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THE INDIAN REVIEW.

JAN. 1962.



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THE INDIAN REVIEW

Editor : MANIAN NATESAN

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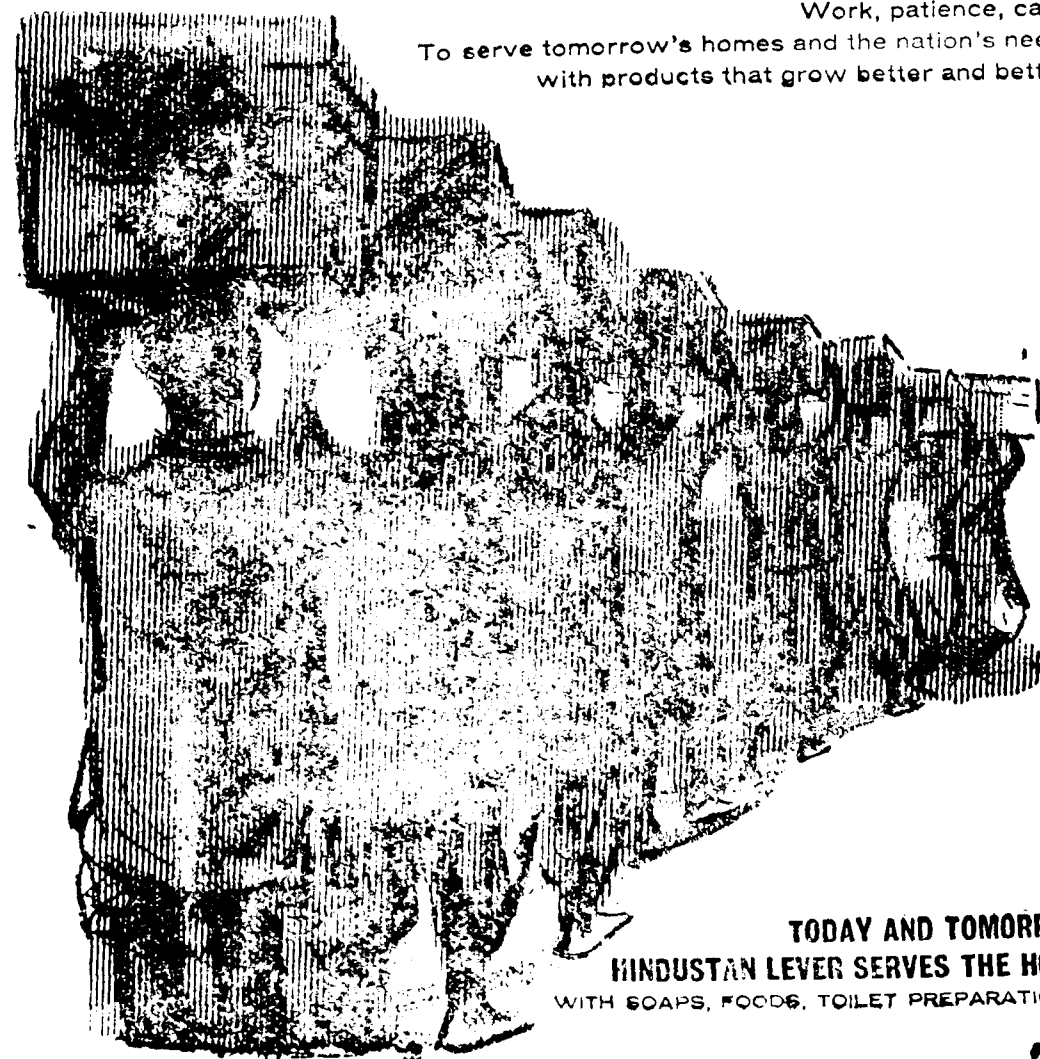
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Editor: MANIAN NATESAN

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JANUARY 1962

[No. 1

Politics, Sociology and Class

By

CHRISTOPHER MARTIN

THE paper-back revolution has attracted a great deal of attention, but there is one aspect of it that seems to have been overlooked. If you examine the list of titles of contemporary Pelicans (and their competitors), and compare them with the lists of twenty years ago, in the early paper-back days, you at once notice a significant contrast. The popular mentors of 1940 wrote chiefly about two subjects: politics and psychology, Harold Laski, G. D. H. Cole, C. G. Jung, Huxley, Joad, Middleton Murry, as well as H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw from an earlier generation—these were the leaders of thought on matter of contemporary concern. And while their interests ranged widely, it is clear in retrospect that the core of their thinking was political, with the recently established science of psychology asserting itself in support. Today, by contrast, the subject that lies at the back of popular writing is sociology.

Political writing rests on the assumption that the shortcomings of a society lie primarily in the weakness of the arrangements it makes to get itself governed. Thus the basic point that Laski and Cole and the rest kept on making was that these must be changed before society is capable of improving. Since about 1950 the urge for political reforms has wilted in spite of *Crossbow* and the *New Left Review*. A major reason, I suspect, for this decline of interest in politics is the relative failure of the West to transplant its parliamentary systems overseas. As we watch the tussles and expedients of Pakistan, Ghana, or Indonesia, the value of Western systems as a beacon for the rest of the world decreases, and once that starts happening, we turn our domestic atten-

tion from how we are governed to how we live. How we live is the province of sociology, and the twenty-year change in popular emphasis is a change from sweeping recommendations to that detailed observation and reportage which is the stuff of sociological analysis.

The change is reflected in serious (and in popular) journalism is connected with our growing awareness that we know far too little about our own society (let alone anyone else's) and so that before we dare sweep with suggestions for political reform we ought to find out in the greatest possible detail exactly how people live, exactly who is affected and how, by which stresses of modern living.

This shift of interest from politics to sociology goes back to Marx. While his influence as a political thinker and as an economist is paramount, there is some truth in saying that his observations on class-structure have either been accepted as part of the canon or else looked upon as a Hegelian incursion upon his central ideas. I am thinking not so much of his famous analysis of past history in terms of recurring class struggle as of his vision of the classless society that emerges with the withering away of the state; a vision revived by Mr. Khrushchev's new programme for the next twenty years. And the idea I should like to throw out, with no doctrinaire intent but rather because it may illuminate what is happening in our society at present, is that our present obsession with sociological rather than political discussion can perhaps be most fruitfully understood in Marxian terms.

The matter can be put less forbiddingly by an analogy. Politics, and political institutions,

are the framework, the scaffolding if you like, of a sovereign body politic. In the sense that the building is never finished, politics, and concern with politics, continue to be necessary. But in so far as it is true that we have now reached the limit of our political vision of what our state should be like—that is, short of revolution—we are turning our interest much more to the building itself and the people who live in it, trying to see in what ways, by domestic rather than structural re-arrangements, we can make things more comfortable for them all. Thus our interest is more and more in what jobs are like, and whether council flats are sound-proof, and how to make hospital patients comfortable, and less and less in the political means towards these generally recognised ends, like the composition of the country council or even of the House of Lords: think how much more notice the popular press would have given the Wedgwood-Benn court case only twenty years ago. Now its chances of becoming an English Dreyfus case, dividing the nation in half on a crucial issue, are slender precisely because of our prosperity: in countries that are shaping their institutions, like the new nations of Asia and Africa, political debate takes priority, and rightly so. Our own society has more interesting and important pre-occupations.

Sociology comes to the support of our humanitarian instincts. Although it deals in groups, in stratification and classification, its subject matter is people. The questions it asks about them are the questions that concern them as people. When it seeks to study their attitudes to neighbours, or estate, or whatever else some survey is investigating, it cannot do what politics does and treat them as less than people. Politics talks about masses, about voters, about taxpayers; and while politicians properly buy themselves with the problems and difficulties of those whom they represent, politics is often the wrong medium for solving them, since it has to squeeze them through the strait-jacket of political debate. What starts as the difficulties of a group of people becomes, in

any two-party system, the debating point of the politician. Without taking a rigidly utilitarian stand, one can none the less still point out that the danger of translating social problems into political terms is that the means become the end. While political institutions ought to be serving society, social problems instead end up as the grist out of which political innovations and directives get manufactured.

The name we usually give to this confusion of ends and means is totalitarianism: and the liberal democracies of the West habitually pride themselves on avoiding the errors of the Eastern empire. But the errors are only avoided so long as people are treated as people, are looked at sociologically rather than politically.

What can be said is this: sociologically, the patterns of living in the various member countries differ greatly. Not only are there obvious inequality in standards of living, but there are the more deep-seated differences in social structure: Holland probably comes nearest to a neat bourgeois (burgerlijk) society, from which Belgium is held back its linguistic division. France presents the contrast between a strongly proletarian industrial society and a peasantry that finds its sporadic expression in Poujadism or the recent Breton uprisings. Italy and Germany both with their marked contrast between north and south, in some measure share this distinction, and add to it their fond, illicit memories of fascism to assuage disgruntlement. Great Britain—and the term is again valid, since Ireland has declared her intention of signing the Rome Treaty as soon as the United Kingdom has done so—will contribute to this melange not a homogeneous housing estate society, as the advertisers encourage us to assume, but a structure at least as complex as any of the others. Sociological approach, offers as an urgent preliminary, much co-ordinated social research, offers the most hopeful way towards a cohesive, if not a classless, Western European Society.—(Courtesy "Listener")

Our Health Problems

By

Dr. D. P. KARMARKAR
(Union Minister for Health)

WHEN asked regarding the things that he prized most in life, Samuel Johnson replied—"Good health, good books and the companionship of loving friends." Indeed, throughout history man has attached the greatest importance to good health.

The ancient philosophers in India, prescribed Yogic exercises for developing the optimum efficiency of the body with a view to enabling them to practise spiritual exercises. "May everybody be healthy" was the prayer of the ancient *Rishis*, Indian tradition elevated medical tests to the status of scriptures. The idea of positive health has been a recent addition in modern medical thought; but Charaka defined the objective of Ayurveda ("Science of life") to be the promotion of the health of the healthy and the curing of the ailing and the diseased. As is well known Ashoka appealed to his officers to put up hospitals wherever they could. The idea of a welfare state was present in the mind of political philosophers and the King was supposed to be the trustee of the good of the people. However, the idea of such a state in its fullest form was developed in India only after she achieved independence.

The problems in the field of health that faced us in 1947 were numerous. Hospital services under the auspices of the State served a very small proportion of the population and they were concentrated mainly in the district towns and a few outlying places. The main activities of the public health authorities in the pre-independence days were much limited and confined to the control of epidemics. Medical education was represented by institutions at a few important centres, serving the limited need of the time and medical research had just made a beginning. Development work in India during the last 13 years has been devised on an organised basis and under the guidance of the Planning Commission, and the Central and State Governments have undertaken health programmes on a national scale.

Obviously in India, like in other not fully developed countries in Asia, the problems connected with communicable diseases and impure water supplies and unsatisfactory sanitation,

were the first to be faced. As the Planning Commission observed when they finalised the First Five-year Plan (1951), "the principal health problems were those relating to lack of hygienic environment conducive to healthful living, low resistance which is primarily due to lack of adequate diet and poor nutrition, lack of proper housing, safe water supply, proper removal of human wastes and the lack of medical care both curative and preventive."

Consequently, our main attention during the last 13 years has been concentrated on the control of eradication of communicable diseases, and provision of safe drinking water supply and establishment of better conditions of environmental sanitation and promoting better housing. The student of public health knows that in other advanced countries also in the earlier stages of development, the State concentrated its efforts on the prevention and control or eradication of communicable diseases, as conditions there were similar to those in India.

When public health work was initiated in the last century in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America, people suffered greatly from polluted water supply and filth resulting from unsatisfactory disposal of human wastes. We know of the great effort which the pioneers of public health in those countries like Edwin Chadwick and Stephens Smith had to put in to arouse the conscience of the community to the serious problems raised by the unsatisfactory condition of public sanitation and impure water-supplies.

A century of effort has enabled those countries to wipe out many of the communicable and create conditions of optimum health. It has been rightly observed also that the economic prosperity and consequent improvement in nourishment and living conditions has by itself enabled the people to live a healthy life. Similar consideration have weighed with the Indian planners in attaching great importance to the economic betterment of the people and to the control or eradication of communicable diseases.

By far our biggest health problem has been malaria. As has been rightly observed, "the

most important tropical diseases in India—malaria—maims as well as kills, and causes more sickness, misery and death than any other single disease.” The earlier efforts for the control of the disease were made by improved sanitary measures and the destruction of the adult mosquitoes by using contact insecticides and suitable larvicidal measures at possible breeding places on the one hand and limiting the reservoir of infection by treating the patients who suffered from the disease on the other.

Since the advent of more potent anti-malarial drugs and residual insecticides like DDT, during the Second World War, control operations were so effective till 1958 when following the example of other countries and the lead of the W. H. O. we have undertaken total war on malaria with friendly international aid and if results achieved till now can serve an indication with an almost certain hope of success. The success so far achieved has been so spectacular that almost universally people in India have come to look upon malaria as a thing of the past; though very vigilant efforts will be necessary to carry out our plan of eradication during the Third Plan period, as has been proposed.

Tuberculosis is our next biggest problem and we have tried to evolve a national plan for its progressive control by B.C.G. vaccination on the one hand by enlarging curative institutions on the other. It is obviously impossible with the 141 sanatoria and hospitals, 375 clinics and wards, and a bed strength of a little more than 26,000 to cope with the ravages of the T. B. entailing as it does an estimated incidence of about 5 millions and a mortality of 5,00,000 every year. Our plan in the first instance is to have at least one clinic in every district, and also to undertake, wherever it is possible, mass screening and treatment on an extensive scale.

Leprosy from which 1.5 million people are supposed to be suffering at any given time is sought to be tackled not only by increasing in-patient accommodation, but also by mass screening and case-finding and treatment on a thorough basis. It is heartening to learn from reports that the percentage of sufferers who have found substantial relief or cure has been increasing.

Though vaccination for smallpox has been in vogue in all parts of the country, it received particular attention in the past only when it appeared in epidemic form resulting in increa-

sed incidence and mortality. A scheme for total eradication has now been undertaken and it is proposed to reach every adult and child and to vaccinate or revaccinate them during the Third Plan period, so that the reservoir of infection is dried up and our people are protected against this cursed disease which has meant death or disfigurement of hundreds of thousands.

The national plan for the control of venereal disease from which 10 per cent of the population are estimated to suffer envisages a sufficiently large number of special clinics.

We have since 1954 tried to develop a National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme, both in the urban and rural areas. As against 20 million people then served by protected water supply, about 80 million are now served as a result of numerous water supply schemes under the national plan. The outlay on water supply schemes till now is estimated to be 986 million rupees and about 1,280 million rupees are proposed to be spent during the Third Plan period. Sewerage schemes have also been undertaken and some completed, but much more needs to be done.

As observed above, medical care in early days was mostly limited to the cities and in order to make health services available to the mass of our people in the villages a programme for establishing primary health units, at present, one in each community development block composed of 66,000 of the population, has been evolved, and as many as more than 2,743 such centres are at present functioning. The objective is to promote both preventive and curative services through these centres in course of time. The idea is to enlarge the number of these centres so that the health service may be able to teach all the rural areas.

Like in other countries, urbanisation, which is helping the growth of our economic and industrial development, has also contributed problems of overcrowding and insanitation. Townplanning has been thought of and practised in the advanced states for many years, but a concerted effort is being sought to be undertaken through the Central Rural and Urban Planning Organisation, which has come on the footsteps of the Town Planning Organisation for Delhi, which has, in collaboration with foreign experts, now presented the Master Plan for Delhi. Steps are

being taken also for elimination of slums and promotion of better housing. But this, obviously is a long-range problem not easy of ready solution.

Medical Research in India has progressed with the development of medical services, and the Indian Council of Medical Research, working on the foundation of the Indian Research Fund Association, earlier started, has made substantial contribution to the field of medical research. It has promoted reliable surveys, regarding the incidence of Tuberculosis, Leprosy, Filariasis and Trachoma; gathered data on nutrition; and promoted and financed research, particularly in the medical colleges. Under its direction are working Research institutions of national importance like the Nutrition Research Laboratory at Hyderabad, and the Virus Research Centre at Poona. Much spade work has been done which is evidenced by the Research papers already published, but much more obviously remains to be done.

In a country like ours, increasing population itself assumes the shape of a health problem, by making it difficult for health schemes to be worked out efficiently. There are many countries where the rate of population growth is greater than in India; but in context of Indian conditions, a limitation of the family becomes a great need in the interest of both individual and national welfare. The Government of India have therefore, promoted a national programme of Family Planning, depending, for its success, on the willing cooperation of the people. The programme has found good acceptance, and is gaining momentum, and it is hoped that it will begin to show positive results by the end of the coming decade.

It is obvious that these large-scale programmes required personnel much larger than was available. We have had therefore to increase the number of training institutions and as a result there has been a substantial increase in all types of health personnel. The number of medical colleges has increased from 25 in 1947 with admission of about 1,983 students to 58 in 1960 with more than 5,000 admissions.

Similar improvement has been recorded in the matter of ancillary service personnel, like midwives and visitors. Increased efforts have also been made particularly to train public health personnel through well-established ins-

tutions like the All-India Institute of Hygiene & Public Health, Calcutta and the Malaria Institute of India, Delhi. Recently national tuberculosis Training centre has been started in Bangalore. There is still need for greater training facilities both in respect of services and training personnel and the Third Plan envisages larger training facilities.

It is obvious that a national effort like this cannot succeed without the co-operation of the people. Efforts are being made for enlisting such co-operation by associating representatives of the public in official work and by suitable measures of health education. Health Education Bureaux have been functioning in the Central Government and in some of the States. It is proposed to establish such Bureaux in all the States during the Third Plan period.

In the war against disease it is necessary to equip ourselves with adequate supply of drugs and pharmaceuticals. The growth of pharmaceuticals in India has been satisfactory and is hoped that by and large by the end of the Third Plan period the country will be self-sufficient in all vital drugs and pharmaceuticals, including insecticides for effective public health work. As is well known, a large number of drugs has been known from ancient times through Ayurveda and other indigenous systems, and efforts are being made for the development of these systems on an organised basis and the utilisation of the medical knowledge of the earlier times to the best advantage of the people.

In a country like India, with a large population, the organisation of our health work needs not only careful planning but also efficient execution. The states in India are autonomous in all matters except Defence, Communications and External Affairs, and it is they that have to undertake measures for the execution of health plans. The integration of the work in the States has been sought to be achieved through a common forum like the Central Council of Health consisting of the Health Ministers of the States and periodical meeting of officers. I am happy to say that by and large our health programmes have received earnest attention from all the States and if sometime targets are not achieved, it is not due to want of will, but want of either resources or suitable personnel.

Health Services in different countries have taken varying forms. For instance, while in the U.S.A. public health work has been largely undertaken by the State, leaving the work of medical relief largely to private enterprise, in the United Kingdom the State has evolved a national health service, both in preventive and curative sectors. In the Soviet Union, the State has taken over itself the whole responsibility for health of the people. The likely development in India, so far as one can foresee the future, is the development of health services by the States both for the prevention and cure of disease on a very large scale without disturbing the services being rendered by private medical practitioner. Our emphasis on positive health has to be greater than in the past and intenser measures for immunisation, greater care of the mother and the child and larger efforts for health education, are obviously urgently called for.

The result of the efforts for the improvement of our people's health till now are seen in the rise in the expectation of life from 32.5 years in 1941-50 to 42 years in 1961, and the reduction in the mortality rate from 19.7 in 1947 to 11.3 in 1958. People are taking much better care about their health than before and our retirement age in the Government services, which is now 55, is fast being looked upon as out-moded. The percentage of people in good health after 60, though still small, is more than what

it was before. Significant also is the reduction in maternal and infant mortality; the death rate in the former category having gone down from 20 to 12 per 1000 live births and from 146 to a little less than 100 in the latter. These are broad indications, but they can serve as sure pointers.

It should not be forgotten that we of the present age stand better than those in the earlier times in our struggle against disease. There was a time when each country and people fought their battle for health alone. There was an exchange of knowledge no doubt, but there was not that international co-operation which has come into existence in recent times.

We in India have received co-operation and aid from international organisations like the W.H.O. and the UNICEF and national Governments of Commonwealth countries, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union amongst others, and Organisations like the Colombo Plan, the Rockefeller Foundation, and Ford Foundation and similar agencies have also helped us in our efforts. This international co-operation has not only assisted us in the work already initiated, but has also stimulated adoption of new programmes. The world no longer works in isolation. It is realised that danger to the cause of health somewhere is a danger everywhere.

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Co-operative Farming

By

SRI M. P. BHARGAVA

TODAY, (2nd Oct. '61) 50 new cooperative farming societies will start working in different parts of the country. These societies are being formed in pursuance of a programme of setting up of 320 pilot cooperative farming projects during the Third Plan. A pilot-project, which would include 10 societies, will be set up in each district. These projects are to be organised in selected community development blocks where the cooperative movement and panchayati raj have made headway and where the right type of leadership is likely to be found.

The main object of the pilot projects is to assist the small farmers and landless cultivators in increasing agricultural production and employment. The projects would also help in evolving suitable methods and technique of organisation, operation and management of cooperative farming societies in varied conditions. The societies are to be organised voluntarily and there would be no compulsion in any form. Those who agree to join a society should agree to pool their land so that it may be cultivated jointly.

A substantial number of societies in pilot areas should be new. Not more than 10% of

[JANUARY 1962]

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

existing societies may be included in the pilot projects. In the organisation of societies, the following basic considerations are to be kept in view:

(i) The bulk of the members should be farmers and landless cultivators.

(ii) Membership should be open to those who are prepared to work on the farm or take part in other approved activities. The number of absentee members and non-working members taken together should not exceed one-fourth of the total membership.

(iii) The number of members and the area pooled should not be below the minimum prescribed by the state.

(iv) Land should be pooled for a minimum period of five years. Withdrawal during this period might be allowed in exceptional circumstances e.g., a member leaving the village. At the time of withdrawal, land of equal productivity may be offered at the edge of the farm. Cash compensation might be paid, if mutually agreed.

(v) Cultivation through labour intensive methods should be the main activity of the farm. Ancillary activities like poultry, dairying, cottage and small scale industries should also be promoted. Maximum utilisation of local resources should be stressed.

(vi) The programme of consolidation of holdings should be coordinated with cooperative farming. It would be desirable to start societies in areas where consolidation work has been completed, or where it is in progress. It should, however, not be a pre-requisite to the formation of societies.

(viii) The approach to the organisation of pilot projects should be flexible and in keeping with the local conditions. Rigidity in any form should be avoided.

As pooled resources of the members may not be adequate for executing the schemes of land improvement and additional employment farming societies will require timely and adequate financial assistance. Such financial assistance can be secured from cooperative banks and the Government. It is also necessary to ensure that a society is not started with exaggerated hopes of outside aid. Excessive dependence on others diminishes the initiative of the members and hampers their capacity to take right decisions. While assessing its

requirements, the society should examine carefully whether the investment would be productive and repayment can be made from the increased production.

Government assistance, on the following scale, will be available to co-operative farming societies in pilot area from the Co-operative Plan:

Medium and long term loan (average rate)	Rs. 4,000
Share capital contribution by government on matching basis (Maximum)	Rs. 2,000
Construction of godown and cattle shed 75% loan : 25% grant (Maximum)	Rs. 5,000
Managerial subsidy (spread over a period of 3 to 6 years)	Rs. 1,200

In addition, co-operative farming societies would be able to receive assistance on a preferential basis out of the funds available under C.D. Block budget, G.M.F. and other schemes relating to agricultural development.

For cottage and village industries, which form an integral part of the programme of co-operative farming, the societies can get assistance from the schemes of Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the Ministry of Commerce and Industries on a preferential basis.

In the implementation of the programme, emphasis should be on quality. If the quality is good, the programme will gather strength and the movement will gather momentum. The promoters and members of the society will need advice and technical guidance on matters relating to agriculture, farm planning, cottage industries, accounting and business management. The extension staff of the blocks should help the societies in their working and assist them in resolving their difficulties. The programme will succeed only if all the development departments and the workers of the panchayati raj institutions lend their full support.

For auditing the accounts, an auditor at the rate of 20 societies will be provided. Besides checking the accounts, the auditor will help the society in proper maintenance of books and accounts.

At the state headquarters, there will be a whole-time officer in charge of co-operative

farming. For planning and promoting the programme, 12 states have set up advisory boards for co-operative farming. At the centre, the Govt. of India have constituted a National Co-operative Farming Advisory Board.

On June 30, 1960 there were 5,409 co-operative farming societies of the following four types:

Better farming societies	962
Tenant farming societies	1,972
Joint farming societies	1,597
Collective farming societies	878

Members of better and tenant farming societies cultivate their lands individually. As there is no joint cultivation in these societies they are not to be treated as co-operative farming societies. They will not be entitled to special assistance referred to earlier.

Joint farming societies are usually organised on existing holdings. A person who joins such a society retains his ownership right of land and his title to it remains unaffected by joint cultivation. The member receives from the society a return for ownership according to the area and productive capacity of his land.

Collective farming societies are started on newly reclaimed lands and Government lands which are allotted to the society in its corporate capacity.

Not all the existing joint and collective farming societies practice joint cultivation. The State Governments are therefore reviewing the working of these societies to ascertain as to how many of them are working on proper lines. A study of the societies shows that many of them came into existence either for circumventing land reforms legislation or taking advantage of financial aid from the Government. Increase in agricultural production was not their main motivating factor. Such societies should be discouraged and others which are working well should be helped.

Cooperative farming societies will grow on sound lines if the members join them after carefully considering the pros and cons of

various issues involved and continue to take active part in the management. There is no scope for enforcement of any idea without the consent of the members. There is also the need for training secretaries of farming societies and for orientation of workers of cooperative institutions and Government department with whom the societies have to deal. There is also lack of appreciation in the general public cooperative farming. This can be attributed largely to want of knowledge and understanding of the basic issues. For these reasons the highest priority is given to the programme of education and training.

For promoting better understanding of the programme among the state level officers and prominent non-official workers, an All-India seminar on cooperative farming was held in December, 1960 at Hyderabad. Five regional study-cum-training camps have also been held for the workers (officials and non-officials) connected with the pilot projects.

A scheme for the training of secretaries has also been formulated. The training will be imparted at selected extension training centres. Fifteen cooperative farming wings are to be established, at the rate of one in each state, during the year 1961-62. Some states have already selected the sites.

As trained secretaries will not be available immediately, as an interim measure, one Gramsevak has been posted in each pilot project for the current year. A two week orientation course was organised for them at Nilokheri from September 18, 1961. Seventy six Gramsevaks participated in this course.

The programme of cooperative farming is a programme of better utilisation of land, manpower and other resources of the small farmers and landless cultivators. It is absolutely voluntary in character and is based on the idea of self-help and mutual aid. The ownership of individual members would not only be recognised, but suitably rewarded. At each step, member's participation and building up of local leadership would be emphasised. The highest importance would be attached to efficient business and human values.



To Live Without Torments

By
THE MOTHER
(Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry)

EVIDENTLY what specially characterises humanity is its mental capacity to look back upon oneself living.

The animal lives spontaneously, automatically and if it sees itself as a living being, it must be to a very small and unimportant degree, and that is why it is peaceful. It does not torment itself. Even when an animal suffers, for an accident might have happened to it or it might be sick, the suffering is reduced to a minimum by the fact that it does not observe the thing, does not project it into his consciousness or into the future. It does not form ideas about its illness or its accident.

With man has begun the constant care about what is going to happen and this care is the principal or sole cause of his torments.

With the objectification of this consciousness have begun anxiety, painful imaginations, care, torment and the foreseeing of future catastrophes because of which the greater part of humanity—the most conscious part and not the least conscious—live in a perpetual torment.

Man is too conscious to be indifferent and he is not enough conscious to know what will happen. It can be truthfully said without being in the wrong that of all creatures upon earth he is the most miserable. The human being is accustomed to be like that, because it is an atavistic condition which he inherits from his ancestors, but truly it is a miserable condition.

It is only his spiritual capacity to rise to a higher level and replace the unconsciousness of the animal by the spiritual supraconsciousness that introduces into his being not only the faculty of seeing the goal of life and foreseeing the culmination of his endeavour, but also a clear-seeing trust in a higher spiritual power to which one can give oneself, entrust oneself, hand over the charge of one's life and one's future and thus abandon all care.

Evidently it is impossible for man to come down again to the animal level and to lose the consciousness he has acquired. Therefore for him there exists only one means, one way of coming out of the condition that I call, miserable, in which he is now, and rising into a higher state in which care is replaced by confident

surrender and the certainty of a luminous fulfilment—this means, this way is to change one's consciousness.

To say the truth, no condition is more miserable than to be responsible for a life of which one does not possess the key, that is to say, of which one does not possess the thread that might guide and lead to the solution of the problems.

The animal has no problem before it, it lives. Its instinct drives it, it depends upon a collective consciousness which has an innate knowledge which is higher than itself; but things are automatic, spontaneous: the animal has no need to will or to make an effort to be like that it is like that naturally; the animal is not responsible for his life and so has no care.

It is with man that the sense of responsibility is born, the care that he has to depend upon himself; and as he has not the necessary knowledge, a perpetual torment is the result. This torment can cease only with a total surrender to a consciousness higher than his to which he can wholly entrust himself, deliver all care of himself and leave the charge of directing his life and organising everything.

How to solve a problem when you have not the required knowledge for its solution? And the unfortunate thing is that man believes that he has to solve all the problems of his life, and he has not the necessary knowledge to do it. That is the source, the origin of all torments. This perpetual question, "What is to be done?" To which another more acute is added "What is going to happen?" and at the same time, there is more or less the incapacity to answer.

That is why all spiritual disciplines begin by the necessity of abandoning all responsibility and giving oneself to a higher principle, otherwise peace is impossible.

And yet consciousness has been given to man so that he may progress, discover what he does not know, grow into what he is not yet. One can say therefore that there is a state higher than that of an immobile and static peace; it is an assurance all-embracing enough to enable one to maintain the will to progress, to keep

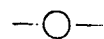
it free from all anxiety, from all care about results and consequences.

That is one step forward in comparison with the methods that could be called "quietist" and which are based on rejection of all activity and merging into an inner immobility and silence, which abandon life because you have felt immediately that without peace you can have no inner realisation. And quite naturally it was thought that one could not have peace so long as one lived under external conditions, in the state of anxiety for the problem that is

set and cannot be solved, because one has not the knowledge how to do it.

The next step is to face the problem, but with the calm and certitude that come from an absolute reliance upon the Supreme Power that knows and that can make you act. Then instead of abandoning action, one can do the action with a higher peace that is strong and active.

That is what can be called a new aspect of the divine intervention in life, a new form of intervention of divine forces in existence, a new aspect of spiritual realisation.



Expanding the Research Potential of Our Universities

By

PRINCIPAL J. LAHIRI.

WE are living in an age of scientific revolution which leaves no aspect of our culture—humanistic or scientific—untouched. The application of Science introduces change as a major factor in our social economic and political life. Whether the change in technological advance will be for the worse—for total annihilation or for survival—remains to be seen. This is the question which has ever been to the forefront of public mind since Russian rockets moved into space in October 1957, followed by further amazing scientific and technological advances. In U.S.A. this was the signal for a reappraisal not only of the military strength of and strategy—of foreign policy of their systems of education, their national science policy but also of their research programme in Universities and institutions for the furtherance of research, sponsored or private. What is being done in America or other progressive States, Eastern or Western, cannot be a matter of indifference to us in India in this rapidly integrating world in which men and women living in widely separated areas have to utilise thoughts and ideas from a common pool and one cultural unit.

In implementing a research programme Universities play a key role. They are key institutions which act not only as guardians and disseminators of culture through which the

right of man to know and to seek knowledge freely is safeguarded, for it is through remaining free to preserve knowledge, to probe and criticise our cultural, economic and political systems that Universities can best serve the nation as world power. The problems which arise in the joint efforts of the Government and the Universities to increase our national competence in science and technology, while keeping the Universities vigorous and administratively independent, are deserving of the earliest attention of any interested person. The development and expansion of the technological and scientific potential of the nation depends on the capacity of a relatively small group of scientists and engineers.

The University is a community of scholars sharing common ideals and aspirations uniting them in a great cause—scholars devoted to truth, imbued with the passionate desire of extending the boundaries of knowledge with willingness to share the knowledge with others ever loyal in the service of scholarship. Every University must have four goals viz., the preservation, the transmission and the creation of knowledge, which are inseparable, each depending on and reinforcing the others. A fourth goal is service to the community i.e. the State, industries economic and social groups. In the modern world, a University must not cultivate

the ivory-tower attitude in its speculative sanctum by remaining aloof from the life of the people but must face the realities of life and its problems.

Research is at least as important as teaching (if not more important) when we consider the function of a University in the life of the community, for progress depends on advance of knowledge and without it, the world would be static. Mere dissemination of present knowledge cannot take a nation very far, for after maintenance of *status quo* for some time, the necessity of new knowledge, brought about by research, will be keenly felt. Research is, therefore, the primary function of a modern University. How then, is research along modern lines to be conducted in a University?

Even within a single University standards and values often differ, as most Universities are not monolithic structures but groups of schools, departments and faculties with different standards. Faculty members often differ sharply on the volume of research a University should undertake. The quality of research, which really matters, in large part depends on the intellectual standards of the faculty. A University at its best must provide the research worker with a strong sense of group solidarity and security plus a substantial degree of personal and intellectual freedom even in routine matters like framing of questionnaires, accumulation of data, statistical tabulation etc. A major function of Universities is to serve as the place where individuals can conduct free enquiries—where scholars are free to choose what they want to do.

Every University must make sure that outside support does not interfere with the freedom of the individual to follow his own choice in the subject matter of research, applied or basic. Besides, Universities must remain free of domination by any outside group, public or private. They must remain sole judges of the qualifications of their Faculties. They must sustain the conditions under which free intellects may explore truth in a spirit of joyous spontaneity. To the extent that a University relinquishes freedom and fails to establish standards, it loses its quality, intellectual stature, usefulness to the community and its capacity, to perform the functions which justify its existence and the privileges and immunities granted to it by society.

The strengthening of teaching and research in fields other than the physical and biological

sciences is vitally important to national welfare. Overemphasis given to the physical and biological sciences may produce intellectual distortion. It may generate a tendency to overvalue the practical and the precisely measurable and a disinclination to re-examine fundamental values and ideas in social sciences arts and humanities. It should be distinctly understood that science is basically *non-human* while some of the problems confronting modern man are *human* and are best solved by *humanistic research*.¹ "If we develop a community with a large amount of material knowledge power and energy, with more or less of an absence of widespread influences of humanities, it will be in a perilous condition in a crisis for lack of that enlarged knowledge, philosophical thinking and refinement of sympathies and tastes which we owe to the humanities. Only by a combination of sciences and, humanities can a true conception of civilisation survive." We must, therefore, try first to be human for in this hour of mortal peril we must rely more and more on the vision of the seers on the wisdom of philosophers and on the voice of poets and creative artists if civilisation is at all to survive, than on the disclosures of technologists and Scientists who pursue merely utilitarian knowledge and not disinterested knowledge. It should be remembered that all great scientific discoveries are at first purely theoretic their practical application coming in at a later stage. Even if a splendid theory, humanistic or scientific, has no practical use at first, it has its own value, as it furnishes the key to the understanding of the world. "All great sciences and Arts spring from a passionate desire to pursue a vision which is at first dim and elusive but is caught up by the ardour and the industry of the artists and scientists at a later stage."²

Funds for research in Universities should be quickly available. They should be free from strings and commitments and should be ready for immediate expenditure with as little red tape as possible. There are those who think that he who pays the piper should have the right to call for the tune but this dictum is inapplicable in the field of higher education for research, for research is best conducted in

1. Report of University Education Commission Page 152.

2. B. Russell : On Education Page 184.

an atmosphere of freedom and autonomy. In this the example of England is well worth emulating. In that country the State Ministry of Education sanctions grants against the demands of academic bodies like Universities but once having provided for grants in the Education budget, it does not dictate the manner of spending the grants nor does it attach any strings or conditions to the grants—matters which are best left to the University Grants Commission.

While on this subject, it will be interesting to make a brief review of the measures adopted by the Indian counterpart of the Commission for the furtherance of research in Indian Universities.

(1) A new faculty of Basic Sciences—for provision of a more balanced training to Engineering students and for laying greater emphasis on research, has been established this year in the University of Roorkee on the basis of the recommendations of an Expert Committee appointed by the U.G.C.

(2) To provide facilities for research work at high altitude especially in the field of Cosmic rays, a research observatory has been established at Gulmarg in Kashmir under the joint auspices of the Universities of Aligarh and Jammu and Kashmir. This observatory was engaged in fundamental research in cosmic rays and the Commission paid substantial

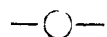
grants both capital and recurring to develop it as a high altitude research laboratory.

(3) Foreign specialists are being drafted to various Universities for helping in research work with the advice and help of an expert Committee appointed by the Commission, on subjects such as, Geo-physics, Organic Chemistry, Astrophysics, Chemical Engineering, Electronics, Metallurgy, Structural Engineering etc.

(4) The Union Deptt. of Agriculture with the help of the Universities through the U.G.C. invited proposals for undertaking research and set up a research programme to be implemented with collaboration of the agricultural Research Service of U.S.A. Deptt. of Agriculture.

All the Government Departments now-a-days depend on research, particularly agriculture, transport, road building. So the expansion of the research potential of the nation with the active assistance of Scientists employed in Universities, is vital. The Universities should therefore be more intimately related to the different departments of the State.

(5) The U.G.C. is planning to publish research work in humanities and natural Sciences by making a grant of 5% of the cost of publication subject to a limit of Rs. 10,000 for each University. The publication of research works will prevent duplication.



Economic Integration in Yugoslavia

By

MILIJA RADOVANOVIC, M.P.

EMOTIONAL integration no longer poses a problem in Yugoslavia. The amicable solution of the nationalities question and the wise and liberal language policy adopted by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of President Tito and the supreme faith it reposed in the people of Yugoslavia, helped in unifying the different peoples and enabled them to face the more urgent tasks of building a strong, prosperous and peaceful state.

To achieve this objective in the first post-war period, Yugoslavia concentrated on building a strong industrial base, and though it made

great headway some areas necessarily remained comparatively neglected. Today, however, the Yugoslavs are determined to bring about complete economic integration and every effort is being made to bring the lesser developed regions in Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo and Metohija in line with the rest of the economy, for they consider that that alone will make their hard-won freedom a reality.

The importance that President Tito attaches to this aspect of development has been frequently stressed by him. In submitting his report to the Federal People's Assembly on December 26, 1960, President Tito said: "The significance of the proposed plan does not only lie in

the volume and complexity of the production tasks set for the forthcoming Five-Year period. The importance of the plan should be judged by the role it has to play, particularly in a more harmonious development of all parts of our country." The more balanced territorial distribution during the past fifteen years is evident in President Tito's words "while, for instance, Yugoslav industrial production as a whole is more than five times greater than it was before the war, the industrial production in the area of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is more than seven times and that of Montenegro about 9 times greater than before the war."

For the successful fulfilment of this policy of accelerated economic development in the backward areas it has been necessary to emphasise that a new relationship must be established between the more prosperous and relatively underdeveloped areas. This of course entails a more enlightened approach to economic development on the part of the advanced regions. In the pursuit of this policy a variety of trends are perceptible in Yugoslavia and now what is of special interest with regard to its social, economic and psychological impact is the scheme described as the "parcelling of industry." An interesting example may serve to illustrate the resistance involved and the persuasion used to evolve the scheme and the heartening results once the "ball has been set rolling!"

Some factories in Nis decided to set up branch production units in villages in the neighbouring districts, largely areas lacking the essential economic resources to set up factories but possessing a large number of semi-employed farmers, anxious to find work in industry. The whole idea was resisted by the Nis People's Committee. The People's Committees are the organs of authority of municipalities and districts. They handle and co-ordinate the economic, social and expansion of their area, as well as discharging whatever functions the law may prescribe. All local government offices come under their jurisdiction. The People's Committee of either municipality or district consist of both a simple or district council and a council of producers. Both these twin houses play an equal part in taking decisions relating to the economy as a whole and several other questions. It was therefore no small task on the part of Workers' Council in the factories of Nis to

remove the misconception that their plan to extend production units to the neighbouring suburbs was an impractical one prompted by sheer idealism. They won their point on well documented economic grounds. They proved for instance that production costs of certain parts and items proved to be cheaper in the village branch factories than in the parent plant in the city, because the main factory, if it takes in new workers from the neighbouring districts, has either to pay their daily fares from the villages and back or to build housing for them in the town. All this requires considerable outlay which increase production costs. This economic logic finally convinced the members of the People's Committee that the trend was in fact a healthy and useful one.

Thus Nis put an end to the fear of the so-called "run of capital" from the developed into underdeveloped districts. On the other hand, the generosity of the Nis factories in transferring some of their fixed capital to new independent enterprises will pay in the long run since they have signed long-term agreements with the new factories for the delivery of parts at satisfactory prices made possible by the specialization of the new plants.

Similar discussions and problems are arising in other parts of Yugoslavia. They involve relations between the developed and undeveloped districts which is in miniature the same as the problem of relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries of the world.

Ever since the end of the war the government has followed a consistent policy of promoting the development of underdeveloped areas. Since Yugoslavia consists of six republics each in varying stages of economic development, the basic principles of her Constitution, "brotherhood and unity of all Yugoslav peoples," obliged her to make considerable progress in that direction. All the economic plans contain substantial provisions for aiding the underdeveloped areas. This also corresponded to the general economic interests of the country as a whole, leading, as it did, towards a common market, coordination of productive forces, integration of all economic activities, improved standard of living etc. Even from the viewpoint of the democratic principle of worker's management of the economy and social self-government, it is essential that each body of self-government in every sphere of community

life should have a reliable and satisfactory economic foundation for its work.

The considerable differences in levels of economic development between the six republics have their roots in the past. One of these was the long period of Ottoman rule over the eastern and southern regions where the economy stagnated. Consequently, despite very substantial capital investment, the ratio between Slovenia, the most developed, and Montenegro, the least developed, is 4 to 1. While the ratio between the five most developed and five least developed districts is 6 to 1.

The new Five-year Plan of economic development makes very detailed provisions to reduce these gaps. This plan has defined areas, totalling 41 per cent of Yugoslav territory with 6.2 million dollars will be invested in fixed and requiring special aid.

Over the next five years 1,537 million dollars will be invested in fixed capital in these underdeveloped regions of Yugoslavia. Of this sum, 1,120 million dollars will be made available from the Federal funds, which constitutes 43 per cent of all investment funds for this period. A special Federal fund of 122 million dollars has been formed for organising and implementing this huge development programme in the sphere of manufacturing, agriculture, local

transport, tourist trade and branches of the economy with rapid capital turnover. A part of this sum will be devoted to geological research, training of skilled personnel, elaboration of development programmes, preliminary research and preparatory work for large scale investments, etc. In addition, the factories and local communities in the underdeveloped areas which will be carrying out these investments programmes will be granted priorities in the allocation of loans from Federal funds and as a rule, will not be compelled to enter competitive bids for loans for development purposes.

The new Five-year Plan of economic development has made provisions for the following annual rates of growth of the gross national product :

- 11.4 per cent for Yugoslavia as a whole ;
- 14 per cent for the underdeveloped areas ;
- 10.8 per cent for the developed areas.

Similar proportions are contained in the economic development plans of the individual republics, regions, districts and communes. In this manner, an all-sided and consistent policy of advancing underdeveloped areas has been worked out, in which the direct interests of the community as a whole are linked with the interests of the less developed areas.



Obstacles to Domestic Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries

By

Prof. T. SATAPATHY, M.A.

A rapid and balanced economic growth has become the shibboleth of underdeveloped countries. Their objective is to cross the traditional and transitional stage of the economy quickly and attain the self-sustaining stage of the economy where the self-generating forces of the economy could automatically propel it further. This necessitates a higher rate of growth and a greater momentum for the economy. But the path of economic progress is not rosy. On its way stand a large number of hindrances which act in the opposite direction. One of the major and potent hindrances

standing as a stumbling block on the path of economic development is acute paucity of capital. This dearth of capital retards the pace of industrialization and consequent economic growth. The underdeveloped countries are under-equipped with capital resources in relation to their population and natural resources. It is only in this sense that Prof. Jacob Viner in a lecture delivered on "International Trade and Economic Development" in National University of Brazil in 1953 pointed out that underdeveloped area is one which has more potential prospects for using

more capital. The slow rate of capital formation and lack of sufficient total volume of capital are primarily responsible for keeping the economies of these countries stagnant. These countries can be said to be in a state of "Under-development equilibrium". It has been pointed out that a process of economic growth involves a rise in the rate of capital accumulation. A stationary or static economy needs production of capital goods only for maintenance and replacements of existing capital resources wearing out due to depreciation. But for a cumulatively developing economy positive capital formation should take place as an essential part of the process and the part of the process and the economy growth entails an increase in the ratio of capital to land and of capital to labour. This scarcity of capital coupled with lower productivity of capital keep the economy backward. The capital in underdeveloped economies is less productive in character. In this context Arthur Lewis in his book "The Theory of Economic Growth" points out that "it can be argued that capital will be less productive in the less developed countries because fruitful use of capital depends on ever improving technology and the growth of knowledge is slower in less developed countries". Hence in consideration of this factor it is correct to say that the need to finance the economic development of underdeveloped countries is too high and this happens to be a burning question which should be taken cognizance of. A calculated and deliberate action is of paramount importance in breaking the vicious circle in order to usher in a new era of economic prosperity.

A vicious circle constricts the underdeveloped economies in this regard. This is what has been termed as the prevalence of a circular relationship in our economy. To quote R. Nurske "we perceive a constellation of circumstances leading to preserve any backward economy in a stationary condition". As the domestic capital accumulation of underdeveloped countries is slow the process of economic growth is also slow. For this it is safely said that a country is poor because it is poor. The national income of underdeveloped countries is low. This low level of income accounts for the "negligible rate" of saving and capital formation. The implication of this low rate of capital accumulation is low productivity in agriculture and manufacturing and the neces-

sary concomitant of lower productivity is low national income. This constitutes the vicious circle. The scarcity of capital in underdeveloped countries is explained by the fact that here the marginal propensity to consume in relation to income is high as the income stands on the subsistence level only. Consequently the marginal propensity to save which is the primary ingredient of capital accumulation is low.

The Demonstration Effect also retards the rate of capital formation and hinders the economic growth. The Demonstration Effect in a country with wide disparities in income adversely affects the rate of capital growth by stimulating the expenditure. Prof. Nurske and others have argued that the development of modern transport and communication system the wide diffusion of knowledge and the tremendous growth of advertisements system through different media has produced burning desire and temptation for a superior standard of living. This channels a greater proportion of income in the direction of consumption expenditure. Increase in the volume of current expenditure results in keeping the total volume of savings more or less the same in spite of rise in the income level. The relative poverty accompanied by low level of income and knowledge relating to superior mode of living further aggravates the problem. The relative poverty is of greater importance. In this connection R. Nurske points out that "The vicious circle that keeps down the domestic supply of capital in low income areas is bad enough by itself. My point is that it tends to be even worse by stresses that arise from relative as distinct from absolute poverty." This contention of Demonstration Effect has been questioned by many writers like P. T. Bauer and B. S. Yamey on different grounds no doubt but its basic postulate remains unaffected and that contains some elements of truth. Hence capital formation is which is a function of power to save and will to save is hindered as subsistence and low level of income means lack of power to save and International Demonstration Effect as mentioned by Nurske and Duesenberry also adversely affects the will to save. These factors contribute to lack of quick growth of capital in underdeveloped economies. The inequality of income has long been questioned by many economists as a ground for promotion of

savings. According to this conception the inequality of income is always followed by higher saving potential. But this cannot be treated as a perfectly valid proposition. Arthur Lewis points out that "the greater inequality of income is associated with a larger proportion of income going to middle class consumption." He also says that in such underdeveloped economies the forty percent (40%) or so of their national income is squandered away by the top ten percent (10%) of the income receivers living luxuriously. So the inequality has not resulted in promoting capital accumulation to the desirable level. In underdeveloped economies another phenomena is also to be seen. There is very much less of savings out of wages, salaries and peasant incomes. In these underdeveloped economies the small savings account for nearly one percent (1%) of the national income whereas in Japan it has been quoted to be near eight to ten percent (8% to 10%). Hence the inequality basis is not a sound one and does not stimulate the savings volume to the extent to which it is supposed to.

The problem of dearth of capital goods, that is the lack of creation of sufficient volume of non-consumption output is further accentuated by the presence of overpopulation. This population explosion in underdeveloped countries results in low incomes and consequent measure volume of savings. This scarcity of capital and abundance of labour make our agricultural and industrial operation's labour intensive and capital saving in character. This means lower productivity. To this are added unemployment. Thus by mutual interaction of these forces the agricultural sector is always a deficit sector in our economy. These coupled with institutional and fundamental defects of agriculture like subdivision and fragmentation of lands etc. keep the rural economy stagnant devoid of all trends for progress. Thus this major sector of our economy does not substantially contribute to capital formation and consequent economic growth.

The industries are also labour intensive or capital saving in their character. So this defective factor proportion accompanied by lack of good entrepreneurs and trained and skilled personnel contribute to our lower productivity and this in its turn results in slow rate of capital formation. Low productivity hence is both the cause and the consequence of paucity of

capital resources in underdeveloped economies. In backward countries capital formation and economic development are adversely affected by the absence of creative entrepreneurs with dynamic outlook for marshalling the capital resources properly. Prof. Schumpeter views that the innovation is the key to economic progress and hence it is the successful innovators and entrepreneurs who by stimulating capital growth bring about economic progress. They introduce "new combinations" and their actions give rise to "spontaneous and discontinuous changes in the channels of circular flow."

Unfortunately India lacks in this respect. Hence, the volume of private investment which should have been a major component in the total volume of investment to finance a rapid economic growth is not easily forthcoming. So the private capital being shy we are faced with acute problems of financing economic development. Again the channels of investments, that is the opportunity to save is also not developed in these backward economies. Hence the lack of proper instruments to mop up the savings of the rural and semi-urban areas for profitable investments also retard the rate of capital accumulation. This deficiency in the process of tapping of funds for a higher rate of capital accumulation keeps an appreciable volume of capital scattered and barren.

The prevalent equilibrium rate of interest is a major factor in influencing the volume of capital accumulation. The acute dearth in the supply of capital results in pushing up the rate of interest. It is natural to expect that a higher rate of interest will promote and stimulate the volume of savings. But that is not the case in India. Even assuming that the volume of savings is appreciable due to higher rate of interest in underdeveloped economy it does not necessarily lead to more investment as investment depends on rate of interest and marginal efficiency of capital. The marginal efficiency of capital in underdeveloped economies is low and the rate of interest is high. Hence these two by their interaction act as disincentive to the investment by the private entrepreneurs. These often lead to uneconomic and unprofitable use of the savings not being properly channelised into the most productive use. So the private investment in an underdeveloped economy is inadequate and insufficient for a rapid economic advancement.

The growth of the volume of investment is also hindered by the small size of the market of an underdeveloped economy. This smallness of market in backward countries is a challenge to their economic growth. R. Nurske rightly points out that "In an exchange economy of the real world it is not difficult to find illustrations of the way in which the small size of the country market can discourage or even prohibit the profitable application of modern capital equipment. Many articles that are in common use in U.S.A. can be sold in low income country in quantities so limited that a machine working only a few days or weeks can produce enough for a whole year's consumption. Thus this deficiency in demand continuously hampers capital formation and its effective investment.

There are numerous other potent obstacles to capital accumulation in backward countries. The private sector always lodges the complaint that the system of taxation is not well planned and it is abortive to higher investment. They view that heavy and progressive taxation level in India militates and crushes the industry and cripples the trade of the country. The private investment naturally grows up under lighter tax burden and other concessions granted by the state. An unbiased and critical analysis of an Indian tax structure (unfortunately that is not within the purview of this article) does not substantiate this complaint of the private sector. It is also pointed out that in underdeveloped economies the currency system is unsound, unstable and unpopular. Such a defective currency system may breed galloping or spiral inflation and this inflationary pressure may act as a deterrent to the voluntary capital accumulation. But the currency system of India cannot be said to suffer from the above mentioned maladies. But so far as the danger of the inflation is concerned the Indian economy is experiencing the trouble since over a decade. The deficit financing system has been employed as an instrument for capital formation, that is, to increase the volume of utilizable capital equipment or the volume of non-consumption output. So the price level of all the types of goods and services has soared up and every time we hear the cry for holding the price line or to stem it. Thus the inflation has brought hardship for the common man. It has also transformed the character of income distribution and gone against the declared policy of egalitarian society. Thus the infla-

tion resulting from the injection of money into the economy dwindles the volume of voluntary saving and its investment.

The private sector of our economy always objects to the Government's economic and commercial policy. It is their oft-repeated complaint that Government's policy of nationalization adversely affects the incentive to save and invest. The apprehension that the Government's public sector will expand and engulf the private sector influences the psychology of saving and investment. It is pointed out that the private entrepreneurs suffer from a "state of suspense" so far as the long period-investments are concerned. Hence the rate of growth of capital resources is retarded. But in India where the mixed economy prevails and where the Government has clearly enunciated that its economic and commercial policy strictly adheres to mixed pattern economy such apprehensions may seem unreasonable. But a progressing public sector is likely to influence the psychology of the private investors and this may be treated as an impediment to capital formation in the private sector.

The slow rate of capital formation is also attributable to the long time lag or long period of gestation in the underdeveloped economies. The investment of capital and its consequent outcome takes a larger period and hence the creation of capital goods takes a comparatively longer time in underdeveloped countries. This long interval also necessitates a higher volume of consumer's capital and this acts as a great drain on the resources of a backward country. Thus this timelag happens to be a contributory cause for slow rate of capital formation in the underdeveloped economies.

Some other obstacles can also be listed in this context. It is pointed out that in underdeveloped countries there is absence of peace, order and psychological incentives which would promote savings and investment. In this context P. T. Bauer and B. S. Yamey point out that "There are numerous impediments to private saving and investment in many underdeveloped countries. These include the imperfect maintenance of law and order, political instability, unsettled monetary conditions, lack of continuity in economic life, the extended family system with its drain on resources and its stifling of personal incentive and certain systems of land tenure which inhibit saving and investment. All these impair the ability and willingness of people to look beyond the imme-

date present and take a long view characteristics which are necessary both for decisions to save that is to defer consumption and for decisions to use resources in the expectation that their output will be profitable and advantageous. "This comprehensive exposition of two learned writers clearly elucidates the various hindrances for a rapid growth of our economy. However one thing that needs little elaboration is the question of extended family system. Indian society is based on old norms and values and shrouded with age-old customs and traditions. One of the major manifestations in this direction is joint family system. Leave aside the social and other benefits such system economically definitely militates against the

capital accumulation in India. This system acts as a prop for nonearning members of a family, and turns them parasites living on the income of the earning members of the family. So the above factors are the obstacles for capital accumulation and all these by their interaction make our economy a stagnant pool bereft of all currents for economic upliftment.

For economic prosperity at a quicker pace an integrated and well co-ordinated approach with dynamic character is necessary. Sound monetary and fiscal measures are essential to eliminate the various loopholes in the economy and to enable the economy to reach the take-off stage.



The Budding of Child Mind

By

Sri TAPU NATH CHAKRAVARTY, M.A.

HOW the child mind moves towards perfection and from the cradle onwards acquires complexity and a wide range of variety, seems to be like the magic carpet on its journey, a mystic engima for men of all ages. At the outset, the child fails to make a distinction between the two classes of objects that make up his external world, persons and inanimate things. His attention is at first drawn to persons simply because they are the objects that most frequently move and emit sounds and also for the fact that they bring him relief from hunger and their worries. The little child learns to take interest in these moving objects. He watches them, he is soothed by their presence and distressed by their absence. The mother or the nurse becomes the ministering angel and her words seem to have a peculiar fragrance and the mere sound of her voice may still his crying or lull him to sleep. Very early in life, the child learns to answer with a smile the smile of another child and to cry in response to the cries of others. He thus learns to interpret the expressions of others in terms of his experiences and he begins to think that all objects that make up his external world must be equally swayed by the feelings and emotions

that he himself experiences. All things that surround him seem to be living and conscious like himself. Hence the crawling child, the moment he receives his injury in his first attempts at walking, seldom blames his tottering legs but curses with bites and tears, with kicks and slaps, the cemented floor or the slippery chair. To the child, thus, walls have ears and pillows have arms.

As the differentiation of persons and inert objects proceeds, persons continue to be the more interesting, for they seem to be the main sources of his pleasure and pain and he begins to imitate their behaviour. He finds that they do many things which he cannot do but would like to do: and often he tends to do as they do simply because their actions arrest his attention and so give direction to the outflow of his abundant motor energies. The child realises more fully the meaning of the emotional attitudes and motives of others by copying them in his imitative play. The grand alchemy of imagination goes on all the time. The little child puts himself into some personal relation he has observed, assumes the part of parent or teacher or elder sister; makes some smaller child, a dog, a cat or a doll, stand for himself, and acts out his part.

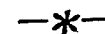
In this way, the child's idea of his own self and of its capacities for action and feeling grows hand in hand with his ideas of other selves.

The child also gets his idea of his self in large part by accepting the ideas of himself that he finds expressed by those around him. The unfortunate child, who is constantly scolded and told that he is a naughty boy, is sure to make naughtiness an essential condition of his being. The boy, who finds himself constantly regarded as clever or charming, can hardly fail to regard himself in the same way and the idea of himself moulded in this way by his social environment affects his conduct accordingly. The child's self-consciousness is, then, nourished and moulded by the reflection of himself that he finds in the minds of his fellows. The prohibitions that a child encounters in his social relations largely determine his personality. The child's first experience of law is in the form of prohibition of some kind of action and by punishment he is taught to hold himself accountable and think himself as a member of a social system in which he has a defined position.

The taboos and checks in social relations are thus the foundations of Ethics and Sociology in child's life. The blazing hearth burns his finger, the freezing ice sends a shiver of cold, the howling dogs pinch his skin, and so the

little child gets his idea of things around, of objects which he should avoid. Natural education thus takes its course.

But the young Homo Sapiens are seldom left to learn things in this way. A kick at the window-glass drags the frowning mother, a move towards the burning kettle bars the kitchen door, a slap at his mates face brings a counter below from howling dad, murmuring Robin snatches the thorny rose from his clutch and the faint glimmering of the realities of life is thus revealed. Gradually the child learns by such experiences that some of his conduct certain modes of action seem to be congenial in the eyes of his fellow men, in the eyes of his parents, sisters, elders and playmates and he tries more and more to conform to this standard of conduct, this pattern of morality in his behaviour towards others. The child's crude untutored ego in the twin mould of fancy and fashion is thus set on its endless march of life being led to take its shape in early stages by the scorns and frowns, the rosy smiles and kisses, the warm pats and cold lashes that he plucks and gathers from around. The magic moon shines on high and seems to reach his clasping hands but lo! the floating clouds hide her peeps and vain sweet slumber brings its golden veil. So mockery haunts his idle thoughts and his blooming life gets its vanishing cream. Thus adjustment proceeds in the mystic web of his thought.



Regional Architecture for Ceylon

By

Mr. VICTOR KARUNARATNE

INTERNATIONALISM in architecture may seem a word thrown out into the empty air. But such words, pictures and thoughts are moving with great speed across political and racial frontiers. The great amount of literature, photographic magazines and travelling, and the 'internationalism' of trade have brought about an interpenetration on a large scale of old, finished and clearly marked architectural cultures.

International architecture is an attitude, a way of thinking, a morale. It is a spiritual movement which is as far removed from style

as any religion, and yet, like religions, it expresses itself partly through its buildings and is therefore too easily identified by certain of their characteristics. It is a humanistic philosophy, with very few philosophers, which embraces all human activity, including religion. To build is to engage yourself completely.

It is therefore against the very spirit of our architecture for certain forms and features from the architecture in one region (in the following a region means a geographical and cultural region as opposed to a national region which is often arbitrary and generally irrelevant to most

things except army generals) to be introduced and accepted as being modern architecture in another region. It is here that Ceylon and some other countries of the Commonwealth have been unfortunate. Architectural influence and thought have come to Ceylon through England. And England has since the modern movement began one of the worst climates for good architecture.

It is not within the scope of this article to clarify what is the philosophy of 'International' humanistic architecture, but only to point out that it is in its spirit that we must work if we are to have a good regional architecture for Ceylon.

What, then, is regional architecture in Ceylon? Is it stone, lions, Kandyan carvings, and elephants of cracking plaster? The whole zoo? Perhaps, but not yet, these may once again play a minor whimsical role, but at the moment we are too close to the mis-understandings of a memorial hall and a university to be able to accept such elements, which at their best and decoration, and as such have nothing to do with the essentials of architecture.

By a process of elimination we can arrive at the basic factors which determine a regional architecture. These are the climatic conditions and the way of life of the people of the region. We will return to what this means in terms of Ceylon. Other factors, such as tradition, local materials, and economic conditions also play an important part but are not essential. In fact one could, to stretch the point, imagine a building in Ceylon built untraditionally in plastic and which was yet regionally true. But normally these secondary factors take their natural place in any architecture.

The living habits in Ceylon are closely related to the climate, the religion, and to the social conditions. The latter is bound to change, and is already doing so at great speed. The coolie will not be satisfied with three rupees a day but will be getting twenty-five. The chauffeur will not sleep in a corner of the garage, but will have two rooms and a bath of his own. The lower middle class will have cars and want places to park them. If a building is not to be

obsolete and drop fast in value in the coming years these changes, as well as the present conditions, must be provided for.

The way of life in Ceylon is a mixture of old tradition and Western habits. The western habits need not be set forth again, but certain elements in the Ceylonese ways cannot be stressed too much. Life is slower and more relaxed than in the west.

In the Second row of the elements of our regional architecture comes what in a wide term could be called the natural tradition. This is historically as well as technically decided—persistent architectural forms, as for instance the swayed roof in Japan, the use of local material, as for instance, pise or stabilised earth, which can provide good and cheap housing in Ceylon as it does in certain other parts of the world, the utilization of crafts that still survive and which can be channelled to serve in the future as well as they did in the past. Ceylon and the East are alive with decorative and colourful elements. When you deny these natural expressions they become inhibited and express the features one sees in boutiques trying to build modern and succeeding in building a facade like a radiogramophone. But we can bring back into our buildings the colour which existed in older buildings, the lacquered wood work, the Dutch or Dutch-influenced treatment of wood, bringing out the natural colour and grain of Ceylon timber, the rich effects still seen in temples, the juxtaposition of different materials, stone and timber and so on. This desire for richness in a building can be given expression to in simple ways.

The form of the final synthesis of these requirements may in time distil itself into an architectural language like the Bay Region style of the American West Coast where conditions of a reasonably similar nature to those in Ceylon have produced an architecture which might be briefly characterized by the refined use of wood, the low rambling houses with large overhanging leaves and a free flow of space and air. Personal and artistic freedom are great if we accept the conditions, and the final quality of a building is, as it has always been, a product of the co-ordination and artistic genius of the architect and the client.

Phonetic Laws as prescribed by Panini

By

PROF. RABINDRA KUMAR SIDDHANTASHASTREE

IN a previous article ('A Peep into the Phonetic Laws') published in the annual number of *Praci* (1960), the Magazine of the M.B.B. College, Agartala, I have established the fact that, all the three important Phonetic Laws, now taught in different universities both Indian and foreign—the laws prescribed by Grimm, Verner, and Grassmann—are defective, and as such, unable to show the correct process of phonetic changes. We now feel it necessary either to find out a new process, or to frame some new rules for detecting the systematic changes of sounds, that have occurred in different Aryan languages.

With a view to find out the basic change of sounds, one should first determine or at least assume the original form of the sound concerned, for which the original language, the source of all different sounds should have to be determined or assumed. According to the modern philologists, a hypothetical language termed by them as 'Indo-European' was the source of all Aryan languages. But in a former article entitled 'Is Indo-European language a Reality?' published in *Truth*, a Calcutta Weekly (May 22, 1959), I showed that acceptance of such a hypothetical language for the purpose, was not only unjust, but it would naturally lead its followers in a wrong direction. In the same article, I also expressed my view that, for finding out the correct process of changes, a seeker of truth should have to accept Sanskrit, the oldest of all recorded languages as the original language in question.

If the fact be admitted that, Sanskrit was the source of all Aryan languages, and that the phonetic changes found in other languages are to be determined in accordance with their relation with Sanskrit, then and then only, as we understand, a correct decision may reasonably be arrived at. If Sanskrit, due to its hoariest antiquity be accepted as the source of good many Asian and European languages, then the oldest grammar of this very language should also reasonably be accepted as a guide for different phonetic changes. But unfortunately the oldest Sanskrit grammars, such as *Maheśa* etc., had been lost long ago. We therefore have to depend upon *Panini's* grammar, which is admitted by all as the oldest of now-available Sanskrit grammars. As regards its

antiquity, the grammar of *Panini* was composed undoubtedly hundreds of years before the birth of Christ.

The changes of sounds that took place in different languages, may be determined in most cases by the rules of *Panini*. Two of the three different sections of Grimm's law, and all the phonetic laws prescribed by Verner, Grassmann and Brugmann, undoubtedly fall in this or that rule of *Panini*, which will be clear from the following illustrations. As the changes of sounds in different languages are innumerable and even sometimes idiomatic or archaic, let us be satisfied with a limited number of rules only.

Before citing the examples of phonetic changes, let us for the sake of convenience, illustrate a few terms of *Panini*. Unless these terms are known, nobody will be able to find out the meaning of the following rules of *Panini*.

1. There are five different groups of consonant sounds known as *vargas*, in each of which five different consonant sounds are counted.

k-varga (gluttural)—k, kh, g, gh, m.
c-varga (palatal)—c, ch, j, jh, h.
t-varga (cerebral)—t, th, d, dh, n.
p-varga (dental)—p, ph, b, bh, m.
m-varga (labial)—p, ph, b, bh, m.

2. The *usma* sounds—s, ś, ṣ and h. These sounds are also sometimes counted in the palatal, cerebral, dental and gluttural *vargas* respectively.

3. The sibilant sounds—Similar as the *usma* sounds other than h.

4. The *antastha* sounds—y, r, l, and v sounds.

5. *Jhal* sounds—Each of the consonant sounds of the above *vargas* other than the fifth ones, as well as the *usma* sounds.

6. *Jhas*—3rd and 4th letters of the *vargas*. These sounds are also termed as *ghosa* or voiced.

7. *Jas*—3rd letter of each of the *vargas*.

8. *Jhay*—Similar as *jhal* other than the *usma* sounds.

9. *Khar*—1st and 2nd letters of the *vargas*, as well as the sibilant sounds. All these sounds are also termed as *aghosa* or unvoiced.

10. *Car*—1st letter of each of the *vargas*, as well as the sibilant sounds.

11. *Mahaprana* or aspirate—2nd and 4th letters of each of the *vargas*.

12. *Alpaprana* or non-aspirate—1st and 3rd letters of each of the *vargas*.

13. *Samprasarana*—When the aforesaid *antastha* sounds change respectively into the vowel sounds i, r, l (r) and u, this change is known as *samprasarana*.

14. *Guna*—Change of the vowel sounds i, u and r respectively into the sounds e, o and ar.

15. *Vrddhi*—Change of the vowel sounds a, i, u and r respectively into the sounds a, ei, au and ar.

With a knowledge of the above terms, let us now proceed with citation, interpretation and illustrations of some of the important phonetic laws of *Panini*.

1. Jhalam jasonte (8-2-39)

When an original *jhal* sound takes place at the end of a word, it changes into a *jas* sound. It may be noted here that, the vowel sound at the end of a word is not always counted. This rule may be divided into 4 different sections. For example:

(a) The voiced aspirate sound becomes de-aspirated (4th letter of a *varga* changes into the 3rd letter of the same *varga*) *vandh* < *biad*; *vudh* < *bid*.

When the sound in question is followed by a single vowel only in the original language, this rule may be applied. *andha* < *blind*; *vandhu* < *friend*; *dvibidha* < *divide*; *dha* < *do*; *bhu* < *be*; *meedha* < *meed*; *vadhu* < *bride*.

(b) The unvoiced non-aspirate becomes voiced (1st letter of a *varga* changes into the 3rd letter). *ghrsta* < *grind*; *uccarita* < *uttered*.

(c) The unvoiced aspirate changes into a voiced non-aspirate (2nd letter changes into the 3rd letter), *vettha* < *abide*; *kamatha* < *crocodile*.

(d) The *usma* sound changes into the voiced non-aspirate (3rd letter of the relative *varga*). *palasa* < *foliage* (g pronounced as j); *sas* < *sat* or *sad* (Sanskrit); *guha* < *gorge*.

(2) Jhalam jas jhasi (8/4/53)

A *jhal* sound when followed by a *jhas* sound has its change into a *jas* sound. This rule also may be divided into a 4 different sections. We observe that, this rule when applied in different languages especially in English, did not strictly follow the condition of *Panini* that, for taking such a change, the sound in question should have to be followed by a *jhas* sound. The change in fact occurred at random, whether the sound in question was followed by a *jhas*

sound or not. It is also noticeable that, a section of each of the laws of Grimm and Grassmann falls within the jurisdiction of this very rule. The four different sections of the rule may be divided as under:

(a) The voiced aspirate becomes de-aspirated (4th letter of a *varga* changes into its 3rd letter). *bhanj* < *break*; *ghasa* < *grass*; *ghrsta* < *grind*; *bhara* < *burden*; *adhah* < *down*; *udhah* < *udder*; *jhampa* < *jump*; *dhakka* < *drum*; *bhalluka* < *bear*; *bhurja* < *birch*.

(b) The unvoiced aspirate becomes voiced and de-aspirated (2nd letter changes into the 3rd letter). *rathya* < *road*; *prthu* < *pardeus* (Avestan).

(c) The unvoiced non-aspirate becomes voiced (1st letter changes into the 3rd letter). *pati* < *bite*; *pid* < *beat*; *pustaka* < *book*; *panka* < *bank*; *patatri* < *bird*; *plu* < *blow*; *te* < *they*; *matar* < *mother*; *pitar* < *father*; *bhratar* < *brother* (in the last three words this pronounced as d).

(d) The *usma* sound changes into the 3rd letter of the relative *varga* (into voiced non-aspirate). *vimsati* < *bmanzing* (German) (s changes into z or j); *duhitr* < *thugater* (Greek) (h changes into g); *hamsa* < *goose* (English), *aham* < *ego* (Greek), *ego* (Latin).

(3) Khari ca (8/4/45)

A *jhal* sound when followed by a *Khar* sound, changes into a *car* sound. Though *Panini* has prescribed a condition for such a change the sound in question should have to be followed by a *khar* sound; still in practice, we observe that, while taking place in other languages, the change occurred irrespective of such a condition. This rule may be divided into three different sections; i.e.:

(a) The unvoiced aspirate becomes de-aspirated (2nd letter of a *varga* changes into the 1st. letter). *prthu* < *fat*; *ratha* < *(cha)* riot; *stha* < *stay*; *vistha* < *stool*; *srestha* < *best*; *sikhara* < *peak*; *ukha* < *cooker*.

(b) The voiced non-aspirate becomes de-voiced (3rd letter changes into the 1st. letter). *gau* < *cow*; *gam* < *come*; *dasa* < *ten*; *vasna* < *price* (v pronounced as b); *draba* < *drop*; *pada* < *foot*; *ad* < *eat*; *abata* < *pit*; *pid* < *beat*; *danta* < *tooth*; *sruba* < *cup*.

(c) The voiced aspirate becomes de-voiced and de-aspirated (4th letter changes into the 1st letter). *vadhnām* < *bottom*; *sighra* < *sharp* (gh changes into k and then this k into p).

(4) Abhyase carea (8/4/54)

When two similar consonant sounds stand side by side, the first one in Sanskrit grammar is styled as *abhyasa*. When a *jhal* sound happens to be such an *abhyasa*, it changes either into a *car* or in a *jas* sound. To say more clearly, if the consonant sound in the position of an *abhyasa*, happens to be an aspirate, it becomes de-aspirated. It is noticeable that, Haplology or the phonetic law claimed to be framed by Mr. Braggmann, undoubtedly falls within the pale of this very rule of *Panini*. This law of Sanskrit grammar occurs not only in other Aryan languages, but in Sanskrit as well. For example:

Sanskrit: (1) *dadhati* instead of *dhadhati*.
(2) *jahi* for *jahihi*.

Greek: (1) *amphoreus* for *amphiphareus*.

(2) *semiodius* for *semiodius*.

(5) Kuhoscuh (7/4/62)

Sometimes the gluttural sounds including the h sound change into the palatal sounds. For examples: *sakha* < *branch*; *nakha* < *onuch* (Greek); *khila* < *(con) ceal*; *pustaka* < *buch* (German); *stha* < *thatch*; *vakya* < *voice*; *hamsa* < *jhansa* (Avestan).

6. Con kun (8/2/30)

Sometimes, the palatal sounds change into the gluttural sounds. For example: *janu* < *gonu* (Greek); *knu* (German), *knee* (English); *mrj* < *milk*; *pase* (at) < *back* (changes into k); *svabhra* < *cave* (c pronounced as k); *sruba* < *cup* (c-k); *dadarsa* < *dadarka* (Greek).

7. Vabasane (8/4/56)

When a consonant sound takes place at the end of a word, it changes as a general rule into the unvoiced non-aspirate, but on certain occasions into the voiced non-aspirate as well. The difference between the rule No.3 (khari ca) mentioned above and this rule is that, the former requires the existence of a letter after the sound concerned, whereas this rule requires the non-existence of any letter after the sound. This rule may be divided into five different sections. For example,

(a) The unvoiced non-aspirate become de-aspirated. *Likh* > *lake*; *kath* > *quote*.

(b) The voiced non-aspirate becomes devoiced, *ad* > *eat*; *pid* > *beat*.

(c) The voiced aspirate becomes de-aspirated, and sometimes devoiced. *midh* < *meat* or *meed*.

(d) The fifth or nasal of a *varga* changes into the first sound of the same *varga*. *anu* > *iota*

or atom (the last vowel sound of Sanskrit is not counted here).

(e) The fifth letter of a *varga* changes into the 3rd letter. *plabana* < *flood* (n changes into d); *van* (a) < *wood*.

8. Guna.

Suc < *sob*; *budhnam* < *bottom*; *svasr* < *soror* Latin), *svistor* (German).

9. Vrddhi.

pitr < *father*; *matr* < *mother*; *bhratr* < *brother*; *svasr* < *sister*; *catur* < *four*; *prthu* < *ardous* (Avestan); *kathi* < *quote*.

10. Samprasarana.

taru < *tree*; *sib* < *sew*; *jval* < *fuel*; *duanda*; < *feud*; *dvar* < *door*; *val* (a) < *well*; *svan* < *hound*; *savda* < *sound*; *yuyam* < *you(y pronounced as i)* *nayan(a)* < *eye*; *ayan* (a) < *year*.

11. Nirukta.

All the Sanskrit grammarians have admitted that, there are five different kinds of phonetic changes, which do not depend upon any systematic rule of grammar; but have taken place in the languages in the form of idioms. These changes are termed by them as *Nirukta*. The five different kinds or sections of *Nirukta* are as follows: (a) *varnagama* or addition of a new letter or sound.

(b) *varna-viparyaya* or displacement of letters or sounds, (c) *varnavikara* or idiomatic change of sound, (d) *varna-nasa* or dropping of a letter or sound, and (e) *yoga* or a combination of two or more above.

(a) *Varnagama*: *ukha* < *cooker* (c is a new comer); *loka* < *local* (the last l is a new-comer); *dhuma* < *flame* (i is a new-comer); similarly—*adhah* < *down*; *sev* < *serve*.

(b) *Varna-viparyaya*: *patala* < *palate*; *varnu* < *river*. In the former t and in the latter v and r sounds are displaced.

(c) *Varna-vikara*: *rud* < *weep* (d changes into p); *raba* < *roar* (b o changes into r); *kanda* < *cord* (n into r); *dasa* < *ten* (s into n).

(d) *Varna-nasa*: *vakra* < *back* (r dropped); *ud* < *weep* (r dropped); *bhrj* < *fry* (j dropped); *patra* < *pot* (r dropped); *gharma* < *worm* (gh dropped); *varaha* < *boar* (h dropped).

(e) *Yoga*: *rud* < *weep* (r dropped and d changes into p); *valka* < *cloth* (v dropped and this a new-comer); *catur* < *four* (c dropped and t changes into f); *sighra* < *sharp* (gh dropped and p is a new-comer).

There are many other rules framed by *Panini* himself for determining the phonetic changes. We have shown above only a part of such rules for drawing the attention of our readers.

Religion of Prince Dara Shukoh

By

Mr. JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A. B.L.

PRINCE Dara Shukoh, the eldest son and the heir-apparent of the Emperor Shah Jahan, is a unique figure in the Medieval history of India. He is chiefly remembered for his tragic end. Few people realised that the tragedy lay not so much in his death as in his life. The Moghul princes, after the pattern of Akbar divided their time between camp and harem. Wine and Women formed their chief diversions from the exertions of warfare. They cared very little for knowledge of higher intellectual pursuits or higher spiritual life. Into this world, was born Dara Shukoh, a mystic philosopher, a devotee of knowledge and a seeker after spiritual truths.

The young Dara sought spiritual consolation at the feet of the renowned Mystic Mian Mir of Lahore, a Sufi of the Quadiriya order. He devoted his ample leisure to compiling a comprehensive work on the lives and miracles of the saints of Islam. He also wrote a pamphlet *Risalo-i-Haqmuma*, containing the gist of the Sufistic practices and the different stages of spiritual illumination. Some say that Dara was an unbeliever in Islam, but it is not so. Dara was out-and-out a Musalman, being full of reverence for the prophet and his teachings.

Dara preferred moral renunciation to asceticism. In his opinion, "Worldliness is the non-remembering of God. It does not consist either in dress, or in having sons and wife." The Sufis are the unitarians of Islam and their goal is Tawhid or unification which consists in affirming the unity of God after having gained a perfect knowledge of his Unity. The doctrine of Tawhid was the subject of Dara's life-long study, and, the perfect realisation of it through knowledge and contemplation, was the goal of his spiritualism.

The keynote of Dara's theosophy was the uncompromising monotheism of the Quoran, realised in the principle of "unity-in-plurality. A Muslim conquers God and Man by receiving them into his bosom, and, expands himself into the Universal Person to feel one-ness with the whole creation and the creator.

There are two distinct periods in the history of the literary and religious activity of Dara. Down to 1647, that is, upto the completion of his *Risab-i-Haqmuna*, Dara was mainly

occupied with Sufi theosophy of the Pantheistic school. From 1647 to 1657, he devoted himself to the study of the Jewish, Christian and Hindu religions, with the object of discovering the underlying principles of all religions and harmonising them with the tenets of Islam. He approached the great Jewish Saint, Sarmad the Jew. Manucci says that Dara delighted to hear the Christian fathers overcome the Champions of other religions with their arguments. As regards Hindu philosophy, it had been influencing esoteric Islam since the days of Alberuni. Abul Fazal made the elements of the six systems of Hindu philosophy accessible to the Muslims. Since the literary Renaissance of the age of Akbar, the Muslims began to take greater interest in Sanskrit literature and the Hindu religion. Akbar presented popular Hinduism to the Muslims by having the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, and the *Atharva Veda* translated into Persian. Dara tapped the very spring-mind of Hindu philosophy, and, presented the highest and best tenets of Hinduism to the Muslims by the translation of the *Bhagavat Gita* the *Upanisads*, *Probohd Chandrodaya*, *Yoga Vashistha*, and other Hindu scriptures.

Dara was the first serious student not only of comparative religion, but also of comparative mythology in Medieval India. The most lasting portion of his work is his Islamic name for clothing in Muslim garb Hindu ideas, Hindu Gods, and, beings in Hindu mythology.

The pantheism of Dara finds an eloquent expression in the following he composed:

"Thou art in the Kaaba as well as in the
Somnath temple
In the convent as well as in the Tavern.
Thou art at the same time the light and
the moth
The wine, and the wife, the sage
And, the fool, the friend and the
stranger."

The Indian history and culture, from the very beginning, shows that all the foreigners namely the Greeks, the Saks, the Huns, the Yuechis and others, who invaded India, were assimilated and digested by the Hindu society, except, the followers of the semitic religions, namely, Islam and Christianity. Akbar the

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great, for the first time, came to realise that Islam, a desert religion, could not be suitable to India, a fertile and riverine land, with a high standard of civilisation and culture, and hence he proclaimed that Islam was not suited to India, and, found out a new religion named *Din Illahi* or *Divine faith*. Akbar's reign was marked by an intellectual and religious revolt, and the birth of Indian nationalism in politics as well as in the Fine Arts and literature. Akbar wanted to build a nation out of the Hindus and the Muslims and the tradition was maintained by his son Jahangir. But the character of the Emperor Shah Jahan partook of a double nature—an actual combination of Muslim orthodoxy and liberalism of Akbar. He was Dara and Aurangzeb in one—the latter representing the other side of the medal. His reign was a period of transition from the enlightened nationalism of Akbar to the gloo-

my orthodox reaction of the days of Aurangzeb for, Shah Jahan destroyed many Hindu temples. The victory of Aurangzeb over Dara is the victory of Muslim orthodoxy and fanaticism over the liberal idea of Akbar, which ultimately led to the downfall of the Mogul Empire, the fabric of which, was built by Akbar by bricks and mortars of liberalism. Had Dara been successful in the war of succession, perhaps, the course of Indian History would have been different, and, the plant of nationalism which was nurtured by his great grand father Akbar on liberal policy, would have grown into a big tree, and perhaps there would have been no foreign domination for nearly two hundred years and the partition of the sub-continent of India in 1947 on the basis of two nation theory into Hindusthan and Pakistan to the mutual disadvantage to each of the component parts of the sub-continent of India.

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Charter for the Technical Craftsmen in Britain

By

Mr. ALAN STEWART

BRTAIN'S technical education system, highly successful in the past five years in the training of scientists and technologists, is now being reorganised to speed up the training of the technical craftsman and operative. It is not an exaggeration to claim that in Britain today any young man or woman wishing to make a career in a particular field can go as far as his ability and application will take him.

The universities, with some 100,000 students studying for a degree, have 15,000 places in their technological departments. There are between 8,000 and 9,000 students in Colleges of Advanced Technology studying for Diplomas in Technology.

Outside the universities there are some 100,000 more students taking courses beyond the General Certificate of Education "A" (or higher) level. Of these, 30,000 are evening students, 40,000 on part-time day courses, and

24,000 taking full-time and sandwich (part classroom study, part practical experience in industry) courses.

The target of at least 20,000 scientists and technologists a year, double the number of 1956, which was adopted as Britain's objective for 1970, will, it is expected, be reached five years ahead of time.

These results have been achieved by a determined drive over the past five years to increase the resources of technical man-power. During that period £100,000,000 worth of new technical college building has been authorised; full-time teachers have been increased by 50 per cent. and are still rising, and the number of full-time and sandwich courses has nearly doubled.

The introduction of sandwich courses leading to the Diploma in Technology has given a

great impetus to the technical colleges which now have closer links with industry and research. Of the students now studying for the Diploma in Technology three-quarters are based on industry and one quarter on colleges. More than 1,400 of these students were studying technologies other than engineering.

Reorganisation of the technical education system has, as two of its chief objects, the forging of better links between the schools and the technical colleges and the provision of a "technician's charter." It is dictated by the need for the senior ranks of scientists and technologists to be better supported by the sub-professional grades of technicians, craftsmen and operatives.

The changes will broaden the education of students and provide greater continuity between school and technical college. They will adapt the system more closely to the needs of industry and concentrate on giving more and better training to the technicians.

Changes taking place in industry today make urgent the need for more and better trained technicians below the level of professional technologist. With growing numbers of pupils staying at school after the age of 15 the gap which exists between school and technical college must be bridged.

The principle underlying the reorganisation is that at whatever age a student finishes his education at secondary school, he should be able to continue at technical college without any break.

About 450,000 students now taking industrial courses for technicians, craftsmen and operatives are likely to be affected by the reorganisation.

These courses, part of a complex system leading to the examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute, the National Certificate (Ordinary and Higher) and the Ordinary and Higher National Diploma, will generally improve. Courses leading to the Diploma in Technology, degrees and other more advanced qualifications are outside the scope of this reorganisation scheme.

The greater opportunities in technical education, which must take some time to come into full effect as almost the whole of industry is affected, will be open to students from the Commonwealth in the same way that existing opportunities are available to them.

Britain has promised that Commonwealth students will have a share of the new places provided under the current and future plans for expanding the total number of places in universities and technical colleges.

Full-time students from overseas numbered about 47,000 at the start of 1960, and of these two out of every three, about 31,000 came from the countries of the Commonwealth.

The majority of the students were following some form of technical training. The number of students from the Commonwealth at technical colleges last year was about 7,660. Many of the 7,123 at universities were also doing technical courses.

The urgent demands of developing countries for their technologists and technicians to be trained in Britain continue to increase. They gained the benefits of the post-war expansion and development of the technical colleges. They will now gain the benefits of the "technician's charter."

TUTARY art began in the hoary past. It is found in pre-Aryan India in the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa terracotta designs. In pre-Aryan India it is met with throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent. In East Pakistan it is represented in the archaeological findings at Mahasthan, Paharpur and Mainamati. In Paharpur we find the terracotta figures of Hindu and Mahayan Buddhist gods and goddesses such as Krsna and Radha, Siva, Brahma, Ganesa, Manasa, Buddha, Bodhisatta Padmapani, Hevajra, Tara, Manusri, Jambhala etc. The present day Hindu artisans as their hereditary profession make with clay the figures of Siva, Durga, Sarasvati, Ganesa, Krsna and Radha, Manasa and other gods and goddesses which are worshipped by the Hindus in East Pakistan.

In the terracotta plaques at Paharpur we find representations of animals such as buffalo, the elephant, the camel, the monkey, the cow, the bull, the lion, the bear, the tiger, the rhinoceros, the duck or goose, the peacock, the tortoise and the fish. There are also representations of men and women in various walks of their lives and in different postures. In the findings at Mahasthan and Mainamati there are also such representations of gods and goddesses, men and women, beasts, birds and fishes.

Besides pottery the potters make various kinds of dolls and toys with clay. They make not only figures of human beings and the animals generally known in East Pakistan, but also imaginary figures like winged horse (known in folk-tales as *pakkhiraj ghora*) and the *boraq* believed by the Mussalmans to have been a winged heavenly animal with the body of the horse and the head of a woman. They also make fruits, whistles and other small objects either by hand or by casting.

The carpenters besides household furniture also make dolls and toys of wood. The import of foreign fashionable and artistic dolls and toys has no doubt destroyed the monopoly of the native artisans in the market, but in fairs held periodically on the occasion of a Muslim or Hindu festival there is still a great demand for the indigenous dolls and toys which are

cheaper than foreign ones and more to the native taste.

The *patuas* who are hereditary painters also paint on paper-faced cloth scenes from Hindu mythological stories. The scrolls are generally rather long and the whole story can only be intelligible by gradually unrolling them. There are also paintings of a secular nature. The wooden covers binding manuscripts sometimes show beautiful paintings. Some old scrolls depict the life incidents of a Muslim saint of Bengal called Gazi (perhaps Kalu Gazi of the folk literature). *Gazir pat* (the scroll of the Gazi) is equivalent in some parts of Bengal to a long drawn boring discourse. Some old mosques and temples show wall decorations in plaster. They are the works of the masons. According to Mr. Muhammad Hussain "the chief characteristic of scroll painting is that it contains all the qualities of mural paintings. Boldness, vigour and spontaneity are remarkable features of these drawings."

For religious motives the Hindu women of Bengal make a particular kind of drawing on floors and courtyards. It is called *alipana*. They draw it with their finger wrapped round by a small piece of cloth. In place of paint they use ground rice paste soaked with water. The *alipana* drawing is of a symbolic nature. It does not represent a natural object, but an idea or a succession of ideas. During the *Lakshmi puja* (worship of the goddess of wealth and happiness) especially, the Hindu women give particular attention to *alipana* and draw symbolic feet of the goddess Lakshmi and these ideas are often conventional. The *alipana* drawing has been transmitted from the mother to the daughter in succession from a hoary past; it may be even pre-Aryan.

Women in East Pakistan generally make *Kanths* (a sort of quilt) out of discarded *saris* for their use in the family. Sometimes they do beautiful embroidery work on the *kanthas*. These have artistic designs on their borders made with coloured threads. The body of the *kanthas* has also various artistic designs made with white and coloured threads. The coloured threads are always taken from the borders of discarded *saris* of which the *kanthas* are made.

It is a painstaking work requiring several months to complete. Women generally devote their leisure time in the midday and the evening to this work.

To give an idea of the design of a *kantha* I quote Mr. Muhammad Hussain who gives the following description of a *kantha* which he saw at an exhibition held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London: "Its ground is white, and the embroidery and applique are in shades of red, blue, green and yellow. The rectangular field is divided into five panels, one at each end filled with an elephant and the remaining three filled with multi-coloured roundels. Above the panels there is a frieze with various animals, birds, some soldiers and other figures. The borders are narrow and contain formal scroll motifs with quarterfoils in the corners."

We know from history and from archaeological discoveries that Bengal was famous in the olden times for her textile fabrics. Cotton was the material for textile work and was produced abundantly in Bengal. It is a sad thing that cotton cultivation is now altogether defunct in East Pakistan. During the first century A.C. *Dacca muslin* (a kind of fine cloth) was famous in Rome and was highly prized. The fabrics of East Pakistan produced by its weavers, Hindus and Muslims, were noted "for the fineness of texture, beauty of design, intricacy of weave, lightness of weight, and durability."

The following are species of *muslin* produced in East Pakistan—*tanzeb*, *sarband*, *badan khash*, *ala-ballay*, *sharbat*, *tarandam*, *kumish*, *turla*, *nainsuka*, *charkhana*, *malmal khas*, *jam-dani*, *addhi* etc. According to the difference in their designs they are variously called, e.g. *butldar* (spotted), *charkhana* (checked), *tercha* (slanted stripes), *panna ha'ar* (thousands emeralds), *doria* (striped) etc.

Fashionable ladies still have a passion for the native saris with various designs. They are especially in demand for the bridal robe. But the cotton mills are flooding the market with cheap clothes of various descriptions and consequently the native weavers are very hard hit. Besides the *saris* they are now compelled to produce cheap cotton cloths as they are unable to compete with mill-made cloths.

Women in the villages employ their leisure time in the midst of their domestic work in

embroidery work; on a ground of madder-brown, white and green colours are exhibited by means of cotton, while for yellow colour floss silk is used. Floral motives appear in many designs. Some embroideries are worked in coloured silk on a satin ground. These are commonly made up into skirts, bodices and handkerchiefs.

Basketry and matting in East Pakistan show great artistic skill. They are manufactured from cane, bamboo, reeds, a special kind of grass called *hogla*, and palm and date palm leaves. The borders of various baskets are woven on a highly interesting technique. The finishing processes in chequer work, wicker work, twilled work, twined work and coiled work vary considerably. Coloured ornamentation is done by employing material of natural colour, use of dyed materials and additions of beads, cowries and other ornamental objects.

In East Pakistan the common people do not use chairs or benches; instead of them they use mats. Besides the ordinary mats, there are mats of special kinds. *Shitalpatts* are a kind of mat used in place of bed sheets in summer season on account of their cooling effect on the body. They are made of a special kind of grass (*maranta dichotoma*) and are sometimes decorated with coloured designs. *Masaland* is also a fine mat made of a particular kind of grass and is ornamented with coloured designs. They are generally manufactured in West Bengal and in the district of Khulna in East Pakistan bordering the Sunderban area where the specific type of grass needed for the mat is found in plenty.

The carpenters besides making various household furniture, masks, wooden dolls and toys also do other kinds of wood work. Their artistic skill in wood carving finds expression in ornamental pillars, friezes, door posts, lintels, doors, windows, baskets, chariots, coaches, *rathas* (chariots for gods and goddesses), bedsteads, cornices of almirahs, panels and various other wood works. They also make musical instruments and have various artistic drawings engraved thereon. Some carpenters build boats. The bow and the stern of the vessel are sometimes decorated with artistic wood carving. The bow of the vessel has sometimes various animal figures like peacocks, lions, eagles, birds, etc.

Liberation of Goa

By

Sri K. SANTHANAM, M.P.

WHILE the entire people of India will rejoice at the liberation of the Portuguese enclaves, the over-whelming feeling will be one of relief rather than of elation. These small centres of colonialism were not militarily, economically or politically important but, like a thorn in the flesh, they caused a disproportionate amount of irritation and discomfort to the people and Government of this country. The speed and ease with which they have been liberated recall the similar police action against Hyderabad 13 years ago. Then, too, the people were chafing at the delays and hesitations of the Government. Exaggerated reports of the military build-up of the Razakars appeared in the Press and fantastic rumours were current about the destruction that might be caused and the atrocities that might be committed if Hyderabad were invaded. It is now clear that the Portuguese authorities and their troops had no more intention to resist than the Nizam or his army. It may take some time before it is known whether the abandonment of a futile resistance was a last-minute decision of the Portuguese Government or it was a settled policy since 1946 to hold on to these enclaves only so long as it was possible to do so through legal, political and military bluff. In any case the peaceful walk-over with hardly any casualties, has made those spokesmen in the Security Council ridiculous who advocated a cease-fire.

It is not right to argue that, because the long-standing intrusion into our national territory has been so simply eliminated, it could and should have been done much earlier. It was possible to take similar action in 1947 at the time of the transfer of power or at the time of the police action against Hyderabad. In either case international reactions and complications would have been much greater. The Portuguese atrocities in Angola, the consolidation of world opinion against the survival of colonialism and entry into the United Nations of many countries which have been liberated since from foreign domination, produced an exceptionally favourable political climate for the recent action. Though it may be hoped that the incident will be forgotten in a few days, it is wiser not to be complacent and to be prepared for some adverse reactions.

The effect on Pakistan requires careful watching. While the military dictator may appreciate the fact that with the disappearance of Goa, Daman and Diu as possible footholds for stabbing in the back, the military strength of India has increased, the psychological effect on the people of Pakistan who are bound to compare the success of Indian leadership with the impotence of their own leaders in relation to Kashmir, may become a source of anxiety for the survival of the present regime. It may also be thought that European and American opinion may not sympathise with India in the event of a Pakistani adventure in Kashmir. The surest way to prevent it is to be so alert and prepared that it will not have the remotest chance of even temporary or local success.

So far as China is concerned, there may be no overt reaction but the determination to exploit the advantages of the terrain on India's borders and the domination over Tibet to push further into Indian territory may be strengthened. The next step may be preceded by congratulations to India on her ending of Portuguese colonialism and a fresh offer to negotiate on the border dispute. There is no doubt that Indian opinion, except in Communist circles, will reject any such offer unless it is accompanied by vacation of occupied Indian territory. But we should not forget that the Chinese claim that they are only re-occupying their own territory which happened to be under British imperialism for some time. We know that the claim is false, but unless we are able to resist it by force, the Indian case may get less sympathy from the democratic nations and none at all from the Communist bloc.

It is not surprising that opinion in the U.K. should be so strong against India. The British diehards have not forgotten Indian reaction to their Suez fiasco. Even Liberal and Labour friends of India cannot but be embarrassed by our action against an ancient ally of Britain. They might regret that the British Government did not take active steps to bring about a voluntary evacuation of Goa, but they cannot but feel disappointed that Indian patience could not hold out longer and that having expelled South Africa to oblige India and other coloured members of the Commonwealth,

Britain should lose also the friendship of an European nation, though it is the small Portugal.

In spite of the rather intemperate speech of Mr. Adlai Stevenson in the Security Council, I expect that there will not be any appreciable change in the attitude of the U.S.A. towards India. It is easier for the Americans to realise the impossibility of indefinite Indian acquiescence in the existence of the Portuguese enclaves. But the U.S.A. has got entangled in conflicting policies with respect to her need to humour her European allies on the one hand and her ardent desire on the other to champion the freedom of African and Asian peoples still under colonial domination. The fact that there has been no resistance and little blood has been shed should make it easy for President Kennedy to check further misunderstanding and resume the task of stabilising Indo-U.S.A. relations on a satisfactory basis.

The Soviet Union has rendered a signal service to India by vetoing the Anglo-American resolution on Goa. Though even the passing of the resolution would not have changed the course of events for Portuguese rule had become extinct by the time the resolution could have been passed, it would have been highly embarrassing for India to have to formally discard such a resolution. Her position in the U.N. might have deteriorated and her voice in the cause of peace and disarmament might have less effect. But, it is to be hoped that Soviet assistance has not been given in the expectation of a worsening of Indo-American relations. Though strict non-alignment is the only correct policy for India, it is a delicate and slippery position and much vigilance is needed that there is no stepping towards either side.

The warm sympathy of many Asian and African nations with India's action against Portugal is the fine fruit of the far-sighted foreign policy pursued by India's Prime Minister. That Ceylon should have stood by India with such firmness is particularly pleasing and it is to be hoped that the minor linguistic and other disputes between the Indians and the Sinhalese in Ceylon will be amicably settled soon and India and Ceylon will become model neighbours in Asia. It may happen that Algeria, Angola and other African countries will here-

after expect more active assistance than mere moral support. Following the sending of troops to the Congo, the action against Goa may be interpreted as a positive commitment to aid violent revolt against colonial domination.

Finally, we must face frankly the moral implications of our operations against the Portuguese settlements. Politically, it was necessary and it has been amply justified by results. In Kashmir and Hyderabad, India had shown that she was not committed to absolute non-violence. Yet, the monumental patience shown by India in the face of the arrogant attitude of tiny Portugal had come to be associated in the minds of many foreigners and also of Indians as a unique illustration of Gandhian influence in Indian foreign policy. It may be good for this country to come down from this lofty pedestal and avow that national interests come first. Yet, there should be no surprise if many feel that it is a pity that we should have lost faith in performing the miracle of a moral conversion of even Portugal. Even impractical idealism has an ennobling quality about it and there is nothing wrong in thinking that though military operations were easy and swift, we have had to pay in idealism for what we have won in national integrity and political satisfaction.

It has already been decided that Goa will be maintained as an autonomous entity within the Indian Union. The liberated areas will soon take their place in national affairs and adequate provision will have to be made for their economic development. One major issue posed by Goa is whether priority should be given to the development of its harbour and whether the decision to convert Mangalore into a major or intermediate port requires revision. The legal incorporation of Nagar-Haveli into the Indian Union has already paved the way for the integration of the newly liberated areas. When similar incorporation of the French settlements has been completed, the problem whether these tiny areas can continue indefinitely under the Union Government directly or they should take their legitimate place in the neighbouring States will have to be tackled. But in all these matters, it has been rightly decided that there should be no hasty steps and the wishes of the people should be respected as far as possible. (*The Hindu*)



Indonesia's Guided Democracy Explained

By

MR. J.C. JOHARI, M.A., LL.B.

"Indonesian democracy since ancient times has been Guided Democracy and this is characteristic of all original democracies in Asia. Yes, indeed without concealing anything we have made a complete divorce from Western democracy which is free-fight liberalism, but on the other hand, since ancient times we have flatly rejected dictatorship. Guided Democracy is the democracy of the family system without the autocracy of dictatorship."—President Soekarno on Independence Day 1959.

SINCE the end of second World War and more particularly since the beginning of the later part of the 20th century, the countries of the world though chiefly Asia and Africa have been continually witnessing a melodramatic rise and fall of democracy. In the course of few years, they have been noticed shedding tears over the failure of their democratic systems and in those soils the dictatorial regimes have descended almost like the melting of an avalanche. The failure of King Farouk's administration and its virtual overthrow in 1952 By Col. Nasser was the first outstanding instance that met its inglorious repetition at irregular hours in other countries like Iraq, Pakistan, Sudan, Thailand, Cuba, Turkey. Likewise, the authoritarian rule of Indonesia under the Presidentship of Soekarno is a notable instance of the failure of political leaders in the specific region in respect of establishing an efficient and stable administration on the lines of Western democracy.

The constitutional history of Indonesia since August 1945 is full of those descriptions that exhibit a curious swinging of the pendulum 'through trial and error.' Though the historic Constitution showed faith in Guided Democracy, yet the actual working of democracy since then was largely conducted on liberal democratic lines and this state of affairs received constitutional sanction in the Charter of Agreement of 1949. But the liberal pattern of democracy was totally sacked after a period of twelve years and replaced by a unique pattern—Guided Democracy. The Presidential Decrees spoke of the return to 1945 'Constitution' implying the termination of Western democracy and the unadulterated existence of a new pattern whose main features are as under:

"Guided Democracy is that type of democracy which is guided by the inner wisdom of perception in the deliberation of representatives." (Dr. Djuanda) Contrary to liberal de-

mocracies, it demands a kind of political environment in which there may prevail a very close and sweet confluence of national wisdom and guidance so that the representatives chosen or elected by the people may work on the basis of mutual assistance (Gotong Rojong). It stands for such a kind of political set-up where all phases of national interest may enjoy due representation by holding participation in national legislature and executive so that the wheels of administration could be motivated by those persons who represent various aspects of national interest and who instead of being goaded by the passions and prejudices of nasty party politics or egoistic sentiments (as generally happens in liberal democracies) but by rendering true services and patriotic sacrifices contribute their real endeavours out of their spontaneous zeal for national advancement in order to see the completion of the Revolution at an earliest possible hour.

If so, it seems to settle like a layer on the outer surface that the Guided Democracy tries to impart some room to the ethics of Functional Democracy—a kind of democracy whose cause is fervently advocated by the Guild Socialists. This thing is obviated by the organisation of National Council which is expected to work in close co-ordination with the institution of Cabinet and which is to include representatives of or persons from peasantry, labour class, intelligentsia, national entrepreneurs, religious groups, ladies, regional bodies civil and military forces, ministry, etc. Yet it does not like to democratise the economic sphere like Guildists rather it believes in the dragging of economic aspects in national administration along with other things concerning national interest.

Soekarno's democracy on guided lines has no resemblance with J.P.'s ideal of partyless democracy, rather it seeks a type of people's rule in which one party fails to carry on de-

democratic administration on dictatorial lines in the good name of democracy. Instead of banning or outlawing their existence, it wants their simplification, rationalisation and sincere representation and their unbending adherence towards the realisation of the ideals of Revolution.

Guided Democracy crosses political lines and encompasses not only economic but social fields too. It declares the promotion of public welfare, the uplift of the standard of living, participation in establishing a world order founded on freedom, eternal peace and social justice. Pancha Sila or the State's Philosophy speaks of this noble aim through the framework of democracy and "the aim is not unique to us: it is also implicit in Mr. Nehru's vision of a society with a socialist pattern and in the Burmese ideal of a Pridawtha State." (Rose-lain Abdulgani).

Guided Democracy is not dictatorship. It recognises the freedom of thought and speech and the existence of political parties, though within certain bounds like public morality, political security, responsibility to God, and national identity. These limitations involve reasonableness and fail to vindicate the stand of the critics inasmuch as they stand for the retention of democracy in the troubled waters of Indonesia.

Guided Democracy is a means towards noble ideals and not an end in itself. "It is an instrument and not an objective." It is a tool that will unfold the chapters showing the concrete manifestation of desired aims and objectives. It thus places a complete stop over those practices which enabled the responsible leaders to use people as tools in the days of Western democracy. Soekarno hopes that through this instrumentality, he will take his nation to heaven through a purgatory having crossed the bounds of hell.

It is a controlled and limited type of democracy, for it despises to outstretch its arms in a loose and unbridled manner. It asks the nation to breathe in an atmosphere of restraints and thus it corollarises the imposition of reasonable restrictions on political parties and freedom of thought and expression. Opposed to European and American democracies, it needs for its existence a very disciplined climate and a pattern appealing to the sentiments of the nation whereby the nation may enjoy the capabilities of getting what it desires.

Guided Democracy is a call for guided economy as well. It leads to Art. 33 of the Indonesian Constitution which reads: "The economy shall be organised on a co-operative basis and founded on the family principle." It thus demands a government based on the family principles and mutual co-operation and thus it needs a government system wholly united with its people and not a government divorced from its social framework. It was in pursuance of this ideal that Act No. 80 of 1958 was passed which said that the National Planning Council at Djakarta shall be entrusted with the work of preparing laws on planned national reconstruction and evaluating the implementation of construction projects.

Then it is a specific pattern designed for fulfilling people with "material and spiritual affluence in lines with the ideals of Proclamation of Independence." Hence, the programme is considered to be a very well-thought attempt that will cure the national and political ills like people's indifference towards national works, love for foreign luxury imports, carelessness for savings and investments, increasing sluggishness, decline in labour efficiency, forgetfulness of the national ideals, resort to deliberate anti-national activities etc.

It is a clamour for making a correct assessment of national forces and channelising them properly "for the sake of facilitating the running of the wheels of the Government and for political stability." President Soekarno holds full confidence in the thing that his Kerdja Cabinet will do its best to cleanse the national potential and channelise it in a direction where people's needs for bread and butter, economic and political security and the stoppage of colonialism and imperialism be had within the shortest possible time by means of a deliberately thoughtout and rationalised exploitation of national forces.

Guided Democracy as its author feels is not a mere utopian scheme but a working creed, not a hypothetical pattern but a fundamentally executive agency, not an idealistic approach but a realistic programme. It is "Demokrasi Karya." By throwing out the system of imported democracy, it makes a call for new arrangement and a new re-arrangement involving a retooling of the future coupled with the co-ordination carrying out the entire activities of national life from one co-ordination unit to serve as the basis and objective of Revolution.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Goa

At long last, the Indian defence forces were compelled to move into Goa on the 18th Dec. to wipe out the last vestige of colonialism on the Indian soil. By this action the Indian armed forces have set the seal, says a contemporary, on the collapse of "four hundred years of colonial rule over Goa in less than twenty-four hours." The entire Indian people hail the event as the natural finale to the movement for Indian freedom from foreign rule which started over a hundred years ago. The quickness with which the Portuguese areas were overrun shows that the colonial rule had as the Indian Government had rightly assessed it, "cracked up and the people wanted and welcomed India." Militarily the extinction of the Salazar regime's hold over these territories was never a serious problem for India. But in keeping with India's avowed principles and deep respect for the United Nations, the Indian Government had sought for fourteen long years a peaceful settlement of the problem. In spite of the rising discontent within Goa, the ruthless measures adopted by the Portuguese against the Goan nationalists, and the persistent demand from every party in this country for firm action to end the last relics of colonialism on Indian soil, the Indian Government patiently waited. They were hoping against hope that the advice of its friends and the internal pressures it faced in Angola and elsewhere would induce the Salazar regime to turn over a new leaf, follow the example of Britain and France, and quit while the going was good and with good grace. But that was not to be. The tragedy of Portugal is that she is ruled by a regime which has no regard for the liberties of its people at home, much less for the freedom of the peoples of its colonies. Instead of drawing the right lessons from the conference recently held at Delhi, and recognising the inevitability of the end of their imperial role, the Portuguese sought to strengthen their hold over Goa by a military build-up and a series of provocative acts which could have only one result. It was as natural as it was inevitable, that India should react to these measures by a movement of her defence forces which, if the situation demanded it, could act swiftly and vigorously. That even at this stage Portugal did not think it necessary to negotiate with India and seek a peaceful way of terminating her rule over a part of

India, "which had continued fourteen years too long after the British transfer of power, shows not only the utterly reactionary character of the Lisbon regime but its purblind obstinacy and its secret faith in its Western allies." On the contrary, furious military preparations were going on inside Goa and, what was most disturbing much advertised arrangements were apparently being made for carrying out a "scorched earth policy" which would leave Goa in shambles if the Portuguese had to quit finally. On top of all this and repeated incursions into, and firings on, Indian territory across the border came the attack on 17th Dec. on a police post inside the Indian border constituting a gross violation of Indian territory by Portuguese troops. With the growing deterioration in the internal administration in Goa and the mounting pressure of the commandos, there was every danger of desperate elements taking the law into their own hands unless the Indian forces moved in.

"No one could regret more than the Government of India the painful necessity which compelled them to send troops into Goa" says our contemporary. But they have no need to be apologetic about actively participating in the liberation of Goa from colonial tyranny. The Indian people and Government have never recognised Portugal's "rights" over Goa and other territories on the Indian soil and have always demanded that her rule over these pockets should end. Portugal's record in all her colonies is a dark and bloody one and she has consistently refused information to the United Nations about the conditions in her colonies, on the ridiculous plea that they are all "provinces" of Metropolitan Portugal. Whatever may be Portugal's value to the West as a member of NATO, her role as a colonial power could not but be a liability to the West in its ideological war. The best service the Western Powers could now render to Portugal is to make her see reason and reconcile herself to the peaceful and inevitable disappearance of her colonies.

So far as Goa, Diu and Daman are concerned, the Indian military and civil authorities have begun restoring normal administration there and start repairing the ruins the Portuguese have left behind. Prime Minister Nehru has given an assurance that the Indian Government will be willing to maintain "the

individuality and personality of Goa" so that the Goans can live their lives according to their wishes. We have, he affirmed, no quarrel with Portugal. It would be criminal folly on the part of Portugal if she tried to hold Indians in her other territories as hostages, confiscate their properties and persist in a policy of enmity and hatred towards this country. Such a policy may inflict temporary hardship on some people, but it will bring no good to Portugal and will only blacken her name further.

Albania

The Albanian official news agency reported on Dec. 10 that the Soviet Union had ordered withdrawal of its diplomatic personnel from Tirana and demanded that Albania withdraw its diplomatic personnel from Moscow.

This means that the Soviet Union, in fact, has broken off diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In the past, Yugoslavia broke off direct diplomatic relations with Albania in the Stalin period, but continued to maintain diplomatic relations with Albania through diplomatic representation in Budapest.

The Albanian news agency announced that a representative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow orally demanded that Albanian diplomatic personnel should leave the Soviet Union. At the same time, the agency reported that a note of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana informed the Albanian Foreign Ministry of the withdrawal of the Soviet diplomatic personnel from Tirana. This note also demanded withdrawal of Albanian diplomatic personnel from Moscow.

Tanganyika

Tanganyika emerged from trusteeship to independence at midnight on Dec. 8 to become the 29th sovereign African State.

The transition took place before a crowd of over 75,000 wildly cheering people of all races who packed the new National Stadium.

Promptly at midnight the Union Jack was lowered by Prime Minister Julius Nyerere 42 years after this former jewel in German crown was placed under British administration at the end of the first world war.

In its place atop a tall flagpost, the green black and gold flag of independent Tanganyika fluttered in the midnight breeze.

Mr. Harold Macmillan informed Mr. Julius Nyerere, Tanganyika's Prime Minister, that after consultation with other Commonwealth

member Governments, "we all agree that Tanganyika shall as from December 9 be recognised as a member of the Commonwealth." Katanga

The resoluteness with which U Thant, the Acting Secretary-General, of the U.N., has proceeded towards his objective of bringing secessionist Katanga under U.N. control and thus restoring peace to the troubled Congo, is nothing short of remarkable. U Thant has displayed a firmness of purpose which must have astounded a number of great powers as well as his critics. Who would have believed that a mild-mannered Asian would have succeeded in bringing to heel the evil genius of Congo politics, backed as he is by several foreign powers and the powerful Union Miniere with its lobbies in many capitals? When he was elected to the key post, diplomats politely congratulated him, but felt that the man he had replaced was irreplaceable for Dag had been known for his sturdy independence.

U Thant's course of action has meant that today the prestige of the U.N. is at its height for it is no longer a body passing merely pious resolutions. Brigadier Inderjit Righye, the U.N. Military Adviser in the Katanga, has already announced that Elizabethville is expected to be under U.N. control, except for isolated pockets of resistance. The main culprit in the Katanga affair is the powerful Union Miniere from whose buildings an attack on the U.N. forces is being conducted. Two facts are particularly significant about the Union Miniere: that the Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr. Paul Henri Spaak should have made a plea to U Thant to stop firing on the installations of the European mining company at Elizabethville and that a Katanga military map captured by the U.N. forces should have shown that the lines of command of the white mercenary force in the Katanga army ran directly to the offices of the Union Miniere. The Union Miniere which owns Katanga's biggest copper mines, had enough money for such machinations in its last ditch fight.

Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Congolese Prime Minister, and President Moise Tshombe of Katanga reached an agreement in Kitona on Dec. 21 to end the Katanga secession and restore the unity of the Congo, reliable sources said then at Leopoldville.

The detailed terms of the far-reaching accord are to be published later, but reliable informants said Mr. Tshombe accepted the princi-

ples of the Congo's fundamental law, or provisional Constitution, which provides for a united nation.

As the above was in the Press, Mr. Adoula, the Congolese Premier reports on Dec. 24 that Mr. Tshombe of Katanga had again betrayed: thus Mr. Tshombe is responsible for the failure of the last attempt to solve the Katanga crisis.

Afro-Asian Conference

Inaugurating the conference of the Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Co-operation at New Delhi on Dec. 11 Prime Minister Nehru pleaded that a regional orientation of both political and economic policies was the right endeavour both for the present and the future. He commended the efforts of the conference in this direction.

Mr. Nehru stressed the importance of greater economic co-operation by Asian and African countries not only from the point of view of their own development but also from the larger aspect of world peace.

Mr. Nehru said that the closer integration of Western Europe had begun even before the European Common Market took shape. The Latin American countries were also coming closer to one another. It was therefore, no surprise that the countries of Asia and Africa were now thinking on similar lines. In fact the surprise was that they had taken so long to think so.

Independence for S. W. Africa

The U. N. Trusteeship Committee on 6th December voted to establish a seven-member committee to visit South-West Africa before May 1.

The proposal was the key provision of a resolution tabled by 36 Afro-Asian nations and Yugoslavia, which requests the Assembly to "solemnly proclaim" South-West Africa's right to independence.

The vote came at the end of an acrimonious, three-week-long debate on conditions in the territory administered by South Africa under the terms of an old League of Nations Mandate.

The Afro-Asian resolution was adopted by 86 votes to one, with four delegations abstaining. South Africa did not participate in the vote.

Portugal opposed the resolution. Abstentions were cast by Britain, Spain, Belgium, and France.

Jinnah's unfulfilled dream

Miss Fatimah Jinnah, sister of the founder of Pakistan said that the "Pakistan of Quade Azam's dream is yet to be realised."

She told a student's gathering on Dec. 4 at Karachi that Jinnah's "fight for Pakistan did not have for its objective the acquisition of a mere piece of territory. His vision of Pakistan was a society based on the solid foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism, which emphasised the equality and brotherhood of man."

She said, "It is indeed very distressing to see that even after 13 years of the establishment of Pakistan people were still living in sub-human conditions."

"Your destiny is in your own hands provided you know how to use the rights and opportunities that are yours," she told the students.

Nepal

King Mahendra of Nepal restored the fundamental rights which remained suspended for one year following the royal take-over of December 15 last year.

The King made a royal proclamation on Dec. 10 in which he made a specific reference that as the conditions necessitating the suspension of fundamental rights did not exist now he restored the suspended articles of the Constitution dealing with the fundamental rights.

The restored articles are in Part III of the Constitution which lay special emphasis on freedom of speech and publication.

The King, through the same proclamation, renewed the last year's royal decree not to allow the Parliament system of Government to function.

The restoration of fundamental rights, however, does not provide for freedom to revive political parties and activities. However the intelligentsia could give expression to its views.

The emergency powers of the King also remain operative.

C. R.'s warning

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, founder-leader of the Swatantra party, has expressed the view that Pakistan and China might take advantage of the present preoccupation of the Government of India with Goa.

Addressing a largely attended public meeting at Gorakhpur on 9th Dec. Rajaji referred to the Indian Government's moves in respect of Goa and remarked: "These crackers were not burnt these 15 years. But now on the eve

of the general elections, the ruling party created excitement over this issue."

This policy was nothing but to ask the people not to change horses in the mid-stream.

Referring to the northern border Rajaji said that India's indecision to face Chinese aggression, had made Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan lose their respect for India and they were now making terms with the Chinese. Burma, which was India's greatest friend and which would all along do nothing without the advice of India, had now made a separate treaty with China.

He said the Congress party was now organising the 'Goa excitement,' just to show to the people that the Government was "brave."

China on Goa

Communist China announced on Dec. 20 that it backed India's action in taking over Goa from the Portuguese, the New China News Agency reported.

The Agency said the announcement was made in a statement issued by the Government of the People's Republic of China in Peking.

The statement said: "The action of the Indian Government to recover Goa reflected the just demand of the Indian people."

"Goa is an inalienable part of India's territory. To oppose colonialism and safeguard national independence and the unity of their country the Indian people have for a long time been demanding the recovery of Goa and have waged an unrelenting struggle for the purpose."

Laos

The 14 Power Laos conference reached agreement at Geneva on Dec. 4 on six major aspects of Laotian neutrality—hailed as a big step by both the United States and Chinese delegations.

Mr. William Sullivan, U.S. deputy delegate, said the pattern was emerging for an agreement on Laos, a pattern for peace throughout the world.

The six points agreed on deal with: (1) Voting procedures in the International Supervision and Control Commission which will supervise the peace in a neutral Laos; (2) the role of the conference's co-Chairmen, Britain and the Soviet Union; (3) functions of inspection teams; (4) conditions for carrying out investigations; (5) functions of the Commission (India, Chairman, Canada, and Poland) in connection with the prohibition of the introduction of armaments into a neutral Laos;

and (6) undertakings by the signatories to an agreement here not to use the territory of Laos for interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and not to use the territory of any country for interference in the internal affairs of Laos.

India's foreign policy

Mr. Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, criticised the Chinese for charging India with being hand in glove with imperialists. In spite of the criticism of the foreign policy of the Government of India, which was occasionally subject to pressure from reactionary groups from outside, the Communist Party felt that basically the foreign policy was one of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

He added: "As such we believe that the Chinese charges that India has gone over to the imperialist camp shows a lack of sense of proportion and is contrary to the facts. Our views are basically different from the Chinese on India's foreign policy. We claim that we are the better judges of the Indian policy than any other party in the world including the Chinese Communist Party."

Referring to reports of negotiations said to be going on between China and Pakistan about border settlement, Mr. Ghosh earnestly hoped that there would not be any such settlement. He said: "The only border which China has with Pakistan is an area which is part of Jammu and Kashmir. If any settlement takes place, it will be totally illegal and invalid."

Asked about the Chinese threat to cross the McMahon Line, Mr. Ghosh said that reading the Chinese note he saw no threat as such. They seemed to have used an argument. He said: "I sincerely hope no such attempt would be made. But if any such attempt is made to cross the McMahon Line the Government of India would be justified in taking measures to repel it and the Communist Party of India would give them all support."

Singapore and Malaya

The Government of Singapore took the first step towards holding a referendum on its proposal for merger with the Federation of Malaya with the publication of a draft Bill for the purpose on Dec. 14.

The Bill, when passed by the Legislative Assembly, will empower the Head of State, whenever he considers in the public interest, to direct any matter to be submitted to the voters for a referendum.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Japa Sutram: The Science of Creative Sound. By Swami Pratyagatmananda. Ganesh & Co., (Priv.) Ltd., Madras. Price Rs. 4.

This is a summary English version of the author's encyclopaedic work in Sanskrit and Bengali. The original comprises 521 Sutras and 2,000 Karikas in Sanskrit with elaborate commentaries in Bengali. We have a gist of this important work here for the benefit of the English-knowing readers, in five chapters prefaced by a scholarly introduction by Sri Charu Chandra Chatterji and ending with an appropriate Appendix on the Metaphysics of Sound by Justice P. B. Mukherji.

It has always been held by Scholars and Pandits of old classics that proper intonation in recitation is an integral part of the study of the Vedas. Much of the efficacy of the Mantras depends on the proper and correct *śabda* in the recital of the Rik, Yajur and Sama Veda. Japa-sutram is concerned with the science of *śabda*, its origin and development, its creative aspects and the value of Japa intoned in proper accents. A wrong accent will mar the rhythmic cadence of a well thoughtout and modulated scheme of sound quite as much as it nullifies the power and purpose of the Mantra. The scholarly treatment of this important and abstruse branch of learning is rare in these days when translations, bereft of the force and power of the language of the Gods have to be resorted to. This work must therefore answer a very common need in the study of the scriptures, and Swami Pratyagatmananda opens our eyes to the power, beauty and splendour of the Japa in its rich cadence. It is an illuminating study of the deeper meaning and power of the Mantra which must stimulate the reader to go back to a closer appreciation of the original work on Japa-sutram.

Steamboats on the Ganges. By Henry T. Bernstein. Orient Longmans, Calcutta. Price Rs. 15.

Under this unpretentious title Dr. Bernstein offers an instructive study of the social and economic condition of Bengal in the early decades of the nineteenth century. An alumnus of the Universities of Stanford and Yale, he obtained a Fulbright scholarship which enabled him to spend ten months in India for studying the institutions of modern science and their application to rural and urban life. In 1955, taking advantage of a Yale Fellowship

he continued his research on his Ph.D. thesis in the India Office Library and the British Museum in London. The result of his studies and research is the book under review which is more than a mere account of Ganges steamers. The pioneering attempt of 1828 led the East India Company to launch a regular line of Government steamers from Calcutta to Allahabad. The men who made this hazardous enterprise reflected the new social relations among Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus and Muslims of the time. They were also helping to change the society by introducing new technical devices. The author hopes that further explorations of India's experience with science and technology in various other departments will be fruitful in our attempts to modernise rural conditions in the country by successive Plannings. Dr. Bernstein shows how a handful of Englishmen made themselves acceptable to diverse classes and interests in India by their judicious system of law and administration in spite of the tension caused by a feeling of frustration and exploitation. He shows the beginnings of developments that led the country step by step into the broad stream of modern life.

Hinduism and its Rationalism. By M. Hariharan. Foreword by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. Published by Mangalam, 171, Lloyds Road, Madras-14. Price Rs. 2.

This book, crammed with facts and opinions laboriously collected and presented with skill and judgment, deals with Hinduism in all its aspects. Hinduism is a living religion, not a set of dogmas but a way of life. That it embraces different schools of thought and diverse classes of worshippers is not its weakness but its strength, because its distinctive character is its tolerance and universality. The author discusses the Hindu view of the world, creation, soul, caste, idol worship and its distinctive doctrines like Karma, Dharma, Rebirth and Maya in the light of common sense and rationalism. But it is by no means necessary to accept every detail of his interpretation to appreciate the wide scope of his reading or his scientific approach to problems beyond the range of mere reasoning. There are things of experience and intuition which cannot be explained. The book is prefaced with a scholarly foreword from the pen of good old K.S.R. who has offered a critical appreciation of the author's work and views.

Truth called them differently: Tagore-Gandhi controversy. Compiled and Edited by R. K. Prabhu and Ravindra Kalekar. Price Rs. 1.50 nP.

Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. By M. K. Gandhi. Price Rs. 2.50 nP. Navjivan Press, Ahmedabad.

The Tagore Centenary year has naturally evoked a revival of interest in the Poet and his writings; and it is in the fitness of things that special attention should be directed to the great controversy between him and the central figure of the Gandhian era. Tagore's two articles on "The Call of Truth" and "The Cult of the Charkha" are answered by Gandhi in "The Great Sentinel" and "The Poet and the Charkha." In between these were other Topics like "The Bihar Earthquake" and "Ram Mohan Roy" over which there was a mild breeze. These are put together under one cover. They must be read in their proper setting to be really appreciated. But in spite of these occasional rifts the love and respect each had for the other was something remarkable and the editors have done well to include passages conveying mutual courtesy and admiration. It is just like Gandhi to say: "I have found no real conflict between us. I started with a disposition to detect a conflict between Gurudev and myself but ended with the glorious discovery that there was none."

The other book which contains 289 letters (about one quarter of such letters) offers a glimpse into the life and character of a man of "immense loving kindness" and varied activities. We have here a peep into the human side of the leader of the nation. He gave utterly of himself to everyone, says the Rajkumari. He took a live interest in one's daily actions. Nothing trivial was beneath contempt for his bigness." And then his letters brought infinite solace and hope and guidance to those privileged to receive them. In these letters, says Richard Gregg in his introduction "we learn at first hand of his loving kindness, his trust in people, his charitable judgments along with his shrewd judgment of character, his thoughtfulness of others even while he was in the midst of great events and heavy responsibilities." Nor can we fail to observe his unflinching humour his love of fun and banter and his sociability and love of people as people.

Anna Karenina. By Leo Tolstoy. Translated and with Foreword by David Magershack. 95 cts.

Peter the First. By Alexey Tolstoy. Translated by Tatiana Shebunina. 95 cts.

Hard Times. By Charles Dickens. With an Afterword by Charles Shapiro. 50 cts. Signet Classics. The New American Library, Madison Ave, New York 22.

There is no doubt that the popular paperback editions of these well known classics will meet the demands of an ever increasing reading public anxious to buy books at a price within their means. Leo Tolstoy and Charles Dickens are, of course, familiar to us while Alexey Tolstoy (no relation of the famous count) has won for himself a secure place among Russian authors by the publication of this first historical novel of the Soviet age.

Tolstoy grappled with his masterpiece for four years now adding, now deleting, sometimes destroying whole chapters in despair and at other times working at it with feverish enthusiasm. Even as it appeared serially in the *Russian Messenger* it evoked the discerning admiration of Dostoevsky. But the publisher, rattled by Tolstoy's views and their reaction on the authorities was suggesting such alterations that the author chose to publish the latter part at his own risk. If in *War and Peace*, his other masterpiece Tolstoy's basic idea was his love of the "nation" idea, in *Anna Karenina* it was his love of the "family" idea; and much of it is autobiographical, particularly the hero Lenin is Tolstoy personified with his views and ways of life.

Alexey Tolstoy's novel which is now so popular in Russia as to claim two million readers deals with the life and character of the lusty and headstrong ruler Peter the Great "who fought backwardness with tyranny, intrigues with rage and treachery with murder."

And now to Dickens' *Hard Times*. This is in some ways the fiercest of his novels, as no other work of his presents so relentless an indictment against the callous greed of the Victorian industrial society. Here is a burning denunciation of nineteenth century economics dramatically laid bare before us in words that scorch. Dickens' savage bitterness expressed through his characters are only matched by the fury of Carlyle and Ruskin in their denunciation of the mechanics of oppression.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

S. AFRICA

ASIAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

The South African Indian Congress has announced its opposition to the new Department of Asiatic Affairs which the Verwoerd Government has created.

The Congress's annual conference in Durban spent more time on Dec. 14th discussing the new department than any other item.

The conference compared the Department of Asiatic Affairs with the department of coloured affairs and decided that the new department was intended to further the Government's apartheid policy.

It called on the 500,000 Indians in South Africa not to assist in any way in the work of the department, and it decided to launch a nationwide campaign against the department.

In a leaflet calling on the Indian people to boycott the new department, the South African Indian Congress states: "The Government hopes to achieve by the establishment of the department an organisation comprising Indians and White Government officials which will implement such anti-Indian laws as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act etc.

"In effect, it means that Indians will be used to oppress Indians."

The leaflet also includes a statement by Dr. G. M. Naicker, president of the South African Indian Congress, that "to co-operate with this department is to show our willingness to isolate ourselves into Indian group areas and to accept the nationalist policy of apartheid, which offers nothing but the complete economic ruination of the Indian people."

MALAYA

INDIAN TEACHERS IN MALAYA

The Permanent Secretary to the Malayan Ministry of Education, Mohamed Yusof Bin Haji Ismail says that 22 Indian teachers, whose contracts with the Government would expire during the next two months, would be allowed to seek other teaching jobs in Malaya.

These teachers belong to the original group of 32 who came on contract eight years ago. The teachers have since complained that they were not treated on par with other expatriate teachers in Malaya and that the terms offered to them did not include gratuity and leave benefits available to teachers who came from other countries.

CEYLON

REPATRIATION OF INDIANS

A total of 7,866 Indians left Ceylon during 1960—3,451 on quit notices issued by the Ceylon Government and 4,415 voluntarily. The total for the last year was less than the corresponding figures for the preceeding five years.

Giving this information in the Lok Sabha, Mrs Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, told Mr Barooah that it was true that the motive for sending out the Indians was partly the Ceylonisation of service by the Ceylon Government.

Asked what action had been taken by the Government of India in this matter, Mrs. Menon said suspected illicit immigrants produced at the Indian High Commission by the Government of Ceylon in pursuance of the provisions of the 1954 agreement between India and Ceylon were interrogated in detail, and the necessary travel documents were issued to them only if there was satisfactory evidence that the persons produced were illicit immigrants.

Further, whenever it was felt that any measures taken by the Ceylon Government in pursuance of its policy to Ceylonise commercial establishments or to repatriate illicit immigrants were likely to coerce persons of Indian origin or apply pressure on them to opt for Indian citizenship, the Indian High Commission made representations to the Ceylon Government in an attempt to ameliorate the hardship and privations likely to be caused to Indian nationals.

MOZAMBIQUE

INTERMENT OF INDIANS

Indian residents, in Mozambique, Portuguese territory in East Africa, have been interned and their business establishments and houses have been sealed, according to the latest information received on Dec. 21 from Lourenco Marques.

U.K.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.K.

Indian students wishing to take up full-time studies in Britain will be allowed free entry into the country under Government amendment to the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill now in Parliament.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Nov. 26. Swatantra Party Convention concludes its sitting at Agra.
 Nov. 27. New Chinese incursion in Sikkim.
 Nov. 28. Portuguese armed build-up on Border.
 Nov. 29. Delhi gives Major Yuri Gagarin a warm welcome.
 Nov. 30. 2nd England-India Test Match begins in Kanpur.
 —U.S.A. rockets a chimpanzee into two orbits round the earth.
 Dec. 1. Russia vetoes Kuwait's admission to U. N.
 —Roads to Goa from India mined by Portuguese.
 Dec. 2. Lisbon sends 3,000 soldiers and 12 warships to guard Goa coast line.
 Dec. 3. Swatantra Party alliance with Akali Dal is announced.
 —Maharaja of Mysore is appointed Chairman of Sangeet Natak Akademi.
 Dec. 4. President of Argentina Dr. Frondizi arrives at Delhi.
 —Neutrality of Laos agreement reached at Geneva Conference.
 Dec. 5. China threatens to march in troops to India.
 —Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar of Indore is dead.
 Dec. 6. Rajya Sabha urges firm action against Border dispute with China.
 —The Second Test between India and England ends in a draw.
 Dec. 7. Britain offers to mediate between India and Goa if both parties agree.
 —Malayan King and Queen arrive in Bombay.
 Dec. 8. Freedom struggle in Goa—Mrs. D'Souza crosses border at Majali.
 —Censure motion on Orissa Congress Ministry defeated by 79 votes to 49.
 —Tanganyika attains independence.
 Dec. 9. Madras Government grants Relief to Teachers and poor Students.
 —Exchange of fire on Goa border.
 Dec. 10. Katanga misuses Red Cross Vans.
 —Russia breaks diplomatic relationship with Albania.
 —Maj. Gen. K. P. Candeth takes over command of defence on India-Goa border.
 Dec. 11. India's despatch of Patrols to Ladakh.
 —Bridge blown up in Goa and road link cut off.
 Dec. 12. Plot to assassinate Ikeda, Premier of Japan is foiled.
 Dec. 13. U.S.A. calls on the U.N. to carry out quickly its minimum operations in Congo.
 —Brazil is reported to mediate on behalf of Portugal re. Goa.
 Dec. 14. Tshombe declares all-out war against U.N.
 —U.S.A. & Soviet Union agree on the composition of an 18-nation Committee to resume disarmament negotiations.
 —Soviet President Mr. Leonid Brezhnev arrives in New Delhi.
 Dec. 15. Panama breaks off diplomatic relations with Cuba.
 —India rejects Portugal's plea for maintaining status quo in Goa.
 —Tanganyika is admitted to U.N. membership, the territory thus becomes 104th member of U.N.
 —Adolf Eichman is sentenced to death by the Israeli Court.
 Dec. 16. U. N. General Assembly rejects Soviet resolution for admitting People's China in U.N.
 —U.N. Secretary writes to Nehru and Salazar to settle Goa issue by peaceful negotiations.
 Dec. 16. Indian troops enter Goa: Liberation of Colony begins.
 Dec. 17. Indian troops capture Daman, Diu, Colliera, Sanquelim, and Moulim towns: Goa airport is bombed and put out of action.
 Dec. 18. Mr. R. C. V. P. Noronha, I.C.S. is appointed chief civil administrator of Goa.
 —Indian army at gates of Panjim: end of "Operation in Goa" nearing in sight.
 Dec. 19. Major General K.P. Candeth is appointed Governor of Goa: Panjim, Goa's capital falls: Indian flag is hoisted.
 Dec. 20. Operations in Goa are completed.
 —Tshombe meets Adoula.
 Dec. 21. Khrushchev supports India's action in Goa.
 Dec. 22. U.N. Assembly adjourns.
 Dec. 23. Macmillan-Kennedy talks at Bermuda.
 Dec. 24. Adoula reports failure to settle Katanga crisis again with Tshombe.
 Dec. 25. Mass rally of citizens of Pangim thanks Indian Government for the overthrow of Portuguese colonial regime.

READERS' DIGEST

PUBLIC OPINION

One of the characteristics of public opinion, says, Mr. Phillips Davison, in an article reproduced in *The American Review*, is that it is a transitory phenomenon. It seems to arise spontaneously and to disappear imperceptibly. Public opinion on one issue is displaced by public opinion on another.

"At the same time that behavioural adjustment with regard to the first issue is at its height, a new wave of public opinion based on a different issue may be starting to form. This new issue attracts the attention of many members of the first public and a new public, possibly more powerful, is formed. Democratic statesmen who take actions that they know will be opposed by public opinion at the time often do so with the expectation that they will subsequently receive popular support when all the facts are known, or when the situation has been changed by new developments."

Public opinion may sometimes be broken up by superior physical force. The ringleaders may be arrested, all known adherents of a given viewpoint may be subjected to harsh penalties, or all communication among members of a public may be halted.

"If this repression is carried through relentlessly, individuals who initially composed the public may find their former behavioural adjustment incompatible with their behaviour and even their attitudes to the new situation."

Public opinion may lead to the formation of customs or social norms before it is dissipated.

"The feminist movement managed to organize public opinion in such a manner that many of those who privately disagreed or who didn't care were led to adjust their behaviour to conform to the pattern demanded by the militant minority. This pattern, subsequently buttressed by political and economic changes in many areas, then became established as a custom or norm. Feminism was no longer an issue, but people behaved in the manner demanded by the feminists because this was the way they had learned to behave. Their actions were no longer taken with reference to expected approval or hostility from others but either with no thought at all or else with reference to custom or social norms."

Finally, public opinion may also cease to exist when it has succeeded in having the issue around which it was organised and embedded in formal laws of constitutions.

"The writers of *The Federalist* struggled hard to organize public opinion in favour of the constitution of the United States. After the constitution had been ratified, political behaviour on many questions then became governed by reference to this formal instrument rather than by public opinion. It is only when a custom or law is seriously threatened that individual behaviour may once again become polarized by reference to expectation of mass reactions."

TOWARDS A NEW LIBERALISM

The times are propitious for a new lease of life to liberalism as an economic and social philosophy. The New Liberalism, observes Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao in *Freedom First*, has first of all to demonstrate that there is a real and workable alternative to communism and that communism and capitalism are not mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive.

"It has to free itself from the common assumption that to reject communism is to bind oneself over to *laissez faire*, i.e. the policy of acceding complete freedom to the private owners of capital in the work of production and distribution. The fear is that such freedom to the capitalist class would automatically result in ruthless exploitation of the proletariat who have nothing but their hands and feet to earn a living."

Such a task involves a redefinition of the role of the State and of the economy in society.

As T. H. Green pointed out in his time, the excesses of the dismal age (1787-1830) of the early years of the Industrial Revolution in England were due not so much to capitalism as such as rather to the failure of the State at the time to realise its obligations to maintain the minimum conditions of the good life among workers in the new factories through adequate legislation of the sort that started with the new Factory Acts after a good deal of agitation and enquiry by Royal Commissioners. Karl Marx draws his data from the reports of these commissioners and inspectors and pays a tribute to their impartiality and accuracy and zeal.

A positive liberalism such as that of Green, Bosanquet and Barker, he says, would make room for full regulation by the State of the conditions of work and wages in all economic activity engaged in by industrial employers and workers.

C. R. ON WESTERN NATIONS

Writing in a recent issue of *Swarajya* Mr. C. Rajagopalachari says that the western nations "have lost their soul and have lost their way." He continues in his inimitable strain as follows:

"I would have hesitated to say this, for I know and feel how greatly Western peoples as well as individuals among them have proved themselves worthy of the highest respect and belong to the highest grade of spiritual evolution. But after witnessing the reckless manner in which they have in recent times used their technical advance and their material power to the detriment of world health and the weal of the future generations of humanity, as if there were no world morality or public law or responsibility but only the law of the jungle, I do not think I exaggerate when I say that in what is called the atomic age, Western nations have lost their soul."

He added: "They grope in the dark without a sense of purpose. They have reduced themselves to simple biological existence having lost the special inheritance of man as distinguished from other animals—the moral sense."

Rajaji said that there were good men left yet among the peoples of the West and sensibility was still lingering to make them feel sad over what had happened. "These nations wage a cold war against one another, but they also wage a hot war with poison gas against the whole un-offending world. Their souls are banished from the Garden of Eden and are wandering in self-imposed darkness and torment. Truly angels have fallen and all their power had been transformed into evil," he said.

Asking India to be guided by her heritage of peace and to regain her moral influence Rajaji adds: Let us not allow ourselves to be infected. We may be poisoned and perish, but let us not be misguided too and lose our souls. Not the West, either the one bloc or the other, but the ancient genius of our people shall guide us to true happiness in freedom and fearlessness as long as we live or are allowed to live. Let us cultivate friendship and international brotherhood, but it is not good to make any big power or big creditor our spiritual master."

HEALTH AND WEIGHT CONTROL

The *American Vegetarian - Hygienist* has a very interesting article on "How to feel better, look better and keeping body weight under control by Mr. Jason Ridgley who says that fresh vegetable and fruit juices alone, if regularly taken, will control Weight. He writes:

All sorts of starvation diets combined with over-exercising, not to mention magic pellets or pills, have run their course on the American Weight Control Horizon.

Some good folk approaching forty or just beyond, notice the girth line swelling and the hip line protruding. Others, exhausted by the pace of modern living, have lost all curves and have lines as straight as modern architecture. Both extremes are in quandry—both want help and both know not which way to turn.

Neither the heavy nor the slim seem to realize that their problem is less a weight problem than a matter of health.

As the weight increases beyond satisfaction or decreases until it becomes conspicuous, you can be sure that the general health of the person is affected adversely.

If we get a reasonable amount of exercise, breathe deeply of fresh air whenever we can, and get the sleep we need, we should be fairly healthy. But most of us do not get enough exercise, deep breath too seldom, or do not get the sleep we need and to top off these infractions of sensible living, we live on food which is poor in quality and rich in quantity, thus undermining the health while the body weight increases or decreases, according to our temperament and glandular make up.

No, there is no panacea for this physical dilemma in which so many "weight conscious" people find themselves, but there is a golden key to the nutritional side of the problem which opens the door to better health and weight correction.

And what is that key? It is freshly juicified vegetables and fruits which make their vitamin, mineral, and enzyme rich nectar of life available to the deteriorated blood stream, starved tissues, and slowed metabolism of the body.

Twenty-four ounces, just three ordinary glassfuls of fresh vegetable and fruit juice, comprise the nutritional magic which help to nourish the depleted blood stream, impart life to the tissues and intensify the metabolism.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN BORDER AREAS

In spite of assurances given by the Government of India about defence arrangements in the northern border what we have learnt at the end of the monsoon session of the Parliament about Communist activities there will cause much anxiety. It is a known fact, says *The Radical Humanist*, "that a section of the Indian communists are very much active in the border areas and are trying to mislead the simple and peace-loving hill tribes by telling them all sorts of stories about heaven on earth on the other side of the Himalayas. In the context of the Indo-China dispute, active sympathy and co-operation of the hill tribes for Chinese communism means a very great victory for Peking, the present headquarters of Asian communism. The communists are therefore, naturally eager to win them over to the side of Chinese 'liberators.' What is surprising is that the government took so much time to acknowledge this fact. The affairs of the communists in the border areas, particularly in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, were published in the newspapers long ago, which were then denied by these State governments. The suspicious activities of a section of the Chinese community living in the district of Darjeeling were made known to the public by no other persons than the Congress chief in Calcutta. Communist activities on the border lines of the same district were also much published in an important local English daily. Kalimpong the small hill station between Tibet and Sikkim is still regarded as a very big and brisk centre of espionage activities. The government knew all these, but was silent. At least the people never knew what they had done to forestall fifth columnist activities of the CPI.

The danger of the communist activities may not be very much imminent now, but their repercussion on the political life of the border territories is certainly not negligible. "In view of the strategic position in which the border areas are placed and the nature of political activities which are being done by the communists there, the government should not remain any longer indifferent, nor should the people feel unconcerned."

DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

The Pakistan correspondent of the *Round Table* sums up the position on the eve of the new experiment in Constitution making. The exploitation of the weak electorate by unscrupulous politicians, he says, has been mainly responsible for the unsatisfactory functioning—if failure is too sweeping a description—of the parliamentary system of government in many Asian countries.

"Such a situation has been brought about by a combination of factors, the most outstanding amongst which was the rather romantic manner in which democracy was introduced into these countries. Take the instance of the Common Man. He was too much idealized. It was facetiously assumed that the mere conferment of direct adult franchise would not only give him a sense of dignity, but would also make him alive to his responsibilities as a free citizen of a free State. In practice, however, it only confused and bewildered him. After all one of the biggest problems of the Asian Continent is its colossal illiteracy; and to enfranchise without any qualification, except that of adult age, a person who can recognize the ballot box only by the symbol it bears is to increase the possibilities of his exploitation by the unscrupulous politician.

"Undoubtedly, certain other factors have had a greater impact in Pakistan than elsewhere. For instance, religious feelings were cruelly and callously exploited to gain political ends. But it is important to bear in mind that such additional factors acquired greater force only because of direct adult franchise. Illiterate masses ever fall an easy prey to clever rhetorical declamations of politicians. This has been amply borne out by the several provincial elections held in the country on the basis of direct adult franchise.

The crucial problem was, therefore, how best to lessen, if not completely obviate, the exploitation of the masses without divesting them of the rights already conferred on them. Indirect elections through electoral colleges were the only remedy, but the moment it was suggested the politicians, actuated by self-interest and opportunism, raised a hue and cry and no government, either central or provincial, dared oppose them. So while democracy in Pakistan had all the trimmings it lacked in substance. It had an elaborate superstructure, but the base was neither wide nor strong."

"ON WORRY"

"You are not necessarily neurotic if you worry, in spite of much popular advice to the contrary. In fact, not to worry realistically may be a sign of mental ill-health!" writes Dr. O.A. Battista in the *Irish Digest*. The following from his article gives some startling facts about "worry."

"Half the worry in the world," wrote the late Dr. Herbert E. Hawkes, "is caused by people trying to make decisions before they have sufficient knowledge. If I have a problem which has to be faced at three o'clock next Tuesday, I refuse even to try to make a decision until next Tuesday arrives. Meantime, I concentrate on getting all the facts that bear on the problem."

"I don't worry, I don't agonise, I don't lose any sleep over my problem. I simply concentrate on getting the facts. And by the time Tuesday rolls around, if I've gathered all the facts, the problem usually solves itself!"

Admittedly, there is no guarantee against the troubles and tragedies of life. But what happens to you is not as important as the way you react to adversity.

It is not surprising, of course, that worry is a growing problem these days. There is a greater pursuit of status and possessions. Responsibilities and pressures are heavier. Competition is rougher. Our civilisation is moving towards ever-greater pressures at an ever-faster pace.

If you are now worrying about your health, the chances are fifty-fifty that you simply need more worries—but of an outside sort. You have too much idle and unharnessed brain power.

With physical ailments, cause and effect relationships can be explained to the worrier. One can understand that worry is related to the delicate balance of the chemistry of the body and that, when one worries, this balance is disturbed. Such disturbances can cause an excess of sugar to flow into the blood-stream and cause a temporary form of diabetes.

The tension produced by worry can cause a greater amount of adrenalin, a chemical hormone, to be discharged into the blood-stream. This in turn causes the heart to beat more rapidly, the circulation to be speeded, the capillaries, veins and arteries to become constricted, with the result that blood pressure can be increased.

The process of digestion can be thrown out of balance when one worries excessively because the chemicals in the form of enzymes and juices necessary for proper digestion of food are disturbed. Over a long period this brings the "nervous stomach" and may cause peptic ulcers.

If you are a worrier you should train yourself to realise that the future won't always look bleak. If you can manage to cope with the moment when despair is strongest you'll find that tomorrow is a new day with new hope and a brighter outlook. So don't let initial set-backs deter you. Remember that when you abandon your plan of action and resort to worry your chances of succeeding are lessened. So permit no exception to occur in your determination to make worry productive.

Don't wait to put your plan in action. Excuses and alibis are only symptoms of your fear of failure. Once you have developed your plan, put it to work immediately. In brief, get started and don't give in, but don't expect miracles to happen immediately.

Here are some additional bits of advice that should help you to stop worrying and start living. Never concern yourself with things you can't do anything about. Nervous breakdowns usually occur because the victim tried to worry about things beyond human control.

Avoid hesitancy, indecision and putting off unpleasant tasks until tomorrow. Putting things off increases the load on your brain and gives your imagination the time it needs to make a mountain out of a molehill; more time for anxiety to sap your self-confidence.

After you've done your best to deal with a situation forget it and go on to the next thing.

A CENTURY OF PAINTING
IN THE PUNJAB

Mr. Abdullah Chughtai offers in the pages of *Iqbal* a study of the various types of painting in the Punjab within one century, from the beginning of the British rule to its close in 1947. He draws attention to the work of the Bengal and Bombay schools of painting and the influence of the Art Exhibitions in encouraging artists and creating public interest in their work. He says:

"The miniaturists, Naqqashs and Musawwirs of the olden days gradually ceased to exist, because the British introduced the European methods of imparting technical education to provide means of livelihood to the growing generations. This undoubtedly changed the

of the people. Particularly in the Punjab the Mayo School of Art rendered a great service to the cause of higher type of industrial training without any regular department of painting, as were instituted at the Bengal and Bombay schools of art, though some brilliant students of the Lahore school developed the possibilities of becoming artists in the true sense of the word. The Punjab Fine Art Society created in 1919 afforded an opportunity for the development of independent school of the Punjab. The London Wembley Exhibition of 1924 also contributed a good deal towards its maturity. But due to the lack of an organiser-artist and a devoted personality among the Punjabi artists it could not live long. Chughtai is the only artist of great magnitude who thinks in a new channel as a Punjabi. He is a pioneer, rather an exponent, and has always worked under adverse criticism in his own private studio. But he neither created nor encouraged any follower of his own line to sit near him for this purpose. This attitude stopped all possibilities of the continuity of the Punjab School which could have been labelled either as Chughtai or as the Punjab School of Painting."

The artist and his work, if it has to live as a tradition for the future, must give proof that he is able to record a universal appeal and has a large following. To have a large following depends on a great artist's sacrifice and generosity in imparting skill to others. "Those qualified in Abanindranath Tagore created the Bengal school of Art. But in the case of the Punjab, this has never been achieved. It is true that Chughtai is sufficiently lucky to enjoy the laurels and recognition from the public as well as from the government and thus it is rightly expected from him that he would evolve a definite school of the Punjab."

SEX CRIMES

Early marriages cut down sex crimes, the United Nations General Assembly's Social Committee was told last month.

Mr. Jamil Baroodi (Saudi Arabia) who made the statement, added that where there were "delayed marriage," the result was "clandestine relations."

The Committee was debating a draft convention on consent to marriage, minimum age of marriage and registration of marriages. The draft proposed that all marriages should be registered in each country by an appropriate authority.

This met with general agreement, but a provision that no marriage should be entered into without the "full and free consent" of the parties concerned led M. Alphonse Sita (Congo-Leopoldville) to observe that the "great problem" of marriages in Africa was not lack of consent, but "real consent."

WIFE ON HIRE PURCHASE

It is possible to acquire almost anything by hire purchase nowadays even a wife.

In parts of Africa where lobola—the system of wife purchase—is still practised, buying a bride on hire purchase is becoming increasingly popular.

Young men who would have had to wait years until they had saved the price of a wife, can buy one for about Rs. 66 cash down and pay the balance in instalments.

Price vary from as little as Rs. 140 to about Rs. 750—according to the prosperity of the territory in which the couple live. Usually the husband is expected to complete the purchase within three years.

Although lobola comes in for a lot of criticism from religious organisations in a recent book Jonathan Whitby, a doctor who has worked among African natives, claims there is much to be said for the system.

In the first place it usually makes a man think twice about ill-treating his wife.

If he ill-treats her he may lose the right to get his money back if she later returns to her parents.

Lobola also gives protection to the husband if his wife proves to be barren, diseased or unfaithful.

For a man in parts of Africa childlessness is a serious matter. Unless he has a child he cannot retain his land.

If a wife is unfaithful, not only does her husband get back the price he paid for her, he also receives a payment from the man with whom she had the affair.

An African bridegroom can be faced with strange costs. Often he is required to give money to the woman's male relatives to obtain their agreement to the proposed marriage. Sometimes arguments among these relatives as to how this money should be divided can delay a wedding for months.

There is another pre-marriage payment which says Whitby, few young bridegrooms dare to refuse, for it ensures the friendliness of their future mother-in-law. It is a payment for Rs. 30 to buy her a new blanket.

NEW WONDER DRUG

A team of British research doctors is developing a new type of wonder drug which promises to beat the virus killer diseases, including polio, flu, and aseptic meningitis, in the same way that penicillin conquered a range of illness, the "Daily Mail" reports.

It was discovered in the "backroom" laboratories of a Glasgow Hospital.

The research has now got to the stage which Alexander Fleming's penicillin reached early in the war. But the Glasgow team cannot follow up its breaking through—testing the drug on animals and human patients—because it cannot raise the 2,000 pounds to build a research hut.

The new drugs—there are five of them—have been put through rigorous laboratory tests. They have proved they destroy the germs and do not harm the ordinary human cells."

ON WOMEN'S SPORT

Is women's sport worthwhile? The question is posed by sports columnist Clifford Webb, writing in "Sporting Record," and his answer is that it is not. He does not think, however, that women will "bow out of the sporting scene."

His musings on the subject are touched off by the recent Women's Amateur Athletic Association championships held in London at which paying spectators numbered no more than 250 and the "gate" amounted to a bare £84.

From this Webb deduces that the girls "are nowhere without the boys."

"Stick 'em into a mixed programme and they will be noticed, applauded and generally given the impression that they—well, some of them anyway—are what the cash customers paid to see," Webb writes.

"Put them on their own and nobody cares."

"I can't honestly recall any sporting event confined to women participants which pulled in man-sized crowds."

"It all makes me wonder if women's sport is worthwhile."

As to why this should be so Webb has his own theory. He explains.

"In the main, sport-watchers all over the world are men. Sometimes they take the little woman along with them, but mostly they prefer to watch alone."

"They like to see members of their own sex performing athletic feats to which they themselves cannot aspire."

"But subconsciously they don't like seeing women run faster, or jump higher than they could ever hope to."

"Jealousy? Yes, I reckon that's what it boils down to in the main."

"Mighty man resents the intrusion of women into spheres of physical effort and so will not cross the road to watch the girls show their muscles."

GRAPE SIZE MOTOR

A 42-year-old British scientist has invented a motor, the size of a grape fruit which, it is claimed may soon revolutionise the design of road vehicles and ships.

Already the British Government is stated to have taken out 50 patents on the invention dubbed "the Supercell," the brain-child of scientist Mr. Donald Firth the *Daily Mail* reported recently.

"The Supercell" can produce power through hydrostatic transmission which would in normal circumstances require an electric motor the size of a household table.

It converts power from the driving shaft of an engine into high pressures in an oil-filled tank through a system of valves and pistons, the newspaper said if fitted in a car it would replace the clutch, gearbox, driving shaft and brakes, so making the vehicle usable on one pedal.

British industrial scientists believe the invention could double Britain's machine tool output. It could work unattended on cutting jobs, cutting twice as fast as present geared machines the *Daily Mail* says.

U. S. YOUTH

Most U.S. children are not as fit as those in other countries. Young adults, too, show a "continued deterioration."

That's the finding of Mr. Charles Wilkinson, appointed by President Kennedy to push forward a fitness programme for youth.

A great number of American girls can't play tennis because "they literally haven't the strength" to hold and swing the racket, says Mr. Wilkinson in an interview with *U.S. News and World Report*.

Russian schools are probably far ahead of American ones in physical education, he says.

The U.S. Army has had to reduce physical standards because the youth of the nation can't meet them.

And Mr. Wilkinson warns: "If this trend continues for, say, 50 more years, we may face an insurmountable problem."

He gives a clue to the cause of the trouble. "When children walked to school, chopped wood and pumped water they developed adequate physiques," he says.

IMPRESSIONS OF ISRAEL

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, giving her impressions of a tour of Israel, refers to the many-sided activities of the new state in the course of an article in *News From Israel*. Education is free from the age of six to fourteen years for all children and compulsory.

"Nursery school education has to be paid for and is available to every child. The working woman, and most women earn a living, is glad to have her child looked after in a creche and fed from morning till evening for a little payment. There is conscription for both young men and women; for girls after they have finished school for two years and for boys for three. I was told that during the war with the Arab World in 1947/48 they could not have won without the help of the girls. I was, however, also assured that while girls are taught the use of the arms, they are actually employed during their training for first aid, nursing, stretcher bearing, communications etc. and that the knowledge and discipline the youth acquire are well worthwhile and stand them in good stead when they move on to the University. Conscription means that the age of going to the University is as high as 20 years but again I was told that this gap between school leaving and entering college did not in any way hamper their academic career, indeed they find it even advisable for youth to go to Universities when they are more mature. There are three Universities in Israel but entrance to them is heavily screened and the average youth is encouraged to turn his hand to manual labour rather than to desk work. There is only one medical college in the whole of Israel. I was told that the applicants every year number about 300 but only 60 are admitted. The ratio of doctors to the population is in the neighbourhood of one to 430—the highest in the world. But they are not perturbed as many of the doctors who come to the country when it is first created are now getting old and will soon be retiring. I was surprised to learn that 80% of medical men are in Government employ.

The Weizmann Institute in Rehovoth is a fine institution for research as also for training scientific personnel.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COLONIES

The *Contemporary* of Delhi reviews the proceedings of the last session of the U. N. General Assembly. Mr. Soun Saun of Cambodia, Chairman of the Afro-Asian group

formally introduced a twenty-eight nation resolution on Colonialism. The resolution proclaimed a necessity of ending rapidly and unconditionally colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. It declared that all actions by armed forces and all repressive measures against the dependent peoples should be ended in order to allow these peoples to exercise freely and peacefully their rights to complete independence.

"The discussions in the United Nations have placed some of the Western delegations in a very embarrassing position. The American and British allies of France, Portugal and Holland are in the dark today as the defenders of the colonising powers. The Portuguese imperialists under the umbrella of the NATO has refused to submit any reports about its colonies to the United Nations. It declares its overseas possession as the overseas provinces of Portugal populated by people who are part of the mother country. In this way both Portugal and France want to deny freedom to the struggling people of Africa, and other countries. The Dutch imperialists are continuing to refuse to vacate West Irian where a powerful underground movement has been launched by the nationalists. Algeria is fast becoming the centre of an international war. The seven years' civil war in Algeria has been the costliest experiment of French imperialism. If the proposal of the free Algerian Government to enrol volunteers for the liberation battle in Algeria from friendly countries is put into practice it is bound to make North Africa the centre of an open worldwide conflagration. In spite of the defeats which the forces of the colonialism are suffering throughout the world, the Imperialist powers are still reluctant to part with their overseas territories. There are still reluctant to liberate the Kenyas and the Macaos which are still under their possession. In the region of the Far East, part of Japan is still under the occupation of the American forces. The Rayuku Islands and their people seek national unification with Japan. This is resisted by the American colonising power and connived at by the collaborationists Ikeda Government of Japan. The discussions on the resolution about colonialism is bound to generate the greatest controversy in the United Nations. The Afro-Asian countries are bound to insist on full and immediate freedom to the colonial countries of the world."

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

"The first thing that strikes me about the American way of life," observes Principal Khagendra Nath Sen in a paper published in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, is the importance it attaches to the liberty of the individual.

It is this which explains some of the amazing achievements of the great republic, as also some of the features that are extremely distressing to a visitor from India.

Secondly, the Americans are an extremely friendly, helpful, and informal people. At the same time they are a very curious people, anxious to know, particularly India, as much as they are eager to advertise their own wares. Their thirst for knowledge is not, however, very discriminating and their advertising sometimes proceeds from a sense of self-righteousness.

Thirdly, Americans are worshippers of material success. This is, no doubt, a product of their *laissez-faire* creed. So widespread is this craze that even students toil and starve to provide themselves with automobiles.

Fourthly, in spite of this glorification of material success, there is a deep religious and spiritual craving in the hearts of the average American people. In more than one American home I found books on Indian philosophy read with great devotion and respect.

Fifthly, an off-shoot of this desire for material well-being in a highly competitive economy is the craze for speed. With most Americans time is money in a literal sense.

Sixthly, the same regard for the economy of time is seen in the large-scale introduction of labour-saving devices, even in the homes of the common people, in railway stations, restaurants and drug-stores, colleges and universities. As you know, workers in America have now two days off in the week. Work of a menial type has almost wholly been taken over by these labour-saving devices. On the other hand I have never seen a single employee in an American office spending his or her time in useless or idle talk.

Seventhly, perhaps as a feature of adolescent behaviour, the American public is attracted by sensationalism. The newspapers very often play up on the front page, news that an Indian editor would relegate to a subsequent page. The national and democratic upsurge of Asian countries is treated as of secondary importance."

The American way of life, in spite of all the points that may seem perplexing to an Indian visitor, has produced very charming, friendly human beings.

"They have their conceits, perhaps not without justification, but the great founders of the American Republic have not built this country in vain. Their idealism still governs the highest counsels of the nation. If there is evil in the country, it is, more often than not, a reaction to a greater evil elsewhere in the world. Whatever odium American capitalism may have earned in the past, its vast international commitments today mark it out as one of the most powerful humanitarian forces in the world. Its support to the free democracies of the world so that the spirit of man may live and grow, has transformed the character of American capitalism beyond recognition."

POLITICAL STABILITY

Writing on Political Stability in the state, Frank Tannen Bann observes in the course of an article in *The Political Science Quarterly* that where there are no effective political parties, that is, where there is no opposition and therefore no two-way political communication, the ideologists take over the role of critics and prophets and they, instead of experienced participants in public affairs, shape the minds of men and define political issues.

"This is what happened in France. The ideologists became the political leaders by default, and their bold reform projects were equal to their lack of experience in public affairs. They knew the answer just because they did not understand the question. The question was, as it has always been, how to arrange the infinite details of human association so as to give a modicum of satisfaction to all who are involved. In reply to any question—whether of taxation or justice or economy in government—they said the answer was equality, liberty and fraternity. The model they held before them was in the primitive world—where all men are free. Abolish the artificialities, the false pride, the useless prerogatives, give power to the people, enthrone reason, and all will be well—so will that liberty will reign and felicity will be the position of every man. In Russia it was 'abolish capitalism' and all men will be free and happy."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

GOA IN SECURITY COUNCIL

On the eve of India's march to Goa the following letter was sent to the President of the Security Council by India's representative.

"The Government of India have seen the text of communication from the permanent representative of Portugal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council on the 11th of December, repeating allegations against the Government of India.

In their letter of the 11th December, the Government of Portugal again mentioned the accumulation of Indian forces near the Indo-Portuguese frontier and make allegations of air and frontier violations. As stated in the earlier letter from this Mission, the position is in fact otherwise. As will be evident from the facts there set out, it is the Portuguese who have attacked Indian merchant shipping and Indian fishermen. Again it is the Government of Portugal who have reinforced their troops and navy in and around their colonies on the Indian mainland. As stated in the earlier communications from this Mission the Government of India were therefore, obliged, as a consequential measure of caution, to strengthen their defences on the border and on the coast.

The Portuguese communication also alleges that the Government of India have ordered evacuation of Indian villages near the frontier. The correct position is otherwise. The Portuguese army has driven out about 150 villagers of Terekhol in order to provide accommodation for their troops. These homeless villagers have been trying to migrate into Indian territory, but have been forcibly prevented from doing so by the Portuguese authorities. In fact, on one occasion one sergeant and six Portuguese soldiers entered Indian territory near Terekhol to intimidate Indian villagers on the border so that they may not give shelter to these would-be migrants from Terekhol."

After the March on 18th Dec. the Security Council discussed India's entry to Goa.

The Soviet Union exercised her veto in the United Nations Security Council to frustrate

the bid of four NATO Powers, the U.S. the U.K. France and Turkey, to reverse the course of events in Goa and have that territory delivered intact to a fifth NATO power, Portugal.

Three Afro-Asian countries, Ceylon, the U.A.R. and Liberia also voted against the four-Power motion which sought to deplore India's action and urged her to cease fire, withdraw from Goa and negotiate with Portugal. Their vote was conclusive proof of the solid Afro-Asian sentiment behind the action India had been forced to take by an intransigent Portugal.

The dramatic vote came at the end of a nine hour debate at the Council meeting called at the instance of Portugal on 19th Dec.

The United States, which suddenly, for no apparent reason, became more enthusiastic than Portugal's oldest ally, Britain, in championing Portugal's cause, had intended to have an emergency session of the Assembly convened under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution but in the face of opposition by Afro-Asian nations to any aid or comfort to Portugal, she merely reserved her right to seek another meeting and take other steps. An angry, frustrated Stevenson, strongly criticised India. The Indian Permanent Representative, Mr. C. S. Jha gave as good as he got.

The Afro-Asian powers, in their turn sponsored a motion which rejected the Portuguese complaint, asked it to terminate hostile action and co-operate with India in liquidating the colonial possessions. This was voted down by the same seven countries which sought to call India's action aggression.

After much cogitation, the U.S. on Dec. 21 suddenly decided to bury the hatchet over Goa and the sixteenth session of the U.N. Assembly was recessed until January 15 on an unexpectedly quiet tone.

It was unexpected because, there had been every indication that under one head or other, Goa would crop up in the last hours of the session leading to acrimonious debate with India and the U.S. ranged against each other. This was, however, forestalled by wise statesmanship on both sides.

Utterances of the Day

MR. BREZHNEV ON WORLD PEACE

Speaking on Dec. 15 at a banquet given in his honour, the Soviet President Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, Head of State declared that India was co-operating with the Soviet Union in solving the "most important problems of the present international policy." Above all, he added, "the Soviet Union and India are co-operating in the implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence and in the struggle for general and complete disarmament."

In his brief speech the Soviet President said that although it was for a short time that he had been on Indian soil, "we have already felt that hospitality is as characteristic of the Indian people as it is of the Soviets."

The Soviet President declared that as far as the Soviet Union was concerned, it was necessary to have peace for the successful implementation of the "historic decisions of the recent 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

"Preservation of peace it is apparent, is also necessary for the fulfilment of development plans of the national economy and the uplifting of the standard of life of the people of India," Mr. Brezhnev added.

ALBERT LUTHULI'S APPEAL

Africa is a continent in revolution against oppression—and there can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown, ex-chief Albert Luthuli, who received the 1960 Nobel Peace prize at Oslo on Dec. 12 said.

But, he added, by comparison with the revolution in Europe, the African revolution is proving to be "orderly, quick and comparatively bloodless."

He told a distinguished audience that the black people of South Africa had, with a few exceptions, remained non-violent and if the peace prize had been "given to South Africa through a black man" it was because "nothing has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance."

He described South Africa as "a museum piece of our time, a hangover from the dark past of mankind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying."

Almost a million Africans a year there he said are arrested and jailed or fined for breaches of pass and permit laws that do not apply to Whites.

POPE'S X-MAS MESSAGE

Pope John, appealing for peace in his Christmas message to the world, said: "Mutual distrust is making conditions progressively worse."

The Pope said this year's supplication for peace from the Crib of Bethlehem should be an invocation of goodness, an appreciation of true brotherhood, a resolution of sincere co-operation, shunning all intrigue and all those discordant elements which we have called and which we call again without disguising our words: pride, greed, callousness, selfishness."

Speaking in French, he declared: "The church, heir to the teachings of its divine founder, loves the peace which is founded on justice, which recognises the legitimate rights of others and respects them, the peace resulting from free and loyal negotiations, even though they sometimes impose sacrifices and renunciation, to which each of the parties concerned must be ready to agree in the interests of all, for all desire to live in peace on earth."

KHRUSHCHEV'S CLAIM

Mr. Khrushchev said at Moscow on Dec. 9 that the Soviet Union now possessed "bombs of over 100 Megatons."

In a speech delivered at the Fifth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. Khrushchev said, "I am not threatening anybody. I desire peace, but if aggressors persist in their designs they will be crushed. The Soviet Union now possesses bombs of over 100 Megatons." (One Megaton is equal to one million tons of T.N.T.)

Mr. Khrushchev told the WFTU delegates that the Soviet Union had nuclear weapons and rockets "capable of reaching any point of the globe."

MALAYAN KING'S DECLARATION

The Paramount Ruler of Malaya, the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong, said at New Delhi on Dec. 12 that Malaya, like India, believed most profoundly in the cause of peace and human rights.

Speaking at a civic reception held in his honour at the Red Fort the Malayan King said: "As with you in India, we abhor war and violence and deplore inequality and injustice. We in Malaya, too have never failed to speak or act, whenever we think right or fit for any cause which aims to advance human peace, happiness and prosperity, or to make the world a better place for man to live in."

SOVIET SUPPORT TO INDIA'S STAND ON GOA

The Soviet President L. I. Brezhnev who was referring to liquidation of colonialism at a reception held in his honour by the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society in Bombay on 18th Dec. said: "Believing that every people have an inherent right to enjoy free and independent life the Soviet Union comes out fervently in favour of immediate abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

The U.S.S.R. President said "as to the problem which concerned the Indian people most the problem of the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism here in the territory of India, that is the liberation of Goa, and other Indian territories under the Portuguese domination, the position of the Soviet Union on this question is clear and is known very well."

"As far back as six years," Mr. Brezhnev said, "N. S. Khrushchev speaking here in India expressed the confidence that Goa would be liberated from the foreign rule and would again become an integral part of the Republic of India."

The Soviet President assured Indian people, that the Soviet Union "regarded with full understanding and sympathy the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu effected to-day by the Indian Government from the Portuguese colonialism."

DE JURE TRANSFER OF PONDY

Two French representatives, recently back from a mission to India, recommended prompt ratification of the treaty governing the de jure transfer of the former French establishments in India to the Indian Government, the French Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee disclosed on Dec. 14.

A communique issued by the committee said the two representatives, Gaullist Deputy M. Boscher and Socialist Deputy Pierre Bourgeois, stated their views at a meeting of the committee.

The meeting heard a report from the French envoys on their mission to India, where they studied the problems relating to the treaty.

The communique said the two representatives had also advocated the prompt opening of talks with the India Government on certain problems relating to questions of nationality, judiciary systems, and the intensification of French cultural activities in Pondicherry.

INDIA AND KENYA

The Kenya Indian Congress has appealed to the two main political parties, ruling KADU and opposition KANU, to open their membership to non-Africans.

In a resolution passed by its executive on Dec. 16 the Congress said if this is done the parties will transform themselves into truly national organisations and promote the political, economic and social welfare and progress of all the peoples of Kenya.

Another resolution called on the Minister for Works, Mr. Arvind Jamidar, and the elected member, Mr. D. B. Kohli to resign their Legislative Council seats because they were elected on Congress tickets but had failed to honour the written pledges given by them to the Congress before the elections.

Mr. Jamidar has since resigned from the Congress and all its committees. He sits on the Government benches as a KADU supporter while Mr. Kohli sits with KANU.

PUNJABI SUBA

Master Tara Singh, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, reiterated that he would sacrifice his life for the attainment of Punjabi Suba. "If I live I live for Punjabi Suba or I will die struggling for it."

The 76-year-old Akali leader was addressing a Diwan (religious congregation) inside a local Gurudwara at Delhi on Dec. 14. He said, "I had given up my fast but not my pledge of 'maran barat' to end his life for the attainment of the Suba."

Master Tara Singh said that Sikhs had made sacrifices for their cause and he was hopeful that they would never hesitate in making more sacrifices, if they had to, for the fulfilment of their demand.

Referring to the Das Commission, Master Tara Singh said that the Akalis and the Government had agreed on certain names before the termination of his fast but they were surprised to find that those people were not in the Commission when the personnel was announced. "We have rejected the Das Commission because the Government which is a party to the dispute has appointed its own people on the Commission."

Educational

ASIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The first Asian History Congress attended by delegates from 22 Countries concluded its five-days session at New Delhi on Dec. 14.

The conference adopted three resolutions, one calling for the preparation of national historical bibliographies as the first step towards the publication of an Asian historical bibliography and another recommending adequate steps for the collection and preservation of historical source material.

In order to provide conditions for better co-operation among historians of different Asian countries, the third resolution said, it would be desirable to designate in each country one or more institutions to undertake the task of collecting and publishing material and also keeping in touch with organisations in other countries.

Mr. Humayun Kabir, Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, presiding over the final session said the Congress would have justified itself if it had taken the first step towards better understanding among the countries about their own history in the context of Asian and world history.

VISUAL AIDS FOR EDUCATION

An Asian regional training course on production of low-cost visual aids for education, organised at the National Institute of Audio-Visual Education here with the help of UNESCO was inaugurated on Dec. 15 by Mr. P. N. Kirpal, Secretary of the Union Education Ministry.

UNESCO fellowship holders from 18 nations attended the training course of workshop.

Mr. P. N. Kirpal said that this workshop was the direct outcome of the deliberations of a series of conferences organised by UNESCO in Asia. In all Asian countries, he said, budgetary provisions for audio-visual media in schools were small, in relation to the essential needs of expansion. This was one of the reasons why the audio-visual centres in the region had to concentrate their efforts on inexpensive materials. He expressed the hope that the workshop would serve as an effective meeting place for exchange of ideas with a view to effect improvements in the production of low-cost visual aids for education.

SCHOLARSHIPS IN INDIA

A separate autonomous board is proposed to be set up within the Union Ministry of Education for formulation and administration of various scholarship schemes. The Board would include prominent educationists.

The scheme, which has been evolved by the Education Ministry in consultation with other concerned Ministries, has been sent to the Ministry of Finance for scrutiny.

As the work of administration of scholarships was not entirely a Secretariat function, the estimates committee had suggested that a separate autonomous or semi-autonomous board should be set up for administration of the scholarship schemes.

VALUE OF SANSKRIT STUDY

The Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, said that the basic problem of modern life was the growth of a world community. "The tumult and the excitement, anger and the violence, the perplexity of spirit and the ambiguities of expression are the pangs of the birth of something new. We have to work for this new order with all the strength we possess."

Dr. Radhakrishnan was inaugurating the seventh session of the Sanskrit Viswaparishad at Bombay on Dec. 15.

The Vice-President said that the culture associated with Sanskrit "gives us a view of religion which is not exclusive but universal kind of religion which is most suited to modern conditions."

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

Young men going out of universities must have breadth of outlook, toleration, a spirit of adventure, and scientific spirit, said Dr. P. V. Rajamannar, delivering the convocation address of the Andhra University at Waltair on Dec. 9.

Dr. Rajamannar said that India had embarked on a great adventure, political, economic and social, and it was the duty of the youth of the country to take their legitimate part in it.

Dr. Rajamannar in his address recalled his long association with the university and said even now he was the chairman of one of the Boards of Studies namely Theatre Arts.

MR. N. K. SIDDHANTA

Mr. N. K. Siddhanta, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University, who had come to Bhubaneswar to attend a meeting of the standing committee of the inter-university board, died of heart attack on 18th Dec. He was 67. He was a great scholar.

Legal

DEATH SENTENCE FOR EICHMANN

Adolf Eichmann was sentenced to death by the Jerusalem Court on Dec. 15.

The former Gestapo colonel, convicted of relentlessly pursuing the extermination of the Jews during World War II, stood while the Presiding Judge, Mr. Moshe Landau, meted out the maximum punishment. "We have to take into consideration the untold sufferings of the victims of the holocaust", Mr. Landau said.

There had been no doubt of the sentence Eichmann would get. But he still can appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court and, if turned down there, appeal for clemency to the Israeli President, Mr. Izhak Ben-Zvi.

DIVORCE CASES IN INDIA

The statistics of divorce which are now available tend to throw a great deal of light on marital unhappiness in different States. Maharashtra has the unenviable distinction of the highest number of divorce cases and, during 1960, topped the list with 1,023 cases. Considering that the total number of divorce cases filed in Indian courts totalled 5,994 last year, this is an unusually large number. It is also a great deal more than the second on the list, Kerala, with 743 cases. West Bengal, Andhra and U.P. figured next with 698, 601 and 550 cases respectively.

One of the surprising facts which came to light was that Delhi, despite its small territory, had an unusually large number of divorce cases. In this case, it totalled 353. Can it be that the air in Delhi is not conducive to marital harmony? If one wishes to remain happily married, then one should settle in Tripura, for this State had the record of having the lowest number of unhappy marriages which ended in the divorce courts.

AUTHORITY OF PONDICHERRY COURTS

The Supreme Court held that Pondicherry did not form part of the Indian territory as specified in Article 1 (3) of the Constitution and, therefore, it had no jurisdiction to entertain appeals against the orders of the courts and other authorities of Pondicherry.

The question of jurisdiction arose on two appeals and writ petitions filed by Mr. Masthan Sahib and Mr. Sivarama Reddiar against the Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry. These were dismissed by the Court on Dec. 8 in view of its above decision.

EMOLUMENTS OF JUDGES

The Rajya Sabha returned the High Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Amendment Bill on Dec. 5. The Bill, already passed by the Lower House, seeks to enlarge the definition of the term "pension" so that members of the higher judicial services of States, appointed as High Court Judges, can get the gratuity and other retirement benefits to which they would be eligible for the old service.

The Bill was welcomed by the House and there was a general demand that the pension and other retirement benefits of judges should be improved. Members also urged that the emoluments of High Court Judges should be enhanced.

Mr. B. N. Datar, Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, who piloted the Bill, however said that the present salary of High Court Judges, Rs. 3,500 a month and the pension of Rs. 16,000 per annum, were "fairly satisfactory". The highest salary in Government service, he said, was only Rs. 3,000 a month.

EXPENDITURE ON CONGO OPERATIONS

The U.N. General Assembly's Budgetary Committee agreed to seek a ruling from the International Court of Justice on the question of the U. N. Congo costs.

By 31 votes to 10 with 20 abstentions it approved a nine-power draft, which would ask the International Court to advise on whether all U. N. member-states had an obligation under the United Nations Charter, to pay their share of the costs of U.N. operations in the Congo and the Middle East.

The U. N. Secretary-General, U Thant, warned that the U.N. was in danger of "immediate bankruptcy" unless the General Assembly during the present session, takes the necessary measures to finance current operations and provide long-term credits.

U Thant told the Assembly Budget Committee that the UN's deficit would reach a total of 170 million dollars on June 30, 1962.

The organisation's unpaid, "bills" at the end of last year would amount to \$81.5 million, he declared, to which should be added 26 million dollars borrowed from its cash reserves.

Meanwhile the contributions still owed by certain member countries at the end of 1961, would reach a total of \$86 million, he said.

THIRD FINANCE COMMISSION

States will get a greater share of income-tax and Central excises and inter-State disparities will disappear to some extent, as a result of the recommendations of the Third Finance Commission. The report of the Commission was presented to the President on Dec. 14.

Unlike the two previous Commissions which asked for extension of time, the present Commission headed by Mr. Ashok K. Chanda completed its task within the stipulated period of one year.

The recommendations of the Commission as well as Government's decision thereon will be placed before Parliament during its brief session in March next. This session is being held to pass a vote on account. The announcement of the Centre's decision in March will enable the Centre as well as the States to prepare their budget which are to be presented to the new Parliament and Legislatures.

The report of the Commission is stated to be a brief one running to 100 pages only including the appendices.

In arriving at its conclusion, the Commission has taken into account the difficulties experienced by the States in the implementation of their plans for lack of finance. It has also taken into account the disparities that exist between one State and another.

When the Commission visited the various States, different formulas were suggested by the States for the division of income tax and the Central excises. Large States which were relatively backward suggested that population and area should be the main criteria for the distribution, while industrialised States felt that collection should be the main criteria.

It is not known whether the Third Finance Commission has altered the recommendations of the second one which suggested that mainly population and collection should be the bases for the allocation of Central revenues.

DR. STOKES TOLBERT

Dr. Stokes Tolbert has been appointed resident representative of the World Bank in India in place of Mr. Harry Curran, who held his post for the last few years and has now been given another assignment in the Bank's office in Paris.

ADDITIONAL WORLD BANK AID

India may get an additional aid of about 220 million dollars for the first two years of the Third Plan as a result of the forthcoming meeting of the World Bank consortium, which has already promised 2,225 million dollars for 1961-62 and 1962-63.

At the last consortium meeting in May, the United States had assured a sum of 1,045 million dollars for the period, but made a firm commitment only for the first year—545 million dollars. It had made it clear that the balance of the amount would be given for 1962-63 only if other members of the consortium came forth with "a comparable contribution".

As against \$500 million given for 1962-63 however, the latter have promised only \$280 million for the next financial year compared to the US contribution of \$500 million for 1962-63, this falls short by \$220 million.

This calculation, of course, excludes \$250 million and \$150 million promised by the World Bank and the International Development Association respectively for two years.

The next Aid India Club meeting, which will be held in Washington on Jan. 29, will, therefore, concentrate its efforts on boosting the contribution of members other than the US. If these succeed, the aggregate aid for the first two years would be around \$2,500 million—a figure originally proposed by the Bank to enable India to meet its anticipated balance of payments deficits and also place orders abroad for equipment for various plan projects.

MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET

Presenting an Interim Budget for 1962-63 to the Madras Legislative Assembly on Dec. 9 Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, announced three schemes to be implemented by the Madras Government, one for assisting with interest-free loans to poor students undergoing technical studies, the second for affording relief to teachers in "special distress" by making matching grants to a Trust Fund and the third for the grant of old age pension of Rs. 20 a month to all destitutes over the age of 65 excluding professional beggars.

The Budget, which is the last one presented to the House on the eve of its dissolution before the General Elections early in 1962 after a five-year term, anticipates a revenue of Rs. 92.71 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 99.67 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 6.96 crores.

MADRAS SOCIAL WELFARE BOARD

Indicative of far-reaching changes envisaged to gear up the activities of women social welfare organisations in the States of Madras all the women's institutions in the State have been amalgamated and brought under one administration.

The Madras State Social Welfare Advisory Board, as a result of the aforesaid change, has been renamed as the "State Social Welfare Board" on the model of the Khadi and Village Industries Board.

This Board, it is understood will be reconstituted and charged with the responsibility of determining all matters of policy relating to the programme for women and children in the State and with the formulation and implementation of all schemes under the programme. This Board, it is further learnt, will be responsible for the detailed examination of all these schemes including financial outlay, their implementation, review of progress and recommending *inter alia* grants from the State Government to the non-official institutions and advising the State Government on policies relating to recruitment of staff.

EAST AFRICAN WOMEN

India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, said that if the impressive spirit of freedom demonstrated by women of East Africa was coupled with enlightenment they could achieve great things.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, who was addressing an African women's organisations during her visit to Mombasa on Dec. 12 said that woman's prime duty was in the home but she also had the duty to help in making the world "safe for peace and freedom." Women should work hand in hand with men to make the world a better place to live in.

Later speaking at a dinner given by the citizens of Mombasa in her honour, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon said that she was impressed with what she had seen and by the restraint and calm shown by the people of Tanganyika during the independence celebrations. She hoped that the multiracial society which would come into being in Tanganyika would give the world a new concept of a state in which people belonging to different nationalities and religions could live together and pursue common goal for "mutual happiness."

CAN WOMEN WORK AS ENGINEERS?

Miss Malathi Naidu, writing in *Indian Express* says, nowadays it has become a common phenomenon—and perhaps rightly so—to demand for women equal rights with men, in all departments of life. There, however, seems to be a presumption that women should do whatever men do particularly in professional life. A case in point is the demand for facilities for girls to undertake engineering or technical studies. Even Ministers seem to favour such courses. It is not that girls are incapable of doing as well as boys in engineering studies. They may do even better! However, it does not seem proper that young women should spend about ten hours a day on engineering jobs in factories situated far from their homes. Their main concern should be the acquisition of skills useful in the building up of a sound home for the citizens of tomorrow.

Again, as they are unlikely to remain engineers throughout their lives, they will be allowing their specialised technical training to go to waste. There are thousands of boys today, who, due to dearth of seats in our technical institutions, have to resign themselves to the alternative of taking to professions that are not to their liking. Under such circumstances, women by entering the engineering world, says Miss Malathi Naidu, will be robbing these boys of a life-long engineering career and the country of potential engineers. This is far from fulfilling a national duty.

WOMEN IN DIPLOMACY

Is there any special disadvantage or advantage in being a woman in diplomacy—an almost exclusively male world?

Mr. Lang of the *Sunday Times* put this question to Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who has retired after representing India in three world centres of power—Moscow, Washington and finally London.

Mr. Lang writes: "On the whole, Mrs. Pandit thought, it hadn't made much difference either way."

"If there was any distinctive contribution that women had to make in the field of diplomacy, she felt that it might be the feminine feeling for the basic human realities that underline every political situation—a concern for the living substance rather than dialectics or protocol.