



TWELFTH JN TATA LECTURE

THE IDEAL OF HUMAN UNITY
AND
THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

by

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September 30, 1987

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

BANGALORE

ABOUT THE SPEAKER

Mr. N A Palkhivala was born on January 16, 1920, in Bombay. He took his MA Degree with Honours in English from the Bombay University in 1942. In 1944 he obtained his LL.B Degree from the Bombay University, standing First Class First.

Mr. Palkhivala was Fellow of the Government Law College, Bombay (1944-46); Part-time Professor of the same College (1949-52); and, later, Honorary Professor of the College for many years. He was a Member of the Bombay University Senate, being nominated to that office for two years by the Chancellor (the Governor) in or about 1982. He was also appointed the Tagore Professor of Law at the Calcutta University.

He was a member of the First law commission of India (1955) and the Second Law Commission (1958). In 1975 he was elected an Honorary Member of The Academy of Political Science, New York, in recognition of his "outstanding public service and distinguished contributions to the advancement of political science".

Mr. Palkhivala was the Ambassador of India to the United States of America, between 1977 and 1979. In 1978 the Princeton University, New Jersey (USA), conferred on Mr. Palkhivala, the Honory Degree of Doctor of Laws and in 1979 the Lawrence University, Wisconsin (USA), conferred on him, the Honorary Degree of Law.

Mr. Palkhivala is the author of *The Law and Practice of Income-Tax*, *The Highest Taxed Nation*; *Our Constitution Defaced and Defiled*, *India's Priceless Heritage* and *We, the People*. He is the co-author of *Taxation in India*, published by the Harvard University in the World Tax Series.

He has argued a number of historical cases in the Courts of India and abroad.

Mr. Palkhivala successfully argued before the Supreme Court the cases which affirmed the Fundamental Rights of minorities to establish and administer educational and religious institutions of their choice.

Mr. Palkhivala is the Chairman of the ACC Ltd., Tata Exports Ltd. & Tata Consultancy Services. He is the Vice Chairman of TELCO and a Director of TISCO, Tata Energy Research Institute and many other companies.

He is the President of the Forum of Free Enterprise and Chairman of many Trusts and also Income-tax Appealate Tribunal Bar Association, Bombay.

ABOUT THE LECTURE

TATA, a parsee priestly family, originally from the former Baroda Stat, that produced several distinguished merchants, industrialists and philanthropists. Founder of its greatness was JAMSETJI NUSSERWANJEE TATA (1839-1904). Educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay. Joining his father's trading firm in 1858 and aided by a powerful imagination, he entered on an outstanding career which contributed massively to India's industrial development. He organised cotton mills in Bombay and Nagpur. Founded the Tata Iron and Steel Company, one of the largest integrated steel works in the world, and planned the use of hydroelectric energy resulting in the formation of the Tata Power Companies, which supply electricity to Bombay City and the surrounding areas. He introduced sericulture into India; founded the INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, BANGALORE; applied the findings of science to the cultivation of cotton and other crops; built the Taj Mahal Hotel and established an endowment for the advanced professional and technical training of Indians abroad. A man of high social ideals, he was a pioneer in his attitude to labour and devoted an overwhelming proportion of his firm's profits to practical philanthropy.

The J.N. Tata Lectureship was instituted at the Institute in 1962 by the Dorab Tata Trust, at the suggestion of Mr. J. R. D. Tata.

The Ideal of Human Unity and The North-South Dialogue

The subject I have chosen is one of immense range, imponderable importance and incalculable complexity. In a century which has witnessed two World Wars resulting in the breaking of nations and the deaths of tens of millions, and at a time when so many countries have not even achieved national integration, the ideal of human unity seems light years away. Even now, not a year passes without violent conflicts and skirmishes erupting in some part of the world. In Plato's phrase, we are still like cavemen, with our backs turned to the light, watching the shadows on the wall. Modern man exists in what Ezra Pound called "a botched civilization". Professor Gunnar Myrdal towards the end of his long life observed that the world was "really going to hell in every possible respect."

Will Durant said some years ago. "The world situation is fouled up. It has always been fouled up. I see no reason for change." If he were alive today, he would still see no reason for change. Occasionally we have the triumph of hope over experience but those are short-lived moments of Pollyanna optimism, and even the cheer-mongers are driven to rejoin the ranks of "despairing optimists".

The world is witnessing today two basic confrontations - one vertical and the other horizontal. The vertical is between the East and the West, the horizontal between the North and the South. The East-West conflict is between tyranny and freedom, just as the North-South confrontation is between affluence and poverty. The solution of the first would release the resources necessary to pave the way for a solution of the second. The temperature of the world is determined by the thermostat of East-West relations.

The expressions "North" and "South" passed into the current coin of global thought in the early 1970s. They are more or less synonymous with "developed economies" and "developing economies" respectively.

Out of the developed countries which constitute the North, twentyfour are members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Although the North has only a quarter of the world's population, it has 70 per cent of the wealth, over 80 per cent of the trade, 90 per cent of the industry, and close to 100 per cent of the finest and most advanced centres of learning and technology. It holds 94 per cent of the registered patents.

'South' is generally applied to the countries of South and South-Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and it includes the oil-rich countries of the Middle East which have formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The South is a cluster of 116 countries which present a picture of enormous diversity and contrast in basic features. The infinite variety is marked in every conceivable way. The poor countries of the South are united more by attitude than by geography. Underlying that unity is a common sense of anger against the North and a deep sense of frustration.

Some times the North is referred to as the First World, the Second World being the Soviet Union and East European countries which believe in what is euphemistically called 'socialism'. The South is often called the Third World. It also goes under the anachronistic name "Group of 77" though now it comprises well over a hundred members: it is impossible to arrive at a precise categorization, because the North and the South are not formal organizations.

To Candide's optimistic dictum, "This is the best of all possible worlds", the pessimist's reply was "I am afraid so." The South accepts neither Candide's optimism nor the reply.

It would like to break the sorry scheme of things entire, and re-mould it nearer the South's desire.

The North-South dialogue began in 1974. The aspiration of developing countries to secure an international co-operative system culminated in the formulation of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) which was declared at the Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly on May 1, 1974.

Sometimes the North-South dialogue has lapsed into a dialogue of the deaf, frequently into a soliloquy of the South, and occasionally into a confrontation. In a lighter vein I may repeat the remark of C. Rajagopalachari, one of the wisest and greatest Indians of this century, who was asked why there is generally a confrontation between the north and the south in different countries of the world. His reply was, "It is the fault of the geographers. They always put the south at the bottom."

The issues involved in the North-South dialogue have never been brought out more beautifully or more cogently than by the Independent Commission on International Development issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (the Brandt Commission). The two Reports of the Brandt Commission - "North-South: A Programme for Survival"(1980) and "Common crisis North-South: Co-operation for World Recovery "(1983) are *the* documents of the decade. They were not merely the work of economists but of thinkers and statesmen who strongly felt the need for humanizing world economics. As *The Economist* of London said, "Brandt is not for burning."

The most voracious consumer of money today is nuclear weapons and other armaments. It is expenditure on armaments - the most sterile of all forms of spending - which results in poor countries' development being kept in cold storage. President Eisenhower said, "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in the final sense a theft from those who are hungry and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed." Today around 1,000 billion

U.S. dollars are spent annually on arms and armies - much more than two billion dollars a day.

It is a platitude that the two Super Powers possess over-saturation and over-kill nuclear capacities. Their present stock-pile is of 50,000 nuclear warheads. Military experts speak of "Mutual Assured Destruction" between the two Super Powers. The acronym is MAD, an abbreviation of symbolic significance.

The waste of human ability, energy and money on armaments will continue unabated, and diversion of world resources to development will remain a pipe-dream, so long as man does not learn the great lesson which Mahatma Gandhi preached so convincingly in our own times - viz. non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The exhortation to divert resources from weaponry to development stands no practical chance of being heeded unless and until the balance of terror is replaced by the balance of reason.

The Brandt Commission pointed out that (a) the military expenditure of only half a day would suffice to finance the entire malaria eradication programme of WHO; (b) the cost of one modern tank - roughly a million dollars - could provide a thousand classrooms; (c) the price of one jet fighter (20 million dollars) could set up 40,000 village pharmacies. But these chilling truths present threatened nations with a false choice between what is unavoidable and what is desirable. Though spending on armaments is undoubtedly both wasteful and highly dangerous in the world of today, the vast majority of nations must necessarily defend themselves against external threats or internal uprisings, for reasons which the Brandt Report did not consider.

It is noteworthy that the Brandt Commission's 1980 Report suggested that in the dialogue on the international economic system the participation of the Soviet Union, China and East European economies would be desirable. China

would come in as a member of the South, and the Soviet Union as a member of the North. After the Brandt Report, the People's Republic of China has taken its seat in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, thereby improving the degree of global representation on those twins of Bretton Woods.

The Brandt Commission made 59 recommendations, falling broadly under three heads: (i) a large transfer of resources to the less developed countries involving an increase in official aid to reach 0.7 per cent of developed countries' GNP by 1985 and one per cent by the year 2000, and a doubling of World Bank loans; (ii) an international energy strategy; and (iii) major reforms in international economic systems.

Unfortunately, the debate on the New International Economic Order has been heavy on rhetoric and light on analysis, long on emotion and short on reason.

The case of the South

The South symbolizes humanity's immemorial pain. Its situation may be summed up in the staccato style of Micawber: Votes doubled, expectations multiplied; income stationary, result misery.

The case of the South is so strong that it almost argues itself. It is an instance of what lawyers call *res ipsa loquitur* - the thing speaks for itself. The absolute gap between rich countries and poor countries widens every year.

In the European Economic Community they do not know what to do with all the milk that they produce: the total weight of their milk powder surplus is a million tonnes, while their embarrassing butter mountain is of 1.5 million tonnes. There are 20 million tonnes of surplus food in European warehouses. At the same time more than one-third of the people in the world suffer from serious malnutrition. Despite the World Food Programme, despite the Food and Agriculture Organiza

tion (the largest specialized agency of the United Nations), despite the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization (itself something of a disaster), despite the International Fund for Agricultural Development, and despite bilateral aid programmes, Oxfam and other private charities, - starvation persists and famines occur with distressing frequency. Three people out of four in the Third World have no proper sanitation and few have clean drinking water. Thomas Hood's words are still true:

“Oh! God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!”

A billion people are trapped in what the World Bank, in its first Development Report, calls absolute poverty: “a condition of life so characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid surroundings, high infant mortality and low life expectancy as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human decency.” Three-quarters of the “absolutely poor” are to be found in Commonwealth countries.

There was a time when one-half of the world did not know how the other half lived. But today television pictures successfully translate a continent's distant agony into humanly comprehensible horror. The tragedy of Africa would move the sands of the Sahara to tears - a tragedy too full for sound and foam. And in some areas it is getting even worse. The average per capita income of Africans in some recent years was four per cent below the level in 1970.

The words of Rudyard Kipling regarding the poor Indian agriculturist are still true, despite the Green Revolution:

“His speech is of mortgaged bedding,
On his vine he borrows yet,
At his heart is his daughter's wedding,
In his eye foreknowledge of debt.
He eats and hath indigestion,
He toils and he may not stop;

His life is a long-drawn question
Between a crop and a crop.”

In Edwin Markham’s poignant words about the brutalized
tolier -

“Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;
Time’s tragedy is in that aching stoop;
Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned and disinherited,
Cries protest to the Powers that made the world,
A protest that is also prophecy.”

Unfortunately, some countries of the North seem to be suffering from what may be called “compassion fatigue”. In some years the United States spent annually more on potted plants and flowers than they did on aid to the Third World.

In the language of studied moderation, the South has a good case on merits. But it is a good case spoilt by bad advocacy. Self-criticism is not the strong point of the South, and it is about time it stopped thinking that anyone who agrees with NIEO is a friend of the South and anyone who disagrees is an enemy. The South has chosen to fight, as happened in the Viet Nam war, a wrong war with the wrong weapons against the wrong enemy on the wrong battlefield. So sympathetic a friend as Professor W. W. Rostow of the University of Texas at Austin said, “In my view - and I say this as one who has crusaded for over thirty years on behalf of development in the South - the whole NIEO process has been rooted in an inappropriate ideology, it has operated with an agenda destined to frustrate both South and North; and it has been conducted by negotiations unlikely to generate a productive result.”

The viewpoint of the North

It is not as if justice is only on the side of the South. The North has a rational viewpoint which demonstrates that the air is not merely thick with alibis for inaction. The North feels -

and with justification - that the South has been its own greatest enemy. The charge-sheet against the developing countries make sorry reading:

- (a) The South has been demanding revolutionary reforms as of right and behaving as if it has an indefeasible title to share the wealth of the North. Considering the New International Economic Order as its "economic Magna Carta", it has made demands which are strident and static, "one-sided and unrealistic".
- (b) The South maintains double standards. The rich and the super-rich of the South show far less compassion for their own poor countrymen than the North has displayed towards the South. Even the oil-rich OPEC countries do not significantly help the other countries of the South except for assisting their co-religionists and, in particular, the Arab world against Israel.
- (c) The North, wedded to freedom, is expected to finance communist regimes of the South, while the Soviet Union and its satellites do little to help those countries of the South where state-controlled economy prevails. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance - consisting of East European communist countries - hardly assists the countries of the South. As OECD's 1983 review notes, "For the bulk of the Third World, the Eastern European communist countries have played practically no role at all in the major resource transfer developments of the last ten to fifteen years."
- (d) Corruption prevents the benefits of aid from trickling down to the poor. Aid goes into private pockets. This is not to say that there is no corruption in the North; but there are degrees of corruption, and a different set of considerations arise when politicians ask another country to finance the corruption in their own state. The Argentine President, Raul Alfonsin, says of the billions of dollars Argentina borrowed in the late seventies, "The foreign

debts' most irritating feature for the Argentines is that the money was not converted into the expansion of the economy and the creation of capital. Quite the contrary."

Researchers at America's Federal Reserve Board reckon that over one-third of the 252 billion dollars' increase in the debt of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela between 1974 and 1982 went into buying assets overseas or was salted away in private foreign bank accounts.

- (e) The governments of the South are inefficient and make hopeless investors and the North is expected to finance their grandiose ego-inflating projects, with the inevitable waste and muddle. Most of them cannot manage men, materials or money. Dr. Drucker uttered a penetrating truth when he said, "There are no under-developed countries. There are only undermanaged ones." Of course, the truth needs to be sugar-coated. Myint observes, "If one were to tell the politicians of the underdeveloped countries that their people are lazy, stupid, lacking in initiative and adaptability, one would be branded as an enemy; but if one were to re-phrase [this] in another way and say that the people lack entrepreneurial capacity, one would be welcomed for giving scientific support for economic planning."

Many of the countries of the South preach and practise outdated socialism and state control which turns the sale of every commodity into a bureaucratic struggle, subject to political dominance and graft.

- (f) The South continues to persist in its cardinal blunder of taking no effective steps to make investment in family planning, education, public health and nutrition, despite repeated pleas that investment in human development is far more important than physical investment; and that without an adequate investment in the former, investments in the latter would prove infructuous. It is of paramount importance that the countries of the South

set their own houses in order with all convenient speed. What is needed is not so much a New International Economic Order as New Domestic Economic Orders. The greatest thing for a nation is self-help. Eradication of corruption, mobilization of available internal funds, efficient use of human resources - as have been done by South Korea and Hongkong, Taiwan and Singapore - would be far more rewarding than a confrontation with the North.

- (g) Aid is no substitute for self-help. The poverty of a nation has never been cured by a massive transfer of wealth. No country, however rich, can develop another country merely through finance. In fact, official aid accounts for only 13 per cent of the total investment in developing countries.

The historical perspective

The international meetings today seem to produce mainly recriminations and bad tempers. There have been unseemly squabbles between the North and the South. The South rattles the borrowing bowl and denigrates its creditors for not displaying further munificence. The poor countries charge the rich nations with hypocrisy, criminal irresponsibility, arrogance and insensitivity. The North has been driven to say that the verbal violence of the South represented "the babbling of economic illiterates seized by a fit of passion", and would make the UN "fade into the shadow of world rhetoric." The outspoken Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan criticized the South for practising "the politics of resentment and the economics of envy." Even granted that some of the railing of the less developed countries against the North is meant for domestic consumption, and they want to find northern scapegoats for their own inefficiency or corruption, their harsh tone and temper have been hardly conducive to a rational debate. Condemning the North is hardly a brilliant strategy for eliciting its generous response. The victims of the current deadlock are the 38 lowest-income states.

It is time to end on both sides this exhibition of frayed tempers. A conciliatory tone would be statesmanlike and productive of far better results. As India's representative said at the UN Assembly's special session on NIEO in September 1975: "Let us not confront each other, but let us together confront the problems facing us."

If one brings the historical perspective to bear on the problems inherent in the North-South dialogue, one would see room for hope. The most significant verities are most commonly missed. The profound and satisfying truth is that the ideas of inter-dependence and inter-assistance have made greater and faster progress than almost any other global idea in world history.

How many centuries did it take Western Europe to stop the lunacy of wars and live in peace together as a common economic community? How many centuries did it take India to pass a law abolishing the disgraceful concept of untouchability, and how many more generations will it take for the still surviving vestiges of it to disappear in practice? Have Catholics and Protestants in the North, and Shias and Sunnis in the South, yet learnt that they should love one another since they are the followers of the same Prophet?

By contrast, the concept of inter-dependence of nations has worked its way through the subsoil of human consciousness with unusual speed and strength. It is only four decades since the last World War ended. Yet the international institutions symbolizing the inter-dependence of nations, started after the war, have become as firmly rooted in the human psyche as any of the centuries-old organizations. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have served the Third World well. Their annual meetings are milestones along the road to global growth. The IMF has treated a number of countries in the ICU - the intensive care unit.

The picture of inter-assistance, especially aid by the

North to the South, is, again, not one of unrelieved gloom. "Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail or knock the breast." Ours is a perfecting world, but its progress is painfully slow, sometimes by the millimetre. That is because, as J. M. Keynes observed, "Man will do the rational thing, but only after exploring all other alternatives." The famous anthropologist Margaret Mead concluded that it takes about a generation, say three decades, for a new idea to strike roots in the public mind. The impatient dialogue between the North and the South started only thirteen years ago. We must be reconciled to the inevitability of gradualness. The slow drip of Brandt's passionate plea has begun to work. More and more people of the North realize, and realize more clearly, that the economically desperate of today are the international flashpoints of tomorrow. There is a growing consciousness that, as Rabindranath Tagore reminded us, the weak in their weakness can do no less harm to the strong than the strong in their strength to the weak.

The greatest gift the North can confer on the South is the gift of knowledge. Transfer of technology can be the most fruitful type of assistance. An old Asian adage says, "Give a boy some fish to eat and you will assuage his hunger for a day, but teach a boy to catch fish and he will never be hungry." Shared responsibility should beget a shared programme for development and an adequate, collective response.

The South has to abandon its wild rhetoric and engage in conciliatory negotiation. And the North has to realize that the search for solutions is not an act of benevolence, but a condition of mutual survival. In the historical perspective, that search has had a good start and must continue with redoubled vigour. In the words of Arnold Toynbee, "Our age will be well remembered not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

Population control

If mankind is to live in minimum comfort as a single family and the internecine tensions and strains are to be avoided, population control is not only desirable but necessary.

There can be no doubt than the frightening growth of world population is one of the strongest forces shaping the future of human society. It took mankind one million years to reach the first billion: that was the world population around the year 1800. By 1900 - in just a hundred years - a second billion was added. The twentieth century by itself has already added another three billion. The present world population is five billion. According to the Global 2000 Report to the American President, "three-quarters of the people who have ever lived since life on earth began are alive today." The number is expected to increase to 6.3 billion by 2000 A.D., and nine-tenths of the increase will be in developing countries. Every five days the world population increases by one million.

Fertility falls as incomes rise, education spreads and health improves. Thus development is the best contraceptive. But development itself may not be possible if the present increase in numbers continues.

The rich get richer, and the poor get children which helps to keep them poor. More children does not mean more workers but more people without work. The World Bank's World Development Reports rightly suggest that population control is one of the first imperatives of development, since economic advance is so severely diluted by rapid population growth. It is not suggested that human beings should be treated like cattle and compulsorily sterilized. But there is no alternative to family planning at a human level without introducing an element of physical coercion. The choice is really between control of population and perpetuation of poverty.

No one familiar with the conditions in the South would have any doubt that the hope of the People there would die

in their hungry hutments unless population control is given the topmost priority.

The ideal of human unity

The three basic factors militating against the translation of the ideal of human unity into action are - religion, nationalistic politics, and economic ideologies.

Religions are different roads converging to the same destination. Mahatma Gandhi said, "The need of the moment is not one religion, but mutual respect and tolerance of the devotees of different religions. We want to reach not the dead level but unity in diversity. The soul of all religions is one, but it is encased in a multitude of forms. The latter will persist to the end of time."

The free countries rightly believe in freedom as the only sensible way of organizing society. They believe that even "tragic freedom" is preferable to "compulsory happiness". But this need not come in the way of free nations living in harmony and tolerance with authoritarian regimes. Unfortunately, enmity and hatred persist among nations even after the root cause has been relegated to the limbo of the forgotten past. Speaking of the Schleswig-Holstein question in the 19th century, Lord Palmerston observed, "Only three people had ever understood it. One was dead. The other was in a lunatic asylum. I am the third and I have forgotten it."

As a species, we can no longer afford the luxuries of strident nationalism and the fundamentalism of religions and of economic ideologies. Citizens of the world are far more needed than nationalists. Ideologists can never solve the problem of Man on Earth. In the words of Dr. Jung, "All isms are lethal."

What is necessary today is more rapid and meaningful progress along the road to civilization. Dr. Konrad Lorenz declared, "I think I have found the missing link between animals and civilized man. It is we." Civilization is an act of the

I am never tired of repeating that ancient India was far more civilized than modern India with its satellites in space. The hallmark of our generation is spiritual sterility and moral illiteracy.

In his masterly writings "The Human Cycle" and "The Ideal of Human Unity" Sri Aurobindo expresses his prescient views as regards the human family and its future. Today everyone knows about the European Common Market or the European Economic Community, and the credit for bringing about the union of free European countries is rightly given to the French thinker, Jean Monnet. But few know that it was as early as 1916, when the First World War was raging and the European countries were locked in a conflict bloodier than any previous one, that Sri Aurobindo foresaw the birth of those unifying forces which have now led to the creation of the European Economic Community. He called it the United States of Europe. In his message on the day of our independence - 15th August 1947 - Sri Aurobindo referred to his dream of "a world union forming the outer basis of a fairer, brighter and nobler life for all mankind." He added, "That unification of the human world is under way; there is an imperfect initiation, organized but struggling against tremendous difficulties. But the momentum is there and it must inevitably increase and conquer."

In another place, Sri Aurobindo said, "Mankind has a habit of surviving the worst catastrophes created by its own errors or by the violent turns of Nature; and it must be so if there is any meaning in its existence, if its long history and continuous survival is not the accident of a fortuitously self-organising Chance, which it must be in a purely materialistic view of the nature of the world. If man is intended to survive and carry forward the evolution of which he is at present the head and, to some extent, a half-conscious leader of its march, he must come out of his present chaotic international life and arrive at a beginning of organised united action; some kind of

World-State, unitary or federal, or a confederacy or a coalition, he must arrive at in the end..... The ideal of human unity would be no longer an unfulfilled ideal but an accomplished fact and its preservation given into the charge of the united human peoples.”

Sri Aurobindo’s incredible prediction about the “United States of Europe” has come true. His prophecy about a World-State will take a little longer.

Man, whatever may be his scientific and technological advance, is pathetically small and insignificant in the scheme of the Universe. Each one of us is condemned to death, and lives under a stay of execution for an unknown length of time. Man is an unfinished creature - he is only a caricature of Man to be. When he evolves further, he will shed his ego and his penchant for aggrandizement. There is no doubt that a race weary of its own bloodshed and divisiveness will ultimately grope its way to a system which offers the only chance for the survival of the species.