Referring to the coastal autonomy demand, Mr. Kenyatta said the autonomists were deceiving themselves because "not an inch of Kenya's soil would be given away to anyone."

"The imperialists want to retain the coastal tip so that we continue kneeling to them whenever we want go abroad," Mr. Kenyatta said.

Pak-Afghan Rupture

The final rupture in the Pakistan-Afghanistan diplomatic relations came off with the closure of the Afghan Chancery.

The Afghan *Charge d' Affaires*, Dr. Koshani, told Pressmen that he was handing over the passports of his embassy staff to Pakistan's External Affairs Ministry for the grant of exit visas. The Afghan *Charge d' Affaires* is planning to leave for Kabul by air.

Peshawar reports said that the Afghan Consul in Peshawar left for Kabul following the closure of the Consulate there. Thirty men, Consulate staff, also left earlier.

The Afghan Consulate at Quetta and trade agency at Chaman have also been closed down.

The rupture of diplomatic ties follows Pakistan's refusal to revise her decision to close down the Afghan consulates and trade offices in Pakistan.

All the Afghan consulates ordered to be closed down have been closed.

Dr. Koshani said the closures were on the basis of the Afghan note of August 30, demanding the reversal of Pakistan's order closing down his country's consulates and trade agencies or consider diplomatic ties between the two countries severed.

According to reports from Peshawar, the Afghan Government, have sealed off the border for goods traffic, and all trucks carrying fruit and other goods from Kabul, Jalalabad and Sarobi into Pakistan were turned back from Torkham.

The immediate effect of snapping of ties was that Afghan currency registered a sharp drop by eleven per cent within minutes after the break was announced. Pakistan spokesman asserted that if trade and transit were in any way affected by this break, the "Afghan Government was entirely to blame."

Kennedy's Aid Programme

The Joint Congressional Committee for foreign aid has approved of a 7,200 million dollar five-year foreign aid programme but will insist that the programme be submitted for annual Congressional approval, it was officially announced on Sept. 15. The Committee's decision is soon to be submitted to the plenary sessions of both Houses.

President Kennedy had requested authorisation to spend 8,800 million dollars in aid over five years without further Congressional approval.

This project was seriously damaged in both Houses, despite insistent appeals from the President. Congress traditionally opposes giving the executive a blank cheque, especially on as touchy a matter as foreign aid.

A White House communique published after the Committee reached its decision described the new project as "wholly satisfactory." It added that the essential thing was that Congress had conceded the principle of the five-year plan, even if it had insisted on limiting the methods of application.

Portugal's Protest to U.N. re. Goa

Portugal protested to the Security Council on Sept. 6 that India had threatened "aggression" against Goa.

Senhor Vasco Viera Garin, Chief Portuguese delegate, said his Government denounced Indian "insinuations" on the question and invited world attention to "the technique being used to foster external agitation in order to justify armed intervention."

"The Portuguese Government, furthermore, solemnly declares that the Portuguese State of India is open to those who, with an impartial mind, may wish to observe the conditions of life in that territory and invites world personalities who may so wish to visit the territory and to examine *in loco* the facts for themselves.

Senhor Garin quoted a statement by Prime Minister Nehru on August 17 that "the steps to be taken for the liberation of Goa could be reviewed in order to include the use of the Indian army at the appropriate time" and other statements along the same lines on August 18 and 23.

"The Portuguese Government, in view of the aforementioned statements and reports, wishes to formulate the following observations:

"First, it has to be registered that a threat of recourse to armed aggression has been made with the utilisation of the Indian army itself, and that such a threat was made by the Prime Minister of the Indian Union. As ways and means of solving conflicts or disputes, armed force is not foreseen in the rules which regulate the life of the international community, neither is it foreseen in the Charter of the United Nations, to which the Indian Union has subscribed, and of which they claim the right to be considered the unequalled defender and secondly, the Portuguese Government denies categorically and repudiates with the utmost vigour all the insinuations concerning the situation in Goa and the imaginary measures of repression which it is obliged have taken there.

"Life in the Portuguese State of India is perfectly normal, economic and social development progress steadily, and the patriotism and firm will of the population to remain Portuguese is beyond any doubt".

The Portuguese delegate said "When the Indian Government speaks of 'alterations' in the situation in Goa and of "measures of repression," they are making statements which do not conform to the truth and, what is more serious still, they are completely conscious of and in full knowledge of their falsehood.

"As regards the threat of aggression, the Portuguese Government refers to the preceding facts to the Security Council of the United Nations as the protecting organ of international peace, which it should be in this case as in others, and calls them to the attention of the Council and its members."

The Portuguese note was addressed to the Liberian delegate, this month's President of the Security Council. It did not ask for a Council meeting on the question.

Algeria

Yugoslavia, Ghana and Cambodia, announced full recognition of the Algerian insurgent "provisional Government" headed by Mr. Ben Youssef Ben Khedda.

The announcements were made to the 25-nation non-aligned conference by their Heads of States on Sept. 5.

Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia said his country's recognition was to honour the Algerian people in their fight for freedom. Cambodia believed it would be an effective means towards bringing the fighting in Algeria to an end.

A statement from the Cambodian delegation said that the step did not imply condemnation of France which Cambodia still regarded as one of her closest friends.

Yugoslavia's recognition, announced by President Tito, followed some years of *de facto* recognition. Then President Kwame Nkrumah, of Ghana, went to the astrum to announce Ghana's recognition.

President Modibo Keita, of Mali, called on all countries taking part in the conference to announce their recognition. Mr. Cyrille Adoula, the Prime Minister of the Congo, said his Government would do so very shortly.

Afghanistan announced her recognition on the opening day of the conference.

The announcements, made at the public session of the conference, provoked waves of applause and enthusiasm.

Ben Youssef Ben Khedda, Premier of the GPRA, warmly thanked President Tito, Presi-

dent Kwame Nkrumah and Prince Norodom Sihanouk for their "*de jure* recognition" of the Algerian Provisional Government."

Execution of Menderes and others

Two former Turkish Ministers, both members of the Menderes regime ousted 16 months ago, were hanged at Istanbul on Sept. 16.

They were Mr. Fatin Zorlu, former Foreign Minister, and Mr. Hassan Polatkan, former Finance Minister. They had been sentenced to death at the end of a 11-month trial on charges of violating the Constitution.

In all 15 Democratic Party politicians were sentenced to death at the Yassi island trial. But the ruling National Unity Committee commuted 12 sentences to life imprisonment, including that on 78-year-old ex-President Celal Bayar.

It confirmed the sentences on Mr. Zorlu and Mr. Polatkan and on ex-Premier Adnan Menderes.

Mr. Menderes, Turkey's "strong man" until the regime was overthrown by General Cemal Gursel in May last year, took an over dose of sleeping pills on Sept. 15 a few hours before the verdicts were due. His execution was however carried out on Sept. 17.

Angola

The American President, Mr. Kennedy, called on Portugal to keep pace with the rapid changes in Africa. He described the situation in the Portuguese African colony as "so serious as to have become a cause for concern by the world community of nations."

President Kennedy was replying to remarks made by the new Portuguese Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Pedro Pereira who handed over his credentials at the White House on Sept. 15.

The President said that although the pace of events in Africa was rapid, if Western nations moved quickly and with decision they could still assert the initiative.

The Portuguese Ambassador told the President that Portugal was faced in Angola with a "foreign inspired aggression" perpetrated by States inimical both to Portugal and the United States. He said Portugal was faced with an attempt at extermination not only of the White population of Angola but also of Negroes and mixed bloods who wanted to continue to belong

to the "province's" multi-racial society. He said a malevolent propaganda campaign against Portugal had made it difficult at times for even Portugal's friends to distinguish the reality of the situation.

The Ambassador said the Government security measures were rapidly bringing about a return to normal. Reforms would soon be introduced which would be a far reaching step the political, social and cultural fields.

President Kennedy said he was pleased to note this programme of reform and hoped they would meet the desires of the peoples in Portugal's overseas territories.

The President said: "Although there are diverse ways of interpreting what is taking place in Africa, one fact stands out clearly that the present situation challenges all of us to seize the initiative in the stress of change taking place in that continent and by our actions to create a political, social and economic atmosphere which will sustain a mutually beneficial relationship between us and the emerging peoples of Africa."

"If we falter in accepting this challenge, then only those hostile to our Western values will profit."

Mauritius

The suggestion that Mauritius should join the proposed East African Federation is an interesting one. The island is more than a thousand miles away from the nearest point of Tanganyika, and its racial composition is completely different from that of its suggested partners.

Yet the Mauritian Minister for Works who has been talking to Kenyan leaders and to Tanganyika's Prime Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere, is reported to have found them interested and indeed sympathetic to the idea. If it ever happens, Mauritius' accession would add substantially to the Federation's Asian population: some two-thirds of its 630,000 inhabitants are of Indian descent. The African leaders, whose relations with Indians in their own countries have not always been too happy, have provided further evidence of their desire to forget the past, if they are prepared to see so large an Asian population added to their own: the more so in that Mauritius is desperately overpopulated and would need both economic aid and relief through emigration.

Khrushchev's Warning

Mr. Khrushchev repeated that the Soviet Union was doing all she could to prevent the outbreak of a third world war. But, he warned, should the "imperialists" start a war it would be their end.

The Soviet leaders who were realists knew that such a war would cause their country great damage, but the Soviet Union would survive, thanks to her great size. But what would happen to Western Germany, France or Britain in a thermonuclear war?

Mr. Khrushchev was speaking on Sept. 12 at the opening of a new hydro-electric power station near Stalingrad, the world's largest.

Speaking of Russia's electrification programme, the Soviet Prime Minister said that despite tremendous achievements the power industry was suffering "a number of shortcomings". Work was behind schedule at a number of construction sites for new power stations and not enough efficient use was being made of existing machinery and resources.

He said the Soviet people had unanimously approved the measures taken by the Soviet Government to answer threats by the NATO bloc.

There was no need to remind his listeners of how all imperialist campaigns against the Soviet Union ended, Mr. Khrushchev said.

The people of Stalingrad knew more about such matters than any other people, he added.

If the Soviet Union could defeat the imperialists when she was much weaker than today, then what would be the end of any imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union today?

Mr. Khrushchev said the Soviet people did not impose their ideas upon others. Everybody should live as they wished. But Russia did not wish some people to push the world nearer to the brink of war.

Imperialism was threatening war if a peace treaty (with East Germany) were signed. They wished to intimidate the people of the great community of Socialist countries by threats and the arms race, he added.

The Soviet Union had to reply to their preparations by taking the necessary steps for defence. The Russian people had expressed support for the measures that had to be taken to defend the country in case anything unexpected happened, he said.

"The enemies of the Soviet system, the enemies of communism, dug a grave for us at Stalingrad, but with great satisfaction we buried them in the grave they had dug for us", Mr. Khrushchev said.

The achievements of the Soviet Union were so great that even Russian emigres abroad were proud of them and regretted the day they had left Russia, he concluded.

U.S.A's reply to Soviet threats

President Kennedy has told the two emissaries of the Belgrade non-aligned conference that the U.S. wants a peaceful settlement of the Berlin crisis but is determined not to yield to "atomic blackmail."

This definition of the American position in reply to the neutral leaders' request for a meeting between President Kennedy and the Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, was given by the American head of State verbally to the two emissaries—President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Modibo Keita of Mali, on 13th September.

The U.S. President, sought to show in his talks with the neutral leaders that the best chance of avoiding an atomic war lay in the American attitude of combined firmness and readiness to negotiate.

As for the neutralist proposal of a two-Power summit meeting between President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Kennedy had told the envoys that he did not think a summit conference could be fruitful in the present situation.

However, it was thought that Mr. Kennedy might have stated that if meetings at a lower level, Ambassadorial or Ministerial, showed any hope of a chance of agreement on outstanding issues he would be ready to participate in a meeting of heads of States and Governments.

The U.S. President also stressed in his talks with the neutralist leaders that the U.S. bore no responsibility for the present tension which was due solely to Moscow's unilateral action both over Berlin and in, resuming nuclear weapons tests.

The President called for "a peace which is real, which permits an orderly settlement of difficult problems, a peace which represents the basic aspirations of people everywhere..." He

said the United States shared the objectives of the non-aligned nations conference—"a desire that the world shall continue to move forward and that the people of the world shall live out their lives in the way they want." President Sukarno said his task and that of President Keita was not one of mediation, but to communicate the "thoughts and the concern" of the Belgrade conference which represented about 750 million people.

Punjabi Suba

The Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, said on Sept. 6 that he had put forward the proposal of arbitration in regard to the Punjabi Suba issue to "give the Government another chance to concede through arbitration" what he thought they were resisting for reasons of prestige. "So far as I am concerned," he told Pressmen "I will never allow my community to be demoralised."

When he was told by a Pressman that the initial official reaction to his arbitration proposal was not favourable, the Akali leader remarked: "If that is true, then it only means that the Government are in a haughty mood. They will have to give up that attitude."

"Punjabi Suba," he added, "is our right and a question of life and death for the Sikh community."

When a Correspondent suggested that people were at present more worried about his life than about Punjabi Suba and that his fast was causing a lot of anxiety, Master Tara Singh said: "I am fighting for a cause which has become a point of honour for Sikhs. Even if I die, my community will not die. I want them to live a life of honour."

The reason why he was putting forward conditions for breaking his fast, he said, was that "I do not wish to be adjudged as unreasonable by posterity." He accused Prime Minister Nehru of being "dictatorial" in his methods and said: "I have never seen a man in such a responsible position so unreasonable."

Prime Minister Nehru dismissed as "ridiculous" the suggestion of the Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, for arbitration on the Punjabi Suba issue by a commission including some foreigners.

Mr. Nehru, who returned to India on Sept. 11 after a visit to Belgrade, and Moscow, was talking to Pressmen at the airport.

The issue (of Punjabi Suba) was purely for the Government of India to deal with and it was "ridiculous" to suggest that foreign elements should interfere in this issue.

In a written message to the Sikhs, issued from his fasting chamber, the Akali leader said that should he break his fast without his demand being met, "I will leave such a stigma on the Sikhs' honour, tradition and history as it will be difficult to remove."

He said he would be a traitor to the Sikh community if he broke his fast. He is on his 40th day of the fast on 23rd September.

"My only appeal to my friends," he added, "is that they should pray that I should die like a lion in seeking the fulfilment of my vow."

The current round of talks between the Maharaja of Patiala and the Union Home Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, on the Punjabi Suba issue, have failed, according to information available at the Akali Dal Headquarters Amritsar, Sept. 21.

The Maharaja returned to Patiala from Delhi and is reported to have conveyed to the Akali Dal that his mediation efforts had almost failed.

Nehru and Khrushchev on War

Both Prime Minister Nehru and the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, declared that the world is on the brink of war.

Speaking at the Indo-Soviet Friendship Rally in the packed hall of the Supreme Soviet at Moscow, on Sept. 8, the two leaders pleaded for immediate opening of negotiations to solve world problems.

Mr. Khrushchev told the rally, televised and broadcast in Russia, that "mankind is on the brink of another military tragedy. Aggressive forces want to plunge the world into another war."

"As a pretext for this they are using the question of the peace Treaty with Germany. Our aim is to put out the remaining fires of war by concluding a Peace Treaty with Germany," he said.

Mr. Khrushchev solemnly reaffirmed that he was ready to sit down at a conference table to discuss disarmament and said that if the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union reached an understanding, chances of international con-

flicts could be reduced. He said he was working towards removal of all roadblocks and open the way of good relations.

Mr. Khrushchev announced at the rally that he was convening an international conference to sign a Peace Treaty with both West and East Germany and expressed the hope that even if the West did not participate in the conference, at least others would.

But, he said, Russia would welcome "business-like talks" with the West "which would result in the conclusion of a German Peace Treaty."

He made a long speech in measured and restrained tones after Mr. Nehru had pleaded for a peaceful settlement of world problem. "There is no other way."

Mr. Nehru said that President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana had handed Mr. Khrushchev an appeal from the non-aligned 'summit' conference in Belgrade urging Mr. Khrushchev to meet President Kennedy in the near future.

He said: "I must confess that today I have on my mind and in my heart the problem of the world situation which has recently worsened, so that now even the fear of war has appeared."

Mr. Nehru said it was terrifying to think of war because of the fearful nuclear weapons. In the Soviet Union the importance of peace was perhaps stressed more than in any other country.

Mr. Nehru said war would not add to anyone's prestige. Nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had pointed to the need for disarmament.

Mr. Nehru's Revelation

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru had this happy news to convey to a fear-afflicted world—President Kennedy is agreeable to total disarmament and Mr. Khrushchev to inspection and control.

The U.S. President, Mr. Nehru told a news conference at New Delhi on Sept. 17 was going to put forward proposals for complete disarmament.

Mr. Khrushchev at the other end, had, during Mr. Nehru's visit to Moscow, held out a fountain-pen with which he asked him "to write down the list of controls" and told him

"I shall accept them whatever they are," provided there was to be complete disarmament.

The idea of partial disarmament was fading out, because it was realised that no international problems, whether relating to Germany or any other, could be solved without disarmament.

Answering a question whether he would welcome a ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere, the Prime Minister said he was for a total ban on all manner of tests, atmospheric or underground.

In that context, Mr. Nehru cited India's own deliberate policy of refraining from making atomic weapons which "with some effort" this country could do even now.

The Prime Minister was of the view that countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, were more apprehensive of "united armed Germany" than even of the mighty United States of America. He was leading up to why reunification of Germany however desirable theoretically, was not feasible in the present atmosphere of cold war and differences over disarmament.

Analysing the German question at some length, Mr. Nehru said questions such as access to West Berlin or contacts between the two German States were incapable of solution. The real difficulty lay in fears and apprehension on both sides, "on one side, the fear of Russian power and, on the other, a very definite fear of an armed Germany".

Broadly speaking, Mr. Nehru said the main issues were access to West Berlin and the Oder-Neisse frontier, which were tacked on also to the question of two Germanys. The Oder-Neisse frontier, which was a resultant of the last war, could not be changed "short of another war". This was generally recognised by everybody, but most people would not like to say so in order to maintain their bargaining position.

The Prohibition Convention

The All-India Convention of Prohibition Workers, at its concluding session at New Delhi on Sept. 3, "urged the Central and State Governments to enforce total Prohibition throughout the country on a uniform basis before the end of the Third Five-Year Plan.

Moving the resolution, Dr. Yudhvir Singh, President of the Delhi Nasha Bandi Samiti, said that sales tax would make up the loss in revenue on account of Prohibition. It was not good for the States to take revenue from both sources—sales tax and liquor.

Dr. Singh expressed the hope that the Central Government would issue a directive to the State Governments to enforce Prohibition within the next five years.

Another resolution passed by the Convention said that collective and concerted efforts of the people were indispensable along with the laws enacted by the Government to eradicate social evils. The Convention invited the co-operation of all non-official and voluntary organisations in the country to form a united front for "this crusade for the common man."

The Convention, by a third resolution, stressed the need for a comprehensive and continuing programme of positive action in respect of weaning addicts, devising ways and means to check the false social prestige attached to public drinking, finding and proving sources of recreation and engagements and propagating the cause of Prohibition among the masses.

For this purpose, it decided to constitute an all-India body of Prohibition workers and authorised the President of the Convention to nominate a committee of 51 members, at least one from each State and Union Territory, to draft a constitution for the body and chalk out a detailed programme for its functioning.

Hindi in Government Offices

By March, 1964, the existing non-Hindi knowing staff of Ministries, attached, subordinate and regional offices will have been taught Hindi, according to the preparatory measures formulated by the Union Home Ministry.

The existing non-Hindi knowing staff of branch and local offices of the Central Government will have learnt Hindi by March, 1966. Teaching will, however, continue as long as necessary for new recruits.

As regards Hindi typewriting and shorthand, the existing staff of Ministries attached, subordinate and regional offices will complete training by the end of 1964. The staff in branch and local offices of the Central Govern-

ment will start getting training from 1963-64 and may complete by 1966-67. Again, the training of new recruits will continue as long as necessary.

Under Article 351 of the Constitution, the Union Government are charged with the duty to promote the spread of the Hindi language and to develop it. Accordingly, a scheme for teaching Hindi to Central Government employees has been formulated.

W. Bengal Teachers' Grievances

About 28,000 teachers of secondary schools in West Bengal resorted to "cease work" since Sept. 18, for an indefinite period, demanding higher wages and certain other service amenities.

A call for a State-wide strike and satyagraha by aided school teachers from September 18 was given earlier by the All Bengal Teacher's Association, to press the various demands of the teachers. These include setting up of a correlation committee to integrate the various stages of education (primary, secondary and higher), an autonomous and democratic board of secondary education instead of an administrator as at present, a wage board, a committee to ensure security of service for teachers, and paying higher salaries to teachers of all categories and other staff in school. They also demanded that the minimum for an undergraduate and a graduate teachers should be fixed at Rs. 100 and Rs. 120 respectively, against Rs. 60 and Rs. 70 at present, with dearness allowance of Rs. 35 to be given by the Government. At present, Government contributes Rs. 17.50 as D.A. for each teacher and the school authority an equal amount.

About 4,000 schools will be affected by the proposed strike involving 28,000 teachers. Government and missionary schools (European) are excluded.

The cease-work in the schools in Calcutta and neighbouring areas has been "complete" claimed the All Bengal Teachers' Association which has sponsored the movement.

The strike was called off on the 21st Sept. on an assurance given by Mr. B. C. Roy that the demands of the teachers will be fully met with

BOOKS IN REVIEW

This Difficult Individual Ezra Pound. By Eustace Mullins. Price: \$5. 00 Fleet Publishing Corp. 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

This Difficult Individual, Ezra Pound by Eustace Mullins, is a highly partisan portrait of one of the greatest and most beleaguered poets America has ever produced. The name Ezra Pound provokes just as much controversy today as it did when Pound was directing the literary renaissance of the early twentieth century, or when he began broadcasting over Radio Rome during World War II. The issues have never been settled, and Eustace Mullins has not hesitated to take what is historically an unpopular stand.

It was Ezra Pound, with his enormous energy, red beard, velvet coat and crowned with a single blue earring, who edited Eliot's *Wasteland*, pared Yeats' later style, blue-penciled the adjectives in Hemingway's first novels, began the Imagist movement, helped support the Joyce family—all while creating his own strongly original, individual poetry.

It was also Ezra Pound who, turning his vast talents and energy to another sphere, became a caustic political critic, an outspoken crusader for monetary, political and social reform—qualities that led him to broadcast sentiments over Radio Rome that in any other time or place would have been ignored.

But it was World War II; Pound was indicted for treason and sent to St. Elizabeth's mental hospital, in which "Bastille" he remained until half-heartedly released in April, 1958.

This Difficult Individual is a portrait of the artist, not his works. As Pound's life has always been more of a storm center than his poems, which have earned a secure place in world literature, the issues of this book are indeed provocative and Mullins makes no attempt to remain unbiased. He forcefully attacks Amy Lowell's attempt to buy the leadership of the Imagist movement; the treatment of Pound by the American Army in Italy; the "medieval surroundings" at St. Elizabeth's; Bennett Cerf's striking of Pound's poems from an anthology; the *Saturday Review's* handling of the award of the Bollingen Prize to Pound, as well as the legal injustice Mullins feels Pound suffered from the United States Government.

Mullins' arguments are convincing and well researched, utilizing material never before published as well as his own long-time personal friendship with the poet. Mullins is an accomplished photographer and painter as well as an author. He studied at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Washington and the Escuela Des Bellas Artes in Mexico and has had both photographs and paintings exhibited. This is his first full-length prose work.

On the title page of this new biography is a quotation from a letter by Christian Herter, then Under-Secretary of State, to the superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, "...drop in some day at your convenience... to discuss this difficult individual, Ezra Pound."

After reading the full story of this embattled figure, one can only feel he would never have been so difficult had he not insisted so strongly on being an individual.

Evening Talks with Sri Aurobindo. Second series. Recorded by A. B. Puranu, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp 351, Price Rs. 8/-

The book records the opinions and remarks given to his disciples by Sri Aurobindo, between March 1924 and August 1926, during his stay at Pondicherry. They cover numerous topics, the Guru being "drawn out" by the questions from the disciples. The remarks are valuable for the reason that as they are not premeditated, they express the genuine man. For the same reason they may be faulty, as they may have been conceived merely to parry the interlocutor's arguments. He was apt to express in these conversations his personal prejudices also. We are to remember that in the eyes of his followers, Aurobindo was a transformed and transfigured person. We have heard that he had the vision of Sri Krishna, while in the Alipore jail. To the outsiders he must appear as a man of superior intellectual attainments whose utterances are interesting in the same way, as for instance, Dr. Johnson's, in the pages of Boswell. To the uninitiated, various terms occurring in the book, as "physical mind," "physical vital," "Supermind" cause perplexity. This is a book to keep on our table to dip into for learning the views and opinions of a yogi well versed both in eastern and western culture, on all matters of social and spiritual interest.

Leibniz. By H. W. Carr. 1 § 35

Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning. By R. L. Poole. 1 § 85

Astrology and Religion Among Greeks and Romans. by F. Cumont 1 § 35. Dover Publications 180 Varick Street, New York 14.

A study of one of the most important thinkers of the 18th-century, the German philosopher Leibniz, is currently available in a paperbound edition for anyone interested in the history of philosophy.

Leibniz, by Herbert Wildon Carr, is a lively and stimulating discussion of the great Enlightenment of the philosopher's life and work, his philosophical theories, and the influence of his ideas on the development of philosophy. Written for the interested layman as well as the philosophy student, this volume can serve as an introduction to the unique intellectual achievements of a man who ranks among the most versatile personalities of the Age of Reason.

Leibniz is one of three works in religion and philosophy offered by Dover Publications.

R. L. Poole's book has for many years been a landmark and a guide to students of medieval philosophy. A scholarly work remarkable for its great readability, this book recreates all the intellectual ferment that characterized medieval times from the early controversies of John Scotus Eriugena in the 8th century to Wycliffe's disputations in the 14th.

Franz Cumont was one of the world's foremost authorities on classical religions at a time when the study of comparative religions was still a new field. Now Dover has added another of his works to the long list of his volumes already available in Dover's series of books on religion. This handy edition examines the origins of astrology and traces the transformation of what is perhaps the oldest religious belief of mankind into the official religion of the Roman Empire.

Pathway to God in Hindi literature. By R. D. Ranade. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

Sant Bani—the teachings of the Saints—has been Prof. Ranade's special field of work to which he has been devoting many years of study. Familiar with Marathi, Hindi and Kannada the Professor first turned to the Saints of Maharashtra and his first book of studies in mystical experiences was the one dealing with

Sant Bani in Marathi literature. The present volume is enshrouded with mysticism in Hindi Literature and deals with saints like Ramanand and Kabir, Tulsidas and Mirabai, Raidas and Nanak and the lyrical prayers of Surdas and Bahiro and Dadu. A third volume of *Sant Bani* in Kannada literature is promised, and the trilogy is to complete his studies in Indian mysticism. At home in the philosophies of East and West the Professor's handling of an abstruse subject is it once profound and easy to follow. Dr. Rajendra Prasad under whose auspices, the lecture on "the sublime in mystical Experience" was delivered truly describes it as a "very elevating speech."

Pathway to God in Kannada Literature. By R. D. Ranade, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

The book contains the substance of lectures delivered by the late Prof. Ranade under the auspices of the Karnataka University. It follows the plan adopted by him in his previous books on mysticism in Marathi and Hindi literatures. It does not discuss each poet-saint in separate chapters. There are composite chapters devoted to Incentives to Spiritual Life, Moral Preparation for the Mystical Life, Relation of Saints to God, the Nature of god, Spiritual Realisation, Supernatural Experience, God Realisation and so on. Here is a novel method of discussing the best songs of Saiva and Vaishnava mystics who have written in Kannada and expounding them in the light of modern standards. A distinct contribution to the interpretation of the mystic poets of Karnataka.

Voluntary Poverty. By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by Ravindra Kelekar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

In this brochure the Editor presents Gandhi's views on the subject in 12 chapters under appropriate headings—all extracts from his speeches and writings. Gandhi was firmly of opinion that one should enjoy wealth by renouncing it. This paradox is explained in the series of extracts under such titles as Voluntary Poverty, Theory of Trusteeship, Bread labour in Poverty, Lawful Possession, man's duty, the Divine Law and so on. "Possession seems to me to be a crime," he says, "The only thing that can be possessed by all is non-possession. In other words, a willing surrender."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

CEYLON

STATELESS INDIANS

With the arrival in Colombo on Sept. 13 of Sir Richard Aluvihare, Ceylon's High Commissioner in Delhi and Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranayake from the Belgrade summit, official discussions on Indo-Ceylon problems took place in Colombo. The future status of the "stateless" persons of Indian origin and the question of illicit immigration were the two main subjects which took the pride of place in these talks.

According to present indications, Sir Richard on his return to New Delhi will place at the disposal of the Indian Government his Government's views on the Indo-Ceylon problems after which negotiations are expected first at officials' level and later on arrangements might be made for the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon to meet at a convenient date and place.

Meanwhile the Government's proposal to include seven to eight lakhs of "stateless" people of Indian origin whose future status is yet to be decided upon by mutual negotiations in their register of non-Ceylonese has caused deep resentment in Ceylon Workers' Congress circles. Mr. A. Aziz, well-known Congress leader, told *The Hindu* on Sept. 13 that the problem of Indian settlers was a human problem and should therefore be solved in a humane way. He said that there were distinct categories of people among the estate workers of Indian origin in Ceylon. In the first category were those who were born in Ceylon. For some reason or other citizenship rights had been withheld from these people. But undoubtedly they would acquire citizenship status sooner or later. In the second category where those who had applied for civic rights under the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act but did not succeed owing to unfair implementation of the Act as was shown in the numerous appeals that came up before the Supreme Court. This had been conclusively proved by the fact that over 80 per cent of appeals preferred in the Supreme Court were successful. In the third category were those who knew no other country except Ceylon. Mr. Aziz emphasised that it was most unfair for the Government to take a unilateral action in registering them as non-nationals.

EAST AFRICA

Mrs. GANDHI'S IMPRESSIONS

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who recently toured East Africa, is very hopeful that the people of Asian origin in East Africa will not only be able to live peacefully but also contribute their share towards the political, economic and social advancement of the countries where they live, after they attained their independence.

During her whirlwind tour of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar, Mrs. Gandhi met African leaders including Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, and Mr. Tom Mboya, many of whom assured her both on public platforms and in private talks that the people of Asian origin could continue to live in East Africa with full security.

Wherever she met groups of Asians as people of Asian origin in Africa are called, Mrs. Gandhi did some plain talking, pointing out that their future in East Africa lay entirely in their hands. It was their duty to contribute their share to the economic and social prosperity of the countries which made many of them prosperous.

For many years the people of Asian origin had their own associations. So Mrs. Indira Gandhi's advice to them was that they should sink all these racial differences.

KENYA

INDIAN COMMUNITY'S FEARS

Mr. Tom Mboya, Secretary-General of the Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) said at Bombay on Sept. 15 the Indian community in Kenya need not have any fears when Kenya attained independence.

If Indians opted to Kenya citizenship, then they would be allowed to carry on in peace, but this assurance to them could be proved only when Kenya became independent.

Speaking to the journalists, Mr. Mboya declared that there were two kinds of unities, the unity of the country, and the unity of its leaders. If the leaders united to further their own selfish ends, then the unity of the country would suffer.

Questioned whether Kenya leaders and the people had confidence in Jomo Kenyatta's ability to unite KANU and KADU (Kenya Africa Democratic Union), Mr. Mboya replied: "If Mr. Kenyatta fails, there is no one else who will succeed."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Aug. 26. Burmese Parliament, at its joint session, adopts Buddhism as state Religion of Burma.
—Portugal piles up NATO arms in Goa and starts taking security precautions.
- Aug. 27. Ferhat Abbas 61-year old head of Algerian provisional Government is replaced by Mr. Benn Khadda.
- Aug. 28. Pt. Nehru rejects Punjabi Suba demand and appeals to Tara Singh to give up fast.
- Aug. 29. R. K. Karanjiya, Editor "Blitz" appears before bar of Lok Sabha and is reprimanded.
- Aug. 30. Prime Minister Nehru leaves for Belgrade to attend the Neutral Summit Conference.
- Aug. 31. Russia resumes Nuclear Tests—"decision forced" by West: Moscow's explanation.
—Prime Minister arrives at Belgrade.
- Sept. 1. The Soviet Union explodes Nuclear Test in Asian area of Semipalatinsk.
—Leaders of 24 Neutral Nations Conference meet at Belgrade under the presidentship of Marshal Tito.
- Sept. 2. Mr. Desai, inaugurates First All India convention of prohibition workers at Delhi.
- Sept. 3. Neutral Summit to appeal to Big Two—Special Committee to draft the text.
—Lok Sabha Passes Bill to amend Electoral law.
- Sept. 4. Two more Nuclear tests by Russia again.
- Sept. 5. Pandit Nehru leaves Belgrade to Moscow to appraise Khrushchev of International situation.
—U. S. also announces resumption of Nuclear Tests.
- Sept. 6. The Five day session of Neutral Summit Conference concludes at Belgrade.
—Kabul breaks off with Pakistan.
- Sept. 7. Nehru's talk with Khrushchev in Moscow on International situation.
- Sept. 8. Orissa experiences floods again.
—Mr. Khrushchev rejects UK-US Test Ban offer.
—Autumn session of Indian Parliament concludes.
- Sept. 9. Prime Minister Nehru leaves Moscow for New Delhi.
—U. S. Secretary for Defence announces despatch of 40,000 troops to Europe.
- Sept. 10. Tara Singh's condition causes anxiety and is examined by Govt. Doctors.
—Mr. B. K. Nehru, Ambassador-designate arrives in New York.
- Sept. 11. Lord Pethick-Lawrence, former Secretary of State for India is dead.
—Pandit Nehru returns to Delhi from Moscow.
- Sept. 12. Earl Russell is sentenced to seven days imprisonment for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace.
- Sept. 13. Katanga integrated with Congo and U. N. Forces take over control of Strategic points.
—The No-confidence against the Bihar Ministry is lost by 196 to 36 votes.
- Sept. 14. Fighting continues in Katanga—U. N. closes border with N. Rhodesia.
—West German aid for India is signed at Bonn.
- Sept. 15. U. N. in control of Elizabethville.
—Punjab Police raid Gurdwaras in Amritsar and several Akalis are arrested.
- Sept. 16. Mr. Menderes former Premier of Turkey is executed.
—Fierce fighting in Katanga.
- Sept. 17. President Tshombe of Katanga and Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld discuss cease fire.
- Sept. 18. Mr. Hammarskjöld, U. N. Secretary-General is killed in air crash near Ndola (N. Rhodesia).
—World Tribute is paid to late Mr. Hammarskjöld in his tragic death.
—West German Elections—No majority for Adenauer's party.
- Sept. 19. The Election Manifesto of the Indian National Congress is released.
—Akali mission to Delhi re-Punjabi Suba fails.
- Sept. 20. Investigations open at Ndola and Leopoldville into the cause of the crash of the plane of the U. N. Secretary-General Mr. Dag.
- Sept. 21. Mr. M. Monghi Slim is elected President of the U.N. General Assembly.
- Sept. 22. President de Gaulle relinquishes his special powers which gave him authority as Dictator.
- Sept. 23. U.S. roving Ambassador Mr. W. A. Harriman meets Mr. Nehru at New Delhi.
- Sept. 24. Kisan agitation in Tanjore District results in the arrest of over 4,500 persons.
- Sept. 25. Mr. Sumner Welles, former U. S. Secretary of State is dead.

READERS' DIGEST

THE TRAINING OF VICE-CHANCELLORS

In the course of a thought provoking article on "Vice-Chancellors" Prof M. Ruthnasamy, observes in the New Weekly *Kataka* of Madras:

"If I wrote this article from my own knowledge of universities and Vice-Chancellors, I would be suspected of nursing a bee in my bonnet or having an axe to grind—though at 76 one can only grind one's teeth at the things that are happening and the way they are made to happen.

I am going to quote a great American authority on education—the author of the sensational *Universities—English, German, and American*, which made the educational world in two continents about 25 years ago sit up and think. Abraham Flexner did also some practical work in the reform of medical education and had much to do with the appointment of heads of university institutions. In his recent autobiography, in the chapter on the "Training of Men," he feels impelled to deal with the question of the appointment of heads of universities, showing how necessary it is they should be trained for this high academic post.

The difficult problem in the American university is the finding of a president. What is he, asks Lerner; is he an educator, or an administrator, or a combination of both? He advises university presidents in the making or those already made "to visit quietly and unostentatiously other universities in this country and in Europe, to keep in touch with learned men in America and abroad." A university president may not be a scholar, but "he ought to have a comprehensive view of the history of ideas, of the everchanging conditions of university life in this country and abroad, the ways in which they are being met, the ways in which scholars and scientists feel about them, and armed with this knowledge, he ought to be a wise counsellor in the direction of the affairs of his institution." If he does not do this, Lerner warns, the president is too often at the mercy of his departments. He cannot do it, if he is a stranger to learning and to men of learning at home and abroad, and if his main preoccupations are with blue-prints and finance. Lerner persuaded the General Education Board, a private educational institution established for the improve-

ment of university education and financed by the Rockefeller family, to train young men so as to have in time "a group of possible academic executives acquainted with university problems in this country and abroad."

In India the prepared young men may not be appointed as Vice-Chancellors. Political, communal and family considerations weigh in the appointment of Vice-Chancellors in India. Men are appointed to this academic post for the name they have made elsewhere, for the prestige they carry, for the political pull they may exert. These are facts of political life like the facts of Nature to which man has to adjust himself if he is to survive.

Let them not bury themselves in administration, immerse themselves in blue-prints and finance, as Lerner feared for America; let them read up some educational literature, e.g., Newman's *Idea of a University*, Whitehead's *Essays on Education*, Ortega Y Gasset's *Mission of a Modern University*, and Conant's *Education in a Divided World*. And then there are the *University Reviews* which will keep their knowledge on universities up to date. Travel as a means of education is open to a Vice-Chancellor as to lesser breeds. Visits to Indian universities will show how he can improve his own university. But as the best universities in England and the U.S.A. are superior in organization, in equipment and in men to the best in India—if only because they are older and richer—he must make a tour of these universities at least once early in his career. He must not neglect his own university. Talks (the more informal and the more social, the better) with students, teachers, members of the governing bodies will give him information he cannot get from the files in his office. He must not let himself be led by his Syndicate or Academic Council or Faculties, or Boards of Studies. Even in subjects with which he is not familiar, his wide reading and travel would give him the liberal and broad outlook and treatment which specialists cannot bring to the consideration of problems of syllabuses, courses of study, books and research. It is leadership in every part and level of university life that is expected from a Vice-Chancellor. And he would be false to his office if he does not give it. But he can give it only if he has trained himself for it."

PORTUGAL'S "CIVILISING" MISSION"

The "Africa To-day" points out in an article on the above topic as follows:

Sixty thousand African refugees have fled to the Congo to escape from war-torn northern Angola where already 25,000 Africans have been killed. Twenty-five thousand Africans—this is more than the total dead. African and European, during the seven years of the Emergency in Kenya; more than the total dead in the ten months of strife across the border in the Congo.

That atrocities are being committed on both sides does not diminish the horror of the war. It is a bloody commentary on Portugal's mission.

And as our correspondent Franklin Schaefer notes on page 5, unless the Portuguese Government makes radical changes with speed and determination, or unless the United Nations takes creative, deterrent action Angola may expect to see either the decimation or the annihilation of 4,000,000 Africans or 300,000 Europeans.

Dictator Salazar is not likely to do anything more radical than silence his critics at home and in Angola. In recent weeks the Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Air Force, Albuquerque de Freitas, was relieved of his post, not because he had tried to unseat Salazar early in April, but because he wrote a memorandum criticising the Government's policy in Angola. And three lawyers, leading opponents of the Government, have been arrested for holding a press conference to publicise a 40-page document signed by 68 Opposition leaders which outline a "Programme for the Democratisation of the Republic". These lawyers are believed to have blamed the Government for the chaos in Angola.

In Luanda and in northern Angola, because of the limited number of Portuguese troops and sepoys, the Government has encouraged distribution of arms to white settlers but not to so-called assimilated Africans.

In Lisbon it has been reported that only one African Roman Catholic priest is at liberty in Luanda and that the others (about six) have been arrested for subversion.

In a press release the Methodist Board of Missions notes that during the first month of civil war eight Methodist pastors were reported dead, all African. "At least half of the denomination's 150 African pastors reportedly

either are in prison, have fled with their wives, or have been killed."

The same source continues: "Following the massacres of March 15-18, in which Africans reportedly killed some 500 whites, Mr. Ingles [the Reverend] Guilherme Pereira Ingles, a District Superintendent remained at his home in Piri, Dembos, to try to quiet the local people. European civilians returned with soldiers, and Mr. Ingles was shot in the leg, loaded in a truck, and taken for imprisonment. After a hurried military trial, he was shot, together with the Reverend Cristovao da Silva, local pastor in Piri, and his body reportedly loaded in a truck with others who had suffered a like fate. All bodies were reportedly dumped in the Dange River." He leaves a widow and nine children.

Can there be much doubt that the Portuguese are bent on a campaign to exterminate the only class of citizens who might have bridged the gap between European and African—the "assimilados"?

What can the United Nations do to halt the slaughter? Portugal is not likely to extend an invitation to the U.N. to intervene in any way, as the Congo did last July. The investigating committee established by the General Assembly on April 20 to review past and current events in Angola and to recommend action has not as yet been appointed. The only meaningful finding it can bring to the U.N. is a recommendation for intervention. But without Portuguese co-operation the continuing bloodshed would only be compounded. There is therefore no realistic alternative to forcing Portugal to accept a U.N. role in Angola. And it is up to the United States and Portugal's European allies to make Salazar reverse his position.

Three African refugees reaching Leopoldville showed a reporter for the Associated Press the nose cone of what they said was a napalm bomb. Military experts at the U.S. Embassy confirmed that the nose cone was of American manufacture, and agreed that it could be from a napalm bomb. Why is U.S. made military equipment being used in this senseless war?

As in the case of Algeria, the implication is that the Portuguese are using American arms supplied to them through NATO to fight a colonial war which they will inevitably lose. And if the main objective of NATO is to thwart the expansion of Communism, the permissive use of American arms in a European-African war necessarily dictates that a new Angola will

look Eastward rather than Westward for assistance in its independent future, regardless of Western efforts.

Meanwhile the war continues, pitting a guerilla force of 20,000 Angolan Africans (holding large sections of the northern portion of the country) against a presently equivalent but ever increasing Portuguese military and civilian force.

Pretty ugly. We have to look to Europe for the most recent paralled case of genocide.

JAPANESE WOMEN

A new U.N.E.S.C.O. paperback, 'The Changing Social Position of Women in Japan,' by Takashi Koyama, brings together studies by Japanese specialists—mostly women—in the fields of labour, the family, the rural community, education, civic activities and public opinion.

Japan's New Constitution revolutionised the legal basis of Japanese new institutions. In this study, Mr. Koyama and his collaborators describe the sweeping reforms that gave women equal rights before the law and investigate the present relationship between legal and actual status.

On paper, the rights of Japanese women now compare favourably with those of any women in the world. At one bound the legal family unit passed from the patriarchal to the conjugal type, skipping entirely the intermediate marital structure sanctified in the West by the Code Napoleon. The study makes plain that it will take many years for Japan to absorb the psychological shock of this particular reform.

Although these priorities are still observed in rural areas, they are becoming obsolete in urban families, which now pay more attention to convenience than to custom.

The change in attitudes is also illustrated by an innovation in sharing domestic responsibility. Before the war, it was unheard of—or, if heard of, was shameful—for a man to help his wife with the housework. But only a few years after the war, a survey showed less than half of all Japanese still unconditionally disapproving.

All these are improvements in woman's position after marriage. But what is the situation with regard to the method of choosing a marriage partner? Article 24 of the new Constitution says: "Marriage shall be based

only on the mutual consent of both sexes..." But 1955 Ministry of Labour figures show that while 63 out of 100 Japanese thought that, "one's own choice of a spouse" is better than the parents' choice," only 27 per cent of women replied that they themselves, would dare to oppose their parents' wishes. And a 1957 table indicates that 73 per cent of marriages in large cities were still *miai* (arranged) marriages.

DIRECT ACTION AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

Concluding an article on the above subject in *Mankind*, Pat Arrowsmith says that it is not democratic to obey every law on all occasions regardless of its implications.

"The spirit of democracy is sometimes better preserved when the law is broken—even though it has been passed by a Parliamentary majority. For laws are not absolute or divinely ordained. Their purpose is, or should be, the smooth running of society for the benefit of its members without grossly infringing any individual's rights. The law should preserve the basic values and ideals of a society; and laws that violate these values should be defied. Preparations for nuclear war are preparations for the annihilation of millions of men and women at a blow. They are the antithesis of democracy; and so it is the duty of all true democrats, who believe in human freedom and the right of people everywhere to live in peace and without fear, to resist such preparations with all the force they can muster, short of violence.

Direct Action means individual initiative and readiness to take personal risks. If unilateral nuclear disarmament is ever to be achieved in Britain there will have to be action by large groups of people: political parties, Trade Unions, religious groups and numerous other organizations.

"The demand will have to be widespread the protests massive. But those in the Direct Action movement do not believe in waiting till organizations as a whole decide to protest—this might well mean waiting until, literally, "the crack of doom". Organizations will act once individuals within them are prepared to take a stand, and not before. The action of single man or woman may be like the dropping of a pebble in a pond. The ripples may spread into infinity.

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

The current issue of the *Pakistan Philosophical Journal* maintains a high standard of thought and exposition worthy of the subjects discussed and is blissfully free from the taint of narrowness or sectarianism. The variety of religious beliefs has sometimes been overemphasised. Religions in history, says Mr. Saeed Sheikh may be likened to a pyramid. At the base which corresponds to the particular pronouncements of the different positive religions, we find great variations from race to race and from time to time due to varied natural conditions.

But as we pass from the base to the apex, we find less of the particular and more of the universal. The relation of history as such with religion though very important is a difficult subject; without subscribing to the view that history and religion are congruent with each other it may be said that, by and large, history indicates a process of self-criticism with regard to religion. By the expurgation of crude practices and obsolete ideas and the rising to higher levels of religious apprehension there has been a general advance in religions. Philosophy of Religion insists that it is the inner religious experience and not the precise formulations of it in the forms of doctrines and creeds that are significant.

The formulations are relative to the context of the cultural level and the historical circumstance of the age in which they are made. A discrimination has to be made between the merely local and the temporal and the specifically religious and this can be done only when the history of religions is studied in the light of an insight and understanding gained through the psychology of religion. It is with reference to the 'religious psyche' underlying all types of religion that they have their basis of agreement. It may be said that there is a religion of spirit which represents the transcendental unity of religions above their empirical diversity. In a sense the religions are as the individuals are varied; every individual has his own lonely confrontation with 'the Divine'. But variety brings richness of experience and diversity does not necessarily mean discord. The future of religions does not lie in a dead level of uniformity or in an incongruous eclecticism but in their plurality. All can be a member of one family of religion; the Quran has spoken of all the prophets as one community (21: 92).

The more we understand the basic truth of our own religion the lesser are our differences with other religions.

WHY VILLAGE INDUSTRIES?

One of the main reasons of the poverty of the villages is that many of the agricultural products and various other raw materials which they produce are exported to cities without processing them into finished goods for consumption. This entails a fourfold loss to the villages, observes Mr. R. G. Gupta in *Khadi Gramodyog*.

"While, on the one hand raw materials when sold fetch less price, on the other, the employment which they could provide to the idle hands in their processing, is also lost. The third great loss is the loss of valuable by-products which could be obtained in processing. And, above all there is the terrible loss incurred in payment of high prices in the purchase of goods manufactured from the same raw materials previously sold. This drains the villages of the little wealth they earn from the land. If they are to be rehabilitated, the fourfold loss must be checked by promoting village industries suited to village conditions. Village industries possess exceptionally high employment potential as no other occupation does except agriculture. But agriculture by itself cannot provide enough to meet the demands of rising standards of the modern age. Development of agriculture together with the development of village industries will alone prove efficacious in rebuilding our shattered economy."

THE ARABS AND THE WEST

In temperament as in philosophy, the Arabs are poles away from communism, says the *New York Times* Columnist.

"Their great oil markets lie in the West, their oil resources are extracted, distributed and sold by Western technicians. Vast numbers of Arabs look to the West for their cultural satisfactions, their education, their entertainment and even, sometimes, their wives. The West is a devil they know very well, indeed; the East is no more than an unexpectedly benevolent stranger."

What can the West do to engage the loyalties of this vast new political force?

"Well, perhaps it is too late to do anything. The alternatives of policy have mostly passed

PHILOSOPHY OF POETS

Individual passages in the work of a great poet strike us as being philosophical by virtue of their unusually clear perception of certain verities of life. From there we are led to think that such detached observations of wisdom and insight must be parts of a coherent system of philosophy. Prof. Naresh Chandra, examining the works of some leading poets in their entirety says this is an illusion and the assumption is not justified on closer study.

"Shakespeare affords a superb example of creating this kind of illusion. 'The philosophy of Shakespeare' would turn out, on such an examination, to be a meaningless phrase. A system of philosophy is different from a vein for philosophising."

Not only these detached philosophical observations cannot be co-ordinated into a system of philosophy, but very often they are also irreconcilable with each other.

"A flash of insight of one moment seems to contradict that of another. There are verbal and ideational contradictions in most poets who have been credited with a philosophy. Wordsworth is a case very much to the point."

There are poets who have a coherent philosophy or an exact system of thought in their poetry, but almost without exception it is found to be borrowed from some other thinker.

"The best example of a consistent philosophical poem in European literature is Lucretius's *On the Nature of Things*, and we know that its philosophy is appropriated from Epicurus. Dante borrowed his scholastic philosophy from St. Thomas Aquinas; Spenser from the Neo-Platonists; Shakespeare from Seneca, Montaigne, Machiavelli and others. Wordsworthian profundity is found on closer examination to flow from certain fountains of thought in English, French and German philosophers. Tagore's mystical vision will be totally eclipsed if the illumining rays from the Upanishads and the Persian mystics were cut off. One poet appears to be more philosophical than another not because his own thinking is more profound, but because his source is a greater philosopher. Epicurus and St. Thomas Aquinas were more consistent and original thinkers than the Neo-Platonists, or Seneca, Montaigne and Machiavelli, and that is why Lucretius and Dante are hailed as more philosophical poets than Spenser or Shakespeare."

away, eliminated by differences of opinion within the Western allies.....by desperate lurches and backslidings, the West has advanced to its present position and the marines have landed in Lebanon to further a cause that is already lost."

Is it too late to cut our losses, he asks. It is never too late, but by now the alternatives are harsh indeed.

"We can crush Nasserism by brute force and risk a world war; or we can abandon all attempts at political influence in the region, allowing it to coalesce (as it certainly would) into a unity dominated by Nasser, hoping that the cohesive force of Arab nationalism would prevent its decline into anarchy or its domination by Russia."

A third alternative, he says, is to knock on that once unknown colonel's door with our caps in our hand and say we are sorry and would like to come to terms.

"We can agree in principle to the withdrawal of our physical presence, especially in the Persian Gulf, and the abandonment of such instruments as the Eisenhower Doctrine in return for guarantees (for what they are worth) that Western economic interests would be respected and that the United Arab Republic would remain genuinely neutral. Or, finally we can just bluster hopelessly on, rudderless and aimless, the Keystone Kops of diplomacy."

THEN AND NOW

Why is it, asks Dr. Sampurnanand in the *Economic Review*, that men who only a few years back were ready to sacrifice not only their belongings but life itself on the altar of the public weal now seem suddenly to have sunk so low?

Public response to appeals for co-operation with the Government is also lacking in warmth. People may support official initiative by offering Shramdan, but it is not possible to enthuse them over any objective not demonstrably of direct use to them. The tendency to carping criticism is there in abundance, but of sustained effort, of the realization that one is the votary of a cause, of a sense of dedication, there is hardly much evidence.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM

In the course of his report to the fifth Congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia at Belgrade, President Tito observes :

"We have been witnessing the grandiose awakening and struggle of the colonially-oppressed people against colonialism, for the achievement of their independence and assurance of their free development in line with their own needs and desires. Many countries have already won emancipation from colonial oppression, while many more are about to achieve their freedom. This is of immense importance for the further promotion of international relations. These are new factors on the scene of international relations and events.

Most of these countries, as a rule, aspire to progressive internal development. On their road to progress they wish to avail themselves of the most progressive socialist elements of the present stage of social development, which, in view of their backward and underdeveloped condition, clearly, entails great objective difficulties. The former colonial powers on their part, endeavour to take advantage of these difficulties in order to maintain their influence and the possibility for economic exploitation under new guises.

As for the assistance which is extended to the underdeveloped countries and to countries that have recently won their independence, it is as follows: According to United Nations statistics, the underdeveloped countries in the course of 1958 received foreign assistance amounting to a total of 3,300 million dollars, that is to say less than a dollar and a half per capita. These countries, on the other hand, in the course of 1958 turned over the sum of more than 6,000 million dollars to public and private investors, which means that 3 dollars per inhabitant went for profits, interest, annuities. Hence it is clear that the process of economic development will be very slow if nothing is done to curb the plundering of these countries and if greater assistance is not extended to them through the United Nations as soon as possible.

The underdeveloped countries are not asking for charity. They are entitled to assistance based on such principles as will enable their rapid and comprehensive development. The

peoples of the newly-liberated and the still dependent countries, can bear no blame for their backwardness and misery. The guilt lies with the colonial system of exploitation and oppression. A group of countries amassed their wealth, built up their economic prosperity and cultural life, largely through colonial exploitation.

The resources saved from disarmament could thus, be used to give assistance to those to whom the colonial powers owe at least a part of what they took from them in the past."

THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY

Mr. Nwankwo Ezeabasili, a young African teacher, writing in *The Aryan Path* offers careful reflections on African character and cultural possibilities. The white man's ascendancy in Africa, he says, has disturbed the traditional life.

"The African, seeing the superiority of the rifle over the arrow and of antibiotics over the witch's potion, has thrown overboard much of his culture—even those aspects that are beneficial to him. The old order has collapsed, giving rise to semi-chaos. Today it is no longer the honest and hard-working man who is the hero. The hero is the lazy, corrupt policeman, politician or public servant. For, dazzled by flashy American cars, radio and television sets and the whole miscellany of technological gadgets, we have hugged the shadow but missed the substance. Hence the dejected African intellectual is urging a revival of our ancient culture."

To encourage interest in African culture, the African governments have introduced annual festivals of arts and crafts. There is also the growing feeling in some quarters that African Universities should replace the Classics with Ancient Egyptian and Classical Arabic, which are relevant to our culture.

"In the political sphere there is also a tendency to look back for inspiration to the days of African glory, to the days of Mansa Musa the magnificent, to the golden age of Askia, the African Pericles. That is why the Gold Coast adopted the name Ghana after independence and French West Africa has become the Mali Federation. What is most essential, the elites think, is that a future Africa should be built on a judicious selection of what is best both in our culture and in European culture. This will build, they hope, the African personality."

"It is not that the African has never had any personality, but that the African, victim to brutal historical forces for well over four centuries, is not quite himself."

"At first, it was fear of slave raiders, then fear of being driven away from one's land by European settlers and, finally, fear of European overlords: the history of Africa is writ in blood and terror. Such stresses as these have had an adverse psychological effect on the personality. With independence, the African will once more be able to take his right place in the comity of nations."

SANSKRIT: THE NEED FOR ITS REVIVAL

Sanskrit is the mother of most of the Indian languages and many others have drawn their sustenance from it. It was once the measure of our culture and the banner of our civilization, says the *Vedanta Kesari* :

The accredited scriptures of the Hindus, the Vedas, are in that language, the Itihasas and the Puranas which are the commentaries and explanations of the truths embedded in the Vedas are also in Sanskrit. Our ethical codes too are written in that tongue. It covers a wide range of subjects like law, medicine, chemistry, engineering, military organization, politics, economics etc., conducive to the life of a progressive nation. It is not merely the language of the pundits and the religious. In it we find a most perfect language capable of expressing easily the most abstruse philosophical truths as well as the most scientific ideas. The term 'Sanskrit' itself means, the 'Refined,' the 'Perfected' and this name suits it admirably well. It is the queen among languages. It has a tough code of grammar which can frighten the bravest hearts. Yet it has attracted students who have dedicated their whole lives to its learning. Western savants like Max Muller and Paul Deussen took great pains and spent a life's fortune in its study and translated the thoughts expressed in those wonderful books, the Vedas, into their languages. These ideas now have revolutionised the thought current of the West. The West found a philosophy in the Vedas which could stand its ground in the face of the latest scientific researches and the severest tests of logic."

Yet such a rich language, such an extraordinary heritage of ours has been neglected for more than two centuries now. The result has been that whatever it stood for, culture, ethics and religion have begun to disappear from the land.

"It may be pardonable and understandable that we were not able to do anything when we were under foreign rule, but it is a matter of regret that even after independence Sanskrit, the 'soul of India' did not receive proper attention in our country, not to speak of the pride of place it deserves. Why should not the country after such a long spell of foreign dominion enrich itself by tapping this invaluable source of inspiration? Is there any logic in merely copying Western models in all the vital matters of our national life and in throwing our rich cultural heritage overboard? The nation stands to lose much by adopting this suicidal policy."

HOW TO FIGHT CASTEISM

The State must refuse to recognise in the public life of the country differences based on caste, community, religion or any other sectional interest, writes Acharya Kripalani in the '*Vigil*.' To this end he says :

"The census forms should have no column for the recording of a citizen's caste or even his religion. Nobody need flaunt, his caste or religion in the face of others. The latter is his own private concern to regulate his life and his relations with his Maker, if he believes in one. The religion of a person may be recorded at his birth in an official register or in his temple, mosque, church, gurdwara, fire-temple, etc. If a caste or a community wants to have a census of its own members, it can do so at its own expense and for its own consolation. The State should not recognise or use it for public purposes. What is prescribed for census here must also apply in the case of educational institutions and public offices. All official forms for services, licences, etc., which a citizen is required to fill and file these days, must have no columns for the recording of a citizen's caste, community or creed. All this can be done by the party in power."

FLOOD CONTROL

Every year, with varying degrees of intensity, floods occur in one or the other of our rivers inflicting distress on people and causing damage to property. While the floods last, they make sensational news. Public interest is roused to a pitch as news of the havoc wrought by nature's fury pours in. Gallant rescue and relief operations are mounted by Government and the people.

But, what happens afterwards? asks the *Economic Weekly*. Not much.

"Once the floods abate public interest wanes and soon the floods and their victims are both alike forgotten. It would be surprising if events do not follow the familiar pattern this year also."

"In his statement in the Lok Sabha the Minister for Irrigation and Power assured the House that detailed assessment of the damage caused by floods was being carried out by the State Governments concerned. Shri Ibrahim also disclosed that the Government was considering setting up Inter-State River Boards to promote and operate flood-control schemes. It would be a travesty of the truth to say that, even as things stand today flood-control works suffer for lack of Boards or Commissions or other agencies."

"No, agencies to formulate or execute flood-control schemes, there are many. The fault must lie elsewhere. Shri Ibrahim himself hit the nail on the head when he said: 'We are examining whether in the future designing and construction of dams greater cushion should not be provided for flood absorption and steps taken that, where such a cushion is provided, it is not encroached upon for purpose of irrigation and power generation.' Such encroachment in fact has been the rule rather than the exception in the past. Of the many objectives of our multi-purpose river projects, flood-control, navigation, irrigation and generation of power, the priority accorded has been roughly in the reverse order. The Damodar Valley Corporation is an example *par excellence*. The D.V.C. was set up primarily for controlling the floods of the Damodar and its tributaries; but in the course of the execution of the projects, flood-control has been progressively relegated into the background. So much so that four dams, included in the original scheme to ensure complete flood control, have never been taken up for execution at all."

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGE IN U.K.

Madeline R. Robinton, Associate Professor of History at Brooklyn College, discussing Parliamentary Privilege in Britain, says in the course of an article in *Political Science Quarterly* that there has always been a strong sense of the honour and reputation of the House for maintaining the high standard of conduct of its members.

Privilege of the House is almost another way of saying responsibility; the House cannot and will not tolerate its abuse.

"Even the privilege of free speech in the House may not be abused. An interesting statement made in the course of the debate on the Allighan case by Earl Winterton—then known as the 'Father of the House' because of his knowledge of House of Commons traditions—throws some light on a problem that plagued our Senate and House of Representatives in the 1950's."

"If anybody in the exercise of what he believes to be his undoubted Parliamentary rights, gets up in this House and makes an attack which would be libellous, and might even be a criminal libel on a person outside the House, by long practice in the House, Mr. Speaker as the Chairman deprecates such conduct, and the House as a whole, whatever its political complexion, shows by its attitude that no such attack should take place."

This has been borne out most sharply by a recent incident in the House. The Labour party had been trying unsuccessfully to force the government into holding an inquiry into alleged leakage of information about the raising of the bank rate on September 19, 1957, which might have led to private gain.

"Will he not now, in order to allay public anxiety on this matter, state clearly whether he did or did not, or any other Treasury representative did or did not, see the Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Party, who has vast City interests, the day before the bank rate went up?"

This tactics, *The Economist* called "is an example of the technique of the smear"; "the proper reaction was therefore of distaste." It resulted, however, in the person so named, not then a member of the House, asking the Prime Minister for an opportunity to defend himself through a judicial inquiry against the charge stated under "absolute privilege accorded to Members of Parliament."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

The election manifesto of the Indian National Congress, released on Sept. 19 is an admirably balanced record of its achievements after Independence in the economic and other fields. The sense of responsibility which the Congress has acquired and developed since its assumption of office is fully reflected in the moderation of language employed in the manifesto and the absence of extravagant promises merely designed to capture the unwary voter.

The manifesto follows generally the economic approach outlined in the successive Five-Year Plans. The aim of the Congress after independence was "to establish a democratic political structure based on the parliamentary form of Government and to build up by democratic means a rapidly expanding and technologically progressive economy and also a social order based on justice and offering equal opportunity to every citizen". The manifesto claims that the Congress has achieved these objectives in a considerable measure.

It also claims that "the first two Five-Year Plans have laid sound foundations for social and economic growth. The basis for better agriculture has been laid; larger power supplies are available; heavy industry, including large steel plants, has come into existence; and large scale machine-building plants are under construction. All this has prepared the ground for more rapid progress in the course of the Third Plan. This period is a crucial one for India's growth. On the success of the Third Plan will depend the establishment of a socially balanced and increasingly prosperous and integrated community. It will also advance towards the achievement of a self-sustaining and self-generating economy". The manifesto confirms the social objectives of the Congress. It says that "the existing inequalities and disparities in the social fabrics are ethically wrong will obstruct progress on all fronts and produce considerable strain." The new social order must preserve the worth and dignity of the individual and create a sense of equality, fraternity and cohesion. While according a place for the private sector in the industrial development

programme of the country, the manifesto urges that steps must be taken to prevent the growth of monopolist tendencies and the concentration of economic power. The manifesto does not regard State trading and cooperative farming as dogmas but something to be attempted if found desirable and on a voluntary basis.

For the first time the Congress manifesto has made a reference to the fixation of ceiling on urban incomes. While observing that the principle of ceiling on land holdings in rural areas is not wholly applicable to urban incomes the manifesto says that "it is however necessary to have limitations on high incomes through taxation and other means to lessen the great disparities that exist to-day". The Congress which depends on rural support to a considerable extent declares in the manifesto that "there should be no village at the end of the Third Plan without adequate provision of drinking water, primary school and proper approach road".

The manifesto admits the emergence of fissiparous tendencies based on religion, language, caste and creed and urges the need for national integration. It makes a brief reference to the controversial subject of language and accords its approval to the Three-Language Formula adopted by the State Chief Ministers. On Prohibition too, the manifesto lays down a careful policy and does not fix any target date for its enforcement throughout India as was recently recommended by the central Prohibition Committee presided over by the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai.

The subject of foreign affairs was given the last place in the manifesto. The manifesto "deplores the revival of nuclear tests which not only produced harmful results for the present and for the future generations of humanity but also add to the tensions prevailing in the world and the possibility of war". In general, the manifesto endorses Mr. Nehru's foreign policy. It says that while "the ending of colonial domination has made considerable progress during the recent years" there is still the domination of colonial powers over vast territories notably in Africa.

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Utterances of the Day

KENNEDY ON NUCLEAR TESTS

President Kennedy announced the immediate recall of Mr. Arthur Dean, the chief U. S. negotiator at the nuclear test ban talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva, declaring that the Soviet Union bore a "heavy responsibility before all humanity" for its decision to resume nuclear weapons testing.

President Kennedy in a speech following the decision declared on Sept. 1, that "The termination of the moratorium on nuclear testing by the Soviet unilateral decision leaves the United States under the necessity of deciding what its own national interests require." The Russian decision was made "in complete disregard of the United Nations."

The President said the Soviet Government's decision "presents a threat to the entire world by increasing the dangers of a thermo-nuclear holocaust."

The Moscow announcement to resume testing indicated "the complete hypocrisy" of Soviet professions about general and complete disarmament.

H. N. KUNZRU ON TEST BAN

The first step to solve outstanding world problems like Berlin and Germany is the complete stoppage of nuclear tests, Dr. H. N. Kunzru told the 51-nation conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Brussels on Sept. 15.

The Indian delegate said: "I do not know the reasons, political or otherwise, which have led the Soviet Union to resume nuclear tests, but this decision makes the situation much more dangerous."

Referring to the Soviet statements that they were in favour of complete disarmament, Dr. Kunzru said amid applause: "I hope the Soviet Union is ready to carry out complete disarmament. But, is it not strange to speak about disarming when nuclear tests are resumed?"

Touching on the problem of Germany and Berlin, Dr. Kunzru said: "The future of the world depends on the ability of the Soviet Union and the United States to come together and solve their problems. But I have no doubt that the first step in this must be the complete stoppage of nuclear tests."

He added the question of peace should be the main subject for discussion at the conference and urged moral pressure by the conference on the big powers.

MR. KHRUSHCHEV ON PEACE

The Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, invites the Governments of all countries which participated in the war against "Hitlerite Germany" to join in an international meeting to sign a German peace treaty. Speaking at a banquet held at the Kremlin in honour of Prime Minister Nehru, on Sept. 7, the Soviet Premier said the question of a German peace treaty had become the key problem.

The signing of the peace treaty, Mr. Khrushchev said, would solve the problem of the normalisation of the situation created in West Berlin. His proposals in this regard did not interfere with the interests of the Western Powers, he added.

"The people of the world need peace, but peace would not come by itself. It can be reached only by mutual and active efforts of all peoples and Governments, including the neutral States. People cannot be merely indifferent to the problems of war and peace and the mere wish for peace would not remove the threat of war," Mr. Khrushchev said.

Earlier, Mr. Khrushchev praised India's peaceful policy and the efforts of the Indian Government to make the international situation healthier.

JOMO KENYATTA ON UNITY

Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, East African Nationalist leader, has said that his role in Kenya today was that of a unifier.

"My sole object is to forge unity among all Kenyans," Mr. Kenyatta said addressing a luncheon meeting arranged in his honour by the Kenya Freedom Party (All-Asians) at Mombasa on Sept. 4.

Mr. Kenyatta explained: "The word *uruhu* (freedom) means change of authority. The time has come when Africans who are a majority community should take a lead, but at the same time we need you people—most of you—Arabs, Indians, and Europeans."

Mr. Kenyatta added "Without you, we feel that the progress of our country (Kenya) will lack in something."

"The more we are together, the happier we shall be. If you can stick to that and work together for the prosperity and peace of the country, then we will be doing something to benefit the country."

Mr. Kenyatta optimistically observed: "I feel the time has come when we must all pull together in every way. That is what is needed in Kenya."

NEHRU-KHRUSHCHEV STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT

Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Khrushchev declared that general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control was the most important question facing the world at present.

In a joint communique, issued after the conclusion of Mr. Nehru's talks with Mr. Khrushchev in Moscow on September 6, the two Prime Ministers agreed that "in the present international situation the most important guarantee for the preservation and maintenance of peace lies in a determined effort to solve peacefully all problems which are creating tension among the nations."

They "resolutely condemned" the actions of the Portuguese colonial authorities in Angola and elsewhere, the communique said. During the talks between the two leaders Mr. Khrushchev declared that he "deeply appreciated and sympathised with" the desire of the people of India to immediately liberate Goa, Daman and Diu from Portuguese colonialism.

DAG'S LAST WARNING

The U. N. Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, gave a warning in some of the last words he wrote that failure by the U. N. to press for peace and human rights would be "treason to the future."

"The U. N. finds itself in a difficult stage of its development," Mr. Hammarskjöld wrote in the October issue of a Methodist Church magazine. "It is still too weak to provide the security desired by all, yet it is strong enough to point out effectively the direction in which solution must be sought."

"It is easy to say that it is pointless to state the law if it cannot be enforced. However, to do so is to forget that if the law is the inescapable law of the future, it would be treason to the future not to state the law simply because of the difficulties of the present."

KING OF NEPAL ON EVEREST

King Mahendra of Nepal declared that Nepal will never give up Everest and that China will be told of her position if the matter is raised when he visits Peking next month.

Addressing a Press conference at New Delhi last month the King also referred to the border talks with Peking and said that talks were going on between Nepal and China in regard to the tri-junction where India, China and Nepal meet and that Nepal would commence discussions with the Government of India as well.

WEST GERMAN ELECTIONS

The ruling Christian Democratic Party (CDU) of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer retained its position as West Germany's most powerful party in general elections—but it lost its absolute majority in Parliament says a message dated Oct. 19.

Dr. Adenauer, was re-elected for the fourth time in his Bonn constituency.

Similarly, other Christian Democrats, Vice-Chancellor Ludwig, Erhard, who is also Economics Minister, Heinrich Von Brentano, Federal Foreign Affairs Minister and Mr. Franz Josef Strauss, Defence Minister, also regained their seats in the Bundestag—the West German Parliament.

Official returns gave the following as the party position in the new Bundestag:

Christian Democrats—241.

Social Democrats—190.

Free Democrats—66.

TAMIL NATIONAL PARTY

The newly-formed Tamil National Party, at its first annual conference held at Madras on Sept. 18 at SIAA grounds, decided to contest in the forthcoming General Elections.

The conference, by another resolution, demanded that the name "Vanoli" should be used in the place of "Akash Vani" for all India Radio in Tamil Nadu and said that if this was not acceded to by the Centre, then a campaign for the non-payment of radio licence fees would be started in January, 1962.

Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, M.P., Founder of the Party, who presided, stressed that Tamil Nadu should be for the Tamilians only and said that their party stood for internal autonomy for Tamil Nadu with the right of secession from the Indian Union.

PAKISTAN AND OCCUPIED KASHMIR

The Pakistan Government would give "recognition" to the Government of the Pakistan-occupied Jammu and establish diplomatic relations with it soon after the forthcoming Presidential elections in "occupied Kashmir" thus introducing a basic change in its status, the *Morning News of Karachi* reports.

The paper says "It is hoped a number of foreign Governments which have in the past supported Kashmiris' right of self-determination will also recognise this Government establishing direct relations with it."

Educational

FUNCTION OF UNIVERSITIES

The Standing Committee of the Inter-University Board, at its meeting held in Madras on Sept. 18 passed a resolution deploring trends towards encroachment on the recognised duties and privileges of the Universities in India and tendencies that made them unduly subject to influences detrimental to their proper functioning.

The Committee noted with regret recent trends towards controlling and directing the activities of the Universities (1) by certain statutory bodies created for definite purposes by Parliament; (2) by certain advisory bodies created under different Ministries; and (3) by changes introduced in the University Acts enacted by State Legislatures either for the establishment of new Universities or for the purpose of amending the existing University Act. In the opinion of the Committee, these had led to considerable encroachment on the recognised duties and privileges of Universities and had tended to make them unduly subject to influences detrimental to their proper functioning.

The Standing Committee recognised that unfortunately certain Universities or certain colleges might not have come up to the requisite standards, but the obvious remedy for this was to particularise the University or college concerned and to utilise the provisions of the existing University Acts either for the purpose of enquiry or for the purpose of introducing such changes as might be necessary to tone up the institution. In the opinion of the Committee, the undue interference by extra academic bodies which had not the responsibility to ensure proper functioning of the Universities would lead to considerable deterioration in the working of Universities. In particular, some of the statutory Council which had been constituted had given the impression that the Universities were not in a position to set their own houses in order. The Standing Committee felt that this was a most unsatisfactory state of affairs and strongly urged that advisory bodies, even though statutory, should limit themselves to advise and where any University had not been able to keep up the standards, the situation could be met by applying provisions of the respective University Act and of the University Grants Commission Act.

PUBLICATION OF TEXT-BOOKS

Dr. K. L. Shrimali, Union Education Minister, informed the members of the informal Consultative Committee of M. Ps. on Education, which met at New Delhi on Sept. 5 that the Ministry of Education proposed to convene a conference in the next few months to discuss measures that could be adopted for the improvement of text-books at all levels of education.

He outlined the steps already being taken by the Ministry to encourage the inexpensive publication in India of foreign text-books and other standard works. He said that efforts were being made to reduce the price of reprints of books from the present level of one-third to one-fourth the original price.

The Minister said that with the assistance of an inter-Ministerial Committee select lists of titles in basic sciences, humanities, medicine, agriculture and veterinary science and engineering and technology had been finalised.

TEACHERS IN WEST BENGAL

The All-Bengal Teachers' Association announced the withdrawal of the State-wide teachers' strike from September 21 on an assurance by the Chief Minister that all junior high schools would be given aid in the same way as the higher secondary schools. The decision to call off the strike was taken at a meeting of teachers held at Calcutta on Sept. 19.

The leaders said they would meet the Chief Minister again to discuss the question of penalising the schools if they failed to implement the new pay scales either from their funds or from the aid.

THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY

In connection with the non-official Bill introduced in the Madras Legislative Assembly on 18th Sept. for amending the Madras University Act, 1923, the mover Mr. A. A. Rasheed, has stated his objects and reasons thus:

The main Act reorganising the University of Madras in the light of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (properly known as the Sadler Commission) was enacted in 1923. It envisaged a very rapid development of all activities of the University but this did not actually happen. Between the years 1923 and 1943 various amending Acts were passed. But after that there has been no attempt at amending the Act so as to bring its provisions up-to-date, or to remove the defects found in its practical working.

Legal

CHIEF JUSTICE OF MADRAS

The President has appointed Mr. Justice Subramanya Ramachandra Iyer, acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, to be the permanent Chief Justice of that High Court with effect from 16th Sept. when he took the oath of office.

Mr. K. S. Venkataraman, ICS, chairman of the sales tax appellate tribunal, and Mr. R. Sadasivam, District and Sessions Judge, are appointed as Puisse Judges of the Madras High Court.

EARL RUSSELL

Eighty-nine-year-old Earl Russell (Bertrand Russell, the philosopher) was awarded two months jail for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace.

There were cries of "shame" and "Fascists" when the famed writer was sentenced in Bow Street Magistrate's Court. He was one of 37 members of the "Committee of 100" summoned for having incited members of the public to commit breaches of the peace by organising mass sit down protest against nuclear weapons.

One man in the court cried out "poor old man" as the sentence on Lord Russell was pronounced. Later the Magistrate, Mr. Bertram Reece, was shown a medical certificate concerning the philosopher. He then immediately reduced the sentence to seven days.

He was released on Sept. 18th. Lord Russell issued a statement declaring an international resistance movement against nuclear war.

The statement said: "At any moment of any day the slightest miscalculation can bring nuclear war. Rockets are poised at a few minutes notice, H-bombers are continually in the air, radar is totally unreliable.

PENALTY FOR ROUSING COMMUNALISM

The Lok Sabha passed on Sept. 4 after a lively debate lasting nearly five hours, the Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill which provides that appeals to the electorate by the candidates of their agents on grounds of race, community, or language, amounted to a corrupt practice punishable under the electoral law. As in the case of the Indian Penal Code Amending Bill which has already been passed by the House, this Bill also seeks to achieve national integration.

But for minor amendments making verbal changes the House rejected a spate of amendments moved from the Opposition by an overwhelming majority.

The main line of criticism was that national integration could not be achieved through legislation and the ruling party was trying to suppress the freedom of expression of all minorities to air their genuine grievances on the eve of elections.

VALUE OF ONE ANNA IN nP

Allahabad High Court on Sept. 1 held that one anna was equivalent to 6.25 nP.

The court gave the judgment while dismissing a writ petition filed by a businessman of Kanpur. The petitioner challenged the validity of the U.P. Sales Tax (Amendment) Act, 1958, which said the rate of sales tax at one anna per rupee in the notification of 1956 should be construed as being expressed in terms of nP, and he was assessed to sales tax under the impugned Act at the rate of 6.25 nP. per rupee.

The businessman contended that the substitution of one anna should be by six nP, and not 6.25 nP. It was further contended that if the substitution was so made, the tax liability of the petitioner calculated at the rate of 6 nP, would be less by about Rs. 800.

EDITOR OF 'BLITZ' REPRIMANDED

Mr. R.K. Karanjia, Editor of *Blitz*, appeared before the bar of the Lok Sabha on Aug. 29th and received the "reprimand" from the Speaker for committing breach of privilege and contempt of the House.

The punishment was in respect of "a libellous despatch" published in the weekly, which according to the Speaker, brought Mr. J. B. Kripalani into "odium and contempt and ridicule" while discharging his duties as a Member of the Lok Sabha. The Speaker told Mr. Karanjia that as an Editor he had the responsibility for exercising restraint and caution. The Speaker further said that Mr. Karanjia's explanation, submitted to the Privileges Committee, aggravated the offence. The Editor Mr. Karanjia, bowed when he entered the House and withdrew in silence after the Speaker had pronounced the sentence.

PRESS COMMENT ON ASSEMBLY SPEECHES

The Madras Legislative Assembly approved on Sept. 22nd the report of the Committee of Privileges on the editorial comments of the "Mail" regarding the discussion on the police demand in the House in March last. The Committee came to the conclusion that the comments of the paper exceeded the limits of fair comment but recommended to the Assembly that no action be taken.

RESERVE BANK'S MONETARY POLICY

The Reserve Bank's monetary policy in the Third Five-Year Plan would continue to be a two-pronged one, namely of ensuring an adequate flow of credit to meet the genuine requirements of agriculture, industry and trade and checking speculative excesses with their inflationary overtones, says the annual report of the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India issued on Sept. 9.

LIGNITE FROM NEYVELI

The extraction of lignite in bulk for being sent to foreign countries for testing in low-shaft furnace and electro-chemical process for production of iron began on Sept. 16 in the presence of the Madras Chief Minister, Mr. K. Kamaraj, and the Minister for Industries and Labour, Mr. R. Venkataraman.

The function not only marks an important milestone in the industrial development of the South and the culmination of the sustained and patient efforts of all those in charge of this project, but has also set at rest the doubts entertained by some regarding the feasibility and practicability of the whole scheme because of the innumerable—natural and other—difficulties.

U.K.'S. ENTRY INTO E.C.M.

Grave fears that the United Kingdom's entry into the European Common Market "could be damaging to British Commonwealth solidarity" were mentioned in an official communique issued on Sept. 14 by the British Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conference.

The communique said: "The meeting provided the first opportunity for general discussion among Commonwealth countries of the situation resulting from the decision of the U.K. Government to apply for and negotiate towards membership in the European Economic Community."

NEED FOR LIBERAL TRADE POLICY

Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank, said at San Francisco on Sept. 12 that advanced countries could assist India through liberal trade policies so that increased trade would supplement external assistance.

Mr. Iengar, who was speaking at the International Industrial Conference, organised by the Stanford Research Institute and the National Industrial Conference Board said that India was aware that if her exports were to rise, the structure of Indian export trade had to undergo a change and competitive ability

had to be maintained in world markets on the basis of the quality of goods and their prices. As a late comer, however, in the export field for diversified manufactured goods, India would find her task difficult without a liberalisation of trade policies by the industrially advanced countries.

W. B. LOAN TO COAL INDUSTRY

The World Bank has agreed to give a loan of 35 million dollars (Rs. 17 crores) to the Indian coal industry in the private sector.

Disclosing this in an informal talk with correspondents at New Delhi last month Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel, Sardar Swaran Singh, said that the joint team of the coal industry and the Ministry which went to the U. S. recently had succeeded in negotiating the loan. Formal agreement would follow in due course.

The loan would cover the foreign exchange requirements of the expansion of the private sector collieries in the first two years of the Third Plan.

AID INDIA CLUB'S HELP

On Sept. 4 Mr. Morarji Desai, told Mrs. Ila Pal Choudhuri that the Government of India had approached member-countries of the "Aid India Club" and some other friendly countries and institutions to allow a part of the aid committed by them for the Third Plan to be utilised for purposes other than for import of equipment on project basis. The Minister said that the reaction of these countries "has been favourable."

Some of the credits already negotiated against committed aid permitted straight draws in cash or provided for the import of components and specified commodities, he added.

AID TO INDIA FROM I.D.A.

India will shortly receive assistance from the International Development Association—an affiliate of the World Bank for three schemes says a communication dated 22nd Sept.

The Scheme relates to proper drainage from waterlogged areas, certain irrigation facilities in Gujerat and Orissa and for rural electrification in certain States.

Negotiations for assistance for these schemes, which will be of the order of 34 million dollars, will begin shortly and are expected to be completed in another two months.

RATIO OF WOMEN IN INDIA

Women in India are getting fewer than men, according to an official analysis made of the sex ratio for the last 60 years, from 1901 to 1961.

Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan show fluctuations between 1901 and 1961. Assam and Bihar show a stationary ratio between 1951 and 1961. Gujerat shows a slight deterioration, while Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh show an appreciable downward trend. Punjab and West Bengal have slightly improved their sex ratio.

And if the States were to be arranged in decreasing order, of sex ratio, a curious pattern would seem to emerge roughly on either side of latitude 22 degrees. The State-wise sex ratio is appreciably lower north of latitude 22 degrees than south of it.

Computing the number of men as against 1,000 women, the States north of this have: Rajasthan—908, Uttar Pradesh—908, Jammu and Kashmir—883, West Bengal—879, Assam—877 and Punjab—868.

The ratio south of this latitude is: Kerala—1,022, Mysore—959, Gujerat—939, and Maharashtra—935, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh have 991 and 952 respectively.

EDUCATION OF GIRLS

In the Lok Sabha last month, women members succeeded in securing an assurance from the Education Minister, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, that lack of funds would not come in the way of girls' education during the Third Plan.

Dr. Shrimali, who was replying to a special debate on girls' education, said the Centre would see to it that the special programme for which Rs 11 crores had been allotted to the State was implemented properly.

Initiating the debate, the Communist member, Mrs. Renu Chakravarty, wanted the Centre to take over the special programme from the States. She pleaded for specially earmarked allocation for girls' education in order to provide incentives. Otherwise it was doubtful, if the target of 61 per cent enrolment of girls would be achieved. She said the Education Minister's statement that about Rs. 175 crores would be available for girls' education out of the total allocation of Rs. 280 crores for general education was a "mathematical jugglery based on wishful thinking."

The women members from the Congress benches, Mrs. Ila Palchoudhury, Mr. Manjula Devi and Mrs. Lakshmi Bai, supported Mrs. Chakravarty's demand.

The Education Minister said the slow progress in women's education was not due to lack of resources. If the social prejudice against girls' education was not overcome, no amount of financial allocation would help the pace of progress.

At the instance of the Education Ministry, the Planning Commission had given the highest priority to girls' education. The Commission also took the view that the special programme should be made the responsibility of the States as education was State subject instead of putting it in the Central sector. But that would make no difference so far as the implementation of the programme was concerned.

EQUAL PAY FOR CHINESE WOMEN

Chinese women working on farms were now requesting "pay according to work" in many of the communes in People's China.

In view of the current unpredictable weather in the country commune leaders had been calling on more and more women peasants to take to the fields to assist their menfolk in farming.

However, it was noted that the remuneration due to women was not equal to that of the men, and that this discrepancy be rectified.

MISS NONI JAVABU

British newspapers featured on September 7 Miss Noni Javabu, a Bantu woman, who was appointed Editor of *The New Strand*—a new fiction magazine in London—on September 6. Miss Javabu is the first Bantu African woman to hold an important post in Britain. Editor Javabu will have under her a staff, which includes a Marquis—the Marquis of Donegall—and she will be able to commission work from Britain's leading fiction writers. She has been working on *John O'London's Weekly* since January, and has just finished her second book on African life in modern times.

A SOVIET GIRL'S FEAT

Tatiana Tchelkanova, of the U.S.S.R., set up a new world women's broad jump record of 6'49 metres at the Sofia University on Sept. 2, doing so she beat her own world record of 6'48 metres which she set up in Moscow last July.

General

LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, former Secretary of State for India and Burma, died in London on Sept. 10.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, who was 89, was Secretary of State for India when the sub-continent achieved independence. He headed the British delegation which negotiated the transfer of power from Britain to the independent Indian Government.

He was the elder statesman of the British Labour Party, and was one of the few "old Etonians" in the ranks of British Socialism.

"Fate has been kind" is the title of the reminiscences he wrote at 70. He held the governing shares in *The Echo*, London's half-penny newspaper, and he edited it for two years until it faded out—the staff and creditors were then paid out of his own pocket. He also edited the weekly, *Votes for Women*.

He entered Parliament in 1923 as Labour member for West Leicester, victor surprisingly over Winston Churchill, then making his last stand as a Liberal. This seat he held until the Labour crash in 1931, and then after four years in the wilderness, he was returned for East Edinburgh. In the 1929-31 Government, he was Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

POET BHARATI

Subramanya Bharati, more commonly Bharati, to whom the entire Tamil-speaking world paid their annual homage last month, was a political exile in Pondicherry during the days of its French governance. With sanguine Indian outlook in everything he did or dreamt, he was at once a poet, patriot and prophet—a rare and remarkable combination of virtues for any but a true master.

Poet Bharati was a revolutionary by instinct and by actions and this spirit manifested itself in his patriotism which cut new paths in the presentation of great ideas. The very breath of his poems was patriotism and poetry, and it is this lead of Bharati that has possessed Tamilnad today. To say that both in poetry and literary style Bharati excelled and the so-called moderners just plagiarised him is just to state an indisputable fact. The trend of modern prose and poetry is about the best tribute to the genius that was Bharati whose diction marked not merely the simplicity of the commoners but the fecundity of the scholars.

FILM FOR CHILDREN

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, said that there was need to train specialists who would be able to produce films suitable for exhibition to children.

The Union Minister who was inaugurating the Third International Film Festival at Calcutta on Sept. 11 said that just as there were special text books for children, special fables and stories for them, it was necessary to have special films for them.

COMING GENERAL ELECTIONS

The final list of candidates of the Congress Party for the ensuing general elections both to the Parliament and the State Assemblies is expected to be ready by the second week of this month.

The Congress Working Committee met on September 18. The State Pradesh Election Committees are expected to send their lists of candidates both for the constituencies where the Congress won the elections last time and also for the constituencies where they lost the elections.

The Central Election Committee will meet some time in the second week of this month and finalise the list.

T. S. S. 'STATE OF MADRAS'

To mark the 100th voyage of T. S. S. "State of Madras" the Eastern Shipping Corporation passenger liner, doing service between Madras and the Straits of Malaya, Messrs. K. P. V. Shaik Mohamed Rowther and Company, the Madras Agents of the Corporation, got up a party at the Passenger Shed in the North Quay of the Madras Harbour last month. Mr. C. T. A. Pillai, Collector of Customs, presided. Mr. Syed Yousuf, Partner of the Company, welcomed the guests. Capt. E. H. Lewelyn, Captain of the ship, thanked the guests for their good wishes.

Mr. Haja Sheriff took round the ship Pressmen, who were present, and explained various amenities that were available to passengers of different classes on board.

MR. B. K. KAUL

Mr. B. K. Kaul, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance, will take office as man of the Life Insurance Corporation of India on March 1 next.

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. Jinarajadasa, Justice M. C. Chagla, Dr. C. Rajagopalachari, Sri B. J. Wadia, K. Natarajan, Mr. Dillip Kumar Roy, Smt. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, Mr. B. Sanjeeva Rao and Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.

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