

# The Sunday News of India

SEVENTH NOVEMBER, 1948.

## FAR EAST COMINFORM?

**D**EDUCTIVE reports from South-East and East Asia on the possible existence of a Far East Cominform have recently been arriving with regularity and have coincided with increasing agitation, especially in the United States, for co-ordinated measures to check what is feared to be a carefully calculated Communist plan to foster chaos in strategic Asiatic territories. Since April some more rumours have been current of a vast Communist network throughout Asia seeking to block rehabilitation and dominate various nationalist movements for Communist ends.

A Cominform headquarters was reported to be at Harbin in Manchuria, but it was not until the establishment of a numerically large Russian Embassy staff in Bangkok that serious attention began to be given to the fear that the various Communist uprisings in South-East Asia were being set off on a previously prepared time-schedule. According to a recent report, there is sufficient evidence available to confirm that the so-called "South-East Asia Youth Conference" held in Calcutta in March this year was a "staff meeting of leading Communist agitators" in South-East Asia.

The timing of the Malayan and Burma revolts and the sharp left-turn of Dr. Shariuddin's People's Democratic Front in Indonesia have been the more obvious indications of Communist co-ordination. Typical of other evidence, less obvious but not less significant, is the fact that Communist insurgents emerged from their mountain strongholds in the Philippines at almost the same time as the rebels in Malaya and Burma.

Independent investigators in Bangkok and other centres in South-East Asia admit that there is no trace whatever of any formal machinery suggestive of a Far East Cominform, but point out that co-operation can and does exist without such elaborate arrangements. Moscow's direct influence in Asiatic regions has been through the training of Communist leaders such as those now at work in Indo-China, Burma, Indonesia and China and appears so far to have had little bearing on the various parties themselves. Hence the well-known doctrinal unorthodoxies of the Communist movements, particularly in China, which have been frowned upon by Moscow purists. In the main Moscow-trained Communist leaders in Asia are men of character and personality and as such have not been easily amenable to control from Moscow.

The Chinese Communists have evolved a movement which has not hesitated to adapt itself to peculiar Chinese conditions, although doing this has involved deviating from the Moscow party "line." Its success, lately demonstrated by the Communists' seizure of Manchuria, has set the pattern for other Communist movements throughout Asia. It would be imprudent to ignore—in view of the foregoing—such seeming coincidences as signs of increasing vigour by the Communists in Burma following Communist success in China, or of sabotage in the mysterious calamities which have befallen Calcutta's telephone system.

Today South-East Asia is a region of primary importance in world economy as a supplier of foodstuffs and raw materials. Potentially it is a great dollar-earning area and is of vital importance particularly to the economies of those Powers which signed the Brussels Pact. The unavoidable condition for developing South-East Asia's capacity to earn dollars and to meet the world demand for food and raw materials is stability. Such stability can be obtained only by solving, firstly by constructive common action, the problem of nationalism and its readjustment to present conditions.

Meanwhile the Communist grand strategy of weakening and crippling the Western democratic countries and orderly government everywhere proceeds inexorably. One of the most effective ways of doing this is to disrupt financial and commercial relations between the West world and those parts of the world which are emerging from colonial or semi-colonial status. These areas are what the late Mr. Zhdanov called the "rear of the capitalist system," and it is against such an attack from the rear in Asia that the democratic world must now prepare itself.

# Salient Features Of India's

**INDIA'S** draft constitution, which has been before the public for over eight months, is claimed by its authors as unique among the constitutions of the world. What strikes one by a casual perusal of the bluebook is its lucidity of expression and excellent method and manner in which the whole subject has been arranged and elucidated. The language is as simple as it could be and hence it should have received the widespread attention of all classes of citizens and critics. The draft has also been translated into some of the main Indian languages, including Hindi and Hindustani.

In spite of the long interval between the publication of the draft constitution and its impending final phase of approval by the Constituent Assembly, there are very few radical or substantial alterations suggested in the 300 amendments proposed to be moved during the present session. Most of the changes which the Drafting Committee has thought fit to recommend the House are technical and drafting alterations. While there is no desire to stifle criticism, official circles feel that all the amendments could be debated and disposed of in the next three or four weeks.

### Contentious Issues

**T**HE issues on which lively and even heated discussion is expected are in regard to limitation of powers to provinces, particularly in the financial sphere, the method of appointing governors, relationship between Indian States and the Union and, lastly, the provision for amending the constitution.

From the Indian viewpoint, the draft constitution marks a radical improvement in many respects from the present constitution which was in itself the fruit of six years of Indo-British collaboration and labour. The India Act was considered an excellent piece of constitutional workmanship and it is therefore no wonder that many provisions relating to administrative details have been bodily incorporated in the draft constitution.

The main departure from the old order is the inclusion of a chapter on fundamental rights, which stipulates what the State should not do. Along with this is the chapter of directive principles of State laying

# Draft Constitution

## ISSUE OF RELATIONS WITH COMMONWEALTH TO BE SETTLED AFTER PANDIT NEHRU'S STATEMENT TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

down the positive duties of the State, or rather what the State ought to do. The third feature is the provision of adult franchise, over which no less a person than Dr. Rajendra Prasad has begun to have grave doubts and suggested that for at least ten years elections to the Lower House of the Indian Parliament should be through electoral colleges totalling in membership about a million of the elected of the people. It is stated that any such change at the present juncture would not be in consonance with the modern trends of democracy.

### Federal & Unitary

**E**MERGING out of all suggestions and criticism is the broad fact that the draft constitution, by and large, seeks to implement various declarations and pledges which the Indian National Congress and other political organisations made to the people from time to time. It is also seen that it embodies in itself the best features of the British, American, Australian, Canadian and Swiss constitutions. As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, aptly put it, the draft constitution can be both unitary and federal according to requirements of time and circumstance. In normal times, it is framed to work as a federal system, giving as wide a range of powers to the units or States as possible, but in times of emergency, particularly in war, it is so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system, concentrating



Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee

much power on the head of the State.

The main functionary under India's new political dispensation is the President of the Union. In the Parliamentary system of government proposed in the new draft constitution, the Indian President differs from the American in the sense that, while he is the head of the State, he is not the head of the executive

as in the United States. The President of the Indian Union, again, can do nothing contrary to the advice of his ministers nor can he do anything without their advice. It is conceded by all that for the effective working of the constitution such powers as are provided are necessary for the President, who, it is obvious, must be an outstanding personality of the day.

### The Centre

**I**T is claimed that the draft constitution strikes a balance between those critics who want the Centre to be stronger still and others who feel that it has already been made too strong. The former cite the dangers arising out of episodes like Hyderabad or non-compliance of the Centre's directive by provinces as in the case of zamindari legislation. The other school, on the other hand, refer to the American type of provincial autonomy with its wide powers; but it is pointed out that, although on paper American provinces had such powers, modern conditions and circumstances have forced them to surrender a large part of them to the centre.

While the relations between the Indian Union and provinces have been defined, it has not been possible to make a provision as regards Indian States. The objective of the States Ministry has been to lift the States to the standard of provinces. The reasons for not setting a pattern for States in relation to the Centre are political in view of the commitments

to the States to confine Central control to the three subjects of defence, communications and external affairs. The Drafting Committee felt handicapped, therefore, in devising a uniform relationship for all States, whether Indian States or provinces.

A worse feature, according to some members of the Assembly, is the concession to States to have their own armies. Dr. Ambedkar has expressed the fear that this would militate against the unity of India and even lead to breaking up of that unity. In view of the growing realisation among the Rulers and States peoples alike that their future lies in complete union with the Centre, the emphasis is expected to shift towards an integrated life in which separate armies would automatically have no place. One of the ministerialists, however, felt that the constitution must have some provision as a safeguard against the potential danger.

### Governors

**T**HE question of appointment of governors has been agitating public opinion for some time past and there has been a sharp division of opinion on the mode of selection of governors. The Drafting Committee suggested that the legislature should elect a panel of four persons (who need not be residents of the State) and the President should appoint one of them as the Governor. In spite of this, some members of the Assembly feel that, for some years to come, the Governor should be appointed by the President on the advice of his Cabinet rather than get him elected either directly or indirectly. It is suggested that election involves an element of political influence, which is to be eliminated at all costs if the Governor is to remain the true custodian of constitutional rights and propriety.

The provision for amending the constitution is considered fair, but some critics feel that other provisions in the draft constitution make any amendment difficult. Those closely connected with the drafting of the constitution, however, believe that the limitation of two-thirds majority for amending it provided in the draft should meet all exigencies that may arise. It is essential at the same time to see that the constitution does not lend itself to easy amendment so as to bring uncertainty in the political life of the State.

### Single Citizenship

**T**HE future Indian Union, although federation in form, is based on the single citizenship. Unlike the dual polity of the U.S.A., the Indian proposal is claimed to achieve better unity of purpose. No State or unit has a right under the draft constitution to frame its own separate constitution, and both the Union and the States are thus united under one frame, from which it would be impossible for either to break away.

Finally, India has virtually made her choice as to the future form of government. The republican ideal envisaged in the draft constitution is expected to be endorsed by the Constituent Assembly. The draft constitution defines it as sovereign democratic republic, although Dr. Ambedkar would prefer a change in the definition to sovereign democratic State to regularise the relations with Britain.

This question can only be ironed out after Pandit Nehru makes known his reactions to the London talks at the Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers of Dominions. The consultations have brought into high relief that the Commonwealth is not a free association of nations. It is obvious that the Indian Prime Minister must have given some indication of the working of the Indian mind. It has been already suggested that India, while becoming a republic, would have very close association with Britain. That becomes a case of the Commonwealth adjusting to the growing needs of its member nations. Perhaps what Pandit Nehru will say on the floor of the Indian Constituent Assembly in the next few days after his return to New Delhi will clarify the position once and for all.

K. Subbaroyan

# Need For Planning In University Education

BY S. R. DONGERKERY, Registrar, University Of Bombay

**I**T is a pity that the Sargent Report deals with the problems of university education in what may be described as a rather scrappy manner. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that the authors of that report considered the expansion of education in the lower stages as more urgent than the growth of university education, having regard to the limited financial resources of our country.

One remark in the report, however, calls for immediate attention, in view of the appointment of the Universities Commission by the Government of India to review university education in this country. This remark is to the effect that there has been in the past a general lack of planning in university education and that both the Central and the Provincial Governments have yielded to pressure in bringing into existence without providing the necessary resources to enable them to function on sound lines.

Commenting on the Nuffield College statement, *Nature*, in a recent issue, finds fault with the statement for its failure to deal with "the questions of geographical distribution of universities and the distribution of university resources among different projects." The journal proceeds to suggest that an appointment of a Royal Commission to survey the needs and reforms of university education in Great Britain.

### Survey Commission

**W**E are now in the fortunate position of having a Commission appointed by the Government of India to survey the needs of university education in India and suggest reforms. It is to be expected that this Commission will take note of the hints thrown out by the Sargent Report and by *Nature* and deal as exhaustively as possible with this hitherto neglected aspect of university education. We need not be disheartened by the absence of planning which the history of university education in India reveals to the most casual observer for even in Great Britain planning has been conspicuous by its absence in the past.

As Sir Ernest Simon has pointed out in *Universities Quarterly* (November, 1946 issue), there is no university "system" in Britain, as each of the 16 universities has developed in its own way. In other words, the growth of universities has been sporadic in Britain, for the doctrine of *laissez-faire* appears to have guided the destinies of universities in that country until the costly lessons of World War II opened the eyes of the practical British people to the need for planning in university education in a post-war world. Even the Chinese, who were more than copyists of Western methods of education after the establishment of the Republic, appear to have realized the necessity of conserving and strengthening the national manpower by maintaining the activity of universities at their highest pitch during the war under the severest handicaps.

### Scientific Manpower

**T**HE two World Wars stressed the need for increasing scientific manpower through university education. The Government of Great Britain lost no time in attempting to make good the deficiencies and compensated for its previous neglect by multiplying the grants to its universities many times over. The large increase in the grants disbursed by the University Grants Committee was

step in real planning so far as university education in Great Britain was concerned. The Barlow Report (May, 1946) produced a ten-year plan for the development and expansion of scientific man-power through the universities. The objective of the plan suggested in that report was to double the number of scientists within a period of ten years. The plan also involved the grant by the State of a larger degree of assistance to poor students for continuing their studies at universities, the increase of staff and accommodation and the necessary provision for increased funds from the Exchequer.

Side by side with the Barlow Report, the Clapham Report saw the light of day. It did for the teaching of the social sciences what the Barlow Report had done for the teaching of the natural sciences in universities. It laid stress on the urgent need for helping the research worker in the social and economic fields, who was suffering from neglect in comparison with the scientific worker carrying on research in his laboratory. With its enlarged scope and its liberalized constitution, the University Grants Committee contributed its quota to the furtherance of the plan to develop the universities so as to make them adequate to the expanding needs of the nation. The creation of new universities and the prevention of overlapping of educational facilities placed upon the University Grants Committee. The Committee of Vice-Chancellors lent its powerful aid in a less obvious manner.

### Lagging Behind

**T**HE problems of university education in India are to a large extent similar to those existing in Great Britain, save that our universities are lagging far behind those of Great Britain in research and teaching. The causes are traceable to India's economic poverty and to the large area and population for which provision has to be made. The need for conserving and economizing these slender resources cannot be over-emphasized, but this cannot be done without a proper geographical distribution of the universities in this country and the distribution of the resources of each university among the different subjects, which means the specialization they must undertake in order to avoid wasteful duplication.

Hitherto, no attempt appears to have been made in India to plan the teaching of, and research in, the social sciences on lines similar to those indicated in the Clapham Report. This work may now very well be undertaken by the Universities Commission and may form part of a very comprehensive survey of all the important fields of knowledge and research which it is the function of universities to cover, namely, the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and professional and technological studies. It will be one of their tasks to make a survey not only of the existing facilities in the shape of institutions of learning and research, but also of the economic and natural resources of India, the geographical position and various other factors which influence university education.

### Need For More

**T**ODAY, it is admitted on all hands that India needs a great many more universities to meet the requirements of the entire country, having regard to its extensive area

and large population. It is equally clear that some of these universities will have to conform to the affiliating type, not because that type is the best but because the country is poor and can ill afford to establish as many residential and teaching universities as would be necessary to fulfil the need of the people for university education. In deciding where these affiliating universities should be situated many points have to be taken into consideration, such as the accessibility of the place, the nearness of existing educational institutions with the proper academic atmosphere, and the financial support that can be expected from the inhabitants of the region.

The willingness and the ability of the Provincial Government to assist the universities in their laboratories are equally great importance. It would be far better to have no university in a place which is in need of one than to have one which cannot be maintained efficiently for want of adequate financial support either from the public or from Government.

### The Cost

**I**T goes without saying that the cost of maintaining a residential and teaching university is very much higher than that of maintaining a purely affiliating one. This cost may be appreciably reduced by restricting the scope of the university to special branches of learning and science instead of attempting to encompass a very wide field. By proper co-ordination of research and teaching, a third in chemistry and chemical technology, a fourth in physics and radiology, a fifth in biological and medical studies, a sixth in oriental languages and philosophy, and so on. The adoption of such a plan would give the country what it needs in the shape of university education at the lowest possible cost. It, however, implies the closest co-operation between the several universities, the provincial Governments and the Central Government. Such co-operation should not be difficult to achieve if we made full and proper use of bodies like the Inter-University Board, the Central Advisory Board of Education, the University Grants Committee and the various national institutes of research and National Laboratories.

### Specialisation

**O**NE danger must be guarded against in implementing such a scheme, and that is an extremely narrow specialization in one branch of study to the utter neglect of other branches. Thus, if we start an engineering university, an agricultural university or a medical university, the students of which would have no opportunities of coming into contact with students of subjects in other faculties at a period of life when their world of experience keeps constantly expanding in ever-widening circles with each outside contact. Whatever the branch in which one may wish to specialize, so long as it is the purpose of university education to build and train up an integrated

human being who would be a good and enlightened citizen as well as a successful technologist, professional or businessman, this liberalizing aspect of university education which provides varied contacts cannot be overlooked.

In view of what has been stated above, it is not only necessary to make a careful preliminary survey of the natural resources of the area, the possible financial support from the public and the State and the intellectual atmosphere of the region where it is sought to establish a new university, but also to plan the courses of study in advance so that on the one hand one can avoid the Scylla of all too wide a scheme of studies to which it is not possible to do full justice and, on the other hand, the Charybdis of a narrow specialization which can only produce the mere specialist, scientist or scholar.

Since universities are an integral part of national life, a survey of university education like the one shortly to be undertaken by the Universities Commission, cannot be complete unless it includes geographical, geological, economic, historical and cultural surveys of the country as a whole and of its several parts.



**F**OR a whole week before the opening of the final session of the Constituent Assembly, the capital was full of bustle and expectancy. New Delhi's barracks-like Government Hostel, Constitution House, which had remained mostly empty during the last few months, was suddenly filled in by "Hon. Members" coming from all parts of the country. So were the "M.L.A. bungalows."

In the sartorial sphere, this influx has brought about a welcome change in the town. The drab uniformity of bushcoats and lounge suits was broken as flowing Punjabi turbans, Bengali dhoties, South Indian lungis and Lucknow chaddars and achkans appeared everywhere. On the opening day of the Assembly, most of the 300 odd members arrived early at the Council Hall to take part in what looked like a big all-India reunion of old friends. Members met one another warmly with handshakes and embraces. This went on even inside the Assembly Chamber till the actual arrival of the President. The Constituent Assembly's Secretary, in anticipation of the President's arrival, four times made unavailing appeals to members to take their seats. The fifth time he let drop an unconscious joke, "Will all gentlemen," he said, "take their seats?" Nobody budged!

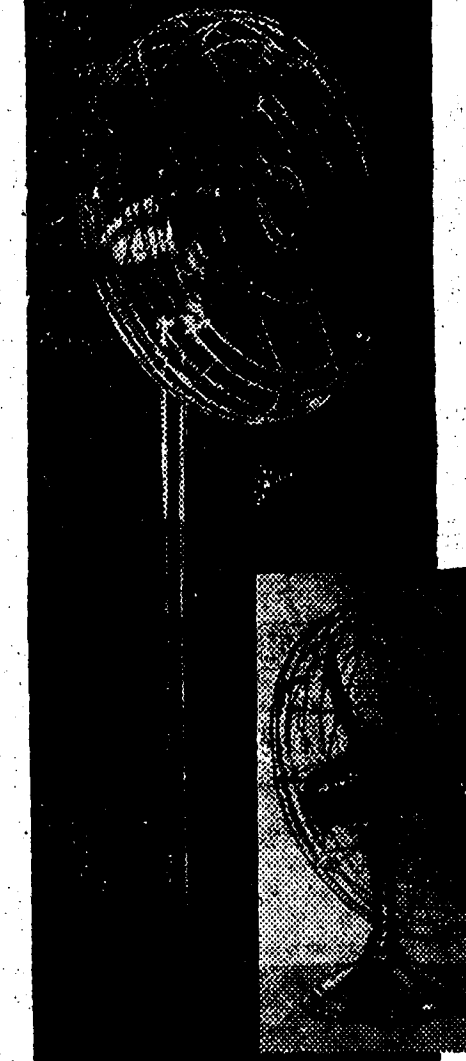
Last Sunday Delhi, like other parts of India celebrated Diwali—without éclat. Some said it was, in fact, the gloomiest Diwali in the capital's recent history. The city's fashionable shopping centre, Connaught Circus, was clothed in virtual darkness. It being a holiday, the shops were closed and even the usual crowds of sight-seers and customers were absent. Illuminations, both public and private, were on a negligible scale.

A large number of people, however, gravitated towards Chandni Chowk in the hope of seeing the usual brilliant lighting of this ancient bazaar. They too were disappointed. Characteristically enough, only sweetmeat shops at Chandni Chowk were somewhat well-lighted and they monopolised all the business.

The capital is having a rare spell of good weather these days, and here is a tip to this column's old

K. C. K.

## THIS SUMMER LIVE IN A "Fair-Weather" HOME



The new FRESHND-AIRE Circulator is the successor to the fan—moves ALL the air ALL the time. Developed and proven by science and engineering, the new FRESHND-AIRE Circulator cools your entire home. A fan cools only by blowing directly, the NEW FRESHND-AIRE Circulator cools by CIRCULATION—See it today!



- Features to COMPARE!**
- Custom built motor—perfect in performance!
  - Speed—increased—speed as a plus!
  - Patented feather weight plastic propeller!
  - Every operating part fixed in shock-absorbing rubber!
  - All-around protection with two glass guard—removable for EASY CLEANING!
  - Robust base mounting prevents creeping!
  - Beauty that blends with any interior!

**EASTERN ELECTRIC & ENGINEERING CO.**

Est'd. 1909  
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road, P. O. Box No. 459, Bombay No. 1.  
Phone: 20927, Gram: "EASLEKTRIK"

Agents—  
**CHICAGO**

**TELEPHONE & RADIO CO., LTD.**

25, Chowringhee, CALCUTTA. 'Phone: 1953.  
48, Hazratganj, LUCKNOW. 'Phone: 860.  
68, Queensway, NEW DELHI. 'Phone: 7179.  
422, Lamington Road, BOMBAY. 'Phone: 40033.